Fathers of Daughters: A Narrative Inquiry into their experiences of migration and settlement

by

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Abstract

The process of migration produces transitions and disruptions in the dynamics of family life including changes in roles and relationships. In general, there is very little research on father-daughter relationships from the perspective of the father. I sought to understand the research puzzle: How do newcomer fathers story and re-story their relationships with their adolescent daughters during the processes of migration and settlement? I collaborated with three newcomer fathers using conversation and dialogue to develop a storied view of their experiences. The focus of the study is on the fathers' experiences with their daughters prior to and after settlement in Canada. Narrative Inquiry (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) was the methodology that guided the research. The inquiry followed a recursive, reflexive process within the conceptual framework of the commonplaces of temporality, sociality and place. Conversations with the participants took place over a timespan of a year and a half. The fathers shared their stories of being the father of a daughter transitioning through adolescence and to Canada. In keeping with the relational ontology of narrative inquiry I shared memories of my immigration experiences and of my memories of my father. From the narrative accounts of the fathers, from the experiences they shared, I pulled narrative threads that reverberated across their stories. Four common threads emerged: 1) liminality, 2) the resonance of mothers, 3) fatherhood as an intimate relationship, and 4) information and communication technologies (ICTs). The fathers' stories highlight the need to focus on making space for voices that are rarely heard in research and nursing. The relational process of narrative inquiry which focuses on the discovery of insight and understanding can influence nursing which is also a reflective, negotiated practice.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Elizabeth Burgess-Pinto. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the Health Research Ethics Board, University of Alberta.
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Dedication

This work is dedicated in grief and gratitude to the memory of my parents

Janet (Nita) McLaren Hepburn

and

Walter Burgess

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I wish to express deep gratitude to those who made my narrative inquiry journey possible. I am forever grateful for the willingness of Javier, Daniel, and Samuel to take time to share their experiences with me. My sincere thanks goes to my Supervisor, Dr. Linda Ogilvie, who encouraged me to undertake the PhD program, involved me in research projects on migration, introduced me to the Metropolis Project, and whose kindness and compassion supported my family during personal crises. I appreciate greatly the insights and support of the remaining members of my dissertation committee: Dr. Madine VanderPlaat, Dr. Gwen Rempel, Dr. Jean Clandinin, Dr. David Este, and Dr. Priscilla Koop.

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Finally, I could not have accomplished this undertaking without the unconditional love, patience and support of my sons, Allister and Cameron.

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All fathers except mine are invisible in daytime;
Daytime is ruled by mothers. But fathers come out at night.
Darkness brings home the fathers with their real, unspeakable power.
There is more to them than meets the eye.
Margaret Atwood (1988, p. 222)

Chapter One

Standing on the Threshold

> …to immigrate means to immigrate together with one's history (immigration itself being part of that history), with one's traditions, ways of living, feeling, acting and thinking, with one's language, one's religion and all other social, political and mental structures of one's society – structures characteristic of the individual and also of the society, since the former is no more than the embodiment of the latter – or, in one word, with one's culture (Sayad, 2004, p. 3-4).

This research emerged from my long-term interest in the processes and effects of migration and from a special interest in the roles of fathers and perceptions of fatherhood, in particular, the roles and experiences of newcomer fathers. As a pediatric and neonatal nurse, I have been troubled by the negative images that permeate conceptualizations of fathers especially of newcomer fathers. These conceptualizations often feed into coercive discourses surrounding migration and the identities and roles of fathers in particular as they relate to their daughters. In considering my research project, I began to explore how I might elicit and uncover the experiences of newcomer fathers of daughters.

Probing the Area of Interest

In thinking about the puzzle that is my doctoral research, I wondered how newcomer fathers make sense of who they are in relation to their experiences of living in a new country, and how they construct narratives of those experiences. The work of Bhabha (1994) on hybridity and liminal spaces, the writings of Ang Lygate (1996) on dislocations and meanings of home, Trinh's (1991, 1999, 2011) identification of horizontal (liminal) spaces as areas where dominant signifiers become opaque, Anthias' conceptualization of translocational positionalities (Anthias, 2001; Anthias & Cederberg, 2009) and finally the "conceptual tools" of Bourdieu namely habitus, field, and capital along with the process of reflexivity, have been instrumental

for me in understanding the social locations and processes that contribute to narratives of dislocation and relocation (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Reading Trinh (1991, 1999, 2011) led me to think about the potential of "…the oblique and the horizontal in all their multiplicities…" (1999, p. 188). Anthias demonstrated that positionality takes place within the context of lived practices in which narratives and strategies of migrant identity are produced relationally. In adapting Anne Michael's (1996) metaphor of listening through gossamer walls, Doucet (2006, 2008) provided ways of thinking about reflexivity that hold promise for investigating multiple perspectives and mobile subjectivities.

In considering these ideas, I began to see how I might open up a "narrative space" where understandings and explanations could emerge from fathers' stories of their experiences. The 'storied landscape' of migration requires a research approach that elicits life stories and utilizes narrative analysis. Narrative inquiry, as a methodology, provides me with an experience of research where inquiry into epiphanies, rituals, routines, metaphors and everyday experiences created a process of reflexive thinking for multiple ways of knowing. It provided a way to experiment with new forms of knowledge by contextualizing the newcomer fathers' experiences overlapped with my experiences as a researcher and an immigrant daughter – a reflective, relational practice. People make sense of their lives through narratives that provide a set of culturally shared plots that give their lives meaning and represent belonging (Guy & Montague, 2008). The narrative inquirer views the research process as a collaborative and dialogic relationship with the participant (Moen, 2006); so in considering this, I was able to see myself positioned as a researcher alongside the participants in a relational landscape.

Purpose of the Study

Migration has been described as a significant disruption of perceptions of self and life story. Such disruptions or transitions provide openings for re-storying and restorying is how people make sense of events and experiences (Frank, 2005; Gallagher, 2011). The narrative approach to research resonated with my intentions for the purpose of this dissertation. It

provided the opportunity to explore how people negotiate the landscapes and contexts of their lives because it is a conceptually open methodology that allows for exploration. The study focused on the overall question: How do newcomer fathers story and re-story their relationships with their adolescent daughters during the processes of migration and settlement?

Salient Issues of Newcomer Families

Between January 1, 2006 and May 16, 2011, an estimated 1,162,900 immigrants arrived in Canada representing 17.2% of the total foreign-born population and 3.5% of the total population in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2013). Approximately 260,000 immigrants arrive in Canada each year (Statistics Canada, 2014). According to the 2006 Census data, over 19% of Canada's total population was born in another country and approximately 70% of these are visible minorities (Chui, Tran & Maheux, 2007). The second largest group of permanent residents is composed of children of immigrants between the ages of 0 and 24 (Citizenship & Immigration Canada, 2005; Statistics Canada, 2013). In the literature migration is often described as a critical life event, an acculturative stressor that challenges people's adaptive capabilities and problem solving strategies as they face high levels of uncertainty in unfamiliar environments (Anisef, Kilbride, Ochoka & Janzen, 2001; Berry, 2005; Foner, 1997; Guo, 2006; Kwak & Berry, 2001; Kirkaldy, Siefen, Wittig, Schüller, Bräller & Merbach 2005; Sharlin & Moin, 2001; Toselli & Gualdi-Russo, 2008). A number of potential stressors and barriers affect the process of adapting to a new country and include: language skills, immigration status, economic status, employment status and work experiences, poverty, family separation, reconstruction of ethnic identities, and social discrimination from other immigrant groups as well as from contact with the dominant culture (Anisef et al, 2001; Castro, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2008; Morrison & James, 2009; Yuen, 2008). A pertinent issue for newcomer parents is guiding their children in the context of the new country (Kwak, 2003; Nesteruk & Marks, 2011). gNewcomer families risk being marginalized or socially excluded. As Anthias (2001) stated, "…cosmopolitanism may not be the primary condition produced through transnational

movements. Through migration and diasporization, the opposite to hybridity can occur: a ghettoization and enclavization process, a living in a 'time warp', a mythologizing of tradition" (p. 626).

There is substantial evidence that the health of most newcomers declines over time and for considering marginalization as a social determinant of health (Lynam & Crowley, 2007). Three aspects of the adaptation process for newcomer families are important to consider, acculturation and disrupted family dynamics, dissonant acculturation and adolescence.

Acculturation – disrupted family dynamics

Research links the immigration experience to disruptions in family dynamics (Brannen, Mooney, Wigfall, & Parutis, 2013; Kwak & Berry, 2001; Morrison & James, 2009; Pessach-Ramati & Josselson, 2007; Rousseau et al, 2009; Stewart et al., 2006). The quality of parent-child relationships has been found to have important developmental implications for children and adolescents and has been linked to multiple facets of adjustment (Crockett, Brown, Iturbide, Russell & Wilkinson-Lee, 2009). While trying to establish a new life in Canada, families can encounter problems relevant to role changes within and outside the family, dependency, child care, and children's welfare, any or all of which can create spousal conflicts and/or conflict between first and second-generation family members (Miller & Maiter, 2008; Titzman, 2012). Brannen, Mooney, Wigfall, and Parutis (2013) emphasized that the complications experienced by immigrant families coexist with a degree of solidarity and reciprocity among family members. The ensuing obligations felt by younger generations of the family can lead to family cohesion or family conflict. According to Kwak (2003) newcomer adolescents and their parents can experience an extensive negotiation process in terms of transmission of the heritage culture and she suggested that newcomer families may experience more difficult intergenerational relations than do non-immigrant families because of greater difficulties and disagreements in family socialization.

Dissonant acculturation

The family is an important socializing context for children in immigrant families and as Herz & Gullone (1999) state: "…the parent-child relationship represents the earliest and most enduring social relationship of the human life span" (p. 742). Yoshikawa and Way (2008) noted: "Families are the locus for decisions concerning whether to migrate, the primary source of support for navigating transitions, and the site of transmission of culturally based beliefs and practices to the children" (p. 3). The social contexts of development within immigrant families are important. The quality of parent-child relationships has important developmental implications for children and adolescents and has been linked to multiple facets of adjustment (Crockett et al 2009). Both the family as a social institution and the family on a collective level have been in the midst of change and adjustment and these dynamic qualities also apply to roles within the family (Smit, 2002; Williams, 2008). In studies of newcomer families, aspects of sending and receiving contexts have been ignored in favour of specifying family processes that predict adaptation to the new country (Yoshikawa & Way, 2008).

Role structure and role content are open to negotiation and change within newcomer and non-immigrant families. One theme has been the changing nature of the role of the man in the family as the social construction of fatherhood is being redefined (Lupton & Barclay, 1997; Bartlett, 2004; Smit, 2002). Power relationships between spouses have undergone changes and the "…cultural saliency of the patriarchal role of the husband and father has been challenged" (Smit, p. 402). These changing roles present a major challenge for newcomer families often resulting in greater dominance of the child (Roer-Strier & Kurman, 2009). Children often take on new roles in the family as language and cultural brokers for their parents. This may result in parents becoming dependent on the children who take on a more dominant role within the family (Nesteruk & Marks, 2011; Orellana, 2001; Pels & de Haan, 2007; Roer-Strier & Kurman, 2009; Titzman, 2012).

Nguyen (2008) stated that migratory stress and incongruence in perceived cultural differences and the differential rate of acculturation can cause dissonance in the family system and become the source of conflicts within the family system. Portes (1997) referred to this socialization process as dissonant acculturation noting that adolescents adjust more quickly than do parents who are reluctant to accept changes that may differ substantially from their culture of origin. Another concern is differential acculturation between parents, that is, between mothers and fathers. Chance, Costigan and Leadbeater (2013) emphasized the importance of parental congruency in negotiating the acculturation process. Discrepancies in rates of acculturation between mothers and fathers present a challenge to parenting quality.

Adolescence

Adolescence marks a time for change and transition in parent-child relationships (Ohannessian, Lerner, Lerner, & von Eye, 1995; Ohannessian, Lerner, Lerner, & von Eye, 2000; Nelson & Nelson, 2010; Pessach-Ramati & Josselson, 2007). It has been noted that family conflicts tend to rise during early adolescence and adolescence is marked by disagreements on a variety of topics (Michael, 2009). In addition, adolescents and their parents may hold different perceptions of the family (Ohannessian et al. 2000).

Research on immigration in adolescence focuses on the intergenerational transmission of cultural values, the development of autonomy, and the maintenance of harmonious family relationships (Kwak, 2003; Mirsky, 2009; Schiff & O'Neill, 2007). Kağıtçıbaşı (2003, 2005) posited an "autonomous related self" melding the need for autonomy with the need for embeddedness in the family and suggested that adolescents may successfully adapt to a more individualistic society while maintaining family values.

Significance for Nursing

Nurses and other health care professionals often work closely with families of infants, children and adolescents and employ a relational approach to practice (Doane & Varcoe, 2005). In the words of Doane & Varcoe, this means that nurses approach the world through a relational

lens, "…always assuming and looking for how people, situations, contexts, environments, and processes are integrally connecting and shaping each other" (p. 51). Although this is not a study of the practice of nursing, it is designed to inform nursing praxis. Stories have clinical application because nurses can use them in practice to guide care. According to Frank (1995) stories can be analyzed to capture the meaning of an experience for a group that can then be used by health care providers to make assessments and provide care that may indicate a need for further intervention. Nurses who work with individuals and families need theoretical as well as practical understandings of family and parenting processes that influence health outcomes. Ball (2008, 2012) found that the idea that promotion of father involvement can contribute to the health and development of all family members has not yet taken hold in health policy discourse. Current policies and programs tend to be mother-centred. A full understanding of people's experiences beyond the biophysical is essential if healthcare practitioners are to provide appropriate care (Hardy, Gregory, & Ramjeet, 2009; Williams, 2009). An understanding of the interactions and relationships among family members helps to guide nursing actions while assessing, planning and intervening to optimize health outcomes for individuals and families (Willgerodt & Killien, 2004). Awareness of the transitions experienced by immigrant family members as they adjust to new situations is of interest to nursing because of the physiological and emotional impact on health and wellbeing (Samarasingh, Fridlund & Arvidsson, 2006).

For some time, researchers have called for explorations of the subjective experiences of fatherhood (Lupton & Barclay, 1997; Robb 2004a; Williams, 2008). A study of the subjective experiences of newcomer fathers of daughters can complement the existing research by reflecting on the complexities these men face in their daily lives. Eliciting their stories has the potential to generate knowledge that provides alternate interpretations and that has implications for practice and policy. Stories are important for teasing out context, for as Dyck and McLaren (2004) noted: "Stories are the embodiment of 'context', set within a shifting web of relations as social and cultural transformations unfold." (p. 528).

Probing into existing research led me to wonder about the relationship between newcomer fathers and their daughters as they adjust to a new country. To a greater or lesser extent, there is always some incongruity between the values and traditions of the country of origin and the country of settlement and I wondered how newcomer fathers perceived their paternal role in the family as they experienced the changes of migration and about their expectations of and relationships with their daughters. I wondered what they were thinking if their teenage daughters assumed parental roles within the family and acted as culture and language brokers for their fathers in the new society. I wondered if the fathers felt protective of their daughters and whether or not they agreed with the values they saw in the new society. DeWitt and McPherson (1998) in their anthology of fathers' stories about their relationships with their daughters, mentioned the plethora of daughters' stories that portray fathers as the embodiment of patriarchy but lamented the dearth of stories told from the fathers' perspectives. Their stories encouraged me to explore the father-daughter linkage.

Overview of the Text

The dissertation is organized in chaptered format. This introductory discussion is followed by a review of relevant literature in Chapter Two, "Framing the Narrative Journey". Chapter Three contains a discussion of narrative inquiry methodology along with a discussion of the methods used in the study. The fourth chapter contains a compilation of my own narratives of my father providing a glimpse into the perspectives, the personal lens that I bring to the study. Chapters Five, Six, and Seven contain the participants' narratives of their stories that they shared during collaborative conversations. In Chapter Eight, I reflect on the resonant threads that emerge from the fathers' stories, in order to understand the fathers' experiences. In the final chapter, I reflect on the process of being a narrative inquirer and on the implications of this work.

Chapter Two

Framing the Narrative Journey

> "We assume that fatherhood does not exist apart from social and cultural processes; instead it is viewed as existing *through* these processes" (Lupton & Barclay, 1997, p. 4)

The purpose of this section is to analyze critically the research literature relevant to the context of being newcomer fathers of daughters with particular attention to epistemological and methodological frameworks, gaps, and silences. Epistemological approaches allow for the exploration of fundamental interrelated understandings and explanations of parenting and fathering during migration and settlement. Methodological frameworks provide appropriate, innovative research approaches for generating knowledge as well as provide guidance for conducting research in this area.

An initial search of published research literature using pertinent search terms (fathers, fatherhood, immigrant/refugee, and daughters) produced only nine results. Limiting results to Canada, produced only two studies, one focused on father-daughter incest in immigrant literature (Levy, 2002), and the other on representations of South Asian father-daughter relationships in film (Rajiva, 2010). Because of the paucity of results, the search terms were expanded in order to capture themes relevant to the context of the proposed study. A number of databases (including CINAHL, Medline, and Academic Search Complete) and numerous word combinations were used to search for relevant studies. Key words included but were not limited to combinations of: father(s), fatherhood, fathering, fathers' relationships, immigrant(s), refugee(s), immigrant families, newcomer(s), newcomer families, ethnic/ethnocultural identity, parents, parenting, gender, adolescents, adolescent adjustment, daughters, female youth. These searches produced over 1000 articles. A comprehensive analysis of all of this important information would require a separate manuscript in order to address the scope of information.

For purposes of this review, I have organized the strands of information yielded by the searches by summarizing the main themes that are potentially useful for framing and informing

the narrative inquiry process. These themes, focusing on family dynamics during migration and settlement, are: families in transition, parenting, fatherhood, adolescence and gender.

Families in Transition

Newcomers (immigrants and refugees) face multiple issues as they adjust to a new country. The processes of transition and acculturation involve a dynamic and continuous interaction that may be relatively stable but can also be subject to change on an ongoing basis (Berry, 1997; Costigan & Su, 2008; Este, 2007; Han, 2008; Jambunathan, Burts & Pierce, 2000; Morrison & James, 2009; Roer-Strier, Strier, Este, Shimoni & Clark, 2005; Rousseau et al., 2009; Su & Costigan, 2009; Yuen, 2008). Michael (2009) defined migration as a process that can be described as a continuum of stages through which individuals and families progress; the stages are pre-migration, departure and transition, migration and settlement. She noted that research studies tend to focus only on the settlement stage.

It is recognized that cultural values shape socialization goals to influence parenting style and practices, which in turn relate to child outcomes (Bornstein & Cote, 2004; Chao, 2001; Steinberg, 2001). Two dimensions of the family context, family climate and parental styles, are often examined for their direct and indirect effects on the psychological and social characteristics of adolescents (Phares, Renk, Duhig, Fields, & Sly, 2008). Both parental styles and family climate build a context in which adolescents will be more inclined to accept parental influence, advice, and socialization practices, either through an identification process or through openness to their ideas and comments (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001). Recent studies have suggested that the contexts surrounding the process of migration and the association between the family relations and the broader environmental context are important areas for exploration (Deepak, 2005; Rousseau et al. 2005).

Parenting

Parents play a significant role in the socialization of their children, in the transmission of values and norms required for adult competence (Sorkhabi, 2005). The influence of parenting

attitudes and behaviours on children has been an area of interest to researchers because parenting style (a constellation of attitudes towards the child) creates an emotional climate in which child-rearing behaviours are expressed (Sabatier & Berry, 2008). Several strategies have been used to conceptualize parenting (Stewart & Bond, 2002). One strategy has been to conceptualize parenting attitudes and behaviours along single dimensions such as acceptance-rejection or along orthogonal dimensions such as warmth-hostility or detachment-involvement (Stewart & Bond, 2002). Many studies of parenting are based on the approach developed by Diana Baumrind in her seminal studies which incorporated these dimensions into typologies without measuring their separate effects (Baumrind, 1971; Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Gray & Steinberg, 1999; Hatton & Bacic, 2001; Jambunathan, Burts & Pierce, 2000; Skinner, Johnson, & Snyder, 2006).

Baumrind's typology focuses on one broad parenting domain – control (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Early studies of normal variations in parental control of child behaviour defined parenting style by a person's status along two dimensions: expectations (demandingness) of the child and responsiveness to the child's individuality (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Nguyen, 2008). Baumrind categorized parenting methods as authoritative (high on both dimensions - parents who take a firm, but warm and nurturing approach to raise children – a combination of warmth and behaviour monitoring), permissive (parents who fail to establish standards of acceptable behaviour – warmth with offering any control), or authoritarian (high on demands and low on responsiveness –parents who demand obedience and impose seemingly excessive rules and restrictions on their children; parents control the child without any warmth). Subsequent research has continued to focus on the characteristics and dimensions of parental influence and control by extending and refining this typology of parenting style ("Monographs", 2005; Collins, 2005; Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg & Dornbusch, 1991).

Baumrind's configurational approach has yielded a great deal of useful information on parenting styles and child outcomes in middle-class, Euro-American families (Chao, 2001; Stewart & Bond, 2002). The research has been so influential that the authoritative style has become the prototype for appropriate parenting (Chao, 2001). In Euro-American populations the authoritative parenting style has been associated with positive outcomes; however, in studies of minority groups in the USA and in applications of the typology in other countries, there is evidence that the processes that occur between parents and children can influence outcomes differently (Paquette, Bolté, Turcotte, Dubeau & Bouchard, 2000; Stewart & Bond, 2002; Stewart et al., 1999). According to Stewart & Bond (2002), there are inconsistencies in the constructs used to measure the parenting dimensions (constructs and scales are non-standardized) and because of this, additional issues arise when they are applied to diverse populations.

Skinner, Johnson and Snyder (2006) reviewed studies conducted over a 50-year period that examined how parents related to their children. The majority of these studies focused on the mother as respondent and many of the studies directed to child and adolescent respondents did not specify gender. Collins (2005) noted that the most commonly reported findings from research of this type have consisted of positive correlations between global measures of ineffective parenting and negative indicators of child behaviour and well-being.
Within immigrant families, parental styles are effective for the transmission of ethnic pride, familial values, and psychological wellbeing (Costigan & Su, 2008; Sabatier & Berry, 2008; Su & Costigan 2009). Chao (1994, 2001) proposed that parenting style may have different meanings for different cultural groups and there is some evidence that parenting styles are context related and vary according to cultural groups (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996; Kim & Wong, 2002; Lamborn, Dornbush, Steinberg, 1996). Chao and Kanatsu (2008) conducted a study to examine socioeconomic and cultural factors as explanations for differences in parental monitoring, behavioural control, and warmth. Their study focused on adolescent respondents and included

a sample of 1641 Asian American and 597 Latino Grade 9 students who completed paper-and-pencil surveys. Across-group and within-group analyses showed that ethnic minority groups were higher than European Americans on behavioural control and that European Americans were higher on parental warmth than Asian and African Americans. Ethnic group differences remained after controlling for socioeconomic factors. The groups of researchers who have examined these issues have developed a taxonomy of key parenting constructs and contextual variables (Cauce, 2008; Huynh-Nhu et al., 2008). The key factors, listed by Cauce (2008) are: warmth and emotional support, monitoring, communication, psychological control, behavioural control, and parental efficacy. The contextual items are: socioeconomic status, economic stress, life events, psychiatric risk, and neighbourhood factors (p. 228). In addition to these, Cauce identified the following cultural factors as influential for parenting: immigration factors including birthplace, generational and acculturation status, religiosity, racial and ethnic identity, socialization and developmental goals.

A study of parenting issues experienced by newcomer families in Toronto, Waterloo, and Ottawa, Ontario resulted in six reports. The study included 50 focus groups held with mothers and fathers in the three cities, and in Toronto, individual interviews were held with 48 parents of children in three age groups: birth to 6 years, 7 to 13 years, and 14 to 18 years (Anisef, McBride, Ochocka, & Janzen (2001). A key finding that focused on the issue of parenting in transition revealed that men often suffer role confusion, and loss of identity and self-esteem within the family. While some fathers identified serious problems with their self-esteem, others indicated that their families had become closer and that there was more mutual support within the family. An interesting finding is that for the age cohort 14 to18 years, the reversal of traditional roles with children was most prominent. Most of these studies are quantitative in nature, employ global measures of family functioning and parenting, and are from a variety of disciplines including sociology, social work, and psychology. Sources from the discipline of nursing are considered separately.

Parenting Research in Nursing

Gage, Everett, and Bullock (2006) reviewed nursing research studies from 1993 to 2004 and found that the scope of nursing research on parenting is limited and that roles, functions and contexts of parenting are not well defined. Their review of 17 nursing studies was categorized into four themes: (1) parents' self-descriptions (n=6), (2) parenting and culture (n=2), (3) situational parenting (n=2), and (4) parenting children with chronic illness (n=7). They found that the research tends to focus on mothers especially those who parent children with developmental or physical disabilities. Foss (1996, 2001) developed a conceptual model for studying parenting behaviours in immigrant populations. This model is based on the concept of transition described by Meleis (Schumacher & Meleis, 1994) as well as Belsky's (1984) determinants of parenting and was applied to immigrant parents who were transitioning to first time parenthood as well as to a new country. The model accounts for contextual influences such as pre and post migration experiences but focuses on maternal adaptation to parenthood.

In a qualitative study of Swedish Primary Health Care nurses' perceptions of migrant health needs, researchers found that nurses perceived the transition experiences of migrants to be extremely stressful and a threat to the wellness and stability of the family (Samarasinghe, Fridland, & Arvidsson, 2006). A number of contextual socio-environmental stressors such as changing roles of family members, unemployment, and attitudes of the host society were found to be sources of stress for families in transition. Nielsen (2005) noted that health professionals working with families often pay less attention to fathers' relationships with children than to mothers' relationships especially when the children are daughters.

Fatherhood

> Fatherhood…is a continually changing ontological state, a site of competing discourses and desires that can never be fully and neatly shaped into a single 'identity', and that involves oscillation back and forth between various modes of subject positions even within the context of a single day. ……The concept of 'the father' or 'fatherhood' is

> multiple rather than unitary, changing according to the context even for the individual, as do concepts of 'the mother' or 'motherhood'. (Lupton & Barclay, 1997, p. 16)

Fathers were viewed as largely irrelevant to the psychosocial development of their children until the mid-1970's (Strug & Wilmore-Schaeffer, 2003) and for many years were underrepresented in research when compared with mothers (Garfield & Isacco, 2006). Many measures now used in studies of fatherhood have been borrowed from studies of motherhood (Ford, Nalbone, Wetchler & Sutton, 2008; Lewis & Lamb, 2003). Often, data on fathers are obtained by proxy from mothers (Garfield & Isacco, 2006; King, 1994; West, 2007; Yogman, Kindlon, & Earls, 1995). West emphasized that certain characteristics of father involvement, for example fathers' attitudes towards fatherhood, or feelings about being a father, are not amenable to proxy reports. An additional issue is that many early studies focused on white, middle or upper class fathers (Garfield & Isacco, 2006).

Although there has been debate about the scope of fathering (Ball & Daly, 2012; Hawkins & Dollahite, 1997), the research has been dominated by a conceptual framework in which three components of father involvement are distinguished: 1. engagement (interaction through caregiving or play); 2. accessibility or availability to the child; 3. responsibility for care of the child. Pels (2000) argued that fathering should not be approached from a one-sided perspective since complex interactions at the local, national and transnational levels influence families in their functioning. A more recent study based on qualitative interviews with immigrant fathers in Canada and Israel organized the fatherhood research into three basic trends: father's presence, father's involvement, and the meaning of fatherhood (Roer-Strier, Strier, Este, Shimoni, & Clark, 2005; Strier & Roer-Strier, 2005). Approaches to fatherhood have developed over time from the deficit theory of fatherhood developed by Hawkins and Dollahite (1997) through studies of the dimensions of father involvement with their families and their children (Coltrane, Parke & Adams, 2004; Cookston & Finlay, 2006; Harris, Furstenberg &

Marmer, 1998; Williams & Kelly, 2005), to explorations of fatherhood that reveal cultural, social, and historic dimensions (Larossa, Jaret, Gadgil, & Wynn, 2000; Lupton & Barclay, 1997). Research has shown that throughout history there has been great variability in the roles and conceptions of fatherhood (Este & Tachble, 2011; Lupton & Barclay, 1997; Marsigilio, Amato, Day, & Lamb, 2000). In the past, the social construction of fatherhood has varied in response to social and economic shifts during each historical period (Este, 2007; Garfield, Clark-Kauffman & Davis, 2006). It makes sense, therefore, that in a diverse society such as Canada there could be variations in the way families perceive fatherhood and family dynamics (Ball & Day, 2012; Este, 2007; Lamb, 2004; Lewis & Lamb, 2003; Marsiglio, Amato, Day, & Lamb 2000). Koh, Shao & Wang (2009) suggest that fathers and mothers play different roles in family socialization processes by emphasizing different values to their children, but find that data are scant in this area and particularly scanty about immigrant fathers and their values.

Unfortunately, in much of the literature, the existing models for conceptualizing fatherhood are largely based on European-American middle-class samples and there are inherent difficulties with their application and interpretation when applied to other cultural groups (Ball & Day, 2012; Cabrera & Garcia Coll, 2004; Roopnarine, 2004). For example, Cabrera and Garcia Coll lamented the fact there are no qualitative studies to assist in developing meaningful constructs and questionnaires for use in Latino families in the United States. As in research on parenting, the focus of most of the research of fathering has been on the influence of the father on child outcomes. The impact of the immigration experience on fathers and their fathering has received little attention (Roer-Strier et al., 2005). Este and Tachble (2011) stated: "A cross-cultural understanding of fathers…requires sensitivity to the function of men within the family" (p. 81). The exploration of the subjective experience of fatherhood has been identified as an area for research (Robb, 2004a).

Qualitative studies conducted in Canada and Israel (Bhandari, Horvath, & To, 2006; Este & Tachble, 2009a, 2009b); Roer-Strier, Strier, Este, Shimoni, & Clark, 2005) confirm that

the meanings assigned to fatherhood are socially and culturally constructed and that fathers' ideas about fatherhood change as they transition and adapt to a new country. A study by Shimoni, Este, and Clark (2003) examined paternal engagement in immigrant and refugee families. Using a qualitative design, 24 immigrant and refugee fathers of pre-school children from the former Yugoslavia, South America, South Asia and China were interviewed regarding their understanding of the meaning of being a father, the values and beliefs that influenced them in their role as fathers, and their involvement in raising their children. A dominant theme was the issue of under or unemployment. The researchers found that the fathers were positively engaged with their children in a number of activities from playing to doing homework. These results led to a recommendation that immigrant and refugee fathers should be included in mainstream programs. A similar study by Roer-Strier, Strier, Este, Shimoni & Clark (2005) focused on interviews with 54 immigrant fathers to Canada and Israel found that immigrant fathers tended to retain valuable aspects of fatherhood conceptions from their country of origin while incorporating and adapting new elements from the country of settlement. Qualitative studies of Russian immigrants and Sudanese refugee fathers of children up to the age of 12 years confirmed these findings and identified the impact of racism as an issue that needs to be explored (Este & Tachble, 2009a, 2009b). Fathers adopt new strategies and patterns of behavior in response to periods of disequilibrium. Pallkovitz and Palm (2009) observed, "When fathers face challenging circumstances they alter their trajectory of involvement by making adjustments (***transitions*** within fathering) to their patterns of cognitive and behavioral engagement with their families." (p. 9.) (italics added)

Fatherhood Research in Nursing

There is an emerging trend in health service provision that recognizes the importance of fathers (Coleman & Garfield, 2004; Everingham & Bowers, 2006; Garfield, Clark-Kauffman & Davis, 2006; Garfield, & Isacco, 2006; Isacco & Garfield, 2010; Moore & Kotelchuck, 2004). It forms part of the change in focus from studying the effect of fathers on their children and

families to determining the effects on fathers. Ahmann (2006) as well as Everingham and Bowers emphasized the importance of including fathers in wellness and illness related health services that have traditionally been organized around the assumption that caring for children is the primary responsibility of the mother. Within nursing research, the focus has been on the transition to fatherhood, fathers' perceptions in the immediate postpartum period, and on interventions with fathers of newborns and young children (for example, Benzies, K., Magill-Evans, J., Harrison, M. J., MacPhail, S., & Kimak, C. (2008); Blomqvist, Y.T., Rubertsson, C. Kylberg, E., Jöreskog, K., & Nyqvist, K.H. (2012); de Montigny & Lacharité, 2003; Devault, Milcent, Ouellet, Laurin, Jauron, & Lacharité, 2008; Lee, T, Wang, M., Lin, K., & Kao, C. (2012); Magill-Evans, J., Harrison, M. J., Benzies, K., Gierl, M., & Kimak, C. (2007); Magill-Evans, J., Harrison, M. J., Rempel, G., & Slater, L.(2006); Wells, M., Varga, G., Kerstis, B., & Sarkadi, A. (2013). De Montigny and Lacharité noted that professionals have not yet grasped the importance of father involvement for fathers themselves. There is also evidence that aspects of paternal health are ignored in light of the indications that fatherhood is beneficial to men's health (Bartlett, 2004; Garfield, Clark-Kauffman, & Davis, 2006; Garfield, Isacco, & Bartlo, 2010; Madsen, 2009).

