



The New World of Fatherhood

Perceptions and fathering experiences of Nepalese immigrant fathers living in Norway

Prizma Ghimire

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Supervisor: Dr. Jan Otto Jacobsen

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Abstract

Title: The New World of Fatherhood: perceptions and fathering practices of Nepalese immigrant fathers living in Norway.

Author: Prizma Ghimire

Supervisor: Dr. Jan Otto Jacobsen

Keywords: fatherhood, fathering practices, paternal involvement, involved fatherhood ideal, gender norms, parental leave, father-child relationship, breadwinning, caregiving immigration, acculturation, resilience

Background: Globally, people are on the move because of various reasons. The migration journey is an exemplary experience and fathers experience this journey in their own ways. This study sits at the intersection of migration studies and social work incorporating the migration journey, the acculturation process and assessing fatherhood in the context of immigration. Framed by interpretive framework, the study explores the nuanced understanding of fatherhood, the symbolic meaning behind it, ideals of involved fatherhood and the cultural transmission that occurs within their fathering practices. Furthermore, the study explores on opportunities and challenges experienced by fathers while settling in Norway.

Methods: Qualitative research method was pursued using semi-structured, in-depth interviews conducted between February and April 2019 with seven immigrant fathers from Nepal currently living in Norway with their families. The interviews were conducted and transcribed in native language–Nepali and then translated to English. The transcribed materials were then coded, and emergent themes and sub-themes were identified. The data analysis process was done manually using six-phase data analysis process recommended by Braun & Clarke (2006).

Findings: The findings of this research first explore the participant's own ideals on fatherhood as they construct symbolic meaning of being a father and the transition that they have been through. The symbolic meaning of fatherhood mainly resonated as the intersection of a spiritual realization regarding fatherhood such as gaining more meaning to life alongside a social reality of earning and providing for the family. As expressed by participants, becoming a father meant more adherence to their responsibilities, upgraded social status, the triadic bond they developed within the family which aligns with a resilient/generative perspective of fatherhood (Roer-Strier et al. 2005). Secondly, the findings also revealed how fathers envision their roles in the everyday lives of their children and how do they put it in practice—analyzed as *involved fatherhood ideals*. Likewise, *Life experiences as immigrant fathers*—the third thematic exploration traced the life trajectories of immigrant fathers, the opportunities and challenges as they navigate through different situation and circumstances in a new country. The findings revealed that some facets of life such as *breadwinning responsibilities, cultural continuity, underemployment and generation gap* that emerged in the empirical findings posed some challenges to their fathering abilities

however, in a bigger picture, the articulated understanding of involved fatherhood ideals within themselves, their positive attitude towards changing gender dynamics within their household, diasporic consciousness, the trust in the Norwegian welfare system, and their hopes and aspirations for the future exhibited the ingrained resilience and strength of the immigrant fathers. In this regard, the findings from this study surpassed the *deficit theory*, that usually undermines the capabilities and potential of immigrant fathers rather, displayed a greater sense of resilience while overcoming various challenges along the migration journey and acculturation process.

Conclusion: The research represent the *voices* of immigrant fathers that aren't often covered by mainstream fatherhood researches. Moreover, it contributes to the almost non-existent experiences of Nepalese immigrant fathers in a Norwegian context. Likewise, the findings from this study counters the deficit theory of immigrant fathers and articulates on the resilience exhibited by immigrant fathers that are often undermined in the immigrant fathers' research. The findings and analysis from this research study suggest instrumental policy recommendations, practice and potential research development indicating the need of immigrant fathers, and by recognizing the policies and practice in order to facilitate their acculturation process and settlement in Norway.

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This research work marks not only the completion of a rewarding endeavor, but also the most beautiful exploration of life and learning during my two years in Europe. The knowledge I have gained, the people I have met and the wonderful life experiences that came along my way changed my perspective and opened new door of opportunities. I consider this amalgamation of life experience as a steppingstone to the journey that lay ahead of me.

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My participants or *the fathers* as I like to refer them deserve immense respect who enriched my research experience. And I thank them from the bottom of my heart for their time, patience and willingness to participate in this research and eloquently sharing their impeccable life stories of challenges and opportunities that came along their migration journey. This research would be nothing without their contributions, and my best wishes to them.

Similarly, I want to extend my gratitude to my MFAMILY cohort, other partner universities, professors and guest lecturers for remarkable life changing experiences, great friendships, profound learning environment and vast new knowledge.

I owe special gratitude to my family, without their support none of this would have been possible.

Finally, I express my utmost regards to everyone who have helped me, guided me and supported me during the development of this research work directly or indirectly.

Dedication

I dedicate this research work to all the hardworking immigrant parents and families out there.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Rationale of the study

Becoming, being a father is an evolving phenomenon since the beginning of mankind. The changing role of fathers as *providers* from a traditional breadwinner model to more of a *caregiver* (Esping-Andersen, 2009) is an evident arch in understanding ideals of fatherhood in a dual earner model. The increasing globalization accentuated the people's ability to move from one country to another has impacted the way fatherhood is understood, enacted and talked about (Miller, 2011). Moreover, the diversification of family life and multiculturalism in the modern society has impacted the nature of fathering practices, the way men relate to their children and involvement in childcare at the crossroads of diverse social groups and cultural identities (Björk, 2013; Plantin, 2007).

My first hand interactions and experiences with Nepalese immigrant fathers living in Portugal, Norway and Sweden during my course of master's study instilled a strong inquisitiveness to explore the aspect of fatherhood among fathers coming from a non-western country migrating to a western country with different norms, cultural beliefs and welfare provisions such as health and education. With the rising trend in Nepali population migrating abroad in search of better life opportunities, a lot has changed in terms of defining family, role of fathers and father-child relationship. Their accounts on *detraditionalization* of fatherhood, the changing sphere of gender norms, patriarchy, and the acculturation process intrigued a pool of questions within me eventually leading me to explore more with this research study on the new paradigm of fatherhood in context of immigration and how they navigate through their fatherhood ideals between eastern values and western lifestyle.

1.1.1 Nepalese in Norway

Nepal is one the developing country in South Asia with an estimated population of 30 million people (CBS¹, 2011). The social structure of Nepal is characterized as extended family size, culturally diverse and patriarchal. In case of Nepal, migration has played a pivotal role in shaping the social structure and global community. The armed conflict in Nepal from 1996 to 2000 saw a loss of more than 15,000 lives and internal displacement of an approximately 150,000 lives, fueling emigration of many Nepalese in search of security and better opportunities (CBS, 2001). Various administrative challenges, lack of transparency, corruption, decade long Maoist insurgency and recent earthquake were some of the major reasons for a large flock of Nepalese to emigrate. A total of 7.2 percent of Nepal's population are found abroad which accounts to nearly two million people (CBS, 2011). World Bank (2017) revealed that Nepal is one of the countries with its topmost reliance on remittance flow accounting to 30 percent of total GDP.