Adolescence

> In immigrant families with older children…children themselves may be an additional influence on parenting cognitions after immigration. That is, older children are more actively engaged in the new culture, independent of their parents, and they may exert additional pressure on parents to adjust their parenting ideas. (Costigan & Sue 2008, p. 440)

Adolescence is a time of change and transition in which identity formation is influenced by interconnecting systems of social and emotional networks (Kwak, 2003; Nelson & Nelson, 2010; Phinney, Ong & Madden, 2000). Michael (2009) defines adolescence as both a process and the

period when childhood comes to a close and adulthood begins. She terms it a crucial period in which both parents and adolescents need to "…find a balance between connection and individuation, interdependence and independence" (p. 231).

Research suggests a link between the family context and adolescent adjustment (Beiser, Hou, Hyman & Tousignant, 2002; Deepak, 2005; Qin, Way, & Mukherjee, 2008; Rousseau et al., 2009). For newcomer adolescents, the process of acculturation requires navigation in both the culture of the parents and the mainstream culture (Koh, Shao, & Wang, 2009; Merali, 2004; Morrison & James, 2009; Sam & Virta, 2003; Tang & Dion, 1999). This bicultural existence can bring about conflict and widen the gap between family generations. The amount of discrepancy in childrearing ideas between the culture of origin and the culture of settlement can influence parenting change or stability following migration and parenting adolescents can become a major source of family conflict (Costigan & Sue, 2008; Sonderegger & Barrett, 2004; Xiong & Detzner, 2004-05; Xiong, Detzner, & Cleveland, 2005). A key family dynamic is that as family members adapt to the new culture, discords can arise that can lead to intergenerational discrepancies and tensions (Morrison & James, 2009; Sam & Virta, 2003). Studies of acculturation tend to focus on intergenerational conflict that is viewed as originating from the children's pursuit of autonomy while the parents are emphasizing family ties (Koh, Shao, & Wang, 2008; Kwak, 2003; Rousseau et al., 2009). There is ample research evidence to show that children usually do acculturate more quickly than their parents do (Nesteruk & Marks (2011); Portes & Rumbaut, 2005; Súarez-Orozco, 2001; Súarez-Orozco & Qin, 2006; Titzmann, 2012).

A quantitative study of ethnic groups in the Netherlands by Wissink, Dekovic and Meijer (2006) demonstrated that for optimal adolescent development, the quality of the parent-adolescent relationship is more influential than specific, concrete parenting behaviours. This observation is supported by a similar study conducted by Liebkind & Jasinskaj-Lahti (2000) in Finland showing that the quality of the parent-adolescent relationship can deteriorate after migration due to multiple stressors. Similar results were observed by Pratt, Norris,

Hebblethwaite & Arnold (2008) who conducted a longitudinal study in Canada that elicited adolescents' stories of their relations to their parents and grandparents.

Studies of family acculturation show that newcomer parents tend to maintain the family values and parenting practices of their heritage culture (Bornstein & Cote, 2001; Güngör, 2008). Güngör conducted a study in Turkey and Belgium to test hypotheses regarding perceptions of parental control. With samples of over 500 participants, adolescents from Turkish immigrant families in Belgium were compared to those of families in Turkey and adolescents from families in the host country. Findings suggest that traditional parenting is accentuated in immigrant families with parents maintaining continuity with their traditional parenting practices.

Research on father involvement and adolescence is beginning to emerge (Day & Acock, 2004). Bronte-Tinkew, Moore, Capps, & Zaff (2004) found that father involvement reduces the likelihood of risky behaviours in adolescents. Shek (2000) in a study of Chinese adolescents' perceptions of their parents, found that fathers were considered to be more demanding but less harsh than mothers. Williams and Kelly (2005) observed that little is known about the different roles that mothers and fathers play during adolescent development. This is an issue that is pertinent to methodology. Stolz, Barber, & Olsen (2005) noted that at one time primarily mothers were studied and their behaviours were termed "parenting" whereas there has been a recent trend to label fathers' behaviours as "fathering" without considering the similarities to behaviours of mothers. They conducted a study to determine if fathers and mothers influence their adolescents differently and found that positive fathering tends to be linked to lower levels of later depression for early adolescent girls. Michael (2009) conducted a qualitative study of immigrant adolescent girls from 35 countries living in New York City. She noted that many studies of the intersection of adolescence and migration focus only on post-migration adjustment by applying a variety of checklists designed to identify at-risk populations. Another gap in the literature noted by Michael is that there is little published literature examining the experiences of adolescent girls and their families.

Research on Adolescence in Nursing

Willgerodt and Thompson (2005) observed that nursing research in the area of parent-adolescent relationships is almost non-existent. They conducted a cross-sectional, descriptive secondary analysis of 216 Chinese and 387 Filipino adolescents using data from the National Longitudinal Study on Adolescent Health to determine the influence of ethnic and generational differences on perceptions of family and parent relationships. While the results indicated that generational status influences adolescent perceptions of these relationships, Willgerodt and Thompson noted that both qualitative and quantitative studies are needed to determine explanations. Mental health is a major focus for health studies of immigrant adolescents (e.g. Garcia & Saewyc, 2007). In a Canadian study, Berman et al. (2009) used dialogic interviews to look at uprooting and displacement in the lives of homeless, aboriginal and newcomer adolescent females. For the 7 newcomer girls interviewed, narratives revealed that they live their lives in liminal spaces where they feel marginalized and devalued, while their sense of community and belonging came from being with others who had similar ethnocultural backgrounds.

Gender

Ajrouch (2004) defined gender as "… a structuring mechanism that orders social life according to accepted definitions of masculinity and femininity" (p. 373). Lamb and Bougher (2009) noted that gender plays a central role in influencing the experiences of immigrant family members and Walton-Roberts and Pratt (2005) found that transnational migration is a gendered practice. Gender has been identified as a useful conceptual framework for understanding the challenges and complexities facing immigrant families (Chuang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2009; Dion & Dion, 2001, 2004; Güngör & Bornstein, 2009; Qin, 2009; Súarez-Orozco & Qin, 2006). Gender relations can facilitate or constrain migration and settlement experiences (Mahler & Pessar, 2006; Pessar & Mahler, 2003). Dion and Dion (2001) stated: "…the process of immigration can challenge previous gender-related assumptions and

expectations about behavior and family roles" (p. 514); migration modifies relationships between family members and necessitates adaptations by men, women and children in their new surroundings. For example, when fathers immigrate from traditional cultures with their families, they can encounter circumstances that challenge their traditional positions within the family and require renegotiation of gender-related roles (Espiritu, 2001; Este & Tachble, 2009a, 2009b; Qin, 2009). Este and Tachble found that Sudanese refugee fathers in Canada stressed the importance of their role as providers for their families. In contrast, mothers are often associated with caring and nurturing roles within the family (Chuang & Su, 2009; Qin, 2009). There is some evidence that fathers might experience more stress from the processes of migration than mothers (Qin, 2009; Updegraff, Delgado, & Wheeler, 2009). Often immigrant women experience increased participation in the labour market that can lead to stresses between spouses. Only recently has attention turned to how these stresses affect the parent child relationship.

Güngör (2008), in studying parental control of adolescents in migrant sending and receiving communities, found that in Western societies generally more power and authority are assigned to fathers in families than mothers and that fathers as compared to mothers encourage more competitiveness, independence and risk-taking in their children. He found that traditional parenting is accentuated in migrant families but modified in the country of origin and suggests that contextual factors may reinforce cultural maintenance during migration. Similarly, in a study of Turkish migrants, Kağıtçıbaşı (2005) noted that the father-child relationship is more distant than the mother-child relationship and in a study of Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands, Pels (2000) found that fathers were assigned more power and were more aloof in their relations with their children. A study of Filipino adolescent immigrant girls in Hawaii found that girls reported better relationships with their mothers than with their fathers; the girls found the latter to be less involved (Su et al., 2008).

Studies of acculturation show that migrant parents tend to maintain the family values and parenting practices of their heritage and intentionally pass them on to the next generation, a form of social control that is to a large extent gendered (Anthias & Cederburg, 2009; Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001). Research suggests that immigrant families are more protective of daughters and hold greater expectations for them to embody traditional ideals of behaviour as compared to sons (Dion & Dion, 2001, 2004; Michael, 2009; Pessar & Mahler, 2006; Updegraff, Delgado & Wheeler, 2009). This is a finding supported by Espiritu (2001) who noted that gender is a key to immigrant identity and a way for racialized immigrants to assert cultural superiority over the dominant population. She identifies culture as a lifeline to the home country and notes that restrictions on women reinforce patriarchal power. In her qualitative study, Espiritu interviewed Filipino immigrant parents and daughters in the United States regarding their impressions of the white, mainstream population. She found that daughters hold the burden of preserving the family and of continuing cultural traditions. For immigrants, gender relations can incur a dynamic that supports patriarchal structures (Ajrouch, 2004; Gupta, 1994; Güngör, 2008; Talbani& Hasanali, 2000). Dion and Dion (2001) argued that since parents tend to exert more control over their daughters, adolescent immigrant girls may be more likely to resist or reject traditional values. In a qualitative study of South Asian adolescent girls in Montreal, Talbani and Hasanali found that social control of daughters led to dissidence, alienation from parents, and sometimes open rebellion.

Some researchers recognize that when individuals and families migrate, they negotiate gender, class and sexual identities in different ways. Walton-Roberts and Pratt (2005) conducted an analysis of in-depth interviews conducted with the members of one nuclear family consisting of parents and two sons who immigrated to Canada from India in 1995. A significant finding is that new gender relations can emerge from the social disruptions of migration. Likewise, Michael (2009) also found that gender role expectations help shape settlement

experiences sometimes resulting in significant intergenerational conflict and that renegotiation of decision-making and gender roles can occur after migration.

Gender in Nursing Research

Nursing research on gender issues, especially as they pertain to immigrants, has focused primarily on immigrant women and the division of labour. Early studies drew attention to tensions between immigrant spouses that arose when women were able to find work, but the husbands were not (Anderson, 1987; Hill, Lipson, Meleis, 2003; Meleis, 1991). This trend continues with a current focus on immigrant women's health issues (for example: Anderson, 2000; Donnelly, 2006; Guruge, Hunter, Barker, McNally, & Magalhães, 2010; Hyman, Guruge, Mason, Gould, Stuckless, …Mekkonen, 2004; O'Mahoney & Donnelly, 2007; Oxman-Martinez, Hanley, Lach, Khanlou, Weerasinghe, & Agnew (2005); Stewart, Neufeld, Harrison, Spitzer, Hughes & Makwarimba, 2006) as well as female caregivers of elderly, immigrant parents (Jones, Zhang, Jaceldo-Siegl, & Meleis, 2002). The exception to this is a very recent study of the connections between masculinities and diet that looked at how gender ideals informed and influenced the diets of senior Punjabi Sikh men in British Columbia (Oliffe et al., 2010).

Discussion – Father-Daughter research

"It is important not to reduce understanding to some narrow focus… Openness to peripheral vision depends on rejecting such reductionism and rejecting with it the belief that questions of meaning have unitary answers" (Bateson, 1994, p. 11).

The main themes highlighted in this literature review reveal a number of facilitating and constraining factors on newcomer fathers' relationships with their families and with their socio-environmental contexts. There are clear generational and gender differences in the settlement experiences of newcomers (Dyck & McLaren, 2004). Meleis (1996) and Meleis et al. (2000), as well as Samarasinghe, Fridlund and Arvidsson (2006), draw attention to the concept of transitions and Palkovitz and Palm (2009) emphasized that transitions within fatherhood present an area for exploration.

A methodological shortcoming of much research on fatherhood is that many studies have relied on the wife's/mother's report on the father's attitudes to domestic responsibilities and to the quality of the father-child relationship (Cameron, Pinto, & Hancock, 2014; Mitchell et al., 2007; Lupton & Barclay, 1997; Smit, 2002). Often, understandings of fatherhood have been developed through the lens of what is known about mothering (Cabrera, Fitzgerald, Bradley & Roggman, 2007). Because of this, Saracho and Spodek (2008) refer to fathers as the "…family ghosts in relation to their children's development and well-being" (p. 821). Studies of fathers and adolescents tend to elicit the perspectives of the youths (Güngör, 2008, Michael, 2009). While there are some studies that examine father-daughter relationships these are quantitative and mostly do not involve immigrant populations (Pels, 2000; Raley & Bianchi, 2006; Shek, 2000). Much research assumes that mothers are primarily responsible for the gender and cultural socialization of their daughters (Kallivayalil, 2004). Studies of gender effects in parenting tend to examine the perspectives of only mothers (Chuang, 2006; Kallivayalil, 2004; Stevens, Vollebergh, Pels, & Crunen, 2007; Tardif & Geva, 2006). This is because worldwide research and programs have tended to be focused on mothers and their daughters (Ceballo, Chao, Hill, Huyn-Nhu, Murry, & Pinderhughes, 2008; Foumbi & Lovich, 1997). In addition, the relationship of fathers to sons has been considered more important in the past than the relationship to daughters and this perspective is reflected in research (Saracho & Spodek, 2008; White, 1994; Xu & Yeung, 2013).

There is a lack of descriptive information regarding gender dynamics and family socialization processes in newcomer families and this limits understanding of both maternal and paternal parenting roles (Updegraff, Delgado & Wheeler, 2009). The social positions of individuals are complex, a circumstance that is intensified during the processes of migration. As Lorber (2008) comments: "Gendering may be an individual dance, but the choreography is shaped by the cultural expectations, workplace norms, and state laws" (p. 532).

Anthias uses the term translocational positionality for the issues faced by immigrants living in liminal spaces and describes it as "…structured by the interplay of different locations relating to gender, ethnicity, race and class (amongst others) and their at times *contradictory* effects" (Anthias, 2002, p. 275). In this description, positions are tactics for claiming space and identities are processes that require analysis of the dynamic relations between them and the social contexts in which they take place.

In considering these results, it seemed important to choose a methodological approach that considers the experiences of newcomer fathers of daughters in a holistic way. In Chapter Three, "Relational Methodology. Stepping into the midst of stories", I outline the approach that I sought to take.

Chapter Three

Relational Methodology. Stepping into the midst of stories

Methodology - Narrative Inquiry

> Connelly and Clandinin (2006) provide the following definition of narrative inquiry: People shape their daily lives by stories of who they and others are and as they interpret their past in terms of these stories. Story, in the current idiom, is a portal through which a person enters the world and by which their experience of the world is interpreted and made personally meaningful. Viewed this way, narrative is the phenomenon studied in inquiry. Narrative inquiry, the study of experience as a story, then, is first and foremost a way of thinking about experience. Narrative inquiry as a methodology entails a view of the phenomenon. To use narrative inquiry methodology is to adopt a particular view of experience as phenomenon under study. (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, p.375)

Maxine Greene (1993) quoted Charles Taylor and Alasdair MacIntyre in saying that we understand our lives in narrative form as a quest, that we create stories "…to make sense, to make meaning, to find a direction" (p. 17). Individuals live out storied lives; they tell stories of their experiences and modify them by retelling and reliving them in order to understand life experiences (Smith, 2010; Smith & Sparkes, 2006). In Bourdieusian terms individuals have a storytelling habitus (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The idea of a storytelling habitus is echoed in the words of Bochner (2001) who said: "the call of stories …inspires us to find language that is adequate to the darkness and obscurity and experience. We narrate to make sense of ourselves and our experiences over the course of time" (p.154).

Narrative inquiry is a fluid process. The contextual dimension of narrative inquiry attends to contextual experiences. In reflecting on our past experiences, we recollect and retell memories thereby constructing and reconstructing meaning through the narratives that ensue. Crites (1971) stated:

> We must consult our memory in order to re-collect its images, to recognize them for the more sophisticated purposes of the mind. But remembering is not yet knowing. Its chronicle is too elemental, too fixed, to be illuminating. Experience is illuminated only by the more subtle process of recollection.... So is all art, including the art of storytelling. It is an act. It has style. (p. 300).

Crites explains that the process of retelling and reconstructing stories produces new perspectives: "so I have many insights into this chronicle that I could not have had at the time its events occurred. Yet the sophisticated new story I might tell about it would be superimposed on the image-stream of the original chronicle" (p. 301).

Narrative inquiry is a methodology that begins with a pragmatic ontology in which experience is the beginning and end point of inquiry (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007). Unlike other research that starts with theory, narrative inquiry commences with experience. Experience is "...a changing stream that is characterized by continuous interaction of human thought with our personal, social and material environment" (Clandinin and Rosiek, 2007, p. 39). Storied lives are both individual and social and in the process of eliciting stories, the narrative inquirer studies the way in which people live and experience the world (Caine & Estefan, 2011; Varaki, 2007). Because it emerges from experience, narrative inquiry is an exploration of epiphanies, rituals, routines, metaphors and everyday experiences, in other words, places of inquiry and practice that are filled with complexities, hopes, dreams, intentions (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). In learning how to frame research puzzles about experience, researchers enter inquiry fields and compose field and research texts that maintain experience and story in a central position in a qualitative approach that seeks to explore the deep understandings and meanings embedded in people's lives. The process involves collaborative, interpretive activities on the part of both the inquirer and participant as they co-construct stories. This process of co-participating and co-constructing provides researchers and participants with maximum ownership of the research.

By highlighting the relational orientations of a three-dimensional narrative inquiry space – a dynamic living space that is constantly changing and stretching (Clandinin &Connelly, 2000), I hoped that the actions of narrative inquiry would generate insights into immigrant fathers' experiences of parenting daughters. In overlapping immigrant father's perspectives with my own perspective as an immigrant daughter, a shared paradigm might emerge that shed light on the migration and settlement experiences of fathers and daughters.

The Three-dimensional Narrative Inquiry Space.

Clandinin and Connelly (2000) developed the metaphor of a three-dimensional narrative inquiry space, and describe this as a dynamic living space that is constantly stretching and changing. The three dimensions are: the personal and social (interaction) along one dimension; past, present, and future (continuity) along a second dimension; and place (situation) along a third dimension (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Clandinin & Huber, 2002). The exploration of this inquiry space takes place in four directions: inwards (towards feelings, hopes, aesthetic reactions), outwards (towards the environment), backwards and forwards (past, present, future). The three-dimensional narrative space provides a conceptual framework in which the narrative inquirer attends to three commonplaces: temporality, sociality, and place that highlight the importance of storytelling as a path to the narrative quality of experience through time and cultural expression.

Temporality: Continuity of Past, Present and Future.

Narrative inquirers always attempt to understand people, places, and events as existing in process, as being constantly in transition. "…time is recursive, turning on itself, spiraling outward as well as back to the center of the nautilus" (Bateson, 2000). In some way, the past is ever with us so that we are the sum of all those experiences that often we try to forget or to relegate to the background. An exploration of past, present and future will reveal the narratives and counter-narratives that create context for newcomer fathers and their families. As has been noted, within newcomer families, individual members can acculturate at different speeds, with

children often faster than parents (Brannen, Mooney, Wigfall, & Parutis, 2013; Hatton & Bacic, 2001; Nesteruk & Marks, 2011; Titzmann, 2012).

Sociality – Personal and Social Interaction.

Narrative inquirers focus simultaneously on personal (feelings, hopes, desires, reactions dispositions) and social (environment, surrounding factors and forces, people, etc.) conditions that comprise an individual's context (Clandinin, Pushor, & Orr 2007). Lugones (1987) stated: "without knowing the other's "world", one does not know the other, and without knowing the other one is really alone in the other's presence because the other is only simply present to one" (p. 17). She described assimilation as the destruction of other people's worlds (Lugones (1987). Through stories, narrative inquirers can reveal the context in which newcomers arrive at new interpretations and understandings.

Place – Situation.

In attending to this commonplace, the inquirer recognizes that all events are tied to specific concrete, physical places or sequences of places (Clandinin, Pushor, & Orr, 2007). The importance of situation as place is best understood as representation (Barton, 2004). Silko (1996) talked of landscapes as places people live within. She noted that identities are inextricably linked to experiences in a particular place, or in places and with the stories that are told of those experiences, that is, landscapes are places people live within:

> "A portion of territory the eye can comprehend in a single view" does not correctly describe the relationship between the human being and his or her surroundings. This assumes the viewer is somehow *outside* or *separate from* the territory she or he surveys. (Silko, p.27).

I expected the idea of place to metamorphose as the narrative inquiry delved into temporality and as I contemplated the impact of each place on experience (Clandinin & Pushor, 2007). Immigrant newcomers experience multiple representations of place as they transition from one society to another and the word "home" takes on special meanings. "Going home is

always the same and not the same, so perhaps the life cycle has a twist in its return, like a Möbius strip" (Bateson, 2000, p. 245). Identities are shaped by this journey, by the twists and turns, by the slipping and sliding back and forth around the Möbius strip of life. For newcomers, an exploration of the meanings of home focuses on the ways in which the homes they have left behind continue to shape their unfolding lives (Ahmed, 1999; Ang-Lygate, 1996). Sandra Cisneros (2009) in the introduction to '*The House on Mango Street*' spoke eloquently of this process: "I no longer make Chicago my home, but Chicago still makes its home in me. I have Chicago stories I have yet to write. So long as those stories kick inside me, Chicago will still be home" (p. xxiv). I hoped that the threads of the narrative inquiry would tease out and weave together these different strands of experience.

In transitioning between homes, newcomers are often described as living in borders and marginal spaces. Bakhtin stated that we exist only on the boundary with others, on the boundary between one's own and someone else's consciousness, "on the threshold" (Frank, 2004, p. 287). The following poem by the Spanish thinker, Fibla, speaks of the richness and potential of living at boundaries.

Liminal Spaces/Borderlands

If we look carefully, life always ends up being a question of borders,
It does not matter whether they are borders of the sea, of the rocks…
Because it is precisely in borders that living systems weave and negotiate their own entrances and exits from the contexts in which they live,
In them, they learn to build their own changes of images.
(Fibla, quoted in Mayer, 2003, p. 213)

A number of researchers (Ang-Lygate, 1996; Donnelly, 2002; Trinh, 2011; Song & Parker, 1995; Threadgold, 2000) have focused on the debates that surround issues of hybridity, borderlands, in-between spaces, and multilayered and diasporic subjectivities. They note that most research in this area comes from literary and representational disciplines (for example, Bhabha, 1994; Trinh, 1991, 1999, 2011). Anzaldúa (1987) described borders as places of

constant transition: "A borderland is a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary. It is in a constant state of transition" (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 3). Newcomers, who come from backgrounds that are less dominant in the immediate context, need to call on a broad base of understandings, resiliency and skill in order to engage with members of the dominant population (Bhabha, 1994). Lugones (1987) talked of inhabiting more than one world simultaneously, describes boundaries and crossings as sites of play, and offers the idea of a sense of play as a tool for negotiating these liminal spaces in order to open up opportunities for resistance and deconstruction of inequalities. Newcomers are located within a complicated matrix of outsider-insider relationships and their social realities and lived experiences are constrained within power structures that at any one time can be racist, sexist, and/or Eurocentric (Ang-Lygate, 1996; Donnelly, 2006). Narrative inquiry does not suppress these realities; it allows the researcher to examine power relations between individuals and society (Gallagher, 2011; Temple, 2001). This is because in Gallagher's words, narrative invites "…the unsaid, the masked, the contested, the contradictory" (p. 51).

Narrative Inquiry as a Relational Methodology

Narrative inquiry is inherently relational (Caine & Estefan, 2011; Caine, Estefan, & Clandinin, 2013; Clandinin & Murphy, 2009; Frank, 2005; Josselson, 2006a, 2006b). It involves obtaining and reflecting on people's experiences and the data that emerge from the relationship between the inquirer and participant. Narratives are co-constructed and inquirers must be fully involved in the process in order to be able to see their own stories and perspectives within the inquiry, the stories of the participants, as well as the larger landscape in which they all live (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Riessman & Quinney, 2005).

Clandinin & Connelly (2000) explained the collaborative process:

> …narrative inquiry is a way of understanding experience. It is a collaboration between researcher and participants, over time, in a place or a series of places, and in social interaction with milieus. An inquirer enters this matrix in the midst and progresses in

> this same spirit, concluding the inquiry still in the midst of living and telling, reliving and retelling, the stories of the experiences that make up people's lives, both individual and social. Simply stated….narrative inquiry is stories lived and told. (p. 20).

Within this process people are seen as composing lives that shape and are shaped by social and cultural narratives (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Polkinghorne, 1988). They explain that thinking narratively keeps open the research puzzle as compared to research that has a problem-solving goal.

Because narrative is rooted in postmodernism, it is interpretive at every stage from the framing of the original conceptual question, through choosing participants, deciding what to ask, transcribing text, etc. (Josselson, 2006b). hooks (1998) argued that sharing the past and memories through narrative allows oneself and others to view these experiences from a different perspective – not as individual isolated events, but as part of a continuum. In this way, narrative reveals a circular way of understanding experience.

The hermeneutic circle, or perspective, focuses on social context and how phenomena present themselves as important for the understanding of meanings (Charalambous, Papadopoulos, & Beadsmoore, 2007; Doane & Varcoe, 2005). Heidegger (1962) included knowledge of our cultural and historical experiences within the circle of understanding, thus directing an ontological turn as the hermeneutic circle becomes interpretive of people's experiences. Gadamer (1975) used the hermeneutic circle to describe a circular relationship between analysis and understanding that reveals the new from the familiar as a result of using different angles of perception. This lens can be used to incorporate the context of experience. Through dialogue each person reveals themselves to the other and in doing so co-creates new meanings and diverse ways of knowing that become part of the interpretive process, a hermeneutic circle of understanding (Hamdan, 2009; Stalker, 2009). Hamdan (2009) in applying this to a study of Muslim-Canadian women stated: "narrative acts as a lens through which we see anew - it is a means to explore unfamiliar sociohistorical context" (p.1).

The Role of the Inquirer/Interviewer.

The idea of working within the three-dimensional space highlights the relational dimension of narrative inquiry. Narrative inquirers cannot exclude themselves from the research process; they must find ways to inquire into participants' experiences, their own experiences, and the co-constructed experiences that develop throughout the relational inquiry process (Clandinin, 2006). Many qualitative approaches to research delete the researcher/interviewer (especially when reporting results) and ignore the interactional, relational nature of the interview itself (Potter & Hepburn, 2005). In narrative inquiry, the researcher/inquirer must be an active participant; each dimension of the inquiry landscape requires intense discussion and negotiation between inquirer and participant. Experiences are not taken at face value but are explored in terms of time, place, and interaction. Narrative inquiry recognizes the different dimensions of life stories that are lived in transition, in borderlands. It analyzes and weaves the different strands of memory, imagination and temporality that influence both the researcher and the participants and reveals the contexts of peoples' lives.

The relationship between participant and inquirer involves the development of ontological and epistemological narratives. Holloway and Freshwater (2007) described two levels of stories, the original participant's story and the researcher's story stating that the researcher's narrative should be faithful to the participant's account but also transcend it. Stalker (2009) elaborated on the issues of ontological and epistemological narratives by saying: "…ontological narratives set the landscape and epistemological narratives problematise and theorise" (p. 230). She defined ontological narratives as those stories in which the research participants come to understand and articulate their social reality through narrations of "…events, experiences, and, in general, life histories" (p. 223). She quoted Somers (1994) who states that ontological narrative "…endows the previously marginalized with a powerful new sense of subjectivity….social identities are constituted by the intricate weaving of history,

narrativity, social knowledge, and relationality, as well as institutional and cultural practices" (p. 223).

Stalker introduced the idea of the epistemological narrative, that is, the narrative in which the researcher has a more central position than the participant. By creating an epistemological narrative, the inquirer starts to articulate the temporal, spatial, social, cultural, and economic connections between the participants' stories and the social dimensions of daily life. In this approach, epistemological narratives are weaved with ontological narratives along with a theoretical/conceptual framework to create a new narrative that helps us understand the intersections of individual stories with social contexts. This approach is echoed in the work of Atkinson and Delamont (2006) who advocated a reflective and critical approach to narrative.

Methods

The Process: Making Meaning of Experience

The purpose of my inquiry was to collaborate with three newcomer fathers of daughters in order to co-construct their stories of migration through dialogue and conversation. Clandinin and Connelly (2000) identified three sets of considerations as fundamental to the process of narrative inquiry: theoretical considerations, practical field text-oriented considerations, and interpretive-analytic considerations (p. 127). These three considerations inform the relational process of my narrative inquiry.

Theoretical Considerations (Being in the Midst of Stories)

The main theoretical issue for the narrative inquirer is to "…sort out a narrative view of experience" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 127). Clandinin and Rosiek (2007) defined experience as "…a changing stream that is characterized by continuous interaction of human thought with our personal, social and material environment" (p.39). Instead of beginning the inquiry in theory (i.e. from a specific theoretical methodological framework), I started with explorations of the phenomenon of being an immigrant father of a daughter as experience. My intention was that the inquiry process would be foregrounded by the participants' and my own

narratives of the father/daughter immigrant experience "…situated and lived out on storied landscapes" as the "theoretical methodological frame" (Clandinin & Connelly, p. 128).

Within this storied landscape frame is a perspective of discovery that locates the participants and the inquirer in the midst of a process in which they sort out a narrative view of experience while making sense of what is surfacing in their minds. The process of making meaning of experience is relational and evolves through dialogue and conversation. As an inquirer, I remained aware of the process of *experiencing the experience* in order to capture the "…richness, nuance and intricacy of the lived stories and the landscape" of both the participants and the inquirer (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 80).

Practical Field Text-oriented Considerations

Research Participants

In this inquiry, I collaborated with three immigrant fathers of adolescent daughters. I was able to approach three immigrant fathers who were located through personal contacts in the community and the university. The three fathers in my study are from Latin America, Ethiopia, and Ghana and are able to converse well in English. In not focusing on one specific ethno-cultural group, I chose to follow the lead of Michael (2009) and the recommendations of Miller and Maiter (2008) who suggested moving beyond ethno-cultural specific research in an attempt to find commonalities across groups. Lamb and Bougher (2009) observed that the process of migration appears to be more significant than the locations families emigrate from or the locations in which they settle. In my study I was interested mainly in the experiences of immigrant fathers who had a teenaged daughter as they transitioned to a new country.

The original inclusion criteria for the proposal stipulated that the daughters should be 13 years or older at the time of migration. The age of 13 years or older was chosen because 13 is generally considered to mark the transition to adolescence (Este & Tachble, 2009a) and Michael (2009) emphasized that developmental capacities are significantly different for girls over the

age of 12 years. This age criterion proved to be a deterrent to recruitment. I found that fathers who were willing and anxious to take part in the study had daughters who were pre-teens on arrival in Canada. Accordingly, an amendment to the proposal was made to reduce the age to 10 years; the health research ethics board approved the amendment and recruitment into the study became a little easier. Even with the change in inclusion criteria, recruitment remained an ongoing issue. For example, an acquaintance from Zimbabwe was very enthusiastic about my study and tried to recruit fathers from her Zimbabwean circle of friends in Edmonton. She discovered that the immigrant fathers had sons, but not daughters, who met the inclusion criterion for age.

I chose to be true to the narrative inquiry approach that calls for an information rich sample because of the relational nature of the methodology and methods, and the depth of interpretive-analytic considerations. The small sample size does not allow me to identify critical themes that might be transferable to other situations in the way a more reductionist methodology with a larger sample size would allow.

In successfully locating a good participant who would facilitate the development of a relationship necessary for a narrative inquiry, four characteristics identified by Spradley (1979) informed my choice. They included (1) the participant should understand the topic area; (2) the participant should be currently involved in the area of interest; (3) the participant should have time to speak with the researcher, that is, be able to devote adequate time to a series of interspersed conversations; and (4) the participant should be able to speak as a member of a culture (not overly analyze or interpret from an outsider point of view) (Gubrium & Holstein, 2001). I discovered that the last criterion applied in an interesting way to my co-participants. The nature of the migration experience, that is, the nature of dwelling in transitional spaces, means that daily life requires negotiation and reconciliation of insider/outsider viewpoints. As Trinh (2011) said: "Living at the borders means that one constantly treads the fine line between

positioning and de-positioning" (p. 54). Those borders, those transitional spaces are a transcultural area that has been experienced by my co-participants and by me.

Evolving Field Texts

The writings of hooks (1997), Torgovnick (1996) and Heilbrun (1999) illustrated a constructionist approach towards life stories that recontextualizes cultural perspectives of the past while linking to local perspectives of the present. Given that the boundaries of narrative expand and contract, the importance of the flow, duration and frequency of dialogue and conversation, and the authentic quality of the emerging relationship with the inquirers enable and empower participants to shape, according to their world view, the unfolding nature and possibly even the focus of the inquiry (Connelly & Clandinin, 2000; Sparkes & Smith, 2008). The act of composing field texts is an interpretive process that reflects the relationship of the inquirer to the participant and is shaped by the "…selective interest or disinterest of researcher or participant (or both)" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 94). Variations of field texts include journal writing, family stories, field notes, storied poems, memory boxes, inviting captivating letters, and other compelling material such as recounting life experiences. For my study with immigrant fathers, conversations have been the primary source for field texts in my study. Two of the fathers shared with me poems they had written and messages they had written to their daughters. I was able to include the poems from one father in the narratives. All shared iPhone photos of their daughters and families.