¹ Central Bureau of Statistics, CBS, <https://cbs.gov.np/>

Migration of Nepalese in Norway is relatively new phenomena though Asian community represents a large visible minority group in Norway (SSB, 2019), the diasporic scenario of Nepalese remains small. According to Statistics Norway, the current population of Nepalese in Norway is 2376 as of data extracted on March 2019. From 681 people in 2010 to 2376 people in 2019, that is 28 percent rise in Nepalese population within a decade. The available statistics on Nepalese population gave a comprehensive trend of Nepalese population coming to Norway every year. Therefore, it can be deduced that Nepalese population is on the rise even more in the upcoming years.

Figure 1. Immigrants and Norwegian-born to immigrant parents, by country background

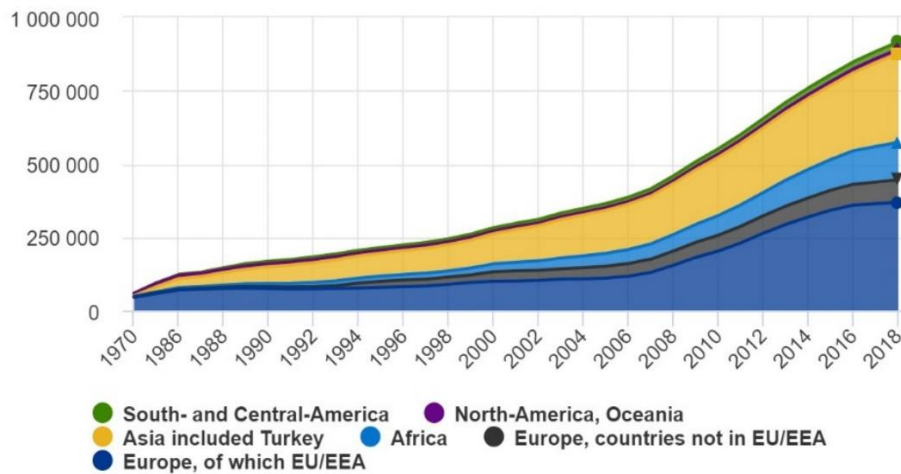


Figure 1: Cited from Statistics Norway (SSB, March 2019)

	Persons									
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Immigrants and Norwegian-born to immigrant parents										
Nepal	681	893	1 013	1 256	1 418	1 574	1 689	1 875	2 183	2 376

Table 1: Nepalese Immigrant population in Norway (SSB, March 2019)

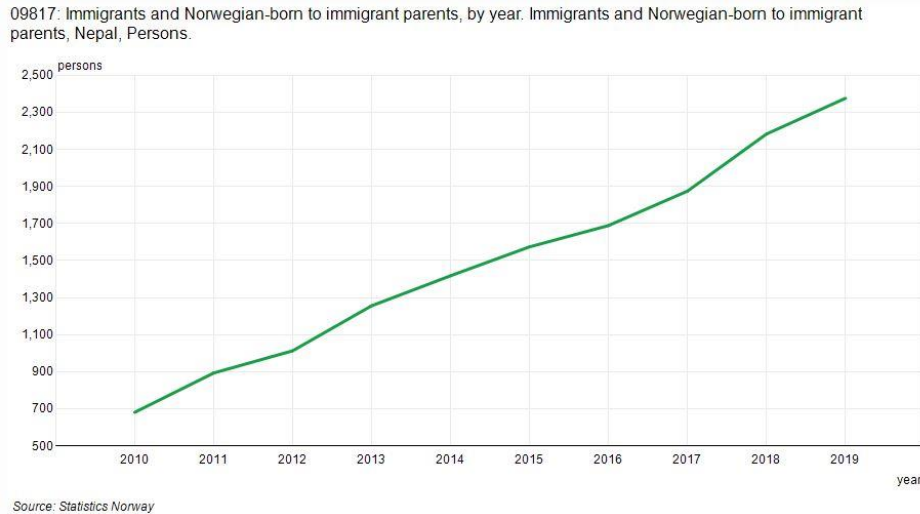


Figure 2: Nepalese population trend in Norway, Cited from SSB, March 2019

1.2 Literature gap and significance of the study

Research articles and literatures on the topic of fatherhood, fathering practices, family policy and parental leave system for fathers in Norway, revealed majority of studies focusing more on Norwegian fathers and families. There were fewer accounts of works documenting fathering practices, roles and lifestyle amongst immigrant families. Similarly, the anecdotal writings still describe South-Asian fathers as “the head of the family”, the chief provider to the family and child disciplinarian (Bavolek, 1997; Leung & Boehnlein, 1996) and focused largely on the negative consequences and deficit perspective of immigrant fathers. However, there are evidences indicating that the traditional roles and responsibilities of South-Asian fathers is changing post-migration resettlement (Lynch & Richard, 1997). Nonetheless, when compared to range of fatherhood studies, the aspect of fatherhood in case of immigration has received very little attention.

More specifically, there is no discussion of Nepalese fathers’ roles in the literature. There is a sparse research on fathering practices of immigrant fathers in Norway accounting family policies, incorporation of cross-cultural aspect, challenges immigrant fathers face and the process of acculturation impacting their fatherhood experiences in the long run (Alba & Nee, 1997). Therefore, the point of departure in this study aligned with the fathering practices of Nepalese fathers in an intercultural context which will have discrepancies in research finding to that of Norwegian fathers both on an individual and policy level.

The research findings from this study is fundamental in representing the voices of fathers from immigrant minority and bridging the knowledge gap that vast majority of fatherhood researches do not cover. Similarly, this research aims to accumulate experiences of Nepalese immigrant fathers who have qualitatively different life history and family experience. On a larger spectrum, it also provides insights on fathering norms in migrant communities and related social group.

This context precedes the analysis of the issues related to acculturation process of fathers integrating into a new society while making the systematic reference to conceptual framework.

1.3 Research objectives

The study entails to explore the perception of Nepalese fathers on fatherhood in context of immigration and analyze how the cultural differences might affect their fathering experiences, expectations, challenges and demands in a Norwegian society. It explores fathers' appraisal of their fathering efforts along the journey of migration. The discourses on welfare provisions and gender dynamics is another major cornerstone of the study to explore the dichotomy on gender roles and diversity on how the fathers perceive and perform their fathering roles amidst their Nepalese values while settling into Norwegian society. The findings of this research study will incorporate insights on their own meaning of fatherhood, involved fatherhood ideal and the opportunities and barriers that come along fathering in a new society. Furthermore, the study will have potential implications in the field of social work and public policy by contributing to understanding the interplay between the diversity, culture of fatherhood, father-child bond, improvement in father friendly policies in promoting childcare, and policy recommendations to working with immigrant families.

1.4 Research questions

To comply with the aim of the research and bridge the literature gap, it is essential for this research to be guided with the set of questions on which the knowledge can be extracted from the research field. Therefore, to give this study a proper structure, to aid myself in the process and to produce significant knowledge and policy recommendations, the research questions are outlined as follows:

1. What is the symbolic meaning of fatherhood for Nepalese fathers? How do fathers discuss involved fatherhood ideal and their caregiving responsibilities in a welfare driven society?
2. How does migration and socio-cultural differences intersect with their fatherhood ideals, experiences and the diversity in which fathers discuss and enact their fathering? What are the challenges and opportunities they face while settling in Norway?