Conversations as Field Texts

My conversations with the three fathers occurred over the span of nearly two years. Each conversation was audiotaped and lasted 60 to 90 minutes. The main reason for the time span between conversations was that my father was ill and died after I had started data collection. I had five conversations with Javier, and four each with Daniel and Samuel. According to Clandinin and Connelly (2000), "…conversations are marked by equality among participants and by flexibility to allow participants to establish forms and topics appropriate to

their group inquiry" (p. 109). Each participant took part in conversations at times and places where they were comfortable and as much as possible, defined and led the story thread. The conversations were structured using Clandinin and Connelly's (2000) three-dimensional narrative inquiry space.

The way field texts are positioned within the three-dimensional inquiry space determines the extent to which they are reconstructions of events. I made field notes after the conversations and when reviewing the transcripts which Clandinin and Connelly (2000) state is necessary "…to move between intimacy with field participants and a reflective stance" (p. 95).

Moving from Field Texts to Research Texts

The transition from field texts to research texts was not easy, primarily because "…relationships shift from the intensity of living stories with participants to retelling stories through research texts" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 129). This entails negotiating a path that sustains relationships with the participants while moving towards more discovery and construction of meaning within the texts. Catherine Bateson (1994) provided guidance for this task in her discussion of what is meant by the phrase "to attend". She talked of adopting multiple levels of focus, "…shifting back and forth and embedding one activity within the other…" and sees multiplicity as a source of insight. (p. 96)

Bateson (1994) defined attend as follows:

> *To attend* means to be present, sometimes with companionship, sometimes with patience. It means to take care of. Its least common meaning is to give heed to, for this meaning has been preempted by the familiar *pay attention,* which turns a gift into an economic transaction. Yet surely there is a powerful link between presence and care. The willingness to do what needs to be done is rooted in attention to what is. The best care, whether by a parent of a physician or a teacher, is founded in observation or even contemplation. I believe that if we can learn a deeper noticing of the world around us, this will be the basis of effective concern. (p. 109).

The initial field texts took the form of retelling the participants' stories told through the eyes of each participant. Subsequently I read and re-read the field texts and transcripts as well as my notes. A basic assumption of narrative inquiry is that people do not define or interpret the world of objects, events, and living things in the same way, thus the narrative inquirer sets out to explore alternate meanings of things and events with participants and is open to associated deeper meanings of these things in order to weave something new from many different threads. As I read and read, and wrote and re-wrote, I began to narratively code the texts, discerning different threads and relating texts to each other including my own personal text. I found it was the "…responses to the questions of meaning and social significance…" that in the end shaped the field texts into research texts (Clandinin & Connelly, p. 131).

Interpretive-Analytic Considerations

The process of moving between field texts and research texts uncovers layers of complexity. As field texts are read and re-read, interpretive–analytic considerations focus on the emergence of the participants' and inquirer's intertwining landscapes lived out as new stories. The new stories will contain knowledge, context, identities that are embedded within individual multi-layered existences that are changing over time and necessitate grappling with a new view of the self arising from a coalescing narrative inquiry space. Clandinin and Connelly (2000) describe this process:

> "…the research text is created by the writers' experiences as they read and reread field texts and lay them alongside one another in different ways, as they bring stories of their past experiences forward and lay them alongside field texts, and as they read the field texts in the context of other research and theoretical works." (p. 133).

Clandinin and Connelly (2000) noted that the iterative process of reading and re-reading of field texts results in the construction of a chronicled or summarized account of what is contained within different sets of field texts. They suggested there is no smooth transition from field to research texts thus necessitating the creation of interim texts. Clandinin, Murphy,

Huber, and Orr (2010) described interim texts as being intentionally written as tentative, open texts, to be read and negotiated with participants. The negotiations around interim texts allow participants to clarify plotlines and to expand on gaps and silences. During each conversation, the fathers and I reviewed what we had talked about previously, so that story lines were clarified. Each father was able to review his final story and suggest changes.

In thinking about synthesizing the unfolding stories, I realized that some aspects would surface easily while others might be difficult to grasp – that there might be fragments and splinters of stories, that there might be tensions that could serve as markers for more focused inquiry (Clandinin et al., 2010). There might also be significant silences. Anna Neumann (1997) drew attention to how "…silence may intertwine with articulated story, supporting its existence as story, but …may itself bear story" (p.111)

She says:

> While at one level the paper described how I learned of another's life by listening and by trying to understand, at another level it pointed at what I could never hope to learn of a life apart from my own, no matter how hard I tried. It spoke of the silences that emerge inevitably in every text, that grow in every effort to imagine another's life, that accompany every gesture of empathic imagination. It taught me that the stories I hear of others' lives are composed only partly of text; they are also composed of silence for which no text exists. (p. 91-92)

Contextualizing socially and theoretically

The field texts are positioned within the three-dimensional inquiry space as the inquirer negotiates the transition to research texts. Connelly and Clandinin (2000) discussed another kind of positioning that must be considered – that of contextualizing the work socially and theoretically.

Connelly and Clandinin (2000) talked of positioning one's work relative to other streams of thought. They spoke of being in the middle of a nested set of stories, the participants' stories

and the inquirer's stories. They quoted Sarbin (2005) who said: "…the primary medium for the creation and development of relationships is dialogical" (p. 208). Sparkes and Smith (2008) elaborated on this idea and point out that "…ontological narratives are connected to and shaped by webs of relationality or interlocution" (p. 300). By this, they mean to public narratives, to the stories that are attached to cultural and institutional formations and to intersubjective networks of these institutions. These public narratives connect to a third dimension, meta-narrativity; in other words, to master narratives that encompass sociological theories and concepts. Similarly, Striano (2012) noted that narrative inquiry involves negotiation and active participation in social discourse, a process that can result in the construction of new social discourses. In between conversations with the fathers and while writing and re-writing the participant narratives, I read widely: I read father/daughter stories from the perspectives of both fathers and daughters, books, stories and poems about fathers as well as works related to the backgrounds of my participants and to migration. These writings informed my constructions of the narratives.

Analysis

"Narrative analysis requires that we focus on the narrative plot, exploring the potential and limits of each patient's narrative and the process of its construction and the social discourse that helps to maintain it" (Gonçalves, Henriques, & Machado, 2004, p. 104).

As previously stated, the analysis occurs through an interpretive, iterative process of moving back and forth between field texts, interim texts, and research texts that are shaped by questions of meaning and social significance. In attending to the complexities arising from the field texts, the interpretive-analytical considerations of the temporal, spatial, social, cultural, political and economic connections that arise from participants' stories contribute to the epistemological status of the resulting texts (Barton, 2004; Stalker, 2009). Essentially the resulting text is the outcome of a series of reconstructions (McCormick, 2004). The first reconstruction is the participant's initial story of experiences. The inquirer reconstructs this

experience in the process of transcribing, analyzing and interpreting the experience. Reconstructing the experiences means that the inquirer must think narratively, that is think with the participant stories, follow where they lead, in order to understand "…the lives being lived" (Downey & Clandinin, 2010, p. 383). Downey and Clandinin described the process of resonant remembering, a process that consists of "…calling or catching threads from the teller's story" that trigger the unraveling of memories from the inquirer's own experiences (p. 392). The reading and re-reading of my participants' stories triggered such recollections. "Knowledge constructed through this process is recognized as being situated, transient, partial and provisional; characterized by multiple voices, perspectives, truths, and meanings. It values transformation at a personal level, individual subjectivity and the researcher's voice." (McCormick, 2004, p. 220).

Rigour - Issues of Trustworthiness, Credibility and Authenticity

Attention to rigour is a critical component of qualitative research and of narrative inquiry. (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Patton, 2002, Ryan-Nicholls & Will, 2009; Silverman & Marvasti, 2008; Thorne, 2008). A comprehensive audit trail that documents interpretations and conclusions arising from the data as well as steps taken to maintain trustworthiness was maintained (Holloway & Freshwater, 2007).

When listening to participants' stories and narrations of events, the inquirer might puzzle and wonder if they are listening to truth or fiction. It is a concern, because, as Clandinin and Connelly (2000) said: "Writing a story or recording an event in a field text is conditional…on our interests and surrounding circumstances" (p.179). Sometimes what may seem like fact may appear over time to be more like memory reconstruction by either the participant or inquirer. Thorne (2008) noted: "…no set of standards against which we measure our procedures and products can fully account for the notions of truth or even representativeness within the real world, or ensure complete confidence that any research

findings are indeed valid" (p. 229). What is important is that participants tell their stories in context and that they provide their unique, individual point of view embedded in time and culture (Holloway & Freshwater, 2007). Not only do participants tell their stories, the inquirer also transforms and interprets their stories intertwining them with his/her own. This results in several versions of reality. Narrative inquirers strive for an intersubjective truth that requires a process of negotiation and reciprocity (Holloway & Freshwater). This entails following where the story leads (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Craig, 2009). As Clandinin & Connelly noted, "…one is never too clear on what one is up to" (p. 73). They remind us that

> The purposes, and what one is exploring and finds puzzling change as the research progresses. This happens from day to day and week to week, and it happens over the long haul as narratives are retold, puzzles shift, and purposes change. (p. 73).

In considering the assessment of rigor in research involving people who live in liminal spaces, I considered the criteria suggested by Meleis (1996) regarding credibility: contextuality, relevance, communication styles, awareness of identity and power differences, disclosure, reciprocation, empowerment, and time.

The process of narrative inquiry is interpretive at every stage; therefore, reflexivity (self-knowledge and self-reflection) is a necessary element of quality and assists in establishing the trustworthiness of the research (Bishop & Shepherd, 2011; Holloway & Freshwater, 2007; Josselson, 2006, 2007). Inquirers need to consider carefully the emotions and meanings of participants' stories, but also need to explore how their own positions and assumptions influence the research process. This includes revealing an awareness of the contextual and holistic implications of the research, reflecting transparently about the influences on the participants and the research process, and attending to issues of social context, social action, and social interaction as texts are analyzed (Atkinson & Delamont, 2006). Downey and Clandinin (2010) describe the reflective process as involving "resonant remembering". As the participants and inquirers pay attention to what is surfacing in their interaction, specific stories,

specific threads will emerge that "…one can catch hold of like nuggets." (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 79)

Ethical Considerations

"Ethical behaviour is….the day-to-day expression of one's commitment to other persons and the ways in which human beings relate to one another in their daily interactions." (Levine, 1977, p. 846).

In narrative inquiry, the research is emergent in nature and involves relationships between people, specifically, the inquirer and participants which require accountability and responsibility (Josselson, 2007). Ethics for narrative inquiry involves learning how to listen and receive stories followed by interactions of authenticity and respect (Barton, 2004). An important issue in narrative inquiry is that it requires that when the stories are written, care is taken not to write research participants out of their lives. It demands that researchers do not become "colonizer of the subjects through re-telling *their* stories" (Garrick 1999, p.152).

The deontological approach to ethical practice is based on the four principles of beneficence, non-maleficence, respect for personal autonomy, and justice (Lambert, Soskolne, Bergum, Howell, & Dossetor, 2003). From these, specific ethical principles for qualitative research have emerged; for example, safeguarding the rights, interests, and sensitivities of participants; clear communication and full disclosure of research intentions; protecting anonymity of participants; and sharing of research texts with participants (Brink & Wood, 1994; Holloway & Freshwater, 2007; Loiselle, Profetto-McGrath, Polit & Beck, 2011).

In keeping with this tradition, the standard requirements for the Health Research Ethics Board, University of Alberta, were met. The Information Sheet and Informed Consent form were written at a Grade 8 level as required (Appendices A & B). When I first met with each father we reviewed the content of these forms and discussed the process of narrative inquiry. I emphasized confidentiality and anonymity and the fact that they were free to withdraw from the study at any time they wished. The participants signed the consent form before the inquiry

commenced. Areas of concern for narrative inquiry include doing no harm, anonymity, trust, and authenticity (Josselson & Lieblich, 2003).

Moen (2006) states that ethics in narrative inquiry is a matter of responsibility in human relationship and suggests working within a framework of relational responsibility. Because of the sensitive and intimate nature of narrative inquiry involving the collection of personal and complex data, the inquirer-participant relationship requires special focus. The inquirer and researcher strive to reach a joint intersubjective understanding of the evolving narratives (Moen, 2006). This requires the integration of relational ethics, a focus on the relationship between people as the centre of ethical interest (Ellis, 2007; Evans, Bergum, Bamforth & MacPhail, 2004). Because narrative research is inherently relational and emergent in nature, the researcher must pay attention to the ways in which the relationship and findings could be exploited (Holloway &Freshwater, 2007; Josselson, 2006). Relational ethics recognizes and values mutual respect, dignity, and the connectedness that develops between inquirer and participants and between the inquirer and the communities in which they live (Ellis, 2007; Moen, 2006). In terms of maintaining relational ethics and doing no harm, it is important to be thoughtful of the participants as the very first and most important audience for the emerging research texts, to take care "…to compose a text that does not rupture life stories that sustain them" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 173-174).

An area of concern when working with immigrant populations is trust and this is especially important considering the emergent and relational nature of narrative inquiry. Hassan (2003) states that trust depends on self-abnegation, self-emptying, "something akin to *kenosis*; trust requires dispassion, empathy, attention to others and to the created world, to something not in ourselves" (p.7). He declares that ultimately, trust requires self-dispossession.

Trust demands generosity and Frank (2004) says that generosity begins with being able to look someone in the eye in a world where the vision of the face creates an obligation of care. Dialogue should not be restricted to verbal dialogue (Hermans, 2001). Hermans cites the

example of a mother and an infant where there are forces between the two that wax and wane in a co-regulated manner. It is possible for verbal language to be a trap that ignores the relational aspects and detracts from authentic conversation. Hassan (2003) states that a postmodern aesthetic of trust brings us to a "…fiduciary realism that redefines the relation between subject and object, self and other, in terms of profound trust" (p. 10). He describes an aesthetic of trust as a stance toward reality, not towards objects. He says that it is a horizon, seen and perhaps imagined, but never reached.

In narrative inquiry, the relationship that develops between the inquirer and the participants involves trust. To develop that trust, the inquirer must recognize the value of participants' knowledge of themselves. Along with trust, anonymity is an issue for narrative inquiry since "…even when we guarantee anonymity, it is not at all clear that we can do so in a meaningful way" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 174). This means that the inquirer must "…be aware of the possibility that the landscape and the persons with whom we are engaging as participants may be shifting and changing. What once seemed settled and fixed is once again a shifting ground" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 174). Ongoing negotiation of relationships within the field may lead to questions regarding ownership of stories especially when anonymity is not possible. Clandinin and Connelly (2000) suggest that such concerns be reframed into concerns of relational responsibility. The narrative inquirer will work closely and relationally with participants, indeed as partners, while being particularly sensitive to the potential effects of their values and expectations upon the participants and the resulting texts. Clandinin and Connelly (2000) describe this in saying "…the landscapes on which we work are storied…as researchers on those landscapes, we will be storied by those with whom we work" (p. 177). Working within a fluid, three-dimensional narrative inquiry space necessitates ongoing reflection that requires *wakefulness*, thoughtfulness, and transparency about all decisions that are made during the evolution of the research puzzle (Clandinin, Pushor, & Murray Orr, 2007; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Wakefulness and active listening enable the inquirer to "…enter

into relationships and to make connections across differences in ways that do not finalize people." (Sparkes & Smith, 2008, p. 302). In Clandinin's (2006) words, ethics in narrative inquiry is "…about negotiation, respect, mutuality and openness to multiple voices" (p. 52).

One of the first steps in establishing trust with the participants occurred with the discussion of the narrative process and the content of the information sheet and consent form. Our conversations took place at times and locations that were convenient for the fathers. They were compensated for their time; each time we met they received a token payment of $25.00. The nature of narrative inquiry allows for flexibility in conversations. The fathers led the direction of each conversation and this contributed to the unfolding of trusting relationships. Pseudonyms have been used in the final stories to ensure anonymity and the fathers were able to change place names and identifying information if they wished to. In keeping with the relational responsibilities of narrative inquiry, summary stories were discussed at each conversation and the fathers were offered the final stories for review.

Stories from my past and present brought me to this research. My own stories of my father and migration contribute to the lens through which I made sense of the fathers' stories. In Chapter Four, My Patremoir, I share some fragments from those stories and these are followed by the fathers' stories in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven.

Chapter Four

My Patremoir – Entering my own father-shaped space

Patremoir: book, essay, poem, play, or film built around memories of the author's father. (Gérard, 2011, frontispiece).

Encouraging, malignant or violent, benign and loving, maddening or boring, or simply looming large through their absence - for every daughter there is a father-shaped space that must be dealt with, however well or badly it may have been filled. Sometimes a stone idol to be toppled, sometimes a locked door to be opened, sometimes a plain-looking box that proves to be full of unexpected treasures, sometimes a labyrinthine knot to be unravelled: Fathers keep turning up like Hamlet Senior's ghost, insisting we remember. (Margaret Atwood, Foreword in Martin, 2007, p ix).

Gérard (2011) created the word "patremoir", a portmanteau word that fuses the Latin word for father with the word memoir. I was attracted to the term when reading Gérard's anthology of writings on fathers. The idea of compiling my thoughts of my father under the umbrella term "patremoir" became more real with the death of both my parents. On the day of my candidacy, my mother became ill, was hospitalized, and died nearly 8 weeks later. My father died 14 months later. For a long time I could not think about the focus of my dissertation. I was thankful when the Chair of my department whose mother had died shortly after mine said: "It takes two years". Nevertheless, the grief process is ongoing. One day I decided to clean out my father's cupboard in the master bedroom bathroom. I opened the door and was overwhelmed by the scent of his aftershave. I slammed the door shut and have not opened it since.

In entering and confronting my own "father-shaped space", I find myself surfing on memories, sometimes wading through them, sometimes mired in thought. Those memories appear as glimpses of fragmented mosaic pieces, a splintered collage that swirls through my mind and documents our family journey from Scotland to Canada. As I glimpse these shreds of memories, sometimes the pieces elude me; at other times they settle like kaleidoscopic pieces into Atwood's (2007) labyrinthine knots as fragments of the whole story both positive and negative; and sometimes they induce thoughts that slip into my eyes and run down my cheeks. Those narrative fragments from the past and present inform my research and comprise a personal lens through which I have listened to and made sense of the stories told by the fathers with whom I conversed.

Here is a selection of those fragments that are built around memories of my father:

> *As I thought about how to present my narrative snippets, the phone rang one morning at 0815 hrs almost two years after my father's death and a man asked to speak to my father. He turned out to be a former employee of my dad's and my father had given him his first job in Canada about 27 years previously. He had been thinking about my father for some time and decided to call. Sanjay is from Fiji and like many immigrants had difficulty landing a job in Canada despite his education and previous experiences which included teaching. He told me that he talks to his son (who is now in his early 20's and in university) about my father and speaks of his generosity, how he was full of*

life and liked to laugh and joke. He talked about how my mother was quietly dignified. Certainly, dad lived life with joy, enthusiasm and was exceptionally hard working. When he hired Sanjay my dad was already in his late 60's. He hired many new immigrants and helped them to obtain work permits if necessary. Many were well educated and well qualified in their own countries and were unable to obtain comparable work in Canada. Perhaps my dad remembered his attempts at securing work in Canada such as the time he wore holes through the soles of his shoes walking from place to place to find work shortly after we first arrived or the way potential employers deemed his reference letters unimportant.

What about my earliest memories of my father? After all, as noted by Sandra Martin (2007), for most of us our fathers are the first men in our lives. My earliest memories are of music, of gentleness, of laughter.

Music

My father's life seems to have been defined by music, by song. He sang everywhere and needed music! When he was young, his parents used to tell him to sing a faster song if they wanted him to hurry! He sang to us at bedtime when we were little. When my brother and I were teenagers, he awakened us on Sunday mornings by playing Mozart's "Eine Kleine Nachtmusik" which we found quite amusing. Whenever he met somebody new, they would remind him of a song. For example, when he met one of my sister-in-law's sisters named Rita, he sang "Oh, Rio Rita" for some time afterwards, a song we had never heard. He sang at work (which might have annoyed some people), he sang at home, he sang when he was nervous. After his first coronary artery bypass surgery at the age of 59, he lost his voice for several months due to the intubation. It was a most frustrating time for him and he became aware of how often he sang. He was referred to a specialist, who remarked that he must have been a choirboy judging by his vocal cords. And he was indeed in a church choir. In school, the teachers sent him to each classroom at Christmas time to sing "Good King Wenceslas". Apparently, they never corrected him when he pronounced the word "peasant" as "pheasant"! The choirmaster had wanted him to go to the cathedral choir, but he told his mother he didn't want to go and thereby missed an opportunity for free education. He loved opera from an early age. He told us the story of how he collected Caruso records and once left them piled on a chair; then his mother sat on them breaking most of the collection! His favourite opera singer was the Swedish tenor, Jussi Björling, but dad had few opportunities to attend opera. I was able to obtain tickets for him to attend a Luciano Pavarotti concert in Edmonton. He thoroughly enjoyed the concert but was of the opinion that Björling was the superior singer because he lacked the electronic assists of Pavarotti. His interest in music was not confined to opera singers. As my brother and I grew up, we were exposed to classical as well as contemporary music. And always, when he worked away from home, my father would return singing whatever pop songs he had heard on radio. His "repertoire" spanned many decades from the 1890's to whatever was current. From Linda Ronstadt Barbara Streisand, Paul Robeson and Kenneth McKellar were among his favourite singers . In the last few months of his life, his voice failed him and for the first time ever in his life, he sang off-key.

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Bubbles and laughter

Bath night with dad when we were little was special. Often on a Saturday night, my dad would bathe us. This event was notable because it was so different from being bathed by my mother. Mum scrubbed us clean in a very efficient way – Dad had very large, soft hands that were gentle and soothing. We used to splash and bath time was fun as he created lots of suds in the tub and always made giant soap bubbles with his hands. We would giggle and squeal with delight as we tried to burst those giant bubbles! Then we would be enveloped in a huge towel and dried in front of the fire.

Drexler (2011) in interviewing 75 adult American women about their fathers found that these types of tender relationships were common. Sometimes the gentleness of the fathers balanced a mother's strictness. This is an interesting thought and I think that there is an element of this in my father-daughter relationship.

Both of my parents read to us and told us stories. Sometimes my dad's stories were about his family, about his parents, grandparents we never knew. He would tell us about his father's horses and how his father always cooked Christmas dinner. Sometimes he told stories of his childhood, for example, how he snibbled hutches at the age of four when his father worked in the shale oil fields near their home, until his father caught him. He would joke and make us laugh. We really liked it when he would run with us – he would take our hands and we would ask him to run down our street that was sloped and ran down to the harbour. We would beg him to run: "Run Daddy Run". We would shriek with laughter as our short legs tried to keep up.*

One time, when I was a preschooler, I was standing in my grandparents' garden with my father and my maternal grandfather. The sky became darker and eventually there was an unbelievably loud clap of thunder. Did I stay to be protected by my dad and grandfather? No, I ran like a scalded cat for the house and the protection of my mother and grandmother!

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Placing Family First

> When you have a family you're no longer alone. You can't only think of yourself and your own needs, but you have to think also of them. [...] The way I see it, when you have a family you no longer live for yourself. A part of you remains yours, but another part of you is no longer yours. (Bathily, quoted in Sinatti, 2014, p. 219)

The quote above comes from an ethnography Sinatti (2014) conducted with men who had emigrated from Senegal to the Netherlands. These words resonate for me because they reflect my father's approach to life. He assumed the principal breadwinner role for family at an early age. His own aspirations were suppressed in the interests of

* a snibble was a bent steel rod with a ram's horn shaped handle used as a brake on the wheels of hutches. The latter were narrow-gauge tubs for moving shale. http://www.scottishshale.co.uk/HistoryPages/Occupations/RetortCharger.html
http://www.scottishshale.co.uk/HistoryPages/Glossary/GlossaryIntro.html

family. He worked from the age of 14 to the age of 70. During his two years of high school, he took extra math classes and was a sea cadet so he could enter the navy. He trained on a sailing ship and listened to stories from an old whaler who had been to South Georgia and told tales of amputating legs with only whisky as an analgesic. Imagine his disappointment when his father refused to sign the papers to allow him to enter the navy. Instead, was encouraged to "get a trade". Conditions were harsh. His very first job included the task of drowning kittens by placing them in a sack and throwing them into the sea. When he accidentally left a door open he was kicked for doing so. By the age of 20 he was managing a section of the wire rope industry company he worked for. Because he had to confer with research scientists, he borrowed books from the library so that he would be able to understand what the scientists were doing and be able to discuss the experiments with them. His love of books and knowledge had not stopped with leaving school for at the age of 14 he was reading philosophy, specifically Plato and Aristotle at that time, and reading philosophy became a lifelong hobby. He haunted the Edinburgh museums and art galleries that all provided free admission.

His father died when he was 15 years old, leaving him to be the primary support for his mother. His mother had worked since he was 6 years old and they had moved to the city. He worked hard to earn enough so that his mother could stop working. Later, he said that this was one of the worst things he had done since it left his mother more isolated at home. Subsequently, she was bedridden because of strokes and died when he was 26. But those childhood experiences of having a working mother, of going home from school to an empty house, meant that he did not want my mother to work outside the home when we were young.

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Perseverance

"Persevere" is the motto of the community where my father grew up. It seems as though he took this to heart as he worked through life and placed his family first. Work was a focus for him and I was 16 years old before we had a family vacation. My mother always attributed his work ethic to the demands of the war effort. During World War II my father worked in a protected occupation which meant that he worked long days, sometimes 36 hours at a time, and then spent his weekends as a member of an anti-aircraft artillery unit that was credited with shooting down German planes. In addition, he was responsible for his mother's care. She was then in her late 50's and handicapped due to strokes. These times meant that he gave up his hobby of skating since ice rinks were closed and he had no time. He had an interest in figure skating and also skated for a men's ice hockey team. Years later when he took my sons skating, people would ask him if he had been a figure skater because of his vintage skates!

My parents did not find a diasporic community of their own people and settle there. To a certain extent, they took an assimilationist approach to settling in Canada. We lived in ordinary Canadian neighbourhoods and had no connection to Scottish organizations. Quite a few neighbourhoods, because I attended three elementary schools and two high schools in Ontario. And my father persevered – with work, in order to support us. The focus was to provide more opportunities for my brother and I. He did piece work that required meticulous organizational skills; for many years he worked as an ironworker, climbing and walking the high steel with few safety devices. Walking steel requires strength and courage. One time he was swinging from one

beam to another 30 floors above the street only to find that someone had left a hot weld unmarked and my dad was left dangling by one hand. He had no choice but to let his hand get burned as he maneuvered to safety; to let go was not an option. He worked with that burnt hand until it healed. In his own way he taught us values of persistence through his own example. He did not enjoy the work or the times he had to work away from home, but persevered by working hard and placing his family first.

Persevere – my Dad at 91 was insistent: " I want an iMac, an iPhone, and an iPod!" Always, he pushed himself. He was exceptionally strong and realized that his heart must be strong especially since he was able to endure coronary bypass surgery at the ages of 59 and 80 and continue to challenge himself physically. The day before he died was a voting day in our province. At the poll, he sat on his walker and crab walked over to the desk to vote for his NDP candidate who had no chance of success in our riding. Afterwards, we went to Starbucks for a chai tea latte and Bundt cake and he perused every item for sale on their shelves.

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Coming to Canada

I remember when we had decided to come to Canada. One of my teachers at school had lived in Toronto as a child and she described the heat of summer – how she had to sleep with only a sheet for a cover and still feeling unbearably hot. As she told us I remember thinking that my parents would choose to stay at home if they heard that story. And I thought that since our passports were valid for 5 years, we would return in 5 years! One of my preparations for the move was to memorize the American Pledge of Allegiance!

Did my father really want to emigrate? I am not sure. I know that as a young man he wanted to travel and that he and a friend had talked of taking a trip to India. My mother saw the move as a way to be close to her older sister who was in Michigan and she also saw it as an opportunity to get my dad to move. Both viewed the move as presenting better opportunities for my brother and I.

Our trip to Canada was more a journey than a simple move because we were among the last people to immigrate by ship, and it was a rough journey because of a cyclone. My father was the only who did not become seasick, so he had to care for all of us. I was 8 years old and remember standing on the deck thinking I could very easily steer the ship in the right direction myself because I would follow the trail of flotsam that was visible in the shipping lane at the bow of the ship.

Immigration usually involves taking some backward steps in terms of finances, job security, etc. In those years, the immigration experience was different. Now immigrants and refugees are able to phone home, Skype with relatives, buy TV channels that they watched in their own country. Our contacts with family were by letter. My maternal grandmother used to send newspapers; each week she would roll up newspapers, secure the ends with string and mail them to us. There were no TV shows from home, no soccer games.

We arrived in Windsor, Ontario at the beginning of July. Summers are hot in Windsor and start early. Everywhere we walked as a family, people would turn and stare at us.

None of us had ever been suntanned and our pale, pinkish skin must have been an unusual sight to see. In our current global world of blue jeans, baseball caps and common TV shows, it is not always easy to distinguish immigrants. Everyone looks the same, acts in similar ways, displays similar mannerisms. Blue jeans and baseball caps are amazing levelers. I remember being intrigued by how Canadian (and American) men sat. Many would place one foot on the knee of the other leg – I had never seen men sit that way!

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In many ways dad was a product of his age. There were some habits that he could not change. For example, his "ladies first" approach was never modified. If he was the last person to enter a crowded elevator, he would remain standing at the door in order to let women exit first. No amount of discussion could dissuade him from this approach! At the same time, my childhood was similar to that of Lisa Moore (2007), full of permission. My father trusted me. The only thing he ever specifically forbade me to do was drink beer. He expected me to know what to do without assistance and yet he was always there when I needed him. His guidance was subtle. He encouraged me to do well in school and to be independent. When I did summer school at the National Ballet, he drove me there every evening for classes, but when the option of attending the school full time was proposed by the instructors, he felt that I should stick with the academic studies.

He was a mix of the old and the new. Despite the fact that he had some old fashioned ideas, my dad had a strong sense of social justice. When he was transferred to the head office of his company in Edmonton, he ensured that the pay rates for the female employees were adjusted to equal those of the men.

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From Canaletto to Canadian Tire

My relationship with my dad was built on a variety of ideas and exposures. For example: he talked about thinkers such as Krishna Menon, Bertrand Russell, and Ghandi; he took us to a Canaletto exhibit, to see the Dead Sea Scrolls, to hear the Red Army Chorus and the Ice Capades; on Saturdays we spent many hours in Canadian Tire looking at tools; one time at home we used a micrometer to measure the thickness of our hair; and when he was working on a job in Peterborough, dad managed to get back row tickets for Maple Leaf Gardens and took each of us, one by one, to see a hockey game. Dad liked the art of Salvador Dali and one of the things I was able to do for him was take him to the Dali Museum in St. Petersburg, Florida when we were on a family trip.

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Constraints

Of course, in any family there are dynamics that impose limits on behaviours and relationships. My father placed family first just as Hammerton (2004) found in interviews with British migrants. He was honest and spontaneous, committed to social justice, but lacked some diplomacy. While he loved to argue, when we were teenagers

and he was working away from home, there were a few years when he didn't have many discussions with us. I remember feeling jealous one time when he had a lengthy conversation with a young relative about politics. At the time I wondered why he couldn't have that type of conversation with us. I think the reality was that when he got home from working long hours he was too exhausted to converse in that way. He did not really understand finances and had no desire to acquire wealth. He deferred to my mother when it came to household finances and to education. The latter was because she was well educated. Nevertheless, it was my father who tutored me in mathematics when I was in Grade 6 and enabled me to stand third in the class!

The move to Canada meant the loss of social networks and established ways of negotiating life. Ultimately, the loss of immediate family networks and the fact he had to work away from home meant that dad really didn't want us to leave home. Nothing explicit was said, but the expectations were clear. He was not able to purchase a house until we were in our early twenties and it was bought with the clear plan that my brother and I would reside there though he did not object when we left home.

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Bliss Broyard (2011) said: "Only when a parent dies does it seem that a child gains a right to know that parent's life (p. 221). In some ways I am finding that this is true. Recently I Googled the name of one of my father's ancestors. This led me to a family history website maintained by a man who is my third cousin once removed. He had discovered that we are descended from two people who were born in County Donegal and married in St. Mary's Catholic Cathedral in Greenock. While their six children were all baptized in the same church, the family moved across the country to Leith, their children married Protestants and the family became Scottish and Presbyterian. It seems that absolutely none of their descendants were aware of this. Certainly, my father had no awareness of these details – he was told his family had lived in the area for many generations. It seems that his maternal grandmother was baptized Catholic, but there was no indication of this. Clearly, the family worked hard to erase their origins and I wonder how this translates into behaviours that are carried on by descendants. My father was protective of his family and it was difficult for others to gain entry.

Hammerton (2004) described British migrants as experiencing "a psychic mourning for what was lost" (p 273), a feeling of alienation in the new country. I think that both my parents experienced these feelings, a sense of loss that translated into efforts to make connections with family history and with relatives overseas; a sense of loss that made them cling to their children.

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When a friend's father was approaching the end of his life she described him by saying it was as if he had turned himself inside out; his skin hid behind his bones. She said his eyes were unfocused; his oxygen tube was there. At that point, my friend asked me, "I've lost him, haven't I? I'm not anyone's little girl any more, I'm not the apple of anyone's eye". Blaise (1993) is much more blunt in describing his father at the end of his life: "He was turning into a corpse even as we spoke" (p. 6). Similarly, my dad was frail -bones wrapped in parchment paper - it was as though his body had lost all its substance, he was light as air. His mind remained active, but communication was

severely hampered by his deafness. I wish I could have done more for him throughout his life. But, perhaps I did do something. We had a combined household from the time my sons were little and dad was able to have a close relationship with his grandsons. He was able to do things with them that weren't possible with his own children, for example, he took them to preschool play groups and courses where he insisted on his name tag reading "Grampa" instead of his name. On his last birthday card to my oldest son he wrote: "You boys have meant so much in our lives."

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Learning to be a hyphen

It's been one too many times I've been asked
What are you? Where are you from?
Too many times…..
(Patel, 2001, p. 302)

Patel's poem resonates for me. For many years, people would stop me in mid-sentence with the question: Where are you from? They didn't seem to hear anything I had said and seemed to have no interest in the conversation. It was that one question, sometimes followed by others: Where are you from? Are you part native? Are you part Chinese? Are you part Burmese? Eventually these questions disappeared. I think that training to be a nurse and increasing familiarity with Canadian idioms and ways of talking might have helped, and attention turned to my sons who are part East Indian. Until August 2013! My friend had asked me to be in her wedding party, so I was sitting in her house in Regina getting my hair done for the event. We were all chatting. Suddenly, the hairdresser said to me, "Where are you from?" I was astonished – it had happened again! I was so surprised that I can't even speak. The hairdresser was not able to pinpoint her reason for asking the question but was very pleased with herself for being so perceptive. Meanwhile, I wondered if I would ever be a Canadian? Will I always be a hyphen?

It is my first day in a Canadian school. At recess I find myself standing alone while students play games and have fun. In my old school, other pupils would have peppered me with questions, but here I am ignored. Many years later, a co-worker who had immigrated from Holland described the exact same experience. Eventually, much later, when students talk to me, they described themselves as being one-quarter this, one-half that, and so on. They are Irish/English-Canadian, Hungarian-Canadian, etc. There doesn't seem to be anyone who identifies themselves as Canadian. I am proud to be a "New Canadian", but I puzzle over the fact that to be truly Canadian, one has to be a hyphen.

It is still emotional for me to reflect on my own father/daughter relationship and there are stories I am not yet ready to write. So many things remind me of him – scents, songs, music, books - all trigger fond memories of him. His gift to me was to foster a sense of curiosity and determination.

The following chapters contain the narratives of the three fathers. The fathers' words are used as much as possible to convey their personal perspectives. Names of people and places have been changed to maintain anonymity.

Chapter 5

Javier's story

Power (n)

1. The ability to do something or act in a particular way, esp. as a faculty or quality (syn. Ability, capacity , capability, competence). Retrieved from: https://dictionary.reference.com/browse/power

2. The capacity or ability to direct or influence the behavior of others or the course of events. Retrieved from: https://dictionary.reference.com/browse/power

Control (n)

The power to influence or direct people's behavior or the course of events. Retrieved from: https://dictionary.reference.com/browse/control

Javier is from a Latin American country. Meetings with Javier were held in a small conference room at MacEwan University and spanned a year and a half in time. Each conversation lasted 60 to 90 minutes and was conducted over Javier's lunch hour. His daughter was 13 years old when our conversations commenced and she celebrated her 15th birthday shortly before our last meeting.

I initiated conversations with Javier by posing the question: *When you think about coming to Canada and settling here, what stories would you tell me in order to describe your relationship with your daughter?* Immediately, emotion bubbled up as Javier beamed and said his story started with the birth of his daughter and how he very much wanted a daughter. He expressed joy at being the father of a daughter in every word he spoke, the smile on his face, and the gleam in his eyes. At the very beginning of that first conversation, Javier stated:

> *I was very happy when I saw my daughter. I wanted to have a daughter. Even though I am very sport-oriented, I wanted to have a daughter and I thought, if I have just one child, I want my child to be a daughter, and it was a daughter!*

I was intrigued by this emphatic declaration and wondered about the journey that led up to it. Was this how my own father felt when I was born? As we talked, Javier described his own childhood as being exceptionally happy. He revealed that he was the youngest child in his family. I wondered about the influence of his siblings. It is obvious that he had a good relationship with them and when he was speaking, it seemed that the relationship with some of his sisters had perhaps helped to shape his desire to have a daughter and contributed to his ease with being the father of a daughter. In a collection of stories by fathers of daughters, Rick Bass (1988) stated:

> *I always wanted children, and I always wanted daughters" (p. 53).*

In his case, there had been no girls in his father's family for over 75 years and he said:

> *I was starving for that beauty, strength, fierceness, and well, I have to say, for the exoticness of it….It's a wonderful feeling – like soaring" (p. 55)*

Transitions: Awakening to fatherhood – things are completely different

For Javier, his coming to consciousness as a father was prompted by separation. When his daughter was less than a month old, Javier went to university in another country for two and a half months and discovered that his life perspectives had undergone a metamorphosis.

> *I was stationed there, I was very interested and sad as well because once you have a child, you feel more responsible for whatever things you do and I made a decision of going to university and another city and I thought, "Oh, what happened to me?" You know, previously, if something happened to me, it was just something to do with me, with myself. But now I have somebody who depends on me and you know, things are completely different.*

Jack Davenport, an actor, was quoted in the Guardian newspaper (October 4, 2013) on fatherhood:

> *Becoming a parent myself has been an enormous shift. I don't know who I'm quoting who said wisely, "The day before your child is born, everything is like it was, and the day after they're born, your heart is wandering around in the world outside your body and it's terrifying. But it's true, and it's also wonderful. That's a big, big change.*

As I contemplate these reflections, I correlate them to Doucet's (2006) observations in her study of fathers as primary caregivers. She found that fathers (like mothers) undergo profound transformations as they transition to fatherhood. Dermott (2008) also describes the transition to fatherhood as producing sometimes unexpected, intense emotional responses from men because it changes their relationships to everything and everybody (p. 67). Accordingly, she notes that this period has become a focus of research on fathers. Fathers' stories I have read support this emotional transition, for example, Gary Soto (1998) in describing the period of his daughter's babyhood said:

> *I felt like a flower that had just broken open, full of color and light and maybe even a wonderful scent (p. 119).*

Similarly, Bradford and Hawkins (2006) and Dermott (2008) described this emotional transition and described fathering/fatherhood as a developmental process, a learning process. I once asked my own father what it was like to become the father of a daughter. His face lit up

with an expression similar to that of Javier's and it was obvious it had been a very positive, emotional event.

Dislocations

Carr's (1986a, 1986b) discussions of narrative coherence of life stories help me to understand the evolving story of Javier and his daughter. Javier described other interruptions to his story that are like the bumping places experienced by narrative researchers described by Clandinin and Connelly (2000), and it seems that these interruptions have continually prompted him to assess his own thinking and his relationship with his daughter in his unfolding story. The birth of his daughter and his time away from home were the first of these bumps. Another interruption occurred when Javier spent a year as a single parent when his daughter was around 5 years old. At the time, his wife was spending a year working abroad.

> *Where I come from, most of the family is extended family and we were living with my mother-in-law and her parents and my brother-in-law, his girlfriend, and my sister-in-law as well, around seven people. Different generations. It's like five generations in the same house. And I think that shaped my daughter's behaviour because all of them were older than her and she was spoiled.*
>
> *I got a lot of family support too, you know, to take care of my daughter. I didn't want to think about what to cook, my mother-in-law cooked for all of us….I noticed there were some situations, for example, a school-related situation. I was working doing teaching. Sometimes I went home a little bit late and my daughter, you know, I didn't have time to check my daughter's school assignments and things like that. She was the first year but in my country it's different. They have to do things and I was thinking that it's, you know, it's very good to develop some good habits. And yes, that was a kind of conflict between how much work I had.* ***My family support was basically about, you know, providing food, taking care of her safety,*** *but the school things were a little, bit, would you say, missing?*

In later conversations, Javier informed me that in his country both parents would be involved with the school, but usually the mother would take the lead for education. Being so busy with work, depending on family to look out for his daughter, and being focused on safety, food, and shelter, Javier had missed this part of his parental support in those very early years.

Interrupted Lives: I consider myself an ecological refugee

Javier refers to himself as an ecological refugee. In making a decision to come to Canada, he says he examined the relationship of population to resources in his own country and in Canada.

> *There are three parameters that I took in my analysis: resources, people and administration. I thought, Canada…is the second largest country, just 33 million people and we can say many things about the Canadian system, but I think it has worked very well compared to other systems…in a country where there are huge resources, few people and it is well administered, I think it's a good country to go to. And I knew that the attitude here toward immigrants is very positive.*

In talking about immigrating to Canada, Javier stated it was a family decision to come to Canada and that the primary reason was to provide opportunities for a better future for his daughter.

> *We were thinking of providing her with better conditions, opportunity – more opportunity, and that was the reason why we came to Canada. At the same time, because this is just to put things in context, I left a lot of things in my country.*

A major thing that Javier left behind was his secure university position with a future in his own country, but he also left behind his network of family and friends. In listening to Javier, I wondered what family discussions had taken place regarding migration to Canada. I asked about his daughter's inclusion in the decision to come to Canada.

> *I think children's involvement depends on, first of all, their age. When we were deciding to come to Canada, she was young and we didn't, I think we just told her that we had decided to go to Canada, but she didn't have any clue about what Canada looked like or was about and I think that we said: "Canada is… "The winter is so cold…"*
>
> *…if you say something like that to children, they won't have any idea about how cold the winter is or the idea of learning a new language and, it is also kind of an abstract thing and actually I think she was, she was happy because it was something new. The idea of experiencing something new is attractive in itself and I think that, I also think if we make a decision, it would be because we think that it would be better, you know. Going to Canada would be better than staying in our country.*

As I pondered these comments and thought about his daughter's possible reactions to the decision to emigrate, Javier related an incident that happened after his family had been in Canada for 2 or 3 months and friends were driving them out to the edge of the city. As they passed a sign for the airport, his daughter remarked that she didn't like airports. She said

airports are good because they are a place to meet people, but not so good because they are also places to say goodbye. It was clear to Javier that leaving their homeland had been stressful for his daughter. As Javier noted: *that's the double dimension of airports* – they are places of happiness and sadness. Clearly, at that moment, his daughter saw the airport as a place of sadness, a place of loss, where she had said goodbye to her friends and family. I wonder if being an immigrant in a new country is a little like being in limbo in an airport, neither here nor there, a place of sadness for what is left behind and at the same time a place of anticipation for hope and happiness in the future. Are all of us who are immigrants forever caught in the dilemma of looking forwards and backwards?

In talking about his daughter's involvement in the decision to come to Canada, Javier said:

> *I think that going back to your question, she wasn't that involved and she was informed. That's what I would say - she was informed that we were going to Canada. We talked to her a little bit about Canada and didn't have too much information about Canada…it's a very cold winter and that you have to learn English, that it's a peaceful country and the living conditions are good and the education system is free at least until a certain level of education.*

In explaining this, Javier emphasized his perspective on the age of a child when they come to Canada.

> *…timing is so important. I think that when a child comes to Canada and he or she is nine years old, even younger, I think you have time to get prepared for what will come later, because I think that adolescence is a critical process in itself, but what happens, is that when they, you know, even though the process of learning values, you know, is like as soon as you are born, you start learning, but anyway, at that specific age group, those values are consolidated and, you know it's a very particular process. And I have noticed that when a child comes to Canada and he or she is twelve, thirteen, in two, three years, they are very, very different. You know as a parent, we don't change in that period time that much, but children…the difference between how they were initially and how they are after three, four years, is more noticeable.*

These words resonate for me. As I was growing up in Canada, it seemed to me that there must be advantages to immigrating prior to the age of 5 years. It seemed to me that if a person's schooling could be all in one place, in one country, then life would be smoother.

A Father-Daughter Journey – Nested Stories

Fatherhood: the kinship relationship between offspring and the father (web definition) http: wordnetweb.princeton.edu

Javier revealed aspects of his fatherhood journey with his daughter during our conversations. In reflecting on his relationship with his daughter, Javier said: *I remember that, when she was younger, **I saw her like an extension of me**…if something happened to her, it was happening to me*. Now that she is a teenager, Javier feels he is in an ongoing power struggle.

The War Zone: dogs bark and parents sacrifice themselves for their children

In describing his relationship with his daughter in our early conversations, Javier focused on conflict. He referred to a documentary in which a mother described relationships with teenagers as being a war zone. In those early discussions, he focused on the relationship between children and their parents and on the issue of equal rights.

> *First of all this new idea that I have to see my daughter as somebody equal. We have equal rights – we have similar power within the family. I have to negotiate with her. She can tell me: "No, I don't want to do that", even though I think it is much better, it is good for her. I have, we have control over her use of the Internet and she knows that….she's complaining because of that and she said: "All my classmates use Internet all the time".*

This perception of equal rights is interesting. I have heard a many immigrant parents voice this concern, that in Canada children have to be treated as equals. It is an interesting perception because I wonder if Canadian parents actually treat their children as equals or think of them as equals. Or, does it just look that way because of more relaxed, open interaction between parents and children? I know it is always a shock for immigrant parents to hear that Canadian children talk more openly with their parents. It makes me think of a comment written by one of my aunts who was an elementary school teacher in Scotland. She wrote that she had a new pupil from the United States. This pupil had written a story in which he wrote about somebody in his

family "falling on their bum". Her comment was that she (and other teachers) was not used to children being quite so frank.

Javier stated:

> *In our culture, then, I would say that it's very simple. Children should do what their parents say. That's kind of the social norm…that children follow what their parents say…all people do the same.*

Kids should be controlled and parents should control them

In early discussions, Javier expressed the viewpoint that control is the basis of disciplining children.

> *But I am telling you that somehow the method of disciplining kids is based on control.* ***Kids should be controlled and parents should control them, and here, the norms are different.*** *They* [your children once they are in Canada] *don't feel you have to control them. They are expecting you to talk to them. They are expecting to be treated as equals and even though I think I have the skill to treat my daughter as an equal person, that is not the way that I see my daughter…I see my daughter as somebody who should be informed,* ***who should be guided.***

The understanding of parents and children as equals is perplexing for Javier. He described incidents that happened when his daughter refused to take responsibility in the family home; for example, refusing to clean up in the house. He expresses frustration that while she wants to be treated as an equal, she does not seem to wish to assume the responsibilities of an equal.

> *You know, my daughter is drinking something or eating something, she leaves the dish, the glass, everything, you know? And it's like, okay, I come from my job, I have been working the whole day and I want take a rest and I'm seeing you have been here just watching TV, you know, and there is a small table close to the sofa and it's full of glasses, cups, or dishes and so, okay, I will say: "Come here, help me a little bit in the kitchen". And she'll say: "No, I don't want to do that".*

Javier explained that in his country family power is organized so that parents have the power and the children have no power. He perceives that for his family this dimension has been changing since he came to Canada.

> *…when I came to Canada, I know this over time, that it's like if that's the way that the power was distributed within the family was changing and my daughter, for example, you know, the way that we discipline kids. That's something that I think most immigrants would say but for example we say something and we are expecting you to do that…If you don't do this, I may remove some privilege. I can…explain to you the*

reason why I'm telling you to do this, but in any case, if you don't do what I am telling you, there will be punishment….if you don't do this I may remove some privilege.

Where we are now, she is thirteen. In my country when you are thirteen we are expecting you to help us a little bit, for example in the kitchen.

It shows that you respect, that you are contributing, that you take into account how the people are feeling, you know, that you care.

His daughter's response to helping out at home is a source of frustration and puzzlement for Javier.

I have tried to define how my daughter perceives the parental role, her parents' role. What is her perception of her role as a child and how does she perceive her parents? And you know, many times when she's talking to us and we tell her: "No, we're expecting you to help us", she said: "No, no, no, that's what parents must do".

When you analyze the relationship between parents and children and adolescents, it's very important to explore how they perceive themselves, how they perceive others, but also how they perceive the roles of others. I got surprised, because, you know, when I was a child, I didn't think about what my parents were doing for me, it was because that was kind of a formal responsibility…like…a job description.

It's something cultural that you have in your blood

Javier's point of view is that what happens with family dynamics has nothing to do with the cognitive level. He explained that to a certain extent a person's actions within the family depend on what has been inculcated in their formative years; that these actions grow out of and are nurtured by the cultural landscape they grew up in. I think that all of us are drawn to what is familiar, to what we know, and to what we have lived.

It's something that you will shape, it's like okay, it's I don't know, it's something cultural that you have in your blood. It's like, okay, the idea of negotiating with my daughter was new for me because negotiation implies we have equal power.

As he puzzles through this explanation, Javier notes that he is very, very careful not to do anything that would harm his daughter physically or emotionally.

Traditional and Modern Parenting

Javier contrasted his own childhood with his daughter's and reflected on Latin American parenting.

When I was a child, well I think I was very good, a very good kid, according to my parents, my sisters as well. I was born in the countryside and I moved to a small town when I was 12 years old, but I didn't have any problems, I guess. But I got several slaps from my mum…in a family parents have different, I would say, functions and mums tend to be responsible for discipline while fathers have more an economic function. They try to support the family and that's very established in our country. And, you know, unless it's a major issue that is usually when fathers get involved. That's very well, I would say, established, those divisions in the family, those responsibilities. Fathers tend usually to have an economic responsibility, in terms of financial support, while mothers have more, are in charge of kids' discipline, you know.

Javier and his wife have taken a less traditional approach to family life and parenting and have not had to make major adjustments in parenting since coming to Canada.

Something that is very symbolic – when we sit around the table, you know that in those traditional families the father is in the centre of the table. Not at the end, in the centre. That's where my wife is sitting. I told her: "You are the most important. You are the most important person in this family". We have a very equal relationship, equal status. We make the same contribution in terms of education, discipline - the economic responsibility as well. It was like that in my country because she was working and I was working as well. We were both responsible for educating our daughter. In my country you can find, especially in the younger generation and if the parents are working, they share a lot of things. Coming to Canada didn't mean we had to change or have different roles within the family. The only thing, you know, in our country, family, the extended family has also a lot of responsibility. Support we can get from them and when we came here, we didn't have that support.

In his own childhood and adolescence he accepted the rules and the rules were clear. The environment was different; he was not exposed to the influences that his daughter is exposed to now.

My parents were very supportive, even though my dad…he focused on working, working, working. But, you know, I knew that he loved me a lot. That was SO important in his life and he showed me that love. I was very respectful of people in authority including parents. The idea of challenging them was out of my mind. It was simple.

I wondered about traditional parenting roles in Latin American families and looked for information. I found that the literature emphasizes a traditional closeness of family members; however, there are also trends in families that are similar to those of other countries such as: women's increased participation in the work force due to a change to an urban industrial economy, women's increasing education levels and lower fertility, government support for women who are working, and young nuclear families that are somewhat independent from

extended family. Parents are expected to protect and educate their children and in turn, children should respect and help their parents. Javier describes part of the immigrant parent role as making sacrifices for children. Parents leave family support and familiar landscapes behind in order to make life better for their children, a process that presents challenges.

Our kids become different

> *When you come here, it's like you face more challenges and you have less support. And that's what makes things complicated. Because if you face challenges having equal or maybe more support, you may be more capable of addressing those challenges. But what happens is that level of challenges goes up and the support goes down. So that adds to stress.*
>
> *For us* [immigrant parents] *every single thing takes time. And it's difficult, time consuming and once you have to consume that amount of time doing things, you have less time…it might be easier to deal with problems when that person shares similar values, beliefs, attitudes. When the person is different, that's what happened to our kids. They become different and they have different values. You know, if it has to do with skills or beliefs or perceptions, that's fine. That's, I would say, a minor issue. But when things have to do with values, what education means to you, or how family means to you, or what family means to you…what relationships with others mean to you, it's like you feel this is a huge clash. That, personally, that happened to me.*

These thoughts remind me of time in a meeting about refugee health, when a participant repeated the words of a refugee father: *I am losing my children to Canada.*

My daughter and I – we have different values

> *My daughter has, I think, a talent to find excuses. She's great, you cannot imagine. But anyway, I think that, you know, seeing her as somebody that can tell me: "No, I don't want to do that", or you know the root of many of the conflicts we have, the root of these conflicts has to do with values. We have different sets of values.*

Javier explained that he comes from a family oriented, collectivist culture. He feels that one reason he and his daughter have some conflicts is that he is more family oriented. He perceives his daughter as being less social, a trait that has been emphasized by living in Canadian individualistic culture.

> *I care about people. For me, when I say caring about people, it means you appreciate what they do, you take care of them.*

He is quick to point out that in his own country there are plenty of people who are very individualistic, but the social context in his country is very different so individualism is manifested differently.

> *The social norms here are different and I think…I think we are more, in our culture we are more family oriented, we are more community oriented, we are more socially oriented. And I think maybe my daughter, you know, her style was more individually oriented, something that I think was reinforced by coming here.*

Individualism versus Collectivism

Javier perceives that this individualistic streak in his daughter means she has a different approach to social interaction than he does.

> *I think an individualistic person in my country is different from an individualistic person here. In my country, if you like it or not, you will be exposed to many people. You cannot avoid interacting with other people in my country. For example, if you go to my mother-in-law's house, people - first of all people don't need to tell you: "I will go to your place". They just go. And you might see nine people, ten people, going to your place without telling you: "Oh, I will be there", or "I want to see you". It's just, they show up and my mother-in-law makes coffee and you see those people sitting in your living room and somehow you have to interact with them.*
>
> *Also, we spend a great deal of time in our country outside, doing things.*

Javier raises an interesting point. Often we think of individualism and collectivism as polar opposites, but it has been recognized that patterns of collectivism and individualism in communities do coexist (Tamis-LeMonda et al. 2007). At the individual level they correspond to patterns of autonomy and relatedness and these are aspects of child development that are not antithetical. Javier's daughter is very autonomous and he would like her to develop more friendships and to be more social.

> *To me, to be successful in terms of social interaction, you have to have at least two sets of skills. One, being sensitive to people's feedback, because you may have a way of approaching things that may be different or it could be interpreted in a different way from somebody from South Arabia for example…I have to be sensitive and being sensitive means to realize if what you're doing is good for other people, if people feel comfortable. The other one is making adjustments. If you think that things are not going well, you have to make some adjustment because at the end of the day, we don't want to harm people. We want to be happy; we want other people to be happy as well.*
>
> *The value that she places on social interaction, on people, is completely different. I know that she may have different experiences in the future and that the value will*

change, maybe, but I am very, very, socially oriented. And she likes to see when I am interacting with other people and she doesn't like to see herself having such a level of interaction. But I am a social animal and when you are socially oriented, you care not only about the goal you are pursuing, but also how what you are doing impacts other people.

She has cried because she has said to me: "I have no friends in Canada". While I may not have what she defines as friends, I have a lot of friends, people that I call friends. And I feel very happy when interacting with them.

Javier revealed that his daughter does have friends at school and notes:

She is more open with her friends. She said to me that her friends think that she is very funny, and she has written things on Facebook that have surprised me, because it's just words, sometimes it's a question. But you notice that for somebody to write that or ask that question, to make those comments, they should be intelligent. I think she has that type of humour.

I asked if most of his daughter's friends are Canadian, immigrants, or the children of immigrants. He described her closest friends.

There's a girl from Eritrea. There's another girl from I think, Slovakia, and another girl from Hong Kong. None of them were born in Canada. And she also has a couple of friends from our country who came to Canada a few years ago.

Noting that her close friends are all immigrants, I told Javier about my own experience growing up and that most of my friends were immigrants or children of immigrants. Even for my sons, who are the children of two immigrant parents, most of their friends are immigrants or children of immigrants. It is an interesting pattern and I wonder what it means.

She's developing new relationships, and…it's interesting. I don't know if I'm assuming that they may feel themselves as different from, I would say mainstream Canadians or something. Even they are, I would say, closer to them than to us culturally. But yeah, it could be an explanation. I will try to ask my friends about their children's friends – if they are also immigrants, first generation. That would be very interesting.

In our first conversation, Javier expressed concern about his daughter's self esteem.

At the end of the day….my perception is she's fragile, that is like how she is for me, her self-esteem is so important, her confidence is so important. I am now noticing that she is very focused on her appearance.

You have to feel capable

At the time of this conversation she was 13 years old and Javier showed me photos of his daughter from his iPhone. His daughter is very beautiful and very tall. He felt that at the time she was able to get attention because of her looks, at the age of 13 years.

> *Her self-esteem is so important, her confidence is so important. I am noticing that she is very focused on her appearance…She is very beautiful and even though I am not a tall guy, she is the tallest in the room.*
>
> *You know, for me appearance is not an important thing. It is not something that I value a lot, but I have noticed that through the physical, the appearance, it is like she is now, she is getting social approval, something she didn't have before. It's like a process that just started and I think my reference ability is to take care that the process will continue…something that I am working on here is confidence. It doesn't matter how, if you have this guilt or not, if you don't feel capable of doing something, you won't do it.* ***You have to feel capable.***

He notes that his daughter struggled with mathematics. Her grades were low at one point because she seemed to feel incapable of doing mathematics. If Javier asked her: "Do you need help?" She would say: "No, no, I will deal with it". His worry is that if things are postponed, the problem becomes bigger over time. He described a change in himself in that he recognizes that it takes time to develop confidence.

> *When we are talking about those things, it's not like information that you can get quickly. You are talking about psychological processes that take time to be built and I think now she's in that process and it's very, very important for her. And I think, okay, this is the way that she's taking and I have to remove any obstacles.*

So, not only does Javier feel the need to guide his daughter, he feels the need to protect her. A concern of Javier is that Canadian children are exposed to many negative influences at a much earlier age than children in his own country and therefore, immigrant children in particular need to be guided in order to discern positive paths. He feels that protection and guidance should come from the parent.

> *It took time for me to differentiate positive things from negative things or influences [when I was a child], but it seems like here, children have to develop those skills earlier; otherwise, they will have a lot of problems. And another problem is that the parents are not with them. It's like, okay, when you are in a very healthy environment, I would say a healthy environment from the cultural, psychological and physical view, if you don't have the skill, it doesn't matter. You can develop them earlier or later, but when*

you're exposed to many positive influences, but also many bad influences, you have to have somebody who helps you, who supports you. That person should be with you. When we came to Canada that happened to us.

We had to work a lot. I was studying English from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. and I was working from 3:30 p.m. to 11:30 p.m.

Okay, now you have your child, your children are growing up in a different country; they are assimilating, learning a lot of things. They don't know, you know, even though I cannot say that I know what is right, what is wrong, but you know that just when your child is watching TV, there are a lot of positive things, and there are negative things. When he or she is using the Internet, computer, positive things and negative things. My main fear is that they are exposed to these influences without being mature enough to differentiate them without being accompanied by an adult that can say: "Okay, you know, these things you have to take care of it". That's the kind of challenge that we face when we are here.

Immigrant parent challenges – A family dynamic is too much for us to handle

I think it is also right that we removed her from our country, that we separated her from her family, from her friends. I think that she has not been able to digest or process this. I think there are things that we cannot articulate, things that we are not aware of, what's going on with our kids, or things that we cannot articulate well. This is extremely difficult, especially, I would say for us [immigrants]…sometimes our approach to how, when kids are, let's say misbehaving, it's like we also feel that we left behind a lot of things. That life is difficult. We have a lot of challenges ahead and we are also facing a lot of challenges. We are not expecting to have challenges at home. We are not expecting to have a challenge at home.

These challenges are difficult when considered in the context of the demands of work that can impact immigrant parents. Javier talked about this.

I have many friends, some of them don't have any problems at home, but they, it's like their children are alone most of the time. They have two jobs, they work from 7 a.m. to 4 or 5 p.m., and then they work from 5p.m. to 9 or 10 p.m. Monday to Sunday. And when you have a situation there, when you have to, you know, support your family back home, you know all the things that we know, and you have a problem at home, it's difficult because we are not expecting to have that type of thing.

When you go home, you want to enjoy your family. And you think, we tend to think, that they don't care, that they seem to mention too many times, the first thing to do, like our kids don't care. But they do care. But they are also facing a lot of challenges, a lot of problems. And that's I would say, a family dynamic sometimes is too much for us to handle. And there are time constraints. It's like at the beginning, even, I think that we are at home!

Even though I have read a lot, there are things that you learn from your parents, and those things are very, very strong. It's like, okay, you have knowledge, that's fine. Even knowledge, having knowledge has no influence, even though you know something. It's like that we are culturally framed or shaped in our cultures, like when

> *you come here, you may go to a workshop about parenting and that will maybe increase your level of knowledge. It doesn't mean that that will change your behaviour…because behaviours are ingrained.*

The idea of behaviours being ingrained is an interesting point. It leads me to Smith's (2007) suggestion of linking narrative to Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Smith suggests that life narratives are constructions that are shaped by past constructions that might aggregate over time, and that people are predisposed to act in certain ways even though behaviours and ways of communicating are constantly being modified. When a person moves to a new country, attitudes and actions are being challenged and modified by the dynamics of the new context, but people are still inclined to behave in ways that have been inculcated and learned over time. Being in a new place, in a new landscape, induces flux. For Javier and his family, the Latin American experiences seem to be intertwined with and sometimes are in collision with the Canadian ones. At the same time, the strangeness that is inherent in a new place, a new landscape, creates puzzles allowing immigrants like Javier to think about and broaden their visions of past stories. As we conversed I could see that Javier was repositioning himself in relation to his past stories, reconceptualizing them, and seeing things from a different perspective.

> *I am, as I mentioned to you, in a new stage with my friends in our relationships, because of the assumption that I am different and I know that I have been exposed to many different things, that my view of things has changed, but that's life…I think that when you analyze culture, you know, once you move from one culture to another, that allows you to better understand your own culture. You are aware of many things, for example, how culture influences people's behaviours.*

Father - Daughter Dynamics

Resistance to Change

From the time she was little, a concern from Javier's perspective is that his daughter seems resistant to change. One of the first changes happened when his wife returned from overseas and they decided to put her in another school.

That was change, and my daughter is, if I have to define my daughter, define the way that we face challenges, the first thing she would do is to avoid the challenge.

There are people who have been exposed to different challenges and they develop a different set of skills. They develop skills to face challenges. Challenge is something maybe normal, but my daughter tries to avoid those challenges. And I remember, when we came to Canada, she didn't want to learn English.

In reflecting on his daughter's reluctance to face the challenge of learning English, Javier talked about his expectations of learning English fluently within one or two years and how he and other immigrants in the groups he attended were surprised that it was going to take longer. He did not realize that it would likely take much more time than he had anticipated becoming fluent in English. For his daughter, who was reluctant to change, who did not want to learn English, the story was different…

I thought that one year would be good enough to have at least a functional English or a good English. There is a huge difference between having a functional English and speaking English correctly….But something that happened to me is because my Spanish is very strong there are a lot of similarities between Spanish and English. I have made a lot of transferences. My daughter, even though didn't want to learn English, but finally after a year in Canada, she said, I remember I was walking with her and she said: "When I am speaking in English, is as I was speaking in Spanish". And I thought, oh wow! That barrier is no longer there, you know? You know kids learn very quickly.

Now, when Javier and his daughter converse, he speaks in Spanish and she answers in English most of the time. He has emphasized to her the importance of using Spanish. When his wife and daughter were on holiday in their country, relatives there commented on the fact that his daughter was so quiet, not like before.

One of the problems was that she was afraid of making a mistake when speaking in Spanish, and that's another dynamic now. Once you are afraid of making mistakes when speaking Spanish, you try to avoid speaking in Spanish and over time you may lose your Spanish…but in the last, I would say, two years, she has been speaking English. I remember the first, it was the first time she was speaking with us in English and we were kind of, "Oh, what's going on here?". She was in a summer day camp and when she came home, she described everything in English because the instructor talked to them in English.

When she's talking about emotional things, that would be in English, and if, I would say, if the conversation is too long, she may speak in English. Sometimes she speaks in English because we say: "Don't speak in English", and you say [to yourself], "Oh, she's just trying to show she has control over things". But definitely, she feels more comfortable speaking English. I think she understands that Spanish is important, but

you know, English is the language that comes when she has to talk about things that are going on.

Sabotage – Lack of Reciprocity

I was curious about who Javier's daughter confided in and asked: "If she were going to talk about things that are really important to her, would she go to her mum before she talks to you?"