1.5 Disposition of thesis

The study is categorized into seven chapters. The first chapter, introduction provides background and rationale for this research study alongside discussing gap in literature, aim of the study and research questions. The second chapter covers an extensive review of the literature under the themes of fatherhood in the context of immigration. The third chapter provides detailed theoretical framework followed by detailed account of methodology used throughout the study in

the fourth chapter. The fifth chapter consists the findings and analysis of the study and relevant discussions on the aspects of fatherhood, and discourses on gender within the context of migration is outlined on sixth chapter. The final chapter concludes the study and suggests policy recommendations and avenues for further research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Along with the rise in scholarly interest in researching about fathering and fatherhood since 1970s, there has been numerous contributions coming out of different sectors of academia and scientific disciplines. This chapter provides a contextual overview on migratory countries–Nepal and Norway along with the analysis of the literature discussing the multiple facets of fatherhood in a new country. Similarly, the key exploration in understanding meaning of fatherhood, involved fatherhood ideals, gender equality, fathering practices, father-child relationships in a cross-cultural context. The chapter will incorporate evidences and findings from relevant research arena providing the basis for analyzing and understanding results of this study while answering the research questions.

2.2 Contemporary fatherhood

Fatherhood is a broad social construct and varies according to the social, historical, cultural and political context in which fathering takes place. In dynamic approach, fatherhood is defined as the symbolic status of life-course in which fathering practices are shaped as a normative phase of individual development (Palkovitz, 1997) and includes symbolic interactionism which are drawn from the cultural patterns existing in everyday lives (Minton and Pasley, 1996). Over the years, the role of fathers has varied from economic provisioning or *breadwinning*, to moral guidance, to nurturing and co-parenting (Cabrera et al. 2000; Lamb 2000a, b; LaRossa, 1997; Stearns 1991).

Earlier literature described fathers as “forgotten contributors of child development” (Lamb, 1975). Since then, the scholarly landscape has changed and there is continuous expansion of knowledge to assess the roles of fathers as men in families. Similarly, the earlier beliefs of psychoanalysts were rudimentary and viewed fathers as the economic and emotional support provider for mother until Lamb (1976) brought back the concept of *fathering* awakening the shared roles of fathers in a parenting process and family life.

In this regard, fathering is defined as the “actions, involvement and the activities that fathers prioritize in their capacity to be involved in the caregiving space. It is a way in which fathers put their fatherhood into practice. Fathering actions ranges from diverse practices that are directed at the family because of their role as a father or husband/partner in order to confirm their identity and capacity as fathers” (Hobson & Morgan, 2002, pg. 256).

His stance on role of fathers equal to that of mothers in child development advocated for increased attention on fathering process and highlighted the importance of both parents’ involvement in caregiving for the holistic development of a child. Lamb’s famous work from 1980’s father’s involvement suggests that fathers can make an impactful influence in the child

development process because of their interaction style that is deemed to be unique to form close relationships with their children and strengthening the father-child bond. Researchers have claimed that fathers can also be involved in daily care just as mothers although through their *rough-and-tumble* care style but, embracing femininity in revisioning care practices at the same time (Doucet & Merala, 2007).

1.1.1 *The shifting discourse within role of fathers*

The shifting discourse within role of fathers over the recent years is attributable to the reconstructed division of labor between male and females ultimately leading policymakers to acknowledge and promote dual earner/dual carer model as a family ideal (Esping Andersen, 2009). Similarly, rise of feminist movement have oriented transformative views on fatherhood, emphasizing on father's involvement in childcare activities (Hobson and Morgan, 2002).

With the introduction of parental leave system for fathers and improvement in family policies in more recent years in western world and more so in Scandinavia (Moss, 2013) fatherhood has become more involved, caring and more about nurturing children (Brandth and Kvande 2003; Doucet 2006) reshaping the traditional *male as breadwinner* model to a large context. Plethora of studies and researchers accede to the fact that meaning of fatherhood has changed a lot over the years and intends to evolve more as *fathers as caregivers* (Marsiglio et al., 2000). The changing societal norms and cultural expectations on father's role in a family has changed the way fathers view their role in the family, more specifically to childcare. Transitioning from an era when fathering was considered deplorable to child (Elliott 2015; Hearn 2001, p.180) to a more emotionally involved fatherhood even where breadwinner model ideals are dominant, it is a leap in the age of mankind where fathers swing in to achieve their caring capabilities, prioritize unpaid household work, notion of "nurturer" and expand their role as fathers (Doucet 2004, p.220).

2.3 Involved fatherhood ideal

Lamb et. al (1985), distinguishes three major dimensions of fathering principles—engagement, accessibility and responsibility. This ideology categorically defines the involvement of fathers keeping major focus on some of the crucial aspect of child development. Here, *engagement* refers to the direct father-child interaction and the amount of time fathers spend interacting with their children through caregiving or person-to-person activity such as reading bedtime stories. Likewise, in addition to promoting the quality interaction time, the interpretation of engagement expanded to operationalization of expression of *parental warmth and responsiveness* to the child by expressing love and saying important things. This qualitative dimension of fathering is considered part of a composite involvement measure. The other crucial concept in fathering practices is to be available or become *accessible*. It is only by being accessible to the children, they will be comfortable enough to approach fathers, share their concerns and express their needs. Therefore, being present in child's vicinity is another important aspect highlighted by

Lamb and Pleck (2010). Finally, *responsibility* accounts for making sure that child's physical and emotional needs are being met through proper care arrangements. Furthermore, addressing *responsibility* Lamb et al. (1985, p.884) defined it as "not just the amount of time spent with the children but, the role of fathers in making sure that the child's physical and emotional needs are being met through the available resources and proper care arrangements". This might involve activities such as making appointments with pediatricians, attendance of regular playgroup, arranging babysitter, etc. Moreover, responsibility largely associates to a process through direct and indirect care. Here, *indirect care* refers to arrangements done for the child without the direct involvement and interaction with the child. Fathers' arrangement of their children's health care is one of the focus areas of research in assessing indirect care (Stueve & Pleck, 2004) where care arrangements and planning is done for the child without the major focus on the interaction.

As parental involvement construct or involved fatherhood ideal started to popularize it started to incorporate configuration of "spending time with children, providing emotional support, giving everyday assistance, monitoring the children's behavior, and non-coercive disciplining" (Carlson 2006, p.138) subsequently declining the notion of authoritative parenting. Likewise, the time spent together enabled fathers to express their love, warmth, support, exercise appropriate control and monitoring.