> *Definitely and it seems I think that I have been thinking about that for a long time. Sometimes when we talk [my daughter and I], I want to be honest with you, it's like I feel the intention of sabotage. It's like she wants to be completely free to do what she wants, and sometimes you have to set limits. My wife said to me recently: "You have excellent communication with everybody. You have some problem with…[his daughter].*

His perception is that his daughter sometimes tries to keep him away because she wants the freedom to do what she wants – *It might be that there is an intention to block that communication, for her to feel free to do things. She will say, "This is my space".* Javier talked about the example of writing essays for school. The teachers become annoyed with his daughter when she does not meet the deadline for writing essays. So, they give her extensions and still she does not meet the expectations. From Javier's perspective as a father:

> *I want to talk to her about what happened. My intention is to talk to her, to advise her, to know if there is something that I can do to support her. She may think that I want to, even the idea, "Oh, you want me to do what you want". Which is, it's an excuse.*

Javier talked about being aware of how you communicate. He states that communication is important for his daughter to learn; being sensitive and making adjustments are important.

> *I really think what kind of changes we are talking about, because when we are talking about changes related to power within the family, we are not talking about irrelevant issues or…you know,* ***we are talking about the core of living in a family****, you know? That's what changes when immigrants come to Canada. That changes fast and people, many people, they don't have the personal resources that can help them, because we tend to think that* ***what happens within the family, should be solved within the family****. It's not like an estate issue, or a community issue. This is an issue that we have to deal with and we are so firm in our belief that our children should do what we think they should do because we are more knowledgeable than them…."*

Making Decisions – control versus support

> *I'm very good dealing with conflict, but when it is you know, other people who have conflict. Within my family, the story's different.*
>
> *Sometimes my wife tells me: Just allow her to go through those situations and she will experience, she will learn from those experiences.*

Javier is not sure that is the best strategy; however, in the midst of our conversations, he announced: *"I don't think that I try to control my daughter any more…it doesn't work"*. His explanation is that she feels he has no right to control her. He notes that there is a fine line between controlling and trying to support. He thinks that the idea of "you are controlling me" is a plausible explanation for her to say: "That's why I don't want to talk to you". *Even though it is not your intention, she may misinterpret what you want to achieve, that you want to help her.* An issue is that it is difficult for Javier and his wife to wait for his daughter to make mistakes and they, themselves, are still making adjustments. I had asked about how they made decisions and what changes they had experienced in making decisions.

> *I think those changes, we are still changing the way that we make decisions at home, for example, my wife and I, we are not consistent, and that's one of the problems.*
>
> *My daughter has had problems to make some adjustments…we saw a counselor and they said the decision to come to Canada wasn't her decision and she's still fighting that decision, unconsciously or consciously, but she feels like, "You brought me to Canada. I wasn't…I didn't want to come and now I am blaming you and I am fighting you because you made that decision".*
>
> *…it's a person that is still struggling with coming to Canada, with living in Canada, and that's a decision that we made and that's why I think we have to understand her, rather than trying to, you know, stop her from doing something.*

Father – Daughter conversations

> *We have difficult communications with my daughter. Yeah, because now she's growing and she is very, very independent. Sometimes, it's just the fact of, you know. Being with us that has a connotation for her.*
>
> *Sometimes I want to talk to her about health-related issues, and I try to talk to her, but I have to find the time.*

While time is an issue for a working parent, Javier notes that time has a completely different connotation for teenagers. He is especially concerned about long-term implications.

Time means something different for them. Sometimes, you know, we are thinking ahead. We tend to think that what we know is right, as parents, you know? All, we can share that assumption, we carry that assumption. But sometimes the way that they [teenagers] approach life, they do not have the same view of, I would say, middle-term or long-term consequences. I think they are not even biologically prepared.

Despite the fact that Javier and his daughter often have conflicting conversational exchanges, it seems that she does confide in him.

My daughter, we had a conversation. We were walking and she said to me, it was over the summer and she said to me, "My mom thinks that I am depressed". She preferred to stay home. And I thought, oh, you know, it's six months, seven months of winter, now it's summer, let's get out and do things outside rather than stay home. And she didn't show any interest in getting outside.

This is what she said to me, "When you brought me to Canada, we had been used to doing things that are outside" and at the beginning she didn't like it. She said to me, "I like to be alone and I like to do things inside my home". She spends a great deal of time reading, for example. That's fine, she can read a four hundred-page book in a week, maybe two, three days or something, depending on if she likes the book. She is somebody who doesn't need to have someone else to feel happy.

I have noticed that's the kind of price we have paid for being in Canada that she prefers to stay home. Being outside is not that important for her. Interacting with other people is not that important for her.

Meaningful Aspects of Being a Father

I asked Javier to talk about things that are meaningful in his relationship with his daughter. In summary, he cited watching movies, playing soccer and baseball, listening to music and songs, and discussing the metaphors from songs.

I think it was meaningful to talk about things that were new for us. And it was meaningful for us to help her, dealing with a lot of things at the school. It was also meaningful for me when she started practising soccer. After a year she realized that she didn't like soccer too much. [Now they play baseball together.] *And, let's see, when we, my daughter and my wife, they like to watch TV, a different kind of movie. They like to watch movies a lot and we have kind of our family times, even the family time was a new concept for us as well. It's like making something that, for us, is very spontaneous, having family time, because that's how we live.*

When I left my country, my Dad told me: "Make sure that she won't forget our national anthem". And I didn't pay too much attention to that, but some of the Latin American music that I like, she also likes, the music that is not for dancing but for listening. It's a kind of protest music. I think originally that was the idea, but now it's music that allows you to think. It's kind of a poem, and I ask her, "What does he mean by…". There's a lot of metaphor and I was kind of interested in knowing to what extent she was understanding. And most of the time she is able to understand the metaphor.

She likes not only to listen to that music, but also she likes me to ask her about the meaning of the phrase or something. And…it is a game between us. It is very meaningful to me, because that's the music that I like. I usually tend to get involved in meaningful conversations, meaningful reading. Life is full of meaning for me and that's something that I really like…now she prefers a different kind of music – pop music.

There is a show that we like, X-Factor, and we watch it, I think, for different purposes.

Javier finds X-Factor interesting because he finds people's individual stories very moving and he talks about these stories with his daughter. On the other hand, she and her friends are more interested in the performances. He talked about his daughter and the daughter of a close friend from Latin American.

Sometimes they are surprised when I tell them, "Okay, let's play this song". They are not expecting that an old guy knows those songs. And the reason why is I first heard those songs in that show [X-Factor].

The ideal father-daughter relationship

I asked Javier to describe the components of a good relationship between a father and a daughter, what it meant to him to have a good relationship with his daughter. He said:

I think I would describe it as transparency and mutual respect and I would also say empathy. Also, I don't know how to say the emotional component as well…having fun. Yeah, definitely being able to learn from each other and I would say, spend time together. Being sensitive too.

Feeling that Canada is also home

Javier talked about his own transition to becoming a Canadian.

*I think writing is a way of capturing what you thought and what you felt in a given period of time, or in, you know, in a given situation or in a given point in your life. And I think at the time, the idea of my daughter becoming something different was difficult for me to accept. What I didn't know at the time was that I was also changing and something that I want to write about… I was talking to a friend of mine and I think that he didn't understand what I was saying, but something that I wasn't expecting was I will tell you in a very simple way. Feeling that Canada is also home. I am afraid of that and I want to write about that. Because I have been afraid of….I have felt a lot of fears. Being killed by winter, not being able to speak English, not being able to find a job***…..I wasn't expecting to love this country, to find that it, Canada, is also home, to feel it.***

To me it's very, very easy to say I love just one country. My country is also home, but once you are there you feel that there is another place in which, where you feel also that you are, that you belong to the other place as well. And that's so difficult. Maybe

in the future I would deal with that kind of conflict or something, but I think: it's very easy to say, "This is my culture. This is my identity. This is my country. This is my place. This is my house. This is my city." But when you find that other things also matter to you, are important to you, it's difficult.

Javier shared some thoughts about becoming a Canadian citizen. After his family's citizenship ceremony, he sent a photo to friends in his own country. Their response is troubling to him because they seem to be assuming that he is now somebody different.

I got very interesting feedback from them, like: "I don't know if I should congratulate you". ...to me it was very upsetting, because the idea of having Canadian citizenship doesn't mean identity.

As a Canadian I will expect that people want to become Canadian because they want to, I would say, it's a commitment with this community. I would define it that way. ...I am committed to this organization, to the mission or the mandate of this organization. I belong to different communities. I belong to the Latin American community. I belong to the Latin American community in Edmonton. ...at the end of the day it's a formal way of expressing that commitment. So now I am a formal member of this community, I want to contribute to this community, and that's what most people have done, because Canada has been built by immigrants.

It is a false idea that being consistent is important in itself. Consistent, when you are talking about an idea, means having the same approach or way of thinking throughout your life.

Seeing a strange culture take over my daughter's way of thinking – thoughts on the future

Javier shared with me a book his daughter bought for him. He said: *Look, this is very symbolic. She bought a book for me, for Father's Day.* The book, by Gregory E. Lang, is entitled: Why a Daughter Needs a Dad: 100 Reasons. The book contains a photo and a saying that he can look at each day. Two of the significant statements in this book are: "I will not punish her for her mistakes, but help her learn from them", and "To be the safe spot she will always return to".

In the same conversation, we talked about poems he had written and Javier said:

I think writing is a way of capturing what you thought and what you felt in a given period of time in a given situation or in a given point in your life. And I think at the time, the idea of my daughter becoming something different was difficult for me to accept. What I didn't know at the time was that I was also changing.....

Over time I was able to catch a glimpse of those changes. In my very first interview with Javier, I had asked him about his daughter and dating. At the time he said simply that she was too young. By the last conversation, once his daughter was 15, and he was, perhaps, more comfortable talking with me, Javier revealed that in his country, it is the norm for teenagers who are 13 or 14 to have boyfriends and girlfriends.

> *Well, she went home on a visit and her friends were busy because all of them have boyfriends, which is very common in my country.*

Now that his daughter is 15, Javier talks much more openly about the possibility of his daughter dating. He is concerned about her emotional and physical health. *I don't have any problem [with her dating] as long as she's safe…and her health and physical, mental health is not compromised.*

Javier described a shift in his relationship with this daughter. He described an encounter between them:

> *My wife and I were in bed and she [his daughter] came in. And I don't know, she started saying things and there was a point at which I could not stop myself from laughing. I didn't know what she wanted. And she said to me…she was kind of upset and she said to me: "You know what? We will never agree about things…we need to have a safety relationship", that's how she defined it. She said: "You have your point of view, I have my point of view. There's no way that you can know if you're right or that I can know if I'm right, which means you're not right, I may not be right, but don't try to tell me something because you might be wrong. Everything is relative."*

Javier's Story

Javier's story of fatherhood reveals his experience of finding his way in an unfamiliar landscape, of encountering and being enfolded by the influences of culture, language, and education that create flux for a newcomer. His personal stories of migrant fatherhood capture the process of creating a father/daughter relationship that is grounded in and shaped by stories and perspectives of the past and by new stories and experiences. These stories come together, interact, and shape each other. He started out by defining his relationship in terms of power and control and over time transitioned to a situation in which he and his daughter agree to disagree, a more equal relationship.

Something that Javier said addresses directly the value of doing a narrative inquiry:

If you want to even talk about immigrants, we have to start using a vocabulary that shows that complexity, that shows that diversity. We are still attached to categories which is very comfortable. I can understand people want to try to simplify reality, but I think that simplification is a property of, I would say of how people think, but it's not a property or it's not a characteristic, of reality.

Chapter Six

Daniel's Story

Role model
a person whose behavior, example, or success is or can be emulated by others, especially by younger people. *Dictionary.com*. Random House, Inc. 2013. Retrieved 25 January, 2014.

Transition:
"People's responses during a passage of change…the way people respond to change over time." (Kralik, Visentin, & van Loon, 2006, p. 320)

Transitions often require a person to incorporate new knowledge, to alter behaviour, and therefore to change the definition of self in the new social context. (Davies, 2005, et al., 2000, Wilson, 1997)

"A process - …long-term processes that result in qualitative reorganization of both inner life and external behavior." (Cowan, 1991, p. 5, quoted in Palkovitz & Palm 2009, p. 5)

"Changes in internal roles and external behaviours" (Palkovitz & Palm, 2009, p. 9)

Daniel's fatherhood story emerges from the transitions he has experienced over his lifespan. My conversations with him took place over the period of one year and a half in his living room and each conversation lasted 60 to 90 minutes. During these conversations, I was in the midst of his home and able to meet his family members – his wife, his son and his five daughters. Daniel's story of fatherhood and becoming a role model for his children begins within the multiple contexts and conditions of his own personal journey and emerges from the transitions he has experienced.

Keeping in mind Clandinin and Connelly's (2000) three dimensional inquiry space, our conversations circled back over time and place then slid forward and backwards as Daniel talked about his experiences. Daniel recounted that he was born in the Sidāma area of Ethiopia in modest circumstances into a family of six children, three of whom were girls. Despite this humble beginning, education was important to him from an early age.

> *I was born in the jungle; we had no electricity or running water so I studied by candlelight. I had three sisters and two brothers. When I was in elementary, I had to walk to school, three hours back and forth, but my father walked part way with me. After Grade 3, the Seventh Day Adventist Church opened a school close by and I went to it from Grades 3 through 6. And then after Grade 6, I went to a Seventh Day Adventist boarding school run by Americans.*

Daniel explained that at the time the government was socialist and against religion. Therefore, young people who carried bibles or who were going to church could be arrested and even killed on the spot. He, himself, was arrested and beaten. His father protected him by placing him in the boarding school. In the second year of his boarding school experience and for four years, he worked in the morning for four hours and attended school in the afternoon. After graduation, he trained as a teacher with the college and then he went to Northern Ethiopia to teach where he met his wife who is from Eritrea.

We started a new life

Daniel worked in Eritrea as a teacher and school principal and his wife is from that country. At the time, Eritrea was a province of Ethiopia but it became an independent country

in 1992, and Daniel was deported to Ethiopia and his wife and two children were deported with him. They had to leave all their belongings behind. In Daniel's words: *We started a new life there.* Back in Ethiopia, he took some ministerial courses and became a pastor of one of the biggest Seventh Day Adventist churches in Addis Ababa. After the family had been settled in Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian and Eritrean governments increased their hostilities. This time, the Ethiopian government wanted to deport Daniel's wife.

> *The Ethiopian government began to hunt Eritreans and my wife became a target so that meant I had no country. The Eritrean government didn't allow me to live there and my government didn't allow my wife to live in Ethiopia, so I decided to live in some other country and when the opportunity came, I didn't go back.*

That opportunity arose when he became a delegate to a religious convention in Toronto. Daniel attended the convention and remained in Canada.

> *I paid for my own transportation. When I arrived in Toronto, it was in June, and it was the gay pride parade. And that was my first day, so men kissing men and ladies kissing ladies, I had never heard about those things. I did not know, and I thought there were countries like that, but that day was different, you know? And I was shocked, shocked. But slowly after five months or six months, after a year, I met many of them and they told me that they are gays, and uh…I was shocked for a while especially the first year. I was totally, the second year. But now, now I just forget about it. I don't appreciate it, I don't, but I'm not as judgmental as I used to be. If I tell this to my aunt or my relatives back home, they totally would be upset. But that doesn't make me happy or upset at all, I just, that's…I just say it's none of my business. That's what I do, I talk to them, but it is none of my business.*

As Conle (1996) notes changing culture involves emotions. We react emotionally to a new context. I worked with a nurse from the United Kingdom who had been recruited to work in Edmonton in the 1970's. She and a friend flew to Toronto and then travelled by train to Edmonton only to arrive in the middle of Klondike Days. Imagine their reaction on seeing everyone dressed in clothes from the late 1800's! I think that everyone who moves to a new country must hold specific memories, clear images of experiences from their first arrival days. I will never forget people in the street stopping to stare at my family or that "fish out of water" feeling that Bourdieu describes when you find yourself in the midst of a new field of experience

(Reay, Crozier, & Clayton, 2009; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Suddenly, you are propelled into self-consciousness.

Long distance family relationship

For about seven years, Daniel lived on his own in Canada so his contact with family was restricted to telephone conversations and letters.

I lived here [in Canada] by myself about seven years.

During the time of separation, Daniel's wife looked after the children on her own. He explained that he was able to protect his wife and children by moving them to his family's village.

> Daniel said: *She is Eritrean and her mum, her parents are in Eritrea and my mom and brothers they live a bit farther away. And my family lived in the capital city. So, yes, she managed the house, she did it just by herself.*

Daniel maintained contact by telephoning once a week but also by writing letters.

> *I used to talk to my kids every Friday and there was communication, but for seven years I didn't have the chance to meet them physically…and to assist them with their homework. Once they reached here, we tried our best to catch up.*
>
> *I used to write to the older kids. Yes, and they wrote back to me and I wrote to the mum. When it's a holiday, Ethiopian New Year and things like that, I wrote. In my language, I'm good when I write.*

I remember the days and years when my father had to work away from home. Most often, he came home for weekends, but he was not part of our lives during the week. We had no contact except at weekends, though my mother and father did write letters to each other when he was away for longer than a week at a time. Those were hard times.

Family Life in Ethiopia

I wondered how different Daniel's family life and parenting would have been if he had stayed at home, what it would have been like to be a father in Ethiopia.

> *In Ethiopia, we follow each of the rules and cultures and the Ethiopian way of raising children. In Ethiopia, the rules are very…it's a traditional family too and children usually do not associate with Dads. I mean, they are afraid of their Dads…basically Dads love their children but they are not expressive. They do not tell them that: "I love you, I love you". Even to their wives, they don't say, "I love you". They are not that much expressive and in Ethiopia children respect their Dads more than the children*

here. Yes, they respect their parents. That's how we were raised. Not their parents only, they respect their elders. And we raise our children together.

It takes a community

Communities, it takes community to raise children. If I see two small kids fighting on the road, I don't pass before I resolve the issue. I call the two of them and I help them sort out the problem and leave them with peace. So we, sometimes, it's not only my responsibility raising children there; it's my brother's responsibility. He helps. It's their aunts, uncles, and relatives and everybody helps there. And here, it's basically mostly my responsibility. I do more than in Ethiopia; in Ethiopia I did less. Less, because my mother's there, my relatives are there, friends are there. I have more friends, and here, I think the privacy thing is there.

His description of resolving issues of children fighting in the road prompts memories to unreel in my mind; it takes me back to when I was five or six years old in Scotland. I was drawing with chalk on the sidewalk and on a building. Drawing on the sidewalk was a usual practice for children, but perhaps drawing on the wall was not. One of the women, who lived there, came out, admonished me and made me clean everything up with a wet cloth. I have no idea who she was, but she was an adult, and as such was able to correct my behaviours.

A broader consciousness of belonging

In thinking about Daniel's comments about community, Irele's (2008) descriptions of his immigration experiences resonate:

The cultural factor and its social implications are of some consequence here, as they enter into the nature of experience and the responses they elicit. There is general agreement that children are highly prized in Africa. The elaborate rites that mark their arrival and progression in life in all our societies attest to this ethnographic evidence. The naming ceremony in particular is essentially a ritual of welcome, a sign of the child's inclusion within the family extending to encompass the larger community. For my first two daughters, who were born in Nigeria, this ceremony served as their entry into a structure of relations with members of the family on both sides, one in which they were immersed on a continuous basis by the modes of interaction with others around them. And as they grew up, they participated in a rhythm of life, animated by a constant stream of family events and ceremonies…The distinction between near and far relatives is largely unknown in these situations, which tend to promote a ***broader consciousness of belonging*** *than that associated with the nuclear family* (p. 77-78).

Life in Canada – the Nuclear Family

For our conversations, Daniel chose to focus on his youngest daughter who was 15 when we started our conversations.

When I left, she was only four years old, so when she came to Canada, she was eleven years old and in Grade six with no, with very limited English language, so I had to teach her, read with her, take her to school and everything was new to her. New friends, new teacher, new culture, new language…and I worked with her every day. I took her to school - I brought her back. Even sometimes when I had time in the middle of the day, I used to go there and visit her. When she had breaks, I'd take her to lunch. She made it, and now she is in high school. I worked with her basically every day.

Given the traditions that Daniel was used to, I wondered what family life was like for him here in Canada, what is different now, what changes had taken place.

We are very close to each other and they are open to me. They aren't afraid to tell me anything. We have rules. This is like any family. We follow the rules. I follow the rules as well. We have family rules according to age. I mean the last born [Ayana] has more limited rights than the other children. So regarding the TV and the Internet and the Facebook, the time, especially time she spends on TV, is very limited. She has one hour every day, not more than that on TV and her Internet also, less than that. So she reads books and every day I have a schedule….sometimes she goes to swimming, sometimes YMCA, sometimes guitar class and I work with her.

I create time for her because I'm the only person who can help her. Her mom, so far she doesn't drive and I drive, so I have more responsibility. I'm responsible for all the expenses, for the mortgage, for everything. And my daughters, especially the last born, I give her some allowances and I pay for the tutor and she's doing well.

In Canada, Daniel has had to take on more responsibility for the family in terms of daily involvement with his children.

Well, I am happy about it. Because my children are appreciative, they appreciate what I do. They know everything I do, I do it for their own benefit and they appreciate that. So I'm happy too.

Irele (2008) also talks about the issue of taking on more responsibility, of living more closely once families move away from extended relatives and friends.

Because of the changed conditions, my wife and I and our daughters have tended to live more closely together in America than would have been the case in Nigeria. Moreover, I have come to develop a special responsibility for the welfare of the girls, the need to provide them with a male bulwark against what I've come to feel as their vulnerable situation in a foreign environment. (p. 78)

It is clear that Daniel is now living much more closely with his family than he would have in Ethiopia. I asked about what was different in his interactions with this family.

Yes, I demonstrate that, I tell them that I love them, I compliment and encourage them. With my last born, once a month, we take a longer day together. We eat together and spend two, three hours together, we are very close. We discuss all kinds of things. She

tells me about herself, about her friends, about her school, about her teachers, about her grades and I tell her about my past experiences – how I was raised, about things that happened to me when I was young. And I tell her things that she doesn't know about her grandparents and stories about our family. You know, kids in her age think that the life we live is the standard. They do not know the ways I passed.

I wondered if it had been difficult to make the adjustment to expressing himself. Daniel's experience with his church has been instrumental in contributing to his knowledge and understanding of parenting and fatherhood.

Well, for me that's not difficult because even when I was back home, I read some books. I was a religious person. And I'd read books about parenting, about religious books, and it's no different. Even when I was in Ethiopia, I used to express myself. I used to tell them that I loved them - I nurtured them.

Taking the best from each culture

"When you leave a place you love, you can take a little bit of it with you, and you leave a little bit of it behind, but it will always be home" (Walsh, 2013, p. 230).

The process of migration involves a dilemma of change and loss and most of us find ourselves in some form of negotiation between the old and the new. Pessach-Ramati and Josselson (2007) emphasize that much of this negotiation happens in the area of relating to other people in the new setting. Daniel describes his family's approach to this.

We maintain our culture when we go out and associate with people; we respect the culture of this country as well. So we take from Ethiopia the good cultures, and also from this country, we take, we pick up the good ones.

In contemplating these words, I think of Bhabha (1994) who describes a process of cultural hybridization where individuals move across boundaries of cultural difference experiencing a double vision of uncertainty, as they look in two directions to the country they have left and to the new country. Similarly, Sayad (2004) describes migrants as being "torn between two 'times'" – living 'in transit' (p. 58) and talks about "double absence". In using the term "double absence" Sayad is referring to the situation in which the immigrant is always an emigrant, neither here nor there, absent from their country of origin, but at the same is an outsider in the host country. As such, the immigrant carries the habitus, the system of references from his or

her own country, which may or may not be different from that of the new country. Sayad's description evokes the concept of "double-consciousness" developed by W.E.B. Du Bois (Du Bois & Edwards, 2007).

I also think of Anzaldúa (1987) and of Lugones' (1992) comments on Anzaldúa's borderlands, the contact zones between people, the in-between spaces that require negotiation between here and there.

> *A borderland is a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary…a constant state of transition*. (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 3)

Immigrants in experiencing these borderlands, these contact zones, integrate the resources they bring with them to transform their migrant habitus (Erel, 2010; Kelly & Lusis, 2006; Noble, 2013).

People integrate the worlds they have experienced and the influences on this process are multiple, complex, and often contradictory. de Haan (2012) expands on this idea by describing how cultures are reinvented in contact zones where the parenting practices that immigrants bring with them meet those of the new country, and produce a process that leads to hybrid parenting. de Haan notes: "It is in the *'in between',* the *here* and *now*, and the *then* and *there* that differences are formed and articulated." (p. 381). Daniel demonstrates this in his response to my question: "Can you tell me a little bit about taking the best from each culture?"

> *Well, in our country children respect their elders, and for example, if somebody, an elderly person comes up to where they are sitting on the bus, they give their seat to the elderly person. And they do not swear or use swearing words. Those words are unacceptable in Ethiopia. Well, these days there are some, but most, the typical culture is that they don't swear. The language they use. Not only the children, in front of the children, the language we use, is also different. If a child or an underage person is mingled with us [adults], our conversation is totally different.*
>
> *We come here, but we are still Ethiopians. We don't leave our heritage 100%. We have a good culture – I like the social parts, the relationships, the family relationships, sometimes even the society, the neighbours. We raise our children together, if a mother is not working and another mother has to work, she will bring her children over and we raise them together. We respect each other. The children listen to them and there is no calling 911 for each and every problem. I like this kind of culture, but sometimes we go overboard, you know? We control. In Ethiopia the parents, they overprotect their children and that part I don't like. I don't appreciate that part or the few parents that*

listen to their children. People think that their kids do not know, that only parents know, and they want to know each and everything what the kids do in their rooms every day. Even after they are 18, 19, 20, they treat them as a small baby still. So that part, I don't appreciate. So here, I can say it's more civilized that way. I mean the children have their own privacy and their rights and the parents have their own rights, and I like that part.

Canadian Culture Became Mine

Daniel assesses Canadian and Ethiopian parenting and family life and facilitates his children's adaptation to the new culture. The process he describes echoes de Haan's (2012) discussion of how communication roles between children and parents change in the post migration setting so that many parents adjust their expectations and discipline practices to the new context. In doing so, parents find themselves confronting and comparing the practices and values of both the country of origin and the new country. In this evaluation/re-evaluation process some of their own ideas and practices are challenged so that they arrive at workable solutions for their families (Pels & de Haan, 2007).

I enjoy things that Canadians enjoy here; the freedoms and I like most of the cultures. It was a challenge when I was new to Canada. I have a big family back home and I came here alone. The weather was cold and I had to rent a room and live by myself. I had to cook for myself and do the work alone and learn the language – it's a different culture. And then, where I work, I dealt with it and finally ***Canadian culture became mine and I began to love it.*** *When I went back, I went with a different mentality and even it's hard to agree with everything for my own people there sometimes.*

Now, Daniel sees his own country in a different light.

Yes, and so my mentality, I went there with a different mentality and in Ethiopia, men do not cook. It's only ladies who cook and now I don't mind cooking. I wouldn't mind sweeping the floor, making beds, I don't mind doing anything. And when I went to Ethiopia, I began to do those things and people *were surprised. Well, I've never seen my Dad in the kitchen, you know? If he wanted anything, he just asked. If he needed even a cup of water, to drink a cup of water, he said: "Guys I need a cup of water" and somebody had to bring it!*

Growing with the family

Daniel recognizes that not only has his approach to fathering changed, so has his relationship with his wife.

In our culture what I did [in Ethiopia] was acceptable. Even I was one of those best husbands, but when I came and saw different cultures and a different way of living, then well, now I'm more mature of an age too, you know. Even the way I treated my son and the way I'm treating the last child is different. It's not because I'm a bad person, it's because of age itself. The experience. When my first child came, I had little experience, right? When the last child came, I had more experience. So my son didn't get the same privileges that my daughters enjoy. I'm also growing with them. I'm learning everyday and I'm being mature. So this is why I think I have to treat my wife differently and my children differently. The way I treat my wife now, is different.

When my son came, I was younger. I was in my twenties even, so I was bossy, you know. The way I treated my son and even my wife was different when I was younger. I was not bad, very bad. I did what was normal to my culture, but when I think back, I wouldn't do that now. You know, I was a schoolteacher – even the way I actually treated my kids, my students when I was younger. I was strict. Yes, and now I wouldn't do that you know? I'm more mature. I used a ruler - that is normal in my country. I did only something normal. But if it's today, I would have dealt with them differently.

Daniel elaborated on the changes he would make in his approach to his students.

Well, I still I would discipline…they are to be disciplined. But no more physical punishment. In Ethiopia, the way we treat kids, I mean students, sometimes every time the child fails a test, we believe that it's the child's fault. Every time the child doesn't do his homework, we think that it's the child's fault and he has to be grounded or be punished. But you know, it's not, it's not really always the child's fault. If the child is late for school, it's not always…we do not know what happened to that child. Maybe they didn't eat, maybe nobody cares in the morning, maybe there is no transportation, no support. We do not know the history, right? And it's not always the child's fault; sometimes it's the parent or the child could be depressed. You just don't know.

The culture is different and the rights children enjoy here, it's different. In Ethiopia we love our kids. They are close to us and we hug them, especially the mothers. But when it comes to their rights, in Ethiopia, children have very limited rights. And even when they are grown, I [as a parent] have to know everything, I have to still intervene. So here, there is more freedom. ***I just advise. It's a discussion only****. It's not always the decision that I made – when we make rules, we do it together. I'm not lying – sometimes I call my kids and ask them if they are okay with me, how they like my parenting. I ask them if there is anything I can improve.*

Father as a Role Model

I wondered if it was hard in practice for Daniel to give his children more freedom. Daniel emphasized that he and his children discuss everything. He perceives his function as that of a role model.

Yes and no. It's still, you know, my house – in this one we discuss everything. When we discuss, we set rules, we have some rules and we discuss them. When we agree on the

rules, we follow them, and then as the father, ***I am the role model****. I do not ask my children to do something that I myself do not do.*

Yes, so the children follow. Directly from work, I drive home, I help in the house area. I shovel snow, I don't go to bars, I tell my son what I am practising and my son follows that. …we discuss and we decide together, and sometimes even we have a family meeting and I ask them if they have any complaint against me.

When I asked if his children had ever made complaints or criticized him, Daniel said:

When they were younger, yes. Sometimes they would say: "Last time you yelled at me for no reason, you did that in the day." Sometimes it's the truth, sometimes it's not. We have to work it out.

Fathers should live an exemplary life.

Daniel talked about what it means to him to be a father and especially the father of a daughter. First, he talked about how fathers should set an example for their children through their actions.

Again, it's a responsibility. Fathers should lead an exemplary life. They should set an example, a legacy. I cannot tell my son to come home and sleep home or I cannot guide my son if I do not set an example. I cannot encourage my children to read books if I don't read at home. I cannot tell my kids to be a little bit polite and respectful, if I'm not respectful. So everything I do, I try to be more than…because they see what they see here and they follow that. What they learn from home, that's what they apply in their own homes. So, being a father means it's a responsibility too.

Daniel is very happy that he has a family of daughters. He has one son and would have liked to have more sons, but instead has daughters.

My first son, my first child is a man, is a boy. And the second one was a girl. I was happy about it. When the third one came, I wanted the third one to be a boy, but a girl follows. Then I wanted to try again - the girl came. I want to try again. Again, a girl came. After that I thought, I give up! But now, they grow up and I feel I'm very happy that they are girls…the girls are more helpful, they're working hard and they support the family and I have no issues with it at all. I'm happy with all of them.

In Ethiopia, culturally we value boys. You know, usually the girls go to their husband's family and if they give birth, the children take the name, that family name, not ours. So if you have no son, you have no name after this, you know? You will be forgotten. When I was there, sometimes people commented "Five girls?". Daniel laughed about this. *You know, you love them once they come. You don't even think about it; you don't regret why you did not have a boy. You love them the way they are.*

Daniel's reaction is similar to that of Irele (2008), who also has five daughters. Irele identifies with Tevye of *Fiddler on the Roof*

> "...whose attitude of easy indulgence towards his five daughters seemed to me to have grown out of more than the bond of nature and custom – to have developed rather from a kind of affectionate intimacy that caring for his family and surrounded by so many women inspires in a man of his genial disposition. With all its strains – often more than compensated for by its satisfactions – this situation creates its own world of sentiment that daughters are particularly suited to generate and sustain. (p. 77)

My sister-in-law is one of six sisters born in Karachi to parents from India. I remember her father sitting with his 3-year old granddaughter, quietly drinking imaginary cups of tea. Without speaking, the two synchronized their movements and had a tea party. He was very happy with his six daughters.

Irele's (2008) mention of "affectionate intimacy", Daniel's description of loving his daughters once they were there, and my memories of my sister-in law's father seem to correlate to Dermott's (2008) depiction of fatherhood as an intimate relationship that focuses on the personal connection, the expressions of affection and interaction that constitute and nurture a father/child, father/daughter dyad.

Family Time

> *We go to church together every week, every Saturday morning. On Friday evening we meet together, we pray together, and they, all of them, prepare a meal and we eat together. By the time everybody meets and we eat, we sing together. My son plays keyboard and I preach, then in the morning we go to church. After church again, we come back together. We spend the whole day together. They invite their friends, actually – their school friends, church friends and the house is full and busy and I give them, sometimes, their own private time at the end of the day. Then during the week, I talk to each one of them about their studies, about their future, about relationships, about boyfriends, about how I met my wife and I give them some counsel, some advice, as a dad. And I encourage them, if they need it.*

Father/Daughter Discussions

I wondered about conflict and asked Daniel to tell me about a time when his daughter had challenged his ideas or challenged him.

> *Sometimes yes – especially when we talk about issues about relationships and religion. And when I encourage her: "No, you have to finish your studies first before you date, she will say: "But, no Dad, I'm not waiting that much!" And she says that, but I tell her, I tell her that I cannot dominate, I cannot dictate, but I will say: "I'm just telling you what is good for you." So we discuss every detail of these things. She'll listen, she asks questions, "What kind of boyfriend do you want Dad?" She's asking me: "Do you want*

this or that, or white or black? What about religion? What about this? What about education?" Well, sometimes I said yes, sometimes I say: "This is what you choose, but any person you bring, as long as they're respectful as well, doesn't matter, white or black, as long as we see that".

If I see any mistakes, if she is at home watching too much TV, socializing too much, and I find that she's not doing her homework, I just talk to her. I correct her, any mistakes.

Sometimes she is defensive. But I have points too, I have to convince. Before I talk to her I come up with options…I know she's going to challenge me and I have to be ready. She tells me: "Look so and so, she has a boyfriend". My daughter was raised in a different way in a culture that was sheltered and sometimes it's hard for her. Actually, for all of them, for all of us. When, I myself came to Canada, when a boyfriend and girlfriend kiss each other in public, that's something that I've never seen, never ever seen back home. I think now we have begun to accept the thing. We had no choice.

I understand. Images from the past emerge in my head. It is my first year in Canada. I am nine years old in Grade 5 and have come from a world in which high school students wore uniforms that desexualized and infantilized them and people in general were reticent in their public behaviour. In my mind there is a clear picture of local high school students who dressed and acted like adults, like married couples. They looked as old as my parents and I looked on them with curiosity and wonderment that they were still in school!

Daniel feels that there are some things that are not okay and that there should be boundaries. He thinks that his children should not start dating until they are older.

I don't mind if they have a boyfriend as long as there are some boundaries. I don't mind, but I encourage them to focus on their studies first. What I tell them is for me, education is important. What I told my daughters is get education. At least the first degree, I said, that's what I'm aiming. I don't force them, if they want to date now, I don't just hold…Yeah, so it's up to them, but I have my advice to them. You know, they cannot do two things at the same time, they cannot concentrate on their studies if they start dating and so my advice for them is first education, then next day after they tell me, after first degree, tell me. Yeah, you can marry even the next day, I think, Daniel laughs*…I want my kids to excel. I encourage them to put these things aside because they are a little bit behind because of their English. So they need more hours for maybe things that others can do in less time. They need to spend more time on their studies – reading, writing, learning. Those who are born and raised here are advantaged, more advantaged.*

The Centre of the House

I could see that the household revolves around Daniel. When I was sitting in his living room I could see the family's activities revolving around him. As the family members came and

went, he was the pivotal connection point. During our conversations, I was introduced to every member of the family.

Qualities of a Good Father

I asked Daniel to describe what constitutes a good relationship between a father and daughter

> *A good father is one who discusses things openly with his kids. For me, I am the father and the friend, but at the same time, I act like a father, I give guidance, I am the protector, the provider. I am the centre of the house. I listen to them [my kids] and what they say and I follow up on their homework, if they have done it, and I just see how they are doing in their schools. I call them while I am working overnight.*
>
> *I leave at 9:30 p.m. and until 7:30 a.m. in the morning, I work at the overnight job and then I go to my second job and I work until 5 p.m. I start at 8 a.m. and work until 5 p.m. So, basically I have about 4 hours per day for personal hours with my kids. But the good thing is my overnight job, I am able to sleep overnight for part of it. I work in a group home and legally I am allowed to sleep, though I get paid less for the sleep hours. I work 5 days and 5 nights. Sometimes I even work on Sundays. I will do this until my kids have all left the house. It's not for always. All of them are in the house and they are grown, but still...it's our culture too. They stay until they get married, we don't encourage them to go. If my son is 35 years old and unmarried, still he lives with me.*

A Parental Team

Daniel described how he and his wife work as a team to raise their family

> *Well, we work in a team. This is teamwork. And she tries her best. I have more experience in this country. As the woman of the house, as the mother, she works fewer hours outside and she helps at home. She cooks and I'm more responsible for the expenses. We do it together - it's a team. Well, if mom doesn't oppose, basically, if she doesn't agree, we talk privately. If I say something, like with my kids, if mom doesn't agree, then she talks to me privately and we talk it out.*
>
> *For mothers it's also a responsibility, but more when the children are tiny. Mothers shape them. But it's everybody's responsibility, but especially when they are grown, when they are teenagers, the Dad has maybe more responsibility. They listen more to their Dad when they are grown. Not always I say, "yes, yes". Sometimes I say "no".*

I found it interesting that Daniel talked about saying "no" to his children. Other immigrant fathers I had talked to hold the impression that Canadian children get everything they want and once you come to Canada you have to give in to your children. Daniel disagreed.

> *Well for me, no. Sometimes what they want is not good for them. I do not allow my daughters to go out and party every night and spend the whole night there. I do not*

allow my 15-year-old daughter to go to sleepovers. I may trust their friends, but so many people come there. Boys come, girls come and they aren't raised in my family. Another family raised those children – it's totally different. So I don't want to worry in my bed! So, I cannot give what they want. Sometimes I give them what they need. What is important to them? If their choices are bad, I try to give them a reason why I say no. They are ready to listen. If they went, I don't know what I'd do! If I say "no" and tell them the reason, they accept it. For our own safety, we know who is where at any time.

Parenting in Ethiopia versus Canada

I wondered about what would have been different if Daniel had not been able to come to Canada. He compared and contrasted fatherhood in both places. Daniel, like many other immigrant fathers, describes the move to Canada as being important for his children and less so for him.

Well, it's my fatherly role, I don't think that would change, maybe the same, but here I have more chance, more opportunity to support my kids, you know. Financially, I'm more stable. We have social assistance here – I mean, if something happens we are secure, we don't have to worry about it. Medical expenses are free and there are schools everywhere, colleges, and universities. This is much, much better than in Ethiopia. But the support I give is maybe the same. They are my kids. I supported them there too. But here, you know, to support them you have to be stable financially, you have to have some income. If you have a small income or no income at all, it is hard to support them. You support them morally, but you can't help them. You wouldn't be able to provide their needs, clothing, food and beds, and rooms. We did not have this kind of house or facilities like these. So this one is totally different.

I believe it would be hard [if we had not come here]. The income was low, we have in Ethiopia very few colleges and universities and our population is almost 90 million. Very few students go to university and even after completing university, it's hard to get a job. For me, I don't care, I don't mind because I used to live in Ethiopia, I speak the language and I loved my job as a pastor. So, it's not about me, it's about the family. Yes, the family has more opportunity here than in Ethiopia.

I ask: "How much do you think your religion, your church has guided you in parenting?"

Well, I'd say a lot. Yeah. It's not something in my past that taught me or anybody but I read books. I read books written about parenting, about religious books. And those books, anything, I just relate it to my family. I ask myself: "Can I apply this in my family? Can I use it?" And that helped me a lot. So I would say, that this is a big family. We are eight in the family and I'd say we are doing well. We are doing very well. We are no problem. I can't say if not…of course there are some misunderstandings sometimes, sometimes it's more than a misunderstanding, but we discuss and solve it by ourselves and nothing bad.

Decision Making

Because Daniel described himself as being the centre of the family and this was borne out by my observations, I wondered how decisions were made with Ayana.

> *Basically it depends. I'm the one who makes decisions. If I have to make, sometimes if she agrees, but I have in mind what I'm going to say about it. So I ask her: "How about this and how she does…". So, finally she agrees, okay? Usually, I give her choices, and she has to pick one of them.*

Sometimes Ayana does not agree. Daniel chuckled as he related one incident.

> *No, last time she said, when was that?….the coldest day, she called and she said: "No Dad, I'm not going to school". I said, "Yes, you have to go. You should make sure you are dressed well and you have good shoes and gloves and everything. You have to go. But then she said, "No, no, no, it's not fair, not fair". I said: "It's fair, you have to go, because it's going to be cold tomorrow again and you do not know what will happen the next day or so. And you have no choice. If there's five days and it's cold…that's how life works."*

Trust

When Ayana was in elementary and junior high school, Daniel regularly went to the schools and met with teachers. Now that she is in high school, he uses the SchoolZone website for information.

> *I get information. They e-mail it to me. I follow to see my daughter's grades, to check how she is doing, if she has any homework. I used to contact them in person last year. This year less because I began to trust my daughter and I don't follow every move. She does a lot with that trust now. You know, she's a nice girl. She says that at school there are other students, bad students. A lot of things are going on, I know, but it depends if you…if she's different, she doesn't…as long as she concentrates on her studies and has no bad friends and has family support.*

Aspirations for the future

I wondered about Daniel's hopes for his daughter's future.

> *It's up to them to choose, but again, their grades, you know. The requirements are high. The universities require high, the highest challenge, the barrier is English. The English the universities require is tough. My daughters wanted to go to nursing and the requirements for this are high. So she [one of the older daughters] started as LPN. She completed that and now the plan is she may go to British Columbia to a bridging program. She is a little bit worried about it since she lived her entire life with family and British Columbia is a new place for her…new everything and no family there.*

I asked about Ayana and his hopes for her specifically, and wondered if she had any interests she wished to pursue.

She wants to be a lawyer, but it's still, the grades will determine. As to the languages, you know, to be a lawyer you need more, very strong language. And she is young and she has much better [English] than anybody else. Yeah, but still I don't know how that will work, but still, that's what she's thinking. Maybe in business organization first, or economics, one of the two, then she will go to law school. The grades are not bad now, grade eleven, but again, not very good. You know, 75, 70 percent doesn't…so maybe next year. And then, if she does business first, then her marks will come up. Yeah, the other girl is planning to go to be a psychiatric nurse.

Social Contacts

Daniel teaches Sunday school and given his work schedule, I am wondering how much opportunity there is for the family to be together.

Yes, well everybody works during the week. We are together maybe on Sundays, and on Saturdays. After church [on Saturdays] we come together…everybody sits around the table and we eat together, but every evening, some of us eat together, but not all of us. I have four hours…those four hours are precious to me.

Most of the family's social contacts are through the church as Daniel describes.

I'd say through the church, and if you know, in this country, no less kind of social life. I lived in this house around six years; I've never been to my next door [neighbour]. Oh, in Ethiopia if you just rent a house today somewhere, you don't ask permission, no, it's just you make coffee and call neighbours, "come, come for coffee, come". They come and they call you and on holidays. You don't necessarily have to know the person you just call your neighbour. "I'm from the, your second neighbour, please come and let's eat together." In Ethiopia we cannot live by ourselves unless we support each other. Here, if you need just one hammer, if you do not have one, you have only one choice, you start the engine and you go to Canadian Tire. You don't need it always, you know, you just want it for now to do something and you have the money, you have the car. Yeah, you need a ladder, oh, my friend has it and this one has it, right, and doesn't use it, maybe even once a year. That one ladder will sell at Canadian Tire. But we don't [borrow], so our garage is full, we do not even have the space to put the car…we buy things that we need only once a year. I know why that happens – we have money, we are more independent and we do not depend on anybody. There [in Ethiopia] if I need a chair, still I borrow some chairs, if I have more neighbours, I borrow chairs from my neighbours.

Intimate Moments

Clandinin and Connelly (2000) describe artifacts and photographs as being imbued with meaning and memories. Daniel, Ayana and I spent some time looking at family photographs that Ayana had on her iPhone. She has a photo of Daniel as her screensaver. During this conversation, I saw Daniel totally relax and soften as he interacted with Ayana and talked about the pictures. In observing the interaction between father and daughter, I relied on my 30 years

of experience working with families. As we looked at them, I asked Ayana if she thought she was close to her dad. She said: "*Yeah, I'm close to everybody in the family, but I think I'm closest with my Dad"*. They showed me photos of Daniel wearing a traditional Ethiopian coat for African days in the church and a photo of his daughters fighting over him that made Daniel laugh. There were photos of the daughters kissing Daniel. Daniel said: "*That's how we are in the house. If the girls come now when I'm sitting, they come, they hug, give me hugs, kisses. In our house it's totally different, our family's different [from many families in Ethiopia]"*.

Dermott (2008) describes open dialogue and authenticity as fundamental components of emotional life and integral to intimate relationships. It was obvious that Ayana and Daniel have a close, open relationship.

In addition to photos, Daniel and Ayana shared poems, verses and notes that Daniel writes to her. From time to time he writes notes to her and Ayana saves his words of encouragement. The following is a poem he wrote in 2011:

Ayana is Daniel's girl by birth
More precious than everything on earth
She is Sidāma tribe and royal line
Bless my daughter Oh, God divine

She is my flesh and bone
Inscribed in my heart, not on stone
Indeed precious gift from above
Adorable, sweet and full of love

The smile and beauty on her face
Reflects her creator's love and grace
She is an angel come down in human form
In our midst the princess was born.

Her heart is full of heavenly light
Her face is shiny and bright
Her cheerful face and voice
Makes her entire family ceaselessly rejoice.

He writes to congratulate her on her accomplishments and the following is an example:

I am happy my needs are met,
I still need more, not satisfied yet
93% is pretty good

Ayana's success is the desire of my heart
Rejoice, sing and dance everyone
Ayana's science test is well done
There is nothing more to say
God Bless Ayana in every way
In everything they do,
Bless my other kids too

Daniel writes many little notes and encouraging messages to Ayana, especially when she has done well. Ayana collects and keeps the notes that her father writes to her. He writes to her in English as well as Amharic.

> *Well, it takes me a while, you know, because English is not my language. So I have to collect these rhyme words from different places.*

When they talk with each other, they mostly speak Amharic, but quite often Ayana responds in English.

> *Most of the time it's in Amharic. She speaks better than I. She responds in Amharic, but sometimes in English. It's hard to talk about something, about somebody's secret in Amharic with her, because she answers it in English. While travelling on the bus, maybe if I say some comments, something about somebody in the bus, you know, if I want to share some secrets there, then she answers me back in English. She just says it in English, for her speaking in English is easier than speaking in Amharic.*

Daniel's journey has been one of many transitions. He describes his journey as a zigzagging path as he encountered many challenges. In terms of transitions, Daniel's experience of reality was disrupted several times and eventually he had to construct a new reality, to organize a new way to live and respond within the Canadian context that provided stability for his family. His approach to being a father in Canada has been to take the best from each situation and reconcile these components into a fathering approach that straddles the influences of the cultures he has experienced.

Chapter Seven

Samuel's Story

Habitus

As a product of history, habitus produces individual and collective practices – more history - in accordance with the schemes generated by history. It ensures the active presence of past experiences which, deposited in each organism in the form of schemes of perception, thought and action, tend to guarantee the 'correctness' of practices and their constancy over time, more reliably than all formulas rules and explicit norms. (Bourdieu 1990 p. 54)

Transnational habitus

Current scholarship on transnationalism provides a new analytic optic which makes visible the increasing intensity and scope of circular flows of persons, goods, information and symbols triggered by international labour migration. It allows an analysis of how migrants construct and reconstitute their lives as simultaneously embedded in more than one society. (Caglar, 2001, p. 607).

...a particular set of dualistic dispositions that inclines migrants to act and react to specific situations in a manner that can be, but is not always, calculated, and that is not simply a question of conscious acceptance of specific behavioural or sociocultural rules. ...The transnational *habitus* incorporates the social position of the migrant and the context in which transmigration occurs. This accounts for the similarity in the transnational *habitus* of migrants from the same social grouping (class, gender, generation) and the generation of transnational practices adjusted to specific situations (Guarnizo, 1997, p. 311)

Samuel and his family are from Ghana and have been in Canada for several years. He has three daughters and chose to focus on the oldest who was 10 years old when the family arrived in Canada. The youngest daughter was born after the family had settled in Canada. Conversations with Samuel took place in his living room with the family in the background and each conversation lasted 60 to 90 minutes.

Samuel started the conversations by talking about his experience as a single parent prior to coming to Canada. The family experienced separation as his wife chose to come to Canada to do graduate work leaving him behind with their two daughters. The family lived apart for about 18 months. For Samuel this experience marked a major transition in his fatherhood experience.

Assuming Primary Responsibility

For a period of 18 months, Samuel assumed primary responsibility for his daughters' care and welfare**.** Allgood and Beckert (2012), in a study of adolescent daughters' perspectives of their fathers employed Lamb's (1986) typology for father/daughter relationships that includes engagement, accessibility, and responsibility. They identified responsibility as the most important type of father/daughter involvement because it describes the extent to which the father takes responsibility for his daughter's wellbeing. In the period in which the family was apart, Samuel assumed complete responsibility for the wellbeing of his two daughters. He summed up the experience by saying:

> *You know, as a father, always taking care of a teenaged girl, it's not been easy but then we've had a very cordial relationship right from the beginning. I just treat them like my friends, because they were two, but the other one was a little bit younger than this one, so since she was older, she understood me more and she tried to help me a lot, especially because the mom was not there – she wanted to take the mom's position.* So *sometimes even in the kitchen she would like to take over the cooking and stuff like that, even when she was not ready for cooking. But I guided her in most of the things that she did.*

Acting as the father and the mother

Samuel found very quickly his relationship with his daughter was changing now that he was the sole parent in his children's daily lives. In Bateson's words (1994) he found he had to

attend to his daughter's needs in the sense of being present, of taking care of her in ways that were not so familiar to him. As Bateson said: "...there is a powerful link between presence and care. The willingness to do what needs to be done is rooted in attention to what is" (p. 109). According to Bateson, this kind of attention emphasizes a multiplicity that produces stress as well as insight. In the process of determining the best way to care for his daughters, Samuel and his oldest daughter developed a closeness that had not existed before and that might not have developed if his wife had been present, a closeness that enhanced Samuel's understanding of parenting and fatherhood.

> *Actually, in terms of relationship, I would say that we are close because she was able to express fears and likes to me in a way that I felt wouldn't have been possible if the mother were to be around. Maybe it would have been, you know, if the mother had been around, she would listen to most of her views. But, I was acting as the father and the mother as well.*
>
> *So I felt, in that sense, she was open to me and I was open to her. And, yeah, basically I think she was open, lovely, tried to be obedient in everything that I tried to coach her. She did her best to adhere to whatever I said to her.*

I wondered how Samuel had organized his life as a single parent and what assistance he had to look after his daughters while his wife was abroad. He described how his mother looked after the girls during the week while he worked and he cared for them at weekends.

> *Actually, I was in a different town and I had my mum too, who was in a different town, about 25 kilometres away. So I took them to my mum's place and then I used to bring them during the weekend to spend time with me.*
>
> *They had to change schools. Their school, too, was not in the town that my mum was staying; it was a little bit farther away from my mum's place. So the bus would pick them up in the morning and then take them back late in the night.*

Challenges

Bateson (1989) noted: "Women have always lived discontinuous and contingent lives, but men today are newly vulnerable..." (p. 13).

Samuel had to develop a routine that balanced his work and his fathering and reduced stress. He is a teacher and held a demanding position as the head of a school department.

Sometimes you have to forgo some things, just drive to my mum's place just to say "Hi" to them [his daughters] and others were thinking maybe we were pampering them, but I felt I needed to give the attention she needed.

Being "there"

Samuel found that his work and his fathering became nested and intertwined in each other.

During the weekends, especially, I would pick them up on Friday after I was teaching. So, after school, about 3 p.m., I would drive the 25 kilometres, pick them up, or sometimes wait but *that was where I felt the challenge, because I was a man and she was a girl and, you know, that was my first time taking care of a girl, because all along the mum used to do everything for her and now it was my turn to do everything for her. The attention that she needed, I had to give and I didn't want to leave her. I wanted to, you know, satisfy her demands by giving her all the attention she needed because I felt I was the only person that was there for her, especially because of the fact that my mum used to be with them during the weekdays. It was a real problem because you know, during those times, as a teacher, you're always busy. Even during the weekends you are busy. I was head of the vocational department, so my responsibilities were huge. So, sometimes I had to wake up very early in the morning to prepare their breakfast. Any time I didn't feel like eating it, my daughter would complain: "You prepared breakfast, you don't take it. Why?" I told her: "No, I don't feel like taking breakfast. It's just because of you, so you have to eat…I have to satisfy you". So, I would wake up early in the morning, prepare breakfast, see to it that they showered and they were clean for the day and after eating something, they'd have to follow me to school.*

During this time his daughter tried to assume many aspects of her mother's role. Not only did his daughter help him in the kitchen, she also tried to help him with his schoolwork. She assisted him by organizing his papers and helping him when he was marking.

Sometimes I would mark and she would have to arrange my papers for me and so in a way, she was helpful in the kitchen because she felt she was a girl and she needed to help me as a big girl.

The task of marking was not without interruption, as Samuel relates how he had to balance work with the interruptions and needs of his daughters.

And then, my educational work, that's my professional field too, she felt that she was big enough to help me. So, in terms of marking, maybe certain questions she would like to read, she preferred to read them for me so they are right. And after school, especially the weekend, you know, almost every weekend, I used to go to school to work, and then come during the day. So when I took her to school, I had to work while she was with me in the office and then the problems would come – "Daddy, I 'm hungry. You have to stop work". And you know, they were picky a little bit. Sometimes you would feel like preparing something for them and they would say "no". Or buying this,

you just buy something without asking them, and then you bring it and they would say: "No, this is not what I want". He laughed about this. And it means you have to forgo what you're doing and then follow their demands and then meet what they need. That was a problem. But because I was teaching senior high and it was a boarding school, there were some girls in my department who really liked her. So, sometimes when I'd take her to school during the weekend, they would come for her, be with her.

Very quickly, as the sole parent, Samuel found that his life revolved around his daughters and he had to establish a routine.

My life was home, school, driving them to my mum's place, bringing them…back and forth, to home. Sometimes they would say: "Oh take me out!" and I'd have to take them sightseeing.

We used to go sightseeing and visit sometimes in the evening. They would like me to take them out and so, basically, we visited my friends. I 'd take them to my friends' place and then we would chat for some time and then we would come back home, maybe watch television and go back to sleep. I'd help them – we'd try to do any homework that they brought.

So we tried to finish everything. I would bring them on Friday and on that Friday is after school before I go to pick them up from my mum's place. When we returned on a Friday night, we were tired and so we didn't do any bookwork. It's like chatting and just relaxing and maybe watching some films or television. Then we would sleep. But the next day, which is the Saturday, I made sure they did their homework. Sometimes they would do their homework while I was in the office.

After that they were free to do whatever they liked. So, on the Sunday they were ready to go back to my mum's place. If I was not able to take them on Sunday, then we left in the early dawn on Monday. I'd have to drag them to school before I came back to school. And my classes started at 0730! It was a hectic period of time.

*It wasn't easy. Sometimes you have to forgo some of your activities and your school and then come and take, especially when you're supposed to attend a PTA meeting or attend a function for them. T**hey will definitely need you to be present….it was a problem because** sometimes the notice will come at a short time and you have to forgo what you're supposed to do and then they might be upset if you couldn't give them time, it becomes a problem. You will not even have your peace. And because you also like to have your peace of mind, that means anything they request, you have to satisfy them. So, if they request you to take them out, there is nothing you can do. You have to satisfy them. And that was a little bit of a problem for me though, but we tried to manage and cope with that situation.*

Sometimes I did invite my school girls, especially when I felt that time would be somewhat tight in my activities, or maybe if I had a program to attend, I would invite some of them to come and take care of my daughters in the house, so that I could have freedom to do whatever.

We have people in the school, especially the schoolgirls who were willing - well they felt I was lonely with the girls and they wanted to help. And because I was the head of the

department of vocational skills, which comprises the visuals department and home economics, they were all under my supervision. So, I had lots of help.

But I felt I should take the responsibility myself, because I needed to know exactly what goes into them, their feeding and stuff like that. And I didn't want anybody to mess with them, so I felt I should keep a very good eye on them, yeah.

Becoming the sole parent and spending time with his daughters meant that for Samuel this time period represented a "turning point of closeness" in his father/daughter relationship as described by Barrett and Morman (2012, p. 245). His new role represents a significant change not only in his relationship with his daughters, but also in his perceptions of fatherhood. In his stories we can see that he is developing an understanding of what his daughters needed and how he attempts to gain insights into their needs. In the process he was building a closer relationship with them.

"Sickness"

Samuel felt that it was his sole responsibility to care for his daughters. In talking about the experience, he described how his daughter was "cranky" when she was living with her grandmother during the week.

I felt they were my kids and I had to bring them up in the way I liked. So even when they were with my mum I didn't like it because you know, grandparents do pamper girls and I didn't like that way. But, it was my only option. She [my mother] wanted to do anything possible for her to feel very good. But in all honesty, my daughter was cranky when she was with my mum. I don't know, maybe she felt she needed to be with me and her mum and while the mum was not there she felt a bit lost.

Samuel noted that his daughters had experienced a major transition with their mother overseas, not seeing their dad during the week, and being in a new school. These changes caused them stress that they explained as "sickness".

You know, the mum had to move and when she moved, we had to change schools immediately and then change the environment as well. That was a radical change for them and I felt it made them feel a little bit reserved. And that was the reason why, I guess, almost every weekend I heard complaints of sickness. But anytime I brought them from my mum's place, the sickness disappeared!

And they were so close to me because they were able to share their problems, their fears…I felt that was good.

Even before coming to Canada, the mum visited once and I realized that she became jealous a little bit because she felt they were giving me more attention. They did miss her. Once she was back there [in Ghana], she felt that they ought to go to her, but then they would bypass her and then come to me just as we'd been doing along before she came back.

Samuel and his wife made preparations for the family to go to Canada, but did not include their daughters in all of the discussions. It seemed that they were trying to reduce stress, to reduce the incidence of "sickness" because it disappeared once the family was together in Canada.

All along we were trying our best to facilitate papers so that we would be able to join her, but we kept it secret from them [the girls] because we didn't want them to have that anxiety.

So, they would say things like: "When are we going to mum's? What is it we don't have in Ghana that she will have to leave?" I quite remember she asked once when she was talking to her mum: "Mum, when are you coming? So what sort of school is that you are going to that we don't have in Ghana?" It was then I realized that their mum felt bad, yeah, because she realized that they missed her so much…and I realized she was not comfortable to be leaving them back home. So finally when we decided to come here, we found then, I think, the sickness ceased. ***No more sickness****. And it's joy all through our family. I realized just because of the way they missed their mum and the separation, that was why we heard complaints of sickness and stuff like that.*

Samuel's Experiences Growing Up

Samuel seemed very comfortable with being a father of daughters and I wondered if his parenting style came from his mother or father, or if he had blended different influences.

You know, I'm coming from a single parent. My dad and mum separated many years ago and my dad was in Nigeria teaching, and my mum was in Ghana. So, sometimes we communicated on the phone with my dad and we would see him once in a blue moon. That kind of bond wasn't there. With that, if you want me to do something that you feel, because that bond is not there and because you're not so close to me, I don't even pay attention it.

Samuel grew up mainly with his mother and one sister. In contemplating their influence on his comfort at being a father of daughters, at first Samuel said they had no influence, thought about it for a little while, and then said:

Maybe that has even given me the love for girls, that is to parent girls…yeah. I should think, because I was so close to my mum, too, and even my sis – we stayed in the same house. I don't know, but I believe their influence has… You know, for me, having girls – they are a blessing – from wherever.

I wondered if he hoped his first baby would be a boy or a girl.

> *Well, no, it didn't matter to me. That did not matter to me because I told myself that anything that comes, you accept it, whether a girl or a boy. ....I wanted twins anyway. A boy and a girl.*

Instead, Samuel has three beautiful girls and he says: *They control me a lot. I would love to have a boy but since I had only girls, I appreciate it. I'm comfortable with that.*

Traditions

We talked briefly about traditional parenting in Ghana, but Samuel and his wife had not lived in a traditional way in Ghana. Their daily circumstances were quite similar to their context in Canada.

> *Well, you know, in our traditional setting, if you have kids, the father takes care of the males and the mother takes care of the females. That's basically what goes on in our traditional setting. But we lived in a bungalow where families are separated from each other. So in your house, it's you, your wife, your children. Sometimes you don't even have kids around to play with, so all the concentration was with the parents and kids. But when my wife left and I was taking care, it was like taking the responsibility of the mother as well.*

Coe (2011), in discussing internal and transnational migration of Ghanaians, notes that while women are totally responsible for the care of infants and small children, many Ghanaian fathers feel responsibility for supporting a child's education or training.

Challenge of a New Country

The "sickness" the daughters were experiencing in Ghana disappeared once the family was together in Canada. Nevertheless, new contexts, new circumstances introduce challenges.

> *Well, you know, the change of environment - that was a very big challenge. So since we changed our environment to this place and everything was new to us, and they needed to have a new school and I needed to have new work, and you know, the time too when we came was at the peak of snow! So the challenge was huge, sometimes to go out was a problem. You have to stay indoors and take care of them, but they adjusted very fast, yeah, to the weather, to the environment, and I guess when they saw their mom, yeah, things changed.*
>
> *They became relaxed, they felt, well, we are now at home. Now we're back together again and they tried to embrace the new situation that they found themselves in. As a challenge I think basically it was the change of environment and the change of school.*

That was a bit of a challenge to them, I guess, because they were the only girls in their school who were black. They were able to adjust very fast.

I wondered about the experience of being the only black girls in the school.

Well the last time she told me, I think this year, this academic year they had, no that was last…I think here, late last academic year they had one black from, I think Jamaica, in their class. So, when she came to tell me, "Hey Dad, we have another black guy in my class from Jamaica", I said: – Oh, yeah, that's nice.

The school has a Mandarin program, so Samuel feels that the students are well mixed and there have been no issues for his girls.

They blend well, I don't know if it's because it's a Chinese/English school.

Adjusting to the New Context

Once in Canada, Samuel expected family dynamics to return to what they were when the family was in Ghana, but he found that this was not to be, he cannot take a back seat to family involvement. He works straight nights so that he and his wife can balance and share childcare. During one conversation, Samuel balanced his youngest daughter who was one year old in his arms and on his knee while we talked. He amused her with his iPhone and toys and walked with her during our conversation. Once in Canada, he had decided not to do any more cooking, but he has found that some of his dishes are in demand by the family!

Ideally, since we came to Canada and we came to meet my wife as well, so they [his daughters] came to meet their mom. I felt it was now the responsibility of their mom to take care of them. So I only try to help, but the responsibility I was undertaking as a parent, a single parent way back home, changed, because this time I was not going to the kitchen to cook again!

But you know, while we were back home, sometimes I prepared them some dishes and they would say: "Oh Daddy, I enjoyed this dish". So when we came here too, sometimes they request for some of those dishes to be prepared and that's when I come in and they'll say: "Hey Chef"!

Samuel's experiences remind me of the work of Nesteruk and Marks (2011) in which they found that immigrant fathers often become more actively involved in their children's lives in a new country. This is partly due to the influence of the new context and the loss of social support from relatives.

Things that are different

Samuel's perception is that children in Canada have many freedoms and not all of these freedoms are positive. He finds some of these freedoms a challenge to his parenting.

> *You see, back home in Ghana there are many things that kids will not do. But here, the kids have so much freedom that they do things that you, the parents, will have to consent to what they do.*
>
> *But back home, no. It's not accepted. So when they [my daughters] came here, it's like they're copying a different culture and because they try to integrate into the system, they copy exactly what the kids do here. So, it's also a very big challenge of what you wouldn't expect them to do. They would like you to accept, like for instance one of them requests a sleepover, which we've never experienced in Ghana. And maybe they say: "Take me swimming". You have to forgo your work and take your kids swimming. Back home you wouldn't do that. So because they feel they are part of the system now in Canada, and whatever the kids do, the other kids, they have to do, and you the parent, have to consent to that, you are forced to accept sometimes, the request that they wouldn't have made back home.*
>
> *Because you would like them to feel very good, when they've made the request, you have to grant them.*

Blending with a different culture

I was curious about Samuel's perception that he had to give in to requests from his children and by the fact that he thought giving in to children was part of Canadian culture. So I asked if he really did grant all requests.