2.3.1 *Involved fatherhood ideal and gender roles*

The changing fathers' involvement in caregiving sphere has the prospective to alter unequal gendered dynamics and masculine social construct within a house and in the workplace (Chesley, 2011). This growing acknowledgement of men's emotional connection with their children is distinctive to its tenets of hegemonic masculinity that dictates the ideals of traditional fatherhood and detach men from the caregiving responsibilities (Johansson and Klinth, 2007). When fathers also share the caregiving responsibilities and housework with their wives, employed women can escape the boundaries of their household chores and total responsibility for family work achieving a fair division of labor and enjoy higher levels of marital satisfaction (Coltrane, 2010). This fatherhood model has been acknowledged as 'new', 'responsible' or 'active' fatherhood (Lamb, 2000; LaRossa, 1998, p.58).

A study looking into stay-at-home fathers revealed that these fathers embody a unique understanding regarding the new fatherhood ideals, the changing sphere of the family dynamics ultimately impacting the stereotypical gendered expectations and conceptions (Chelsey, 2011) transforming views on fatherhood not just in micro level but rather broader cultural context and social life. As different societies are adapting to the rising trend of dual breadwinner model, an ideal of a more emotionally engaging fatherhood—also known as *involved fatherhood*—is getting popular and synonymous with the notion of *good fatherhood* across western world and more so in Scandinavia (Hobson and Morgan, 2002).

Hanlon (2012) studying the meaning of care in men's lives indicated that masculinities and values of care are not mutually exclusive components but rather intertwined. The men's

experiences in the study represented their enthusiasm on being fathers as they shared that doing care made them feel *happy, proud, challenged, joyful, competent, responsible* and *wanted* (p. 137). Drawing on these findings, it is even more influential in understanding role of fathers in everyday care situations challenging the ideals of hegemonic masculinity that traditionally put women in low status. Similarly, the commonly identified themes in fathers' narrative of involved fathering in Lewis and Welsh (2005) study included day to day micro responsibilities such as caretaking, feeding, changing diapers, etc. to the macro responsibilities indicating cognitive and emotional support, providing for material needs and guiding their children with decision making. Fathers also reported growth in caregiving abilities, increased feeling of self-worth, acquired confidence and felt more love when asked to describe their fathering experiences in a study conducted by Brandth and Kvande (2016) in Norway.

These real-life instances illustrate the intimacy, love and security to their children and building the care competence parallel to the ideals of caring masculinity (Elliott, 2015). In Solomon's (2014) article she discovers that fathers construct their fathering practices that differ from both conventional and traditional fathering and focusing on 'gentle physical affection, emotional intimacy, shared leisure and being in tune with their children's emotional needs' (p.61).

2.3.2 *Paternal involvement and father-child relationship*

Contending that the fatherhood ideals has changed over time, researchers now agree more than ever that what fathers do with and for their children has a significant impact on the life of children and the family (Parke, 1996). Father-child relationship is another important aspect in understanding involved fatherhood because fathers have a significant role in shaping up the children's thought process and influence their children directly through the behavior they display and the messages they convey. It is evident enough that when men spend more time actively with their children on a regular basis, they emphasize on interaction, provide a sense of availability, and comfortability for children to rely on their fathers and move away from their *prescribed* roles as fathers (Lamb, 2010). Most studies have also shown that active involvement of fathers have positive impact on children's life such as enhanced intellectuality, socio-emotional adjustment and a balanced ego structures and gender expectations (Coltrane 1996, Parke 1996). In contrast to earlier conceptualizations of father's roles, often narrowly focused on breadwinning, it is becoming more accepted that fathers are as equal important source as mothers on the development of young children. In this study, fathering practices and family practices implies that the fatherhood focus is not only limited to how fathers describe their fatherhood but, how they are as fathers and what they claim to do in their parental relationship.

Conversely, when fathers are not engaged and unsupportive in sharing household work and caregiving responsibilities, the marital conflict is high and the children suffer in an unhealthy family environment (Cummings, Goeke-Morey, and Raymond; 2004). Summing up, fathers play multifaceted roles in their children's lives and influence them in diverse ways giving a high rise to the importance of paternal involvement in the family life (Lamb, Pleck, Charnov, 1985, 1987).

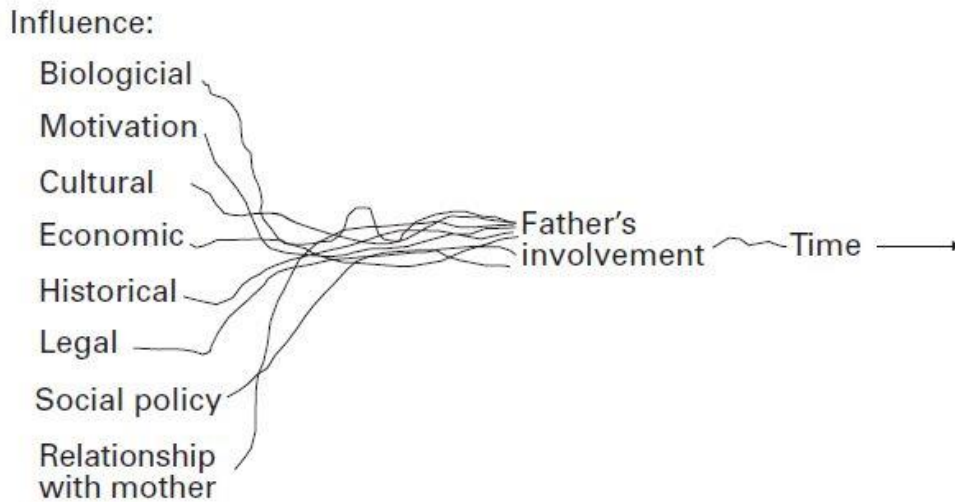


Figure 3: involved fatherhood over time, Cited from Lamb & Pleck, 2010

2.4 Fatherhood in a cross-cultural context

Fathers play significantly variant roles—as protectors, companions, caregivers, moral guides, teachers and providers—whose relative importance varies across cross-cultural settings and historical epochs. Probing through various studies and research findings, it is interesting to look at ideals of fatherhood and how it intersects with the fathers coming from different cultural context. As Roopnarine mentions (2015), “although the universal goal is to raise children who possess the skills and assets necessary for meeting the demands of life within their cultural community, the pathways to achieving those skills and forces that shape them, vary across cultures” (p.48).

Diversity is a characteristic of fathering as fatherhood differs from context to context: such as South Asia has multiple cultural and historical traditions which is unique when compared to Africa or the western world. For example, fathering in China looks very different because of its one-child policy to control population growth and promote child welfare. Similarly, studies have also revealed that fathers following Confucianism and Hinduism define fathering as “strict fathers and affectionate mothers” (Nakazawa & Shwalb, 2013, p.147). A look into the fathers of the Arab world (Ahmed, 2013) outlines their power in controlling the life of their daughters—male guardianship in Saudi Arabia, physical punishment in the name of discipline while mothers are expected to practice domesticity and assume a submissive role in the family (Hossian & Juhari, 2011).

Cross-cultural research shows that fatherhood is largely perceived as streaming through one’s own cultural and religious beliefs. While some communities consider biological and social relationship between a father and child where the notion “to father” means to marry, have a child and thus describing a kinship relationship to inherit intergenerational properties and transfer of

wealth; more affluent societies have embraced the aspect of *involved fatherhood* exhibiting a strong father-child bond, breaking the gender barrier and ensuring more gender equality (Sanday, 1991). Other societies remain distant-fathering societies which largely remain patriarchal and are more likely to have stern male gods. The pace of gender equality is low as men routinely exclude women in decision making, exerting the power of manliness (Coltrane, 1996). Therefore, higher level of father's involvement with children thus equates with more intimate husband-wife relationships and attainment of gender equality in a family environment.

Here, the cross-cultural aspect is assessed and analyzed between Norway and Nepal as to have a discrete understanding of fatherhood roles and ideals that stand between these socio-economically and culturally diverse countries.

2.4.1 Fathering in an individualistic society: The Norwegian Context

Norwegian society is considered more of an individualistic society with the social provisions designed to cater needs in an individual level (Vassenden, 2010). Conducive family policies, cash benefits promote active fatherhood and dual earner/carer model (Esping-Andersen, 2009). As a result of these progressive provisions, the involved fatherhood ideal is very strong and relatable in the context of Norway. Parental leave system for fathers has been an active area of social policy since early 1970s in Norway and in Nordic welfare model (Brandth and Kvande, 2016).

Norway has been a leading edge in developing family policies and child protection policies prioritizing gender equality in the division of paid work and domestic work within families, shared parental leave, pioneering mandatory fathers' quota— fifteen weeks as of now (Brandth and Kvande, 2016), universal child-care provisions, and individual taxation (Esping Andersen, 2009). Care policies and entitlements to the mandatory paternal leave are the defining edge of enhancing fathers' role in care of their children and the findings from Nordic fathers shows that fathers are gradually increasing their share in taking care of young children. In 2015, more than 70 percent of Norwegian fathers utilized all their father's quota or even more (SSB, 2016). These reformations and development on social policies have sheered the role of fathers as caregivers implicitly (Klinth and Johansson, 2010).

Similarly, the active involvement of fathers outstands as an exemplary tool for achieving gender equality but, also a way of guaranteeing the fathers' contribution in developmental aspect of their children (Bergman and Hobson, 2002). As a longstanding political consensus towards participatory fatherhood, Norway is one of the countries in the world where the policies have been most effective and regulatory towards fathers. These policies have been experimental in shifting gears when it comes to understanding and pitching the role of fathers in a family structure (Brandth and Kvande, 2016). The shared testimonies from fathers who live up to the optimum fatherhood norms, sharing the parental leave equally with their partners expressed

active parenting as a source of joy, navigating their role as fathers within the family and strengthened the father-child bond (Klinth and Johansson, 2010).

Hence, the involved and caring fatherhood is very much incorporated into the Norwegian culture. Gender equal parenthood and paternal involvement is barely the concern of public debate. This is reflected in the increasing popularity of fathers making use of their parental benefits, taking more time for childcare activities and being directly involved in the child's everyday life which is acknowledged and made more accessible by the government, social system and fathers themselves (Brandth and Kvande, 2016). Similarly, active and involved fatherhood is depicted in positive terms as something that is beneficial for both father and child (Morgan, 2002).

2.4.2 Fathering in a collective society: The Nepalese Context

The Nepalese society is collective in nature with its extended but tight-knit family relationships and sharing responsibilities among family members. Although the recent trend in globalization and modernization has brought some changes in the family structures and role of fathers yet, male members are the prominent providers of the family and women and grandmothers usually take up caregiving responsibilities for their children (Oburu, 2004). In this regard, involved fatherhood as an ideal is still a farfetched understanding mainly because the Nepalese society is largely patriarchal (Niraula & Morgan, 1996) and the definition of fatherhood predominantly rests on the traditional breadwinner model. Male members of the family are usually the sole providers of the family and women are the ones who are responsible for managing domestic chores. Family support networks serves as an informal yet crucial safety net in caring situations.

Contrary to welfare model of fatherhood in Norway, Nepal still has a long way to go in reforming the parental leave law and the change in perspective about how the society views male members and role of fathers in the society. Among the bitter realities, men and women in Nepal experience different set of expectations regarding work, relationships and personal autonomy (Williams, 2009). Although ethnically, economically and geographically very diverse, the social structure is patrilineal (Niraula and Morgan, 1996) and the lower socio-economic status of Nepalese women can be seen in the context of prevalent social structures that limit the women's access to the rights and power to exercise them. Through a systemic patriarchy, women naturally adapt to being bounded within the household chores whereas men supposedly continue to be "providers" (Niraula, 1996) drifting their roles away from the family. Moreover, the importance of collective society and role of multiple caregivers (sibling, grandparents, uncles, aunts and other extended family members) illustrates the horizontal and hierarchical relationships within an extended living arrangement that are culturally sanctioned and convey the static roles of fathers in the patriarchal societies (Chaudhary et. al., Ball & Moselles, 2006).

While on one hand, the social structure is too rigid to drastically change the roles of fathers, the welfare system perpetuates the vicious cycle of dependency. Until 2016, women used to receive

only two months of paid maternity leave which has been increased to six months as of now and fathers are provided with only 15 days of paid parental leave (Ministry of Health, 2016). But, these revisions in legal system is far from promoting the idea of involved fatherhood in context of Nepal. Similarly, only 46.8 percent of women are economically active in comparison to 62.5 percent of male striking a huge gender gap of 18.37 percent in the Nepalese economy (CBS, 2014). Dominant patriarchal ideology and discrimination of women are also observed in cultural and occupational setting. The religious and historical anecdotes from Nepalese societies have placed women in the subordinate position inside a family and illuminates unequal gender relations that are still prevalent in Nepalese society (Niraula, 2016). In all this contextualization, the roles of fathers get drown under the societal norms and feeble family policies.

2.5 Immigration, fathering practices and acculturation process

The migration journey is a powerful and a life changing event as it has been explored by Benezet & Zetter (2015). Contemporary migration studies have revealed that the primary motive for people to migrate is to look for better economic opportunities and improve standard of living. Findings by Suarez-Orozco (2001) show that majority of the fathers migrate to provide a better life for their children. But moving from one place to another uproots the belongingness of the familiar environment (Hulewat, 1996). Similarly, with immigrant fathers, they also leave behind their familial and cultural setting to enter a process of adaptation to a new society. Within all of this, they might have to change their own belief system, values, expectation and perceived role as a father as per the demands of the new society.

Economic provisioning or breadwinning is the central feature of the migration journey (Featherstone, 2003). “Fathers perceive breadwinning as the fundamental role,” (Bouchard 2003, p.18) as evidenced by “vulnerability and distress when they fail to fulfill their roles as fathers” (Bouchard 2003, p.7). To fathers, earning for their family, putting food on the table, a safe shelter and stability place a good prospect for the future (Bouchard, 2003) and consider these responsibilities as vital. However, as immigrant fathers, they might find it difficult to discharge this responsibility as they struggle with finding a job or face underemployment and unhealthy working environment (Cabrero et al. 2000; Clark et al. 2000; Shimoni et. al. 2003). Therefore, immigration and acculturation process does have a strong influence on paternal roles and practices.