> *Not all of them. Sometimes you have to explain to them. "Hey, back home we don't do this. This is a different culture. So you know that we don't copy blindly". If you are coming from a different place to integrate with a different culture,* ***you have to blend****. You have to accept the good ones. We try to educate them of the fact that not everything that the kids they see do is right, because here, even some time ago, my daughter told me she didn't want to go to a particular school. Why? Because a friend told her that her brother went to that school and the brother started smoking. So [for my daughter] it meant that if she went to that school, she would be forced to smoke. And I said no. But that is a culture that some people are copying blindly and because you have a different background and a Christian background, of course, there are some things you have to shun. Not everything that friends do or your colleagues do is good. That mere fact that they do, doesn't mean it's good, so we try as much as possible to let them know that they are blending with a different culture and they should only pick the best ones out of it and forgo those ones which are not to the best of their advantage. So we tried as much as possible to let them feel they are different and they have to follow the precepts that they were following before coming to Canada.*

Clearly, he is guiding his daughters to balance and integrate what his family perceives as positive practices in Canada with the good practices from Ghana. This echoes the findings of de Haan (2012), of Sanagavarapu (2010), and of Nesteruk and Marks (2011) who describe how immigrant parents adjust their strategies and modify their parenting practices within the new context. According to Nesteruk and Marks, the task for immigrant parents is to find ways to maintain aspects of their own culture while at the same ensuring their children are able to assimilate well into the new context. So, one way to do this is to balance and blend the good practices from the country of origin with good practices from the new context.

Discipline

I wondered if Samuel had made changes to his approach to discipline after coming to Canada, but he pointed out that because of the interim experience of family separation, he had already softened his approach in Ghana. Once in Canada, he and his wife have monitored their daughters' activities.

> *Well, back home, because the mum was not there, I tried as much as possible to be a little soft. So, I tried to let them have the freedom that they needed, because of the complaints of sickness that I received almost every weekend. I didn't want them to have any feelings of "Where's my mum?". So back home they had much more freedom in terms of the relationship with outside friends and stuff, but then here, we try to streamline their movements, their associations with friends and what they intend doing, like requesting to go for movies when it impinges on my time. I don't compromise that.*

> *If there is something I have to do, like going to my night job, and my daughters request that I take them swimming or to the movies, then I would have to compromise before going to the job. I will not compromise on that. I try to let them feel that: "Look, when I have the freedom, I'll try to give you your request. But I do not always have to grant your request." So compromising their request depends on my freedom. So, I have the freedom, fine. I can, in a way, compromise and meet their request provided it's something that would be helpful to them. Sometimes they tell you because their friends are going, "you need to take me there". In that case, I don't compromise. But what I will compromise in Ghana, here I will not do that because I feel now we are all together and they have the freedom to associate with their parents.*

Samuel finds that in some ways he is a little more strict with his daughters than he would have been had the family remained in Ghana.

I don't want them to copy or follow things that the kids here do, which I feel is not to the best of our advantage. So I try to be a little strict. Strict in a way but then I try to be relaxed for them.

It is kind of that process you go through. You can do so much, but there are some things that these kids do that I don't want them to do.

Samuel sees himself being stricter when his daughters get older. He says this is because he works at a convention centre and witnesses the behaviour of many adolescents.

They organize kind of jams where people come to dance and stuff like that. When you see the age range of girls that do come with the boys and the sort of things that they do, I tell you honestly, if you're not strict and they try to copy blindly and follow what their friends are doing, then they will go astray. So, in a way, yes I have to be strict because here it seems kids have much freedom and girls, too, have much freedom. Just to let them know that freedom has its limits, you have to be strict and that is why I wouldn't like them to go the way, excuse me to say, the Canadian kids are going.

His sentiment resonates for me. My parents were wonderful with small children and pre-teens but felt that they had to be stricter when we were teenagers. Their perceptions were similar to those of Samuel and their own experiences of adult/youth relationships were similar. Samuel describes the relationship between adults and children/youth as being quite different in Ghana where any adult can correct a child.

You know, back home, you would see a kid smoking – any adults can check the kid. But here, woe betides you tell somebody's kid, "Hey…,". You can even find a kid smoking with the parent, which is an abomination in my county. Yeah. We don't do that. So just not for them to go astray from our culture. I try to be a little bit strict so that they will know that we are coming from a different culture and we're trying to merge with a different culture and we have to take the best of it.

Samuel talked about how his daughter is now in Junior High and is asking different questions of her parents.

That's where the girls feel they are big…the last time she was asking her mum when she would have a boyfriend. Her mum told her when she goes to university. You can just imagine, maybe you know, growing with people, you have some tendencies to at least copy some of the things those people are doing. And that's exactly where you have to be strict so that you teach them the values of what we believe in. And then in due course, they will be able to pick up the good values and shun the ones that are not acceptable to my culture.

In talking about how he felt about his daughter asking about boyfriends, Samuel talked about technology and its influence. He also talked about his puzzlement that his daughter would ask the question.

> *Actually, you know, with this kind of technological age where television becomes some people's third parent. I know here, television is the third parent of some people because the parents, the mum and dad, are very busy working. They don't have time to check the kids and they feel, hey, if you watch television, I'll have my freedom. They [children] copy a lot from television and the Internet. So at that age, the sort of things they watch on television and see on the Internet, definitely, they would like to copy, but I feel, well, it's a learning process and you know, each stage in life is a learning process. So at that particular stage, if you ask that question, well, I never felt bad, but I felt, hey this girl, she's growing to seek something like that. Is she being harassed by somebody or something? So, it was like hard, double feelings. Is she feeling that she's grown up enough to have a boyfriend or something?*
>
> *At this age, the changes that they do experience in their body makes them find all these questions and all these experiences acceptable to them. But to us as parents, maybe we feel you have to grow up a little bit before you get into all these kinds of things. So, in a way, as a dad, well I had a double mind, but I never felt bad.*

Father-Daughter Relationship

I wondered if his daughter would confide more in her mother than in him. Samuel's strategy is to be open and bold about sensitive topics.

> *Well, you know, because I was so close with her in Ghana, she feels comfortable when she talks about this with me and I feel, well it's true. I feel I have to teach her good things. So, "let me tell you something about African culture". You know in our culture when you try to educate a kid about the parts of the body, the private parts, for instance, instead of saying breasts, you say something else to mean breast.*
>
> *I remember one time they were very young and you know, when the mum was bathing them, you'd say: "Oh wash your…." just give a very different thing altogether, like an acronym or maybe "your private spot". Once the kids came home, they told me: "Daddy, daddy, this is anus. This is vagina, this is penis. And then the mum watched my face and I said: "Yes, I have to teach them the correct way". Don't let them learn it from outside otherwise you are deceiving them. There are some things you have to be bold about and then discuss plainly.*
>
> *You know, the last time, my wife was talking to the little one who is 10 years old now and she asked questions about menstruation. And she said, she knows that from the Internet, that when you grow these things happen. So she is learning these things from the net without parental guidance.*
>
> *But then way back home, if you're growing up, as a teenager, your parents will sit you down, you know, communicate all these things to you, which is not so in this system because everything is the Internet, everything is in the books…and in the schools.*

So if you try to tell the truth or not try to be open to the kid, you might sound like a liar to the kid, if like a kid tries to identify the facts or the truth of what he wants to know.

The value of Openness

Samuel finds that he values openness as a positive attribute.

They are more open I guess because of the television that they watch a lot and the Internet. They feel they have to be open because of what they see on television; they see kids of their age being open in most of these things, yes. Some of the kids' programs, they are open in their conversations. So, they also feel that, oh, so it's not anything that we have to hide.

That's a very positive thing. It's positive as compared to my home country. Because in my home country there are some things you hide from them [your children] and when they discover it on their own, they also hide it from you, the parents, in doing things that they feel they've hidden from me. So, in a way, that aspect is positive. And I feel there should be a plain airing out of whatever views they have and if there is anything they need, they have to request it openly and we will also have our opinion and peace of mind so that we won't have thoughts of, hey, what's this girl doing while we're not home or while at school? Is she safe?

I love them to be open, and now they are more open as compared to back home. That's a very big advantage. I believe it's probably because of the system they find themselves in. You know, the system here, they say that many things are made clear to the kids, and I think that's a very positive one.

Nesteruk and Marks (2011) note that in Western countries, the development of each person as an individual is valued. This produces confidence, assertiveness, and boosts self-esteem. Samuel has found that this openness has given his daughter confidence.

With my relationship now, I feel she's open. I'm also able to relate well more than back home because of our culture where we try to hide some things from them. Here, because of the system, you would not even dare hide anything because she will find it out and then come and ask you to your face. You know?

Here, the system makes them bold to be honest. An example: the system equips them with boldness where they are able to question parents as opposed to my home country where it's like a taboo to even question the parents. Or question an elderly person for a wrongdoing or something. So, here, I believe honestly they've been bold, assertive, they are taking responsibility too. As for the elder girl, she's taking responsibility.

So I think coming from Ghana to this place, integrating into the system, learning their culture, blending with what we brought…they have had the opportunity of experiencing a different culture as opposed to what they are meeting now. So, blending these two cultures makes them feel, I think they feel a little bit, I should say, bold. They are now – how do I put it? I think, you know, if you've had an experience of two different things as opposed to somebody who has an experience of one particular thing,

> *you tend to be at an advantage. And since they have had the opportunity of experiencing the culture which is quite different from what they are now experiencing, I believe at this age, growing up with a different culture and different people, they're trying to integrate well and I know they will pick the best out of it.*

This echoes the findings of Nesteruk and Marks' (2011). One of their research participants said:

> When our children grow up in this environment they believe they are capable to do anything. They believe in their ideas, their dreams, they believe anything is possible. In this country, you can do anything you want, at any age you want. (p. 818)

Those participants noted that lack of openness led to inhibitions and lack of self-expression.

A listening ear

I asked Samuel what makes a really good father-daughter relationship and he highlighted being a good listener, being friends with your daughter, and being open. He emphasized the importance of having a listening ear.

> *I believe it to be a good listener, to listen to their case, you know, that creates a bond because if a kid of a certain age, maybe your daughter at that age, has a problem, and it's not good to share with you, Dad or Mum, then that's why you're not giving a listening ear. I guess in my heart that listening ear is somewhere else, which in a way maybe, you know, to go to hurt or to…you're either going to hurt this life or going to make a good change here. But then I believe, as a Dad, you should be the first person that the kid should be able to confide in you, and I believe if you are a good listener and you have the listening ear to listen to their problems, I guess it's a plus and a factor to making a good dad to such kids.*

Along with having a listening ear, he views being friends as important because this will lead to openness and then children will be more willing to share their problems. Ensuring that his daughter feels good is important to Samuel.

> *It's so important to make your daughters feel good because, you know, growing up in a society, there are many things you can pick up, both good and bad ones. And, if you don't let your kid feel the best out of you as a dad, then definitely, what they need can be obtained from friends, from the net, from the books that they read. There are many things they learn form the Internet, from the books, which to your amazement you will not even have knowledge.*

In thinking about his mention of menstruation, I wondered if he would be involved in conversations about such topics or if his daughters would just talk to their mum.

I remember way back in time, when we were kids, if a girl menstruates, for instance, she tries to hide it. But now because of the provision of this information everywhere, the kids are, you know, they are armed with what they want. So they feel free to talk about issues relating to their development, issues even in their relationships, friends and wherever, at school, in church. They feel free to talk to you as a parent and they don't mind whether you're the dad or the mum. They are free because they feel it's part of life and they need to know and when they have a conversation with you, they become open.

Just as I said, because of the information dissemination, things are changing. But to be more open as a lady, as a girl, growing up with your physical changes, it's quite different in our Ghanaian system, because there are some things that are considered as taboo. Like sex.

Well, if you're not married, they think it's a taboo. So even if somebody does, like, tries to force you to have sex, which here would be against the law, in African society you don't take care. Your grandmother or your parents will even tell you to shut up, don't tell anybody. And then it becomes a stigma. So basically, anything that you get as a…like the aftermath of what you did, which is to the detriment of your growth, then you take it, which is bad.

Being together brings the family closer

Like many other immigrant families, Samuel has found that settling in a new country without support from extended family members and lifelong friends brings the family members together in a different dynamic.

Being together has brought us so closer together and the bond is now stronger than it used to be in Ghana because there, you know, because there was…they would like come to me during the weekend and I had less time being with them and I guess that bond, that feeling of parenting, of having both father and mother close, wasn't there…but now that we have it here, the bond is so strong.

In settling in Canada, he finds that he, his wife, and daughters depend on each other.

Ideally, since we are the only parents, that's your mom and your dad being around for you and they are close to you, I guess being around without any of those external relations giving their supports to this parenting, I believe because we are so close to each other and we stay together, we've been able to at least run the family without any external help. By that I mean the extended family system which is so prevalent in our African society, but not so common here because here it is the dad, the mum and the kids who make the family.

In addition to depending on each other, he has found that as a parent, he has to be much more responsive to his daughters than he would have been in Ghana. Initially, he said this is something he has to do or his children will talk about it.

If you are not responsible, they will even tell their class, their friends and their teachers that this is what you do.

But he also sees this as a positive change

In Ghana, if the kids are going out to play, you don't bother to follow them, but here you have to take them to the park, take them to the swimming, watch them swim, walk them wherever they want to be, supervise them…and that's a very good trait which goes on here. It makes you responsible - it makes you have that bond too. You have to be there. In Ghana you don't even consider where the kid is going to, but here, you know where the kids are, at what time, with whom.

And that's a very responsible culture…I think when we go back home we have to teach, or write in our books, some of things that they do here which are positive.

The child tells on the street what the parents say at home

I had asked Samuel to talk about the best times and worst times with his daughter and he described an incident that had troubled him and challenged him to think about his parenting.

You know the girls of their age try to, one would like to dominate the other, or sometimes they try to choose a priority and that's a little bit…..and I remember sometimes when they were trying to…they were having a conversation and they started using foul language, like insults. And I told them, "Look, I hate such language" - I don't want them to be using such language on each other, and I asked when had they ever seen us [their parents] using such language. Then one [of the girls] was good enough to tell me: "Yeah". Sometimes when I go mad, I sometimes use language that is bad, so I don't use it on you. Maybe if I'm working on my computer and I have a problem, I say: "Oh, come on…" then I use that language but I don't use it on you. So they both told me to my face that I use that language. And I got angry. But later, when I reflected, I realized that what she was saying was true: So after I told them I know that it is true.

I remember they used to say the child tells on the street what the parents say at home. So exactly what parents do, they see…you might think they don't notice what you're doing but in the near future, they will start doing it.

Here he sees the importance of modeling behaviour at home.

School

Samuel and his wife both maintain contact with the school. He welcomes the relationship that is expected to develop between parents and teachers. In addition, he has access to SchoolZone from his computer and iPhone.

It depends on our shifts, but we try as much as possible. When there is a meeting for parents, we try, one of us will be there, or the two of us will be there. I would feel a

little bit more comfortable, because way back in Ghana we didn't have the opportunity to be meeting teachers, because of the distance.

Sometimes you have to go to work and then close before you go and pick them up. So it became a little hard but here everything is different. The relationships between the parents and the teachers and the kids are so strong …and it's because they try to organize regular interactions among those parents, teachers, and then the students.

Language

Samuel's daughters speak English most the time.

It's surprising. Even when you speak to them in your native language, they respond in English. Just because when they go to school, that's exactly what they use with their friends and their communication and then when they come home too, the programs they watch on television and everything, it's in English, so it's like they're…even getting lost with our language.

Just because they don't have people to be communicating with them using that language, so the language that they use often is what is taking control of them now. So the Ghanaian language is getting lost and they are now used to the English language. Sometimes we even speak our language incorrectly and they tell us: "No, that's not it".

Plans to Return Home

Samuel plans that one day his family will return to Ghana to stay. He says that if his children wish to stay in Canada that will be fine.

We would not impose on them if they feel like not going because they've integrated into the system and it's part of them. That's okay. And they are more responsible too.

I was intrigued by his comment on responsibility and he elaborated.

The system here makes you more responsible. Way back in Ghana, for instance, I used to buy gas, I bought groceries, but, you know, there you don't quantify the amount you spend in those areas, but here in Canada, the bank will even want to know from you how much you spend on groceries, how much you spend on utilities…And that system here makes you more manageable in most of your financial dealings, which I believe is a positive sign.

The negative thing here, is the freedom that they give to youth. I know the freedom in the system also, there is a limit, but because they have the freedom to do whatever they want, some of them abuse it. I used to teach before coming here, and in the classroom the kids subject themselves to whatever the teacher does and there's a very conducive atmosphere. So at the end of term, if the kid does not do well, you know who to blame, whether it's your attendance that has not translated into your grades or it's just because the teacher wasn't very good. You will know where to pinpoint the problem, but here, I had a conversation with friends who've been in senior high, who just completed senior high and they asked if I would like to go into teaching here. But through conversation I deduced from what they were saying about the way kids have

> *the freedom to be in class. For instance, if you are teaching and a kid is having some earphones listening to music, you, the teacher, would not be able to instruct the kids to take them off because they have the freedom to do whatever they want to. And in the long run, if the kid fails in what you've taught, you, the teacher will be assessed. They will say that you the teacher didn't each well, because at the end of the semester you are assessed and that's freedom. To me, it makes me back away from teaching because I don't want a situation where I will not be able to check you, the student, in class and at the end of the day you will assess my performance and you were, probably you might have been insubordinate in class.*

Samuel feels that this type of behaviour is not an issue in the lower grades.

> *With the lower grades I think there is more control in the classroom and they [his daughters] are always happy and eager to complete their homework. If you don't complete your homework, the teacher will send a note to your parents and the parents will feel embarrassed because it seems that you have not been able to supervise your kid well. So because of checks and balances from teachers to the parents, it makes you, the parent, able to help your kid and help your kid to learn.*

He is hoping that his daughter will finish school in Alberta, but hopes that she makes her own choices about her future.

> *They have strong ambitions and I will be glad with the opportunity here in terms of schooling. I wouldn't like to impose…it didn't work for me. My dad wanted me to do science. So, he bought me science books, but I wasn't into science. I was business oriented and it got to a time I had to change to arts. His ambition for me was to aspire to sciences, but I had no interest. So, if they identify what they want to do and they are interested in, that's fine. We will give them the push and then they go ahead.*

An Adaptable Habitus

In searching for information on Ghana, I discovered that a migrant habitus has been a characteristic of Ghanaian society for many years (Asampong et al. 2013; Burrell & Anderson, 2008; Cassiman, 2010; Coe, 2012). People in Ghana have a long history of internal mobility that leads to fluidity in family dynamics and this fluidity tends to be maintained by Ghanaians when they migrate to other countries (Nedelcu, 2012). In Samuel I see this fluidity in his accommodation to changing circumstances. In encountering the new field, the context of a Canadian prairie city, Samuel seems able to adapt his habitus, his sense of place, so that he establishes a transnational perspective. He is not defined by one lived space.

Chapter Eight

Turning the Kaleidoscope

"Migrants, perhaps more than many people, are made by their memories of their birthplace, their homeland, those left behind – interruptions in their life narratives that require resequencing, remodelling and reinterpreting as the newcomers incorporate and surpass their pasts" (Chamberlain & Leydesdorff, 2004, p. 228).

In reading and re-reading the individual narratives to discern resonant threads, I paid attention to Bateson's (2000) words:

> Wisdom comes not by accumulation of more and more experiences but through discerning pattern in the deeper mystery of what is already there. Even the self is no fixed constancy but changeable, moiré in motion, like a pool reflecting passing clouds and stirred by underwater springs." (p. 243)

Scrutinizing the moiré in motion, the patterns emerging from the overlapping, intersecting lives involved seeing things in a kaleidoscopic way, using the three dimensional inquiry space to move backwards and forwards, inward and outward, as the pieces, swirled, overlapped, and fell into focus. It meant paying attention to intersections, dissonances and "…the resonance between stories" (Bateson, 2000, p. 243). I laid the stories alongside each other keeping in mind that the purpose of the research was to explore the fathers' experiences of their relationships with their daughters as they transitioned from their own countries to the Canadian context. I kept in mind the outcome of narrative inquiry described by Clandinin and Connelly (2000), "Narrative inquiry carries more of a sense of continual reformulation of an inquiry than it does a sense of problem definition and solution" (p. 124).

My reflections and insights on the common threads of the stories follow. I understand these stories through my own personal and professional experiences and through my own imperfect conceptual lens (Nic Craith, 2012). The complexities of the fathers' experiences are represented in four resonant threads:

1. Liminality,
2. Resonance of Mothers,
3. An Intimate Relationship, and
4. Information and communication technologies (ICTs)

1. Narrative Thread – Liminal Spaces – Living Across Borders

The three fathers experienced the situation of living between cultural landscapes in liminal spaces, and an awareness of influences of transition on their parenting. Heilbrun (1999) explained liminality as follows:

> The word 'limen' means 'threshold', and to be in a state of liminality is to be poised upon uncertain ground, to be leaving one condition or country or self and entering upon another. But the most salient sign of liminality is its unsteadiness, its lack of clarity about exactly where one belongs and what one should be doing, or wants to be doing. (p. 3).

It follows then, that finding oneself in a liminal space, in a space of uncertainty, can be unsettling (Land, Rattrya & Vivian, 2014). Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco (2002) note that, "…immigrants are by definition on the margins of two cultures. Paradoxically, they can never truly belong either 'here' or 'there' (p. 92). For varied periods of time, the immigrants are poised on the margins of and in the spaces between cultures. The liminal experiences challenge habitual approaches to fatherhood because they disrupt Carr's (1986) narrative coherence of people's life stories. They involve negotiation between the old and the new resulting in change. As Fecho (2013) notes: "…change has one foot in what will be, but the other in what has been" (p. 146). Liminal spaces are not negative places. As B.J. Powe (2006) noted, "Margins are usually good places to be. They offer observation posts, cusps for reflection" (p. 11).

In reflecting on these liminal spaces I have relied on Bourdieu's use of the metaphorical concepts of habitus and field as an interpretive lens for understanding the social spaces and

practices encountered by immigrant fathers. Bourdieu referred to these concepts as thinking tools that need to be thought through relationally and reflexively (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; McKeever & Miller, 2004). Habitus implies a way of being, a habitual state. As Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) note, "An individual's habitus is a deeply inculcated understanding of their own social position and appropriate behaviour in relation to the positions of others within a particular social sphere" (p. 43). Habitus is both structured and structuring. It is a product of history and produces individual and collective practices in accordance with schemes generated by history (Bellamy, 1994). It is a multi-layered concept with more general notions of habitus at the level of society and more complex, differentiated notions at the level of the individual. It implies a sense of one's place in society, and at the same time, a sense of others relative to oneself (Bourdieu, 1989; Houston, 2002; McKeever & Miller, 2004). Cultural and structural influences on behaviour create the habitus and become embodied (Nairn, Chambers, Thompson, McGarry, & Chambers (2012). Because habitus is a complex interplay between the past and present, it is permeable and responsive to what is going on and is continually re-structured by a person's encounters with the outside world (Reay, 2004). Habitus establishes culture by saturating individuals within a shared world of established practice networks (Ostrow, 1981). "When a habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product, it finds itself as a 'fish in water', it does not feel the weight of the water and takes the world about itself for granted" (Wacquant, 1989, p.43). Habitus, then, refers to practices and attitudes that are internalized, a sense of what is expected in different social locations. A good example of habitus at work is Javier's natural instinct to hug men and kiss women when he greets them. In his own country he would do this automatically, but now that he is in Canada, those familiar rhythms and cadences are absent and he has to restrain his impulses and change his approach to greeting people.

The social world for Bourdieu is represented in a multi-dimensional space composed of a network of intersecting structured social spaces called fields. Human activities are recognized

and given meaning within these structured social spaces (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1991; Lam, Warriner, Poveda, & Gonzales, 2014). Society as a whole forms a field and also contains a range of fields, so the concept can be used at different levels of aggregation (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Accordingly, the family comprises one such field (Bourdieu, 1996). Individuals are defined by their relative positions in the field. The field then, is a social space with "…a set of objective power relations that impose themselves on all who enter the field and that are irreducible to the intentions of the individual agents or even to the direct *interactions* among agents" (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 724). Immigrants are placed at the intersections of numerous, often competing fields the most obvious being the field of practices that comprises the country of origin and the field of the Canadian context. But there are other fields that compete for attention including the field that is the family, the occupational fields, the field of language, or even generational fields.

Habitus becomes active in relation to the field because what exists in the social world are relations and habitus is about social action (Reay, 2004; Reay, Crozier, & Clayton, 2009). Habitus is the framework through which individuals develop their relationships with the worlds in which they live (Bourdieu, 1990). In Bourdieu's terms, habitus is the feel for the game and the social field is the game. For immigrants negotiation of the new field and its effects on habitus involves learning to be different both in the new context and at home (Noble, 2013). Daniel experienced this when he returned to Ethiopia and people remarked on the fact he was comfortable with housekeeping tasks. His friends observed him as different, but in Canada other traits mark him as different.

New Fields – Here, There, Elsewhere

"Every voyage can be said to involve a re-siting of boundaries [in which a person has] …constantly to negotiate between home and abroad, native culture and adopted culture, or more creatively speaking, between a here, a there, *and* an elsewhere" (Trinh, 2011, p. 28).

Entering the new fields of a Canadian context and the fields that mark out the borderland, the liminal space of the immigrant means that the fathers had to confront new perspectives and to make transitions in their life narratives. Their stories are about living in the borderlands, the peripheral places, the boundary zones between fields.

"When you lose your language, you lose the sound, the rhythm, the forms of your unconscious. Deep memories, resonances, sounds of childhood come through the mother tongue – when these are missing the brain cuts off connections" (Lerner, 1998. p. 39).

One of the markers for place/space, or in Bourdieu's words, the field, is language, a linguistic habitus, one of the key ways of relating to other people. In the words of Kanu (2001), "…language is the means through which we come to discover and understand ourselves and our worlds (p. 175). Furthermore, Gunew (2005) suggested that language is a key to the idea of home and said, "…language becomes the song of home…" (p.50). The change of language experienced by many immigrants requires alterations in subjectivity. As Lerner (1998) said: "living in translation is like skating on wobbly skates over thin ice. There is no sure footing; there are no clear-cut markers; no obvious signposts" (p. 40). Each of the fathers, from their own perspectives, described experiences of living in the liminal spaces of a new Canadian. The liminal space is dynamically shifting along with their present, past, and future selves. It is a bit like being on a wobble board. New languages, unfamiliar inflections and rhythms, contribute to oscillation between different fields and lead to new adjustments in habitus. Differences in language and idiomatic use create distances between people because they represent different ways of knowing. Individuals acquire a linguistic habitus that is socially constructed and therefore develop a propensity to speak and use phrases in certain ways and at particular times. When faced with a different linguistic field, there is discontinuity and a disjuncture happens (Bourdieu, 1986; Bodovski, 2014; Grenfell, 1998). Having the ability to speak the dominant language of a country is a resource that helps in negotiating the new context.

For Javier English was a completely new language. Both Daniel and Samuel had been educated in English. Daniel was able to achieve fluency in Canadian English before his family arrived in Canada, so he became the family's teacher. Javier underestimated the length of time it would take to become fluent in English but found some similarities to Spanish and was surprised when his daughter learned to speak and think in English very quickly. For Samuel, English was his second language, so his transition was easier, but variations of English require adjustments as well. An example is the difference between Newfoundland English and the English of other provinces. For all three fathers, the linguistic habitus now hovers between the English of Canada and the language of origin. Javier speaks to his daughter in Spanish and she answers in English. Likewise, Daniel talks to his daughter in Amharic and she answers in English and when Samuel uses his Ghanaian language, his daughter responds in English. In each family, the fathers are finding that the daughters are becoming more removed from the language of home. Javier commented, "When she's talking about emotional things, that would be in English". Samuel finds that his daughter is thinking and speaking in English and that there are times when she doesn't understand the dialect of home. Similarly, Daniel will speak in Amharic and his daughter replies in English.

Parenting/Fatherhood

In thinking about the experiences of the immigrant fathers, I see that the fathers have had to encounter challenges to the habitus they developed prior to coming to Canada. They dwell in the liminal space between the fields of the new country and the old. Lugones (1987) speaks of "world travelling" to describe the encounters with different fields or "worlds" (p. 3). She notes that it is possible to inhabit more than one world at the same time and suggests that one should reconstruct one's world through "playfulness", through being open to new ideas. In wondering about the thread of liminality I can see that the fathers do approach the new context with this attitude. Daniel, landing in Toronto during the gay pride festivities is at once repelled

by the idea, but over time he has arrived at a point of acceptance. *I was shocked, shocked….I'm not as judgmental as I used to be…I talk to them, but it is none of my business.*

For all three fathers, their perceptions of Canadian children and youth have meant making adjustments in their parental habitus. Parenting practices are one feature of the habitus that guide and are recreated by parents (Bourdieu, 1986). All three fathers perceive that Canadian children within the context/field of Canadian parenting have many freedoms. The idea of treating a child as an equal has been especially perplexing for Javier as this perspective seems contrary to the parenting practices he was used to in his own country. He says that once your children are in Canada *they don't feel you have to control them. They are expecting to be treated as equals…I see my daughter as somebody who should be informed, who should be guided* and *in our culture….it's very simple. Children should do what their parents say.* Similarly, Samuel feels he needs to give in to requests that his children make:

…because they feel they are part of the system now in Canada, and whatever the kids do…they have to do, and you the parent have to consent…you are forced to accept sometimes the request that they wouldn't have made back home.

Similarly, the openness that Canadian children experience has affected the fathers' ways of parenting. Samuel talked about his daughters challenging him about his use of bad language. In this case they were talking back to their dad but when he reflected later, he had to acknowledge that they were correct and discuss the situation openly with them. *I realized that what she was saying was true: So after I told them I know it is true.*

Over the time they have been in Canada their approaches to parenting and to family relationships have been changing. All three find themselves in a nuclear family situation where they have to depend on each other rather than extended family members. This has meant that each of the fathers is much more involved with his daughter than might have happened traditionally. For Samuel this relationship started prior to coming to Canada and for Daniel and Javier, it happened after migration.

A common strategy for these fathers has been to take the best from each culture. Daniel said: *We take from Ethiopia the good cultures, and also from this country, we…pick up the good ones*. Samuel also talks about melding ideas: *If you are coming from a different place to integrate with a different culture, you have to blend. You have to accept the good ones*. While not directly talking about blending aspects, it is clear that Javier has done this. The three fathers have merged the past with the present and developed a hybrid approach to parenting similar to that described by de Haan (2012). In doing so, they adjusted and reconstructed their parenting habitus. This does take time. As Javier says, *for us every single thing takes time…it's time consuming*. While the daughters adopted the Canadian habitus very quickly, the fathers tend to take a reflective approach. This entails reviewing the practices they have been used to, comparing them to Canadian practices, and then adjusting their approach to parenting and family life. Daniel describes how he sees his own country in a different light after living in Canada. He talks about how the parents in his country overprotect their children and how he has modified his approach to not only his children, but also his wife. He says, *when I came and saw different cultures and a different way of living…I have to treat my wife differently and my children differently*. In thinking about the changes in habitus experienced by the fathers, I wonder about the daughters. While they adapted very quickly to the new environment and adopted more of a Canadian habitus than their parents, the expectations and practices of parents must influence the habitus of their children. I wonder what the daughters' perceptions are. Usually children become more like those of the host community which can create tensions and confusion at home. Often parents will continue to use the body language of their community of origin. Javier's comment *they become different and they have different values* speaks to the dilemma facing the parents.

I wonder about boundary maintaining behaviours and their effects. To what extent do the fathers keep the distinctions between the familiar habitus of their country of origin and the habitus of the new context? Are there limits to blending the old with the new? How do these

vary from father to father or from family to family? This brings to mind a time with my sons when they were misbehaving. I will never forget the words I used, "That behaviour is all right for Canadian children, but not for you". Where did that come from? I am quite certain my parents never used those words. Did those words ensue because my family had maintained some sort of boundary between their ways of knowing and those of Canadians? I will never know and will never forget what I said.

Changes in habitus are also exemplified by the fathers' comments about incorporating Canada into their repertoires. The fathers find that they have developed dual allegiances to Canada and to their own countries. Javier says *I wasn't expecting to love this country, to find that it, Canada is also home, to feel it.* Similarly, Daniel says *Canadian culture became mine and I began to love it.* Samuel seems to have developed a transnational habitus, an ability to be at ease whatever the context.

As Trinh (2011) says, "Traveling allows one to see things differently from what they are, differently from how one has seen them, and differently from what one is" (p. 41). She says that the voyage back in to the self leads to changes "within here". The fathers seem to inhabit Canada comfortably. I wonder about the reactions of others. Noble (2013) talks about the embodied capacities of immigrants that are "never quite the dispositions of the citizen who belongs by birth" (p. 343) and suggests it is difficult to achieve ontological security.

2. Narrative Thread – The Resonance of Mothers

Doucet (2006) in her study of stay-at-home fathers said, "Interviews were haunted by the unseen presence of the child's mother", (p. 216). Similarly, Dermott (2008) said "…mothers were conspicuously present in fathers' accounts of partnership in their depictions of parenting" (p.78).

All three narratives in this inquiry are shadowed by the relationship with the mothers. When we started conversations, two of the fathers referred immediately to the mothers to

confirm the exact age of their daughters. This resonated for me as I have memories of my father knowing the month of my birth but often being a bit hazy about the exact day and year.