A study by Strier and Roer-Strier (2005) on fathering experiences of Jewish immigrants from Ethiopia and former Soviet Union in Isarel exhibited pattern of change and continuity. While fathers in both the groups adhered to the core values of their home country yet simultaneously adapted to the values of host country in order to facilitate the integration process. Both groups also acknowledged the increased involvement in raising their children and supporting their wives. Nonetheless, there was contrasting variation while conceptualizing the impact of immigration on the fathering experiences. Fathers from Soviet Union contended that the immigration process enriched their fathering experiences as opposed to Ethiopian fathers who

expressed that their traditional childcare roles were challenged by new gender expectation, be more involved as fathers, and jeopardized their position in the family.

Another dilemmatic aspect with immigration in the modern society is the degree of acceptance immigrants receive from host countries and embracing the ethnic diversity, social and cultural changes. This dilemmatic response from host country raises the issue of living with *others* (Pietsch and Marotta, 2009). In context of globalization *others* equates to immigrants as outsiders. The changes in the composition of society predominately in Europe, USA and Australia has seen a sharp increase in migrants from Asia, Africa and most recently from Middle East and this has undoubtedly led to increase in discrimination and racism (Hugo et al, 2012). A study done in Canada among Ethiopian immigrant families also revealed that immigrants are more likely to be exposed to both overt and covert manifestations of racism and experienced a deep feeling of exclusion and despair as they were told that they lacked *appropriate* western cultural codes required for the integration (Ben-Ezer, 1992).

Moreover, many researchers and human right activists believe that the situation has been worsened by paternalistic approach of integration system, arousing sense of discrimination triggered by identity crisis (Weil, 1995). Therefore, within the quest for acculturation and deep motivation for integrating into host society remains a larger context in contrast surrounding the settlement of migrants that can also lead to social exclusion and marginalization (Castel, 1994, 2009). The marginalization can range from cultural, socioeconomic and relational aspect (Castel, 1994). The socioeconomic aspect such as financial instability, debt and housing problem; relational aspect such as trouble navigating the social system, formal services and social participation along with cultural aspect such as lack of integration in the host communities (Long, 2008; Richmond and Saloojee, 2005) results in individuals and communities experiencing disempowerment and deprivation. This one-dimensional lack in contact and interaction leads to social exclusion incorporating notion of vulnerability and inability to absorb shock.

However, exploring the brighter side of the immigration, studies on the lived experiences of fathers equally suggest that the element of immigration initiates the process of acknowledging and adapting the changes around them (Hernandez and McGoldrick, 1999). Although not very settling in the beginning, these fathers found the aspect of nuanced changes in their life such as finding a new home, new place of work, family life and social environment to be satisfying in the long run. A study by Marget Spohn (2002) looking into Turkish immigrant fathers concluded that although division of labor between partners was a concerned issue in the beginning of the migration, the pragmatic everyday solutions eventually changed the traditional convictions of fathers in the family as they adhered to a *new fatherhood* and embracing dual-earner model in the long-run. Similarly, future prospect of settling in an affluent society equally provides higher level of education and opportunities for fathers to explore.

Chapter 3: Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

3.1 Introduction

Theory is an important aspect of a research study, as it offers a unique point of departure for researchers to interpret and analyze the data. Theories are as if—the foundation upon which the research is built on (Bryman, 2012). Evident enough, the increasing scholarly interest in fathers and fatherhood since 1970s unfurled the diverse aspect of knowledge in this field of study. As a result of this development, fatherhood scholars have realized the need for theoretical concepts to guide the research and reassess the status-quo in fatherhood researches (Day & Lamb, 2004; Marsiglio et al, 2000; Pleck, 2007).

Therefore, in order to establish a linkage between theoretical understanding and the findings of my research, this chapter explores the two conceptual frameworks that are relevant with the study. The blanket theory that I am using in my study to address the migration journey of fathers is the acculturation theory (Sam & Berry, 2010) and to have a closer look at the lives of immigrant fathers I am utilizing deficit-resilient perspective developed by Strier and Roer-Strier (2010) both of which are described and detailed out as follows:

3.2 Acculturation theory

Acculturation comprehends to a “phenomenon which occurs when group of individuals from different socio-cultural and economic come together with subsequent changes in their respective cultural patterns transforming a social ecology” (Flynn and Betancourt 2007, p191). In this regard, acculturation refers to reciprocity of cultural and psychological exchange that occurs over time (Berry, 2010). Acculturation process is an important in understanding fatherhood as it surrounds millions of men who are fathers and migrating to foreign country with a hope of providing a better life for themselves and their families. The dynamics of fatherhood in case of immigration is highly affected by socio-cultural and economic changes, acculturation process, the networks they use, opportunities, resources available at the destination in relation to their country of origin (Lamb and Tamis-LeMonda, 2004; LaRossa, 1997). Acculturation process illustrates how immigrants accommodate themselves socially, emotionally and physically in a new social context. Therefore, acculturation theory is instrumental in understanding the experiences of immigrant fathers as well (Schmidt 2018, p17).

According to Berry (2008, p.331), four acculturation strategies occur among individuals as the response to society since it is deemed as melting pot of the cultures. First is *assimilation* where individuals have high interaction with the culture of host country and minimal interaction with the culture of their own. “Here individuals are less likely to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with others.” Second is *integration* when there is significantly balanced interaction between cultures of both home country and host country. Third is *segregation* when

there is high interaction with culture of their origin but minimal or no interaction with the culture from the host country. Final is the *marginalization* when individuals start to drift apart from the culture of the host society and stick their own original values and beliefs. Berry (2008) identifies the optimal outcome of acculturation process is through integration when immigrants can find a good balance to value their culture of origin and are open to the new norms of host society resulting into a multicultural society.

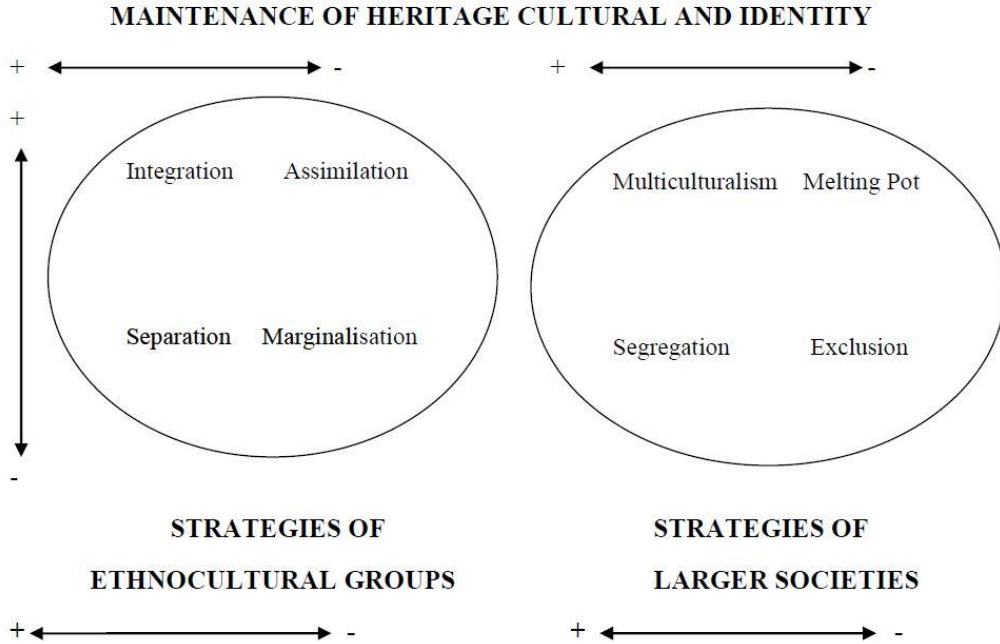


Figure 4: Acculturation strategies and potential outcome, cited from Berry (2008)

While this framework has been widely accepted, it has also been criticized as it identifies “integration” as the optimal acculturation strategy and limit the possibility of dynamic cultural variant. Similarly, the model can only be successful when the host society is highly accepting of the multiculturalism, free of prejudice and positive attitude towards different cultural groups (Berry, 1997). According to Auerbach et al. (2008) in their study of Latino American fathers, resulted that the acculturation process not only led these fathers to take up the American way of depicting fathering identity but also created an entirely new Latino American fathering identity. Bhatia and Ram (2009, p.147) have criticized for asserting a universal ground and intents similar psychological process during acculturation process for all the cultural groups. Moreover, they argue that this model does not equivocally take socio-political attributes into consideration such as race, gender, cultural group, prejudice that are attached with multiculturalism (Bhatia & Ram, 2001).

3.3 Immigrant Fathers: A theoretical perspective

The second theoretical framework that is incorporated in this research study reflect two opposing theoretical perspective on immigrant fathers: the deficit perspective and the generative or resilience perspective as illustrated by Strier and Roer-Strier (2010). This framework presents the migration journey of immigrant fathers and the acculturation process involved within. These perspectives are important in understanding the integrative standpoint of fatherhood which is often neglected while understanding the acculturation process of immigrant fathers. Similarly, the clear understanding of this perspective provides a ground for developing responsive theories, competent practices and holistic integrative policies (Strier and Roer-Strier 2010, p.435).

3.3.1 *The deficit-perspective*

The deficit-perspective focuses on the negative aspect of immigration on fathers consequently undermining their fathering abilities. “This approach stresses the notion that immigration journey challenges the stability and continuity of fathers’ roles, identities and wellbeing.” (Strier and Roer-Strier, 2010, p.436). This perspective specifically emphasizes immigration as a source of stress and risk factors for fathers, children and family amidst cultural differences (Bourgois,1998; Suarez-Orozco, 2001). Empirical evidences have revealed the phenomena called *acculturative stress* which shows the varying degrees of psychological stress, decline in wellbeing, anxiety and somatic symptoms (Berry, 1992). A classical deficit perspective links the immigration to the risk associated with *cultural shock* and multisource stressors that arise during the process of acculturation in the host country. As a result, families are faced with psychological and cultural crisis, depletion of health, social discomfort and physical and emotional burnout (Lerner, Kertes & Zilber, 2005).

Amidst all the changes in socio-cultural backdrop, immigrant fathers must learn to cope up with the practical challenges of everyday life (Searle and Ward, 1990) while adapting to norms and values of new culture. Under the exposed vulnerability of changing circumstances such as adjusting to a new home, social environment, learning new language and quest to integrate in a new society fathers’ wellbeing, physical and mental health, self-image and the ability to take control of the stress and anxiety might all be challenged (Hernandez and McGoldrick, 1999). Often social and familial support network is also undermined as they undergo tremendous change after the immigration. Radhi (2002) points out that, the absence of strong familial network and extended social support network post migration also challenges the fathers’ ability to withstand stress and contribute to his child’s upbringing. Sluzki (1992) asserts that wives’ early integration into the workforce and children’s rapid integration pose a threat to traditional fatherhood ideals, specifically on father’s status and stability.

Furthermore, fathers face serious socio-economic backlash, underemployment and confront gender norms as a part of immigration where they unwillingly adhere to less-skilled jobs as opposed to their skilled jobs that they left back home. This feeling of constant guilt and

dissatisfaction manifested in sadness and anxiety lowers the family functioning of fathers. The decline in self-esteem due to underemployment, change in family status and the inability to pace up with the integration process has been linked with acute feeling of loss, isolation, marginalization, increased alcohol intake and rise in gruesome and neglectful behavior towards children (Robertson, 1992; Shimoni, Este, & Clark, 2003). Fathers tend to expect their children to be more grateful for the sacrifices they've done and contest to assert control over the children (Arnold, 1991) resulting into depleting father-child relationship accentuated by the ambivalence of children over migratory process, generation gap and ideological differences.

Similarly, in various situations when immigrant fathers are working hectic hours—are ostensibly less available for their children— it is evident that they fail to spend quality time with their children and hence, their involvement with their children is limited. The lack of fathering experiences along with the crisis brought by cultural integration often impair their paternal functioning (Sluzki, 1992). To sum up, this view undermines the fathering capabilities of men in the context of immigration as they confront social, economic, gender and cultural challenges along the acculturation process (Behnke, Taylor & Parra-Cardona, 2008).

3.3.2 The resilience or generative perspective

Contrary to the deficit perspective, resilience perspective portrays immigration asserting positive correlation to the family cohesion and outcomes for children (Boyd, 2002; Cohen and Haberfeld, 2003). Studies have discovered families fleeing unfavorable circumstances such as war, natural disasters revealed that they experienced enriched psychological wellbeing and felt more secure (Forget, 2017). In case of such situations, fathers experienced heightened sense of security knowing that their families are out of risk. Immigrant fathers escaping political dictatorship stressed the positive experience of thriving in safe democratic society. Furthermore, this approach emphasize that family members are capable to cater the significant amount of social and emotional support for each other. In some contexts, immigrant families seem to have stronger family ties and extended family support that help them cope up with new social situation.

According to generative/resilient perspective, families can furnish significant amount of emotional and practical support for their members. In some context, immigrant families have strong ties to their family network and higher income compare to their non-immigrant counterparts. Acculturation studies have shown that fathers can prosperously navigate with the given resources of job, academics and have higher income and successfully fuse their old values with the new ones to create their own kind of family life. Instead of pessimistic prophecy of family disintegration, this perspective refers to studies that reflect the myriad ways in which new immigrant family patterns are established and strengthened by cultural meanings that they carried from back home fused with the new social strata, and cultural forces of the host country (Foner, 1997).