The fathers' and daughters' relationships with the mothers are intertwined in the fathers' narratives. As Featherstone (2010) notes, mothers matter and "…loom large in men's everyday lives…" (p. 221). As the fathers talked, the mothers resonated through their stories. All of the fathers described their parenting as a team effort in which decisions were collaborative. All referred to the mothers in some way as they talked about their relationships with their daughters.

While his wife was overseas, Samuel assumed the roles of both mother and father. He found that he took on his wife's role of confidante to his daughter – *she was able to express fears and likes to me in a way that wouldn't have been possible if the mother were around*. In his wife's absence, he had to be accountable for all of his daughters' needs and guide them, but the mother was always part of the process and this was accomplished through frequent phone calls.

Javier who describes his wife as the centre of the family states she is "…the most important person in this family". Daniel, even though he identifies himself as "the centre of the household", talks about parenting as teamwork and that decisions are made in collaboration between him and his wife.

The decision to move to Canada was a joint parental decision for all three fathers with all three focusing on future opportunities for their daughters. I wonder about the implications of mother involvement. We know that the relationship between parents impacts their relationships with their children (Bradford & Hawkins, 2006). Strong, supportive co-parenting relationships have been shown to be effective and contribute to individual wellbeing (Chance, Costigan & Leadbeater (2013).

Parenting decisions in many immigrant families tend to be made either by mothers alone or by parents jointly (Chuang & Sue, 2009). Furthermore, there is a considerable amount of

literature on maternal gatekeeping (Doucet, 2006). Doucet describes parenting as a "mother-led dance" in which mothers can act as gatekeepers to mediate father involvement with their children (p. 229). Maternal gatekeeping in the family can have negative and sometimes positive effects on father-adolescent relationships (Allen & Hawkins, 1999; Holmes, Dunn, Harper, Dyer, & Day, 2013; Stevenson et al. 2014). Conversely, there is a suggestion that fathers can influence the family climate through the mother which has consequences for the children and that fathers might exhibit gatekeeping behaviours (Byrd-Craven, Auer, Granger, & Massey, 2012; Doucet, 2006).

In most research and literature the mothers speak for the families; they respond for the fathers. It seems that the fathers' impact is considered important, but somehow their voices are omitted. There is a fluidity to family dynamics. Doucet (2006) spoke about the "ebb and flow of differences over time in households and communities" (p. 233). Parenting within that ebb and flow requires flexible collaboration between mothers and fathers especially within the context of a new country. I wonder how the mothers' stories would influence the family narratives and what the daughters' perceptions are.

3. Narrative Thread – Fatherhood as An Intimate Relationship

Irele (2008), in his story of his daughters, describes the father/daughter relationship as arising out of "affectionate intimacy" (p. 77). I wonder about this component of the father-daughter relationship especially after reading Dermott's (2008) discussion of intimate fatherhood. In the fathers' narratives and in the interactions that I witnessed between fathers and daughters, there are indications of intimate relationships. In her discussion, Dermott found "it is often listening and talking which are often centre stage" (p. 59) in interactions between fathers and their children. Communication and openness were emphasized by the fathers in their stories. Samuel emphasized the importance of providing a "listening ear" for his daughter and being open and bold in communication. During his time as a single parent, he and his daughter set the stage for open conversation and sharing of ideas. Daniel walked to school with

his daughter and conversed with her when she first came to Canada. Now that she is a teenager, he sets aside time to have frequent discussions with her. The writing of poems and small notes to her would seem to denote a close and intimate relationship and the interactions I observed were very personal. Javier spends time with his daughter talking about things that are meaningful and discussing metaphors as well as playing baseball or soccer. When asked about the components of a good father-daughter relationship, the following were mentioned by the fathers: being a good listener, being friends, being open and transparent, discussing concerns, empathy, learning from each other. Javier described the emotional component of the relationship as *having fun* while Samuel talked about making his daughter laugh.

The attributes listed by the fathers seem to imply a level of intimacy between the fathers and daughters, a nurturing perspective, that is worth further exploration. Giddens (1992) posited the idea of the pure relationship and said, "intimacy is above all a matter of emotional communication, with others and with the self, in a context of interpersonal equality" (p. 130). According to Giddens, the pure relationship encompasses mutual trust, commitment, democracy, and support of individual autonomy. Giddens (2003) provided context for changes in family dynamics in a modern, globalized world when he described the family as being democratized. He said, "Democratization in the context of the family implies equality, mutual respect, autonomy, decision-making through communication and freedom from violence. Much the same characteristics also supply a model for parent-child relationships" (p. 93). Democracy and intimacy are characteristics that are worthy of study in the contemporary family (Solomon, Warin, Lewis, & Langford, 2002). What does this mean for father-daughter relationships? Attachment between parents and adolescents has been found to be predictive of youth outcomes (Cai, Hardy, Olden, Nelson & Yamawaki, 2013). Byrd-Craven, Auer, Granger and Massey (2012) found that father-daughter interactions influence social cognition and hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal (HPA) axis reactivity in daughters. In their study, daughters who reported father-daughter relationships characterized by warmth, autonomy, and support had lower pretask

cortisol levels. Those who experienced rejection, chaos, or coercion experienced increased HPA responses to life stressors. These findings echo Baumrind's (1971) typology of parenting in which the authoritative approach (warm, nurturing but firm) enhanced child development in most contexts. The concepts knowing, loving, and caring are used by Valentine (2006) to describe intimacy, characteristics that each of the fathers demonstrates. Openness and honesty as described by the fathers have been shown to be a valued by both parents and adolescents in their relationships (Solomon, Warin, Lewis, & Langford, 2002). In addition it has been found that adolescents worldwide respond in similar ways to parenting behaviours and practices (Cai, Hardy, Olsen, Nelson, & Yamawaki, 2013; Rohner, Khaleque, & Cournoyer, 2005).

Father-daughter relationships occur within a context of contemporary family discourses that focus on concepts that include negotiation, democracy, and equality (Solomon, Warin, Lewis & Langford, 2002). A recent article in the Edmonton Journal described a new global campaign, "Fathers Empowering Daughters", and cited research that shows that fathers' involvement in housework can have a positive impact on daughters' career aspirations, and declared "dads are a force for women's equality" (Kielburger & Kielburger, 2014).

4. Narrative Thread – Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs)

All three fathers talked about contacting their daughters' schools by accessing SchoolZone, using their iPhones. By using SchoolZone they can monitor their daughters' progress. They text-message with their daughters who have smartphones. Any photographs they shared with me were on iPhones. They Skype with relatives and friends who are overseas. I was able to communicate with the fathers via e-mail and text message. The thread of ICTs is significant even though we didn't talk about it very much. ICTs did not become a 'bumping place' until I was reviewing the resonant threads.

Nedelcu (2012) observed that because we are in a digital age of communication, family ties do not necessarily weaken with migration and conversely can strengthen due to frequent, often daily communication. As Diminescu (2008) said, "Yesterday the motto was: immigrate

and cut your roots; today it would be: circulate and keep in touch" (p.568). Patterns of communication changed significantly starting in the mid 1990's with low cost international telephone calls which Vertovec (2004) termed "the social glue of migrant transnationalism" (p. 219. Inexpensive telephone calls were quickly followed by e-mail so that families added layers of communication thereby increasing the frequency and quality of contacts as each new technology appeared (Wilding, 2006). ICT offers a sense of shared space and time that reduces the impact of geographic distance and time zones. An interesting observation made by Wilding is that kinwork, the work of maintaining contact with family, has in the past been the work of women. ICTs change this communication pattern, and create shared social fields for immigrants where they can construct or imagine connected relationships as well as a sense of continuity. According to De Tona and Whelan (2009) ICTs seem to change or reinvigorate ideas of community and belonging. Benítez (2012) suggested that ICTs enable members of transnational families to contribute to decision-making processes within the family networks. To what extent do ICT's mitigate the effects of living in a liminal space? To what extent do ICTs enable the continuation of previous family practices and enable families to reconfigure family memories, histories, and identities in a transnational space? What is the effect of these communication spaces on family dynamics? What is the impact on father-daughter relationships? To what extent are fathers using ICTs for surveillance of their daughters?

These four threads: (1) liminality, (2) the resonance of mothers, (3) an intimate relationship, and (4) information and communication technologies, emphasize important aspects that can influence father-daughter relationships.

Chapter Nine

Reflections

"When memory goes a-gathering firewood, it
Brings back the sticks that strike its fancy"
(Birago Diop, quoted in Trinh, 2011, p. 97)

In this chapter I reflect on the research process and on the possibilities the narrative stories suggest. The first part of my reflection focuses on aspects of the narrative journey; the second part offers thoughts on how the experiences described by the fathers in this inquiry might inform research and nursing practice.

The Narrative Journey

"Lives are composed, recomposed, told, retold and lived out in storied ways on storied landscapes…Narrative inquiry is the study of people in relation studying the experience of people in relation" (Clandinin, Murphy, Huber, & Orr, 2010, p. 82).

My intention in embarking on this narrative journey was to explore the experiences of immigrant fathers as their relationships with their preteen or teenage daughters unfolded prior to and during migration to and settlement in Canada. My plan was to place these stories alongside my own experiences of migrating to Canada. The path proved to be rocky. My first conversation with a father occurred after my mother died and just after my father had fallen twice. I entered that conversational space with much trepidation and my phone on vibrate because one of my sons was "sitting" my Dad. I was uncertain about the fluidity of narrative inquiry and considered it a challenge. I was not sure what would happen when I asked the opening question: *When you think about coming to Canada and settling here, what stories would you tell me in order to describe your relationship with your daughter?* I had imagined periods of long hesitation that included my stumbling for words as the conversation unfolded and I had no idea how I would handle those moments. My fears were unfounded as I barely

needed to say a word while the father commenced his story by saying, *"It started when she was born…"* and continued to talk. Hurdle number one negotiated.

I had thought I would be carrying out an inquiry that was similar to those described by Clandinin and Connelly (2000) and others as they dwelt in the field physically and figuratively alongside their co-participants in educational settings. I had envisioned the field as having tangible components. While it is possible in a school setting and perhaps in other settings to have a more tangible notion of the field, negotiating the "field" is very different when the co-participants are busy working fathers. I discovered that I needed to live alongside the participants in more abstract, thoughtful, emotional ways than I had anticipated. I remembered that narrative inquiry is so similar to what nursing practice should be – work in a relational ethical place. I relied on my experiences in working with families and groups that entailed listening to their stories, taking note of what was said and not said and reflecting this back to whoever was involved, and trying to establish a story from their point of view. Once I remembered that, the journey was smoother.

Obligations/Responsibilities

"Stories are our obligations to others, and stories create obligations for us as researchers" (Caine & Estefan, 2011, p. 965). My journey was hampered by the trappings of the grief process, the emotional piece along with the practicalities that include mundane but time consuming tasks such as income tax, banking, rewriting wills, etc. that spiral into the emotional responses as well as working full time. Obligations to family and work often took precedence over the narrative inquiry process in ways that actually paralleled the lives of the fathers who participated in my study. There were long stretches of time, months of time, between our conversations. For me, in those spaces, I cared for my father who required more intense support as time passed. At the end of each day my legs felt as though they would collapse. Once he died, it was almost impossible to think about father/daughter relationships. Some people are motivated creatively after a death and are able to write; I was paralyzed.

I worried about my obligations to my participants. I was afraid that after long silences they would opt out of the study because I felt as though I was abandoning them. One father was always unresponsive in the month of June. In those spaces or gaps I continued to read stories about fathers and daughters, and I continued to read about narrative inquiry in a sporadic fashion. In a sense I was waiting in place in a similar way to that described by Caine and Estefan (2011), though instead of waiting for the participants to come back, they were also waiting for me. As Caine and Estefan describe, it was "a liminal space of worry and uncertainty" (p. 968). When contacted, each of the fathers resumed our conversations as though there had been no gap in time and we were able to move forward. Each of the fathers was very busy with obligations of work and family so I wonder if that contributed to the ease with which they fell back into the narrative process. In this sense, in terms of obligations to family and work, our life stories were parallel. Ultimately, I wonder what shape the stories would have taken had I been able to sustain more frequent contact with the fathers.

Clearly I experienced a shift in emotions, transitioning from a place of trepidation and discomfort to one where I became more engaged and reflective. I am not quite sure at which point I changed, but I started to see how this work could contribute to the literature on fathers and daughters as well as to nursing practice and research. I struggled to become a fluid inquirer and that required constant revision and reflection. The experiences of the fathers are fluid and dynamic and that required me to shift as the participants shifted. Lugones (1987) described this in terms of travelling to other worlds:

> There are "worlds" that we can travel to lovingly and traveling to them is part of loving at least some of their inhabitants. The reason why I think that traveling to someone's "world" is a way of identifying with them is because by traveling to their "world" we can understand what it is to be them and what it is to be ourselves in their eyes (p. 17).

Gender

Initially, I had wondered about the issue of gender incongruency, that is, the issue of being female and interviewing fathers. My position as a female researcher required me to reflect on interviewing men. Gender differences between researcher and participant have been found to influence research interviews (Arendell, 1997; Seale, Charteris-Black, Dumelow, Locock, & Ziebland, 2008; Vähäsantanen & Saarinen, 2013). Conversely, Broom, Hand and Tovey (2009) found that men can be quite comfortable speaking with women if the research is seen in a feminine context such as nursing or family. Furthermore Robb (2004) suggested that men are sometimes more open with female researchers. Like Wigfall, Brannen, Mooney, and Parutis (2013) who interviewed fathers and grandfathers, I found that once the fathers had agreed to take part in the study, gender differences seemed to be of little import. During the research conversations I found that I relied on my 30 years experience of working relationally with families. I entered the relational process as an immigrant daughter, and an immigrant mother of sons interviewing immigrant fathers of daughters. Personal relationships are central to the process of narrative inquiry (Freeman, 2007, p. 18). As Connelly and Clandinin (2002) noted "when participants are known intimately as people, not merely as categorical representatives, categories fragment" (p. 141). Certainly, an inquirer with a different background, who brought different stories, different memories to the table would develop a different interaction with the participants and therefore create different or slightly different stories.

Reflection-in-Action

"As we tell our stories as inquirers, it is experience, not narrative that is the driving impulse" (Connelly & Clandinin, 2000, p. 188). The tensions around the relational responsibilities of considering those experiences call for relational thinking, seeking "…to shift the angle of vision and thereby open up new, more fully human ways of figuring human lives" (Freeman, 2007, p. 11). It follows then that there must be some reflection, some reflexivity in

the creation of the narratives. In thinking about reflexivity I was drawn to Andrea Doucet's (2006, 2008) descriptions of gossamer walls. My first encounter with the metaphor of gossamer walls occurred when I read Ann Michael's (1996) book, *Fugitive Pieces*. At the time I was intrigued by the idea that the shadows of others could slip through gossamer walls and influence our thoughts and ideas and found the metaphor extremely evocative. Doucet described the relationship between researcher and participant in terms of those gossamer walls. She described how all of us experience multiple subjectivities and experience 'shadow others' who influence us and are present in our stories. For example, for me, the shadows of grandparents I never met slip through those semi-permeable walls and appear in thoughts and memories. As McMahon (1996) said, "Hidden selves and shadow others are present in our stories. Yet often we do not understand the significance of their invisibility" (p. 320-321).

Doucet (2006, 2008) conceived reflexivity as three gossamer walls through which knowledge evolves from three sets of relationships with oneself (the ghosts and shadow others that haunt us), with research participants, and with one's readers, audiences, and epistemological communities. The gossamer walls represent different "…degrees of transparency and obscurity, connection and separation, proximity and distance, and moments of closure and openness in relations that constitute research and knowing" (Doucet, 2008, p. 84). Thinking about the gossamer walls enabled me to think about gaps and silences and to view the field as more than looking for and hearing a story (Connelly & Clandinin, 2000).

Wonderings

> Wondering engages the reader in uncovering and discovering research findings leading the reader to imagine alternatives about what was and think more complexly about what is and what might be. Wonderings invite and enable readers to reimagine the story being lived, connect the story to their own lived experience in schools or as researchers, and rethink research, schools, and lives. (Pinnegar, 2006, pp. 178-179)

In the process of wondering about the fathers' stories, I followed Smith's (2007) suggestion of linking narrative to Bourdieu's use of habitus, but also included the metaphor of fields. Narrative focuses on the meaning of experiences. A central idea of Bourdieu's work is that human activities are recognized and given meaning within structured social spaces (Lam & Warriner, 2012). Experience, the focus of narrative inquiry, is rooted in Dewey's pragmatic philosophy (Connelly & Clandinin, 2000). The following statement shows that Dewey's philosophy of experience is very close to that of Bourdieu.

> The statement that individuals live in a world means, in the concrete, that they live in a series of situations…interaction is going between an individual and objects and other persons. The conceptions of *situation* and *interaction* are inseparable from each other. An experience is always what it is because of a transaction taking place between an individual and what, at the time, constitutes his environment. (Dewey, 1938, p. 41)

If we think of experience as involving transactions between individuals and their environment, and the people who live in that environment, then Bourdieu's use of habitus and field are quite congruent with Dewey's perspective of experience and provide useful metaphors for thinking about the experiences of newcomers.

Tensions

"Memories are tricksters and shape shifters" (Sparkes, 2012, p. 184). During the narrative inquiry process I encountered some tensions that are worth mentioning. One tension encompassed by the quotations at the beginning of this chapter and by the above quotation from Sparkes. Clearly, when people tell stories they choose, consciously or unconsciously, which items to emphasize and which to exclude. Hooks (1997) and Fivush (2010) emphasized that when we remember the past, we interpret and reinterpret facts, that there are always aspects of narratives that are unsaid, that remain silent. The dilemma for me as the researcher was to understand when I should probe further and when I should accept the stories as told.

Tamboukou (2011) noted that people tell or write stories that are fragmented and disorganized and sometimes the telling of the story is more important that what is actually told or written. Doucet (2006) emphasized that she came to an understanding that she could only know the stories fathers told as well as her interpretations within the social and structural contexts of the fathers' lives. For me, this ontological stance required me to be open, to reflect on the different strands of thinking and knowing, to be wide awake in order to be aware of the intersections of the fathers' experiences with the broader social institutional and cultural stories, and to be careful not to disrupt those stories, to always focus on the fathers' unique experiences. It also meant that I had to remember that narrative inquiry involves negotiation and active participation in social discourses that unfold over time, to be aware that stories change over time. It required an epistemological commitment to the plurality of experiences (Caine, Estefan, & Clandinin, 2013). It meant that I had to pay attention to issues of voice and silence. I had to be aware that what was not said, or could not be said, could hold significance in the same way that holes in a Barbara Hepworth or Henry Moore sculpture define the shape of their work (Fivush, 2010). I had to keep in mind that the culturally dominant narratives, for example, the notion of Canadian multiculturalism or Canadian views of family dynamics, hold power and in some way must be negotiated. These culturally dominant narratives loom silently over conversations and contribute to a dialectic between voice and silence. In collaborating with the three fathers I strived to use a language of wakefulness as described by Clandinin and Connelly (2000), and to create a space in which the fathers felt comfortable to share their perspectives and in which they led the conversations. I continue to wonder abour representations of gaps and silences. Like Doucet (2006), I was able to present the stories the fathers told along with my interpretations. Some gaps, such as the mothers' or daughters' stories, can be addressed by further research, but I wonder about other silences. Doane and Varcoe (2010) emphasized the importance of ontological questions by quoting Lawrence (1928).

> While you *live* your life, you are in some way an organic whole with all life. But once you start the mental life, you pluck the apple. You've severed the connection between the apple and the tree: the organic connection. And if you've got nothing in your life *but* the mental life, then you yourself are a plucked apple, you've fallen off the tree. (Lawrence, 1928. P. 37)

The handling of anonymity presented a challenge for me. One of the stories had to be recounted so that the father and his family are not recognizable. This presented a challenge because it meant that we had to alter contextual details while attending to the continuity of the narrative. It introduced some potential limitations to the study since specific context was lost.

A third tension arose when the eligibility criterion for the age of the daughters had to be lowered to 10 years because those were the fathers who were eager to participate. I wondered how this would change the stories of being the father of an adolescent daughter. I remembered that Michael (2009) emphasized that developmental capacities are significantly different for girls over the age of 12 years. I also realized that definitions of adolescence are variable at both ends of the age spectrum (traditionally 13 to 18). Adulthood has been described as starting at age 18 (2014). On the other hand, studies of adolescents can include children in Grade 7, for example the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, which means that children aged 11 and 12 and possibly as young as 10 might be included (Cookston & Finlay, 2006). A study of Chinese American Adolescents included children from the age of 12 (Quin, Way, & Mukherjee, 2008). The daughters in my inquiry were in grades 6 to 8 at the beginning of the study and two were in high school at time of last conversations. Lowering the eligibility criterion allowed for exploration of the fathers experiences of the transition into adolescence. This is an interesting period in which the daughters are balancing the traditional expectations of the country of origin with the expectations of Canadian society.

Epistemological Implications - So what?

All fathers except mine are invisible in daytime;

Daytime is ruled by mothers. But fathers come out at night.

Darkness brings home the fathers with their real, unspeakable power.

There is more to them than meets the eye.

Margaret Atwood (1988, p. 222)

I return to the Margaret Atwood quote that appeared at the beginning of this narrative journey. The quote emphasizes possibly enigmatic aspects of fatherhood. There is mystery as we look at fathers through a gossamer wall; their presence seems ghostly. There could be many family stories, many stories of the experiences of fathers and daughters – positive and negative. The mother/father dance of family dynamics could be enacted in many different ways.

Implications for research

In this study, the fathers' narratives provide an ontological perspective rich in features of their situations and relationships. In reading and reflecting on their stories and on the threads that connect them, I began to think about the social and theoretical contexts in which these narratives are taking place. The intent of my research puzzle was to co-construct immigrant fathers' stories of their experiences of relationships with their daughters during migration, so the focus of my reflections is on their journeys with their daughters.

All three fathers are living in the liminal space that constitutes context for newcomers. A fragile space that requires them to negotiate transition, to trust themselves as they are poised in the boundary spaces between what was, what is, and what will be. Sometimes tilting to one side and then the other. Michael (2009) and others have noted that the settlement period of migration has been the focus of most research on newcomers. That research focus influences the way fathers' experiences are understood and interpreted.

The fathers' narratives expand on this perspective by including discussion of the pre-migration contexts and their thoughts on the future. Even though the sample is small, thinking of the fathers' experiences in the context of the literature raises some interesting questions for future research.

Shadow Presences

In many research studies, fathers' perspectives have often been obtained from mothers, and fatherhood has been mostly theorized against the experiences of women (Doucet, 2006, 2008). The fact that the shadows of the mothers resonated through the narratives parallels this practice. At the same time, in looking at the Margaret Atwood quote, I wonder about the shadow presence of fathers in the family and about the influence of the mother/father dance on their connections to their daughters. The ontological perspectives of the fathers are important, but Warin, Solomon and Lewis (2007) emphasized that seeing family dynamics through the eyes of only one member, results in a distorted picture of the family. During conversations with the three fathers I found myself wondering about the perceptions of the daughters and wives. It would be interesting to hear their stories.

Relational Settlement

"The portability of the networks of belonging is a feature of all our lives" (Diminescu, 2008, p. 573). Diminescu (2008) uses the term relational settlement to describe immigrant socialization practices in new contexts. An important component of relational settlement is managing distant relationships as part of a social continuum. Continuity is a concept worthy of research. The resonant thread of liminality shows immigrant fathers balancing the parenting experiences of their home countries with those of the new in order to arrive at a working synthesis of both approaches. In the past, the themes of uprooting and detachment have been a major focus of research in immigration. The resonant thread of ICTs seems to challenge this focus by creating new perspectives on home, community, and belonging (De Tona & Whelan, 2009). These perspectives take place within a context of continuity. In this context, society is perceived as evolving into liquid modernity, a place where people can shift fluidly from one social position to another (Bauman, 2007; Diminescu, 2008). ICTs enhance this process that helps create transnational social fields and transnational e-families (Benítez, 2012). It seems that instead of rupturing family relationships, migration can be an opportunity to open up new

ways of family functioning, new ways "…of imagining themselves, fostering new cultures of relatedness over sometimes great distances" (Long, 2013, p. 244). Javier talks eloquently about home meaning more than one place, about belonging to more than one place - *I wasn't expecting to love this country, to find that it, Canada, is also home, to feel it.* Daniel said: *Canadian culture became mine.* Samuel is quite comfortable living in Canada but is equally comfortable at home in Ghana.

All three fathers talk about the immigration experience in terms of process; in their stories there is a sense of continuity, of bringing prior life experiences to a new situation that has future potential. According to Diminescu (2008), the ideas of continuity and transnational social fields have changed practices of migration and the way mobility is experienced so that we are now in an era of relational settlement. A focus on continuity allows for a new view of acculturation. Portable network spaces are important components of spaces of belonging in a global world. I recall meeting with Kurdish refugees who were able to telephone friends and relatives in a variety of different countries and who could access television in their spoken languages thereby maintaining daily continuity of relationships in their unfolding lives.

The stories of continuity would be interesting to research. What stories would immigrants tell about their relational networks? How do these relational networks influence their daily lives? An understanding of the spatial, temporal and relational dimensions of transnational social fields is important to research on immigration and the family in the context of a global world.

A Relational Research Approach

"Narrating is dynamic because it is a social-relational activity" (Daiute, 2014, p. 21). Experience is relational, social, and continuous (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Narrative inquiry is an approach that can describe the ontological experiences of continuity that can connect current stories to family history as well as to overarching social and institutional narratives. The specific contribution of this research is co-construction of the

stories of newcomer fathers and their relationships with their daughters. The fathers' narratives are dynamic and changed over the time of the conversations that we had. For these families, further inquiry into the parallel experiences of the mothers and daughters would enhance the family stories.

Nursing Practice, Education and Research

How is this narrative inquiry study relevant to nursing practice, education, and research? Clandinin (2013) describes experience as "…relational, continuous, and social" (p. 17). Similarly, Doane (2002) describes nursing as "…relational, narrative, dialogical, and contextual" (p. 627). Ideally, nurses respond to individuals and families through a relational, negotiated process of engagement (Doane & Varcoe, 2005, 2006; Hess, 2003; Santos Salas & Cameron, 2010). They engage dialogically with individuals and families, focus on their stories of experience, consider how the stories are being told, and co-create continuing stories (Bergum 1994). As Doane and Varcoe (2005) said, nurses "…meet families in a discursive world" (p. 131). Coles (1989), in recalling the words of a mentor reflected on this process,

> We have to pay the closest attention to what we say. What patients say tells us what to think about what hurts them; and what we say tells us what is happening to us – what we are thinking, and what may be wrong with us…Their story, yours, mine – it's what we all carry with us on this trip we take, and we owe it to each other to respect our stories and learn from them (p. 30)

Like narrative inquirers, nurses are involved in boundary or border work (Allen, 2004). Allen described nurses as "…central nodes in healthcare networks" (p. 276) who practice at the interface of a number of organizational processes and interact with patients, families and other healthcare providers. In short, they function as mediators whose scope of care and practice extends beyond the complexity of individual experiences to consider social and contextual implications (Allen, 2004; Ho, 2014). Doan and Varcoe (2006, 2010) emphasized that ontological questions are important to nursing but often not addressed as dominant

institutional narratives take over. Too often, nursing becomes task oriented which results in patients' stories as well as nurses' perspectives being obliterated. A narrative perspective and philosophy would enable nurses to pay attention to the relational space that exists between them and patients or clients, the relational space where personal meanings become apparent and where inherent knowledge develops (Bergum, 2003). Attending to the lived space between nurses and patients or clients, attending to perceptions, interpretations, and meanings, enables nurses to integrate ontological knowledge into practice.

Nursing research on fathers has focused on the neonatal and early childhood period and findings echo Saracho and Spodek's (2008) label of "invisible parents". Often in practice, fathers are viewed as merely supports for the mother and their emotions and perspectives are largely ignored (Mackley, Locke, Spear, & Joseph, 2010) leading Barnard (2014) to declare that the emotional work of fathers needs to receive more attention from nurses. A study of Canadian student nurses' perceptions of their experiences with fathers showed that their education did not prepare them to adequately interact with and care for fathers (de Montigny, Devault, Este, Fleurant, & Nascimento, 2011). Furthermore, traditional culturalist perspectives of migration, identity, and culture do not capture the fluid aspects of people's lives in a modern global world. Currently, many aspects of the entire world are changing, merging, and transforming. The discipline of nursing needs to move beyond static understandings of culture and diversity, to move beyond an inventory approach to difference. Similarly, static notions of fathers and fatherhood need to be replaced by more fluid understandings of families and relationships within families. This will require further nursing research into areas such as fathers' relationships with their adolescent children. It will require an educational focus on issues of diversity, immigration, and also on fathers, that extends beyond theory and is included in clinical practica. As for policy, Ball (2012) found that fathers are mostly invisible in local, provincial, and national government policies and programs though community practitioners are

working to reverse this situation. More research into fathers' perspectives will contribute to this effort.

I close with Javier's quote about immigrants because it can equally apply to fathers. He emphasizes the issue of dominant categorical approaches to research and practice.

> *If you want to even talk about immigrants, we have to start using a vocabulary that shows that complexity, that shows that diversity. We are still attached to categories which is very comfortable. I can understand people want to try to simplify reality, but I think that simplification is a property of, I would say of how people think, but it's not a property or it's not a characteristic, of reality.*

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Appendix A

Information Sheet

Project Title: Fathers of Daughters: A Narrative Inquiry into the Experiences of Migration and Settlement

Elizabeth Burgess-Pinto, RN,MN, Faculty of Nursing.....Tel: (780) 633-3884
Linda Ogilvie, Professor, Faculty of Nursing (Supervisor).....Tel: (780) 492-9109

This information sheet outlines what the study is about and will help you to decide if you would like to be in this study. Before you make a decision about taking part in the study, it is important that you understand what the research is about and what you will be asked to do.

I am a PhD student in nursing at the University of Alberta in Edmonton. I think that the stories we tell shape our experiences. I believe that our sense of who we are is formed by the stories we tell about ourselves. I want to learn about the experiences of being an immigrant father of a teenage daughter. To be in the study you need to be an immigrant who has lived in Canada for 10 years or less and have a daughter who was between the ages of 10 and 16 years when your family came to Canada.

If you agree to be in the study, I will ask you to take part in 2 to 4 conversations. Each conversation will last for about 60 to 90 minutes. The first two conversations will be about 3 weeks apart and there may be no need for more meetings. Our talks will be recorded on a voice recorder. I will talk with you about some of your stories about your experiences of being a father of a teenage daughter. The talks will be private. Your name will not be used in the study. When we meet, I will ask you a question: **When you think about coming to Canada and settling here what stories would you tell me in order to describe your relationship with your teenage daughter?** We will then talk about those stories.

It is not expected that there will be any risk to you take part in the study. You may not receive any benefit from completing the study. I hope that the research will be able to provide health care workers with important information about immigrant fathers and their families. The conversations require only your time. You may ask any questions you have about the study. You are free to choose not to take part in the study. If you decide to take part in the study, you can change your mind at any time and withdraw from the study without giving a reason. You will decide what you want to tell me and will not be asked to share anything that causes you to feel uncomfortable. You should be aware that I am obliged to submit a report to Children and Youth Services if you tell me that you are mistreating your daughter. If, at any time, you become upset, we will stop the interview, take a break, or resume talks at another time if you wish. If necessary, I will help you get counseling.

If you decide to take part in the study, you will be given this information sheet to keep and you will receive a $25.00 payment for your participation in each interview. In the event you decide to leave the study after talks have started, you will still be paid. You will also be asked to sign a consent form. Your signature will be proof that you have decided to be in the study and that you are aware of what the study is asking of you. If you have concerns about this study, you may contact the University of Alberta Research Ethics Office at 780-492-2615.

Initials_____

Appendix B

Consent Form

Part 1
Project Title: **Fathers of Daughters: A Narrative Inquiry into the Experiences of Migration and Settlement**
Elizabeth Burgess-Pinto, RN,MN, Faculty of Nursing.....Tel: (780)633-3884
Linda Ogilvie, Professor, Faculty of Nursing (Supervisor).....Tel: (780) 492-9109

Part 2
Do you understand that you have been asked to participate in a research study? Yes No

Have you read and received a copy of the attached information sheet? Yes No

Do you understand the benefits and risks involved in taking part in this study? Yes No

Do you understand that you are free to refuse to take part in or to withdraw from this study at any time? You do not have to give a reason. Yes No

If you choose to leave the study, do you understand that there will be no penalty? Yes No

Has the issue of confidentiality been explained to you? Yes No

Do you understand who will have access to the information you provide? Yes No

If you agree to take part in this study, please sign your name below

This study was explained to me by:_____

I agree to take part in this study

_____	_____	_____
Signature of Research Participant	**Date**	**Witness**
_____		_____
Printed Name		**Printed Name**

I believe that the person giving consent understands what is involved in the study and voluntarily agrees to participate.

_____	_____
Signature of Researcher	**Date**