Drawing on from this perspective, it has shown that immigration provide fathers with new opportunities and better socio-economic condition for them to prosper. Strier an Roer-Strier (2005) in a comparative study of former Soviet Union and Ethiopian immigrant fathers in Israel found that “immigration was perceived as an opportunity to give new meanings to traditional roles and to re-interpret various definition of fatherhood” (pp.130). Similarly, in a comparative study of immigrant fathers from 10 different cultural background in Canada and Israel (Roer-Strier, Strier, Este, Shimoni and Clark, 2005) emphasized the opportunities availed by host country and shared “immigration as an opportunity to re-invent themselves as fathers and men” (Roer-Strier et al., 2005, p.323). Notable in the study, fathers were more optimistic about their families’ possibilities and future. A study among Latino immigrant fathers suggested the two of recurring themes in the interviews: overcoming challenges and finding new strengths (Perreira, Chapman, Stein, 2006). In their interview, Latino fathers discussed about the challenges experienced during the immigration journey and strengths gained as a result of overcoming those challenges while navigating through unfamiliar work, school, neighborhood, social schemes and confronting racism. In this regard, resilient perspective dissects on the positive family outcome in case of immigrant fathers.

Fatherhood in an immigration context, drawing on from literature review and conceptual framework is illustrated as follows:

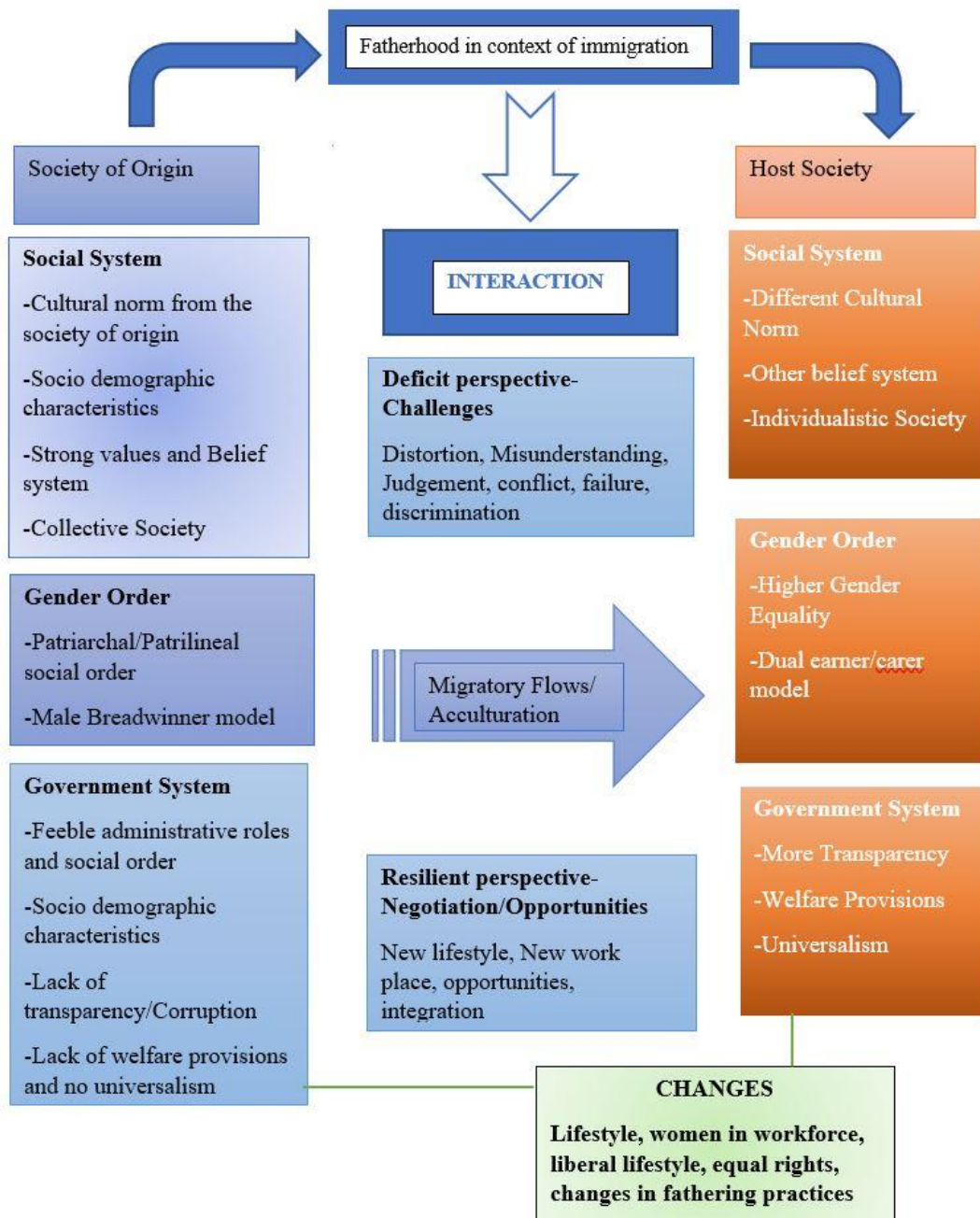


Figure 5²: Fatherhood in the context of immigration

² Developed by author, combining notions from Paternal Involvement fatherhood framework (Lamb & Pleck, 2010) and Immigrant fathers: theoretical framework (Strier & Roer-Strier, 2010), *The Role of father in Development of Child*, fifth Edition, Michael E. Lamb (2010)

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Overview of the Chapter

This research entails the qualitative study method as it emphasizes in exploring and understanding the situation in which social phenomenon are examined (Bryman, 2012). Complying to what Bryman suggests, this study intends to explore fathering experiences of immigrant fathers in a cross-cultural setting. Moreover, the study focuses on the acculturation process of fathers while relating to their ideals of fatherhood and father-child relationship in an intercultural context.

This chapter outlines the methodological framework and research design related to the study. The epistemological and ontological underpinnings are discussed complying to the assumptions posed by the research questions. Similarly, inductive/deductive approach and process of literature review are also the inclusive piece of this chapter. The research design, source of data, selection, collection and analysis are described in relation to the qualitative approach that is chosen for the study. The ethical considerations of the study conclude this chapter.

4.2 Epistemological and Philosophical Underpinnings

The philosophical underpinnings of the research study are influenced by the theoretical perspective adopted by the researcher and the choice of research methodology subsequently influencing the researcher's philosophical stance (Gary, 2013). Ontology is concerned with the nature of social entities (Bryman, 2012) and defined as "the study of being" (Crotty, 2003). Ontology explores more on "what constitutes as reality investigating the nature of existence and exploring more on what is there that can be known" (Gary, 2013). Whereas epistemology is "a way of understanding and explaining how we know what we know" (Crotty, 2003). It explores more on what is regarded as acceptable knowledge and is possible to produce in the related field of academia (Bryman, 2016) ensuring that they are both adequate and legitimate (Maynard, 1994).

The ontological stance in this study lies within constructivism, which asserts that social reality and phenomena don't exist independently instead the meanings are constantly being created, revised and accomplished continually through interpretations and actions of social actors in their day to day interactions (Becker & Bryman, 2012). The central concept of constructivism outlines that individuals and groups interacting in a social system generate meaning overtime that will eventually be accepted, symbolically reified and becomes dominant view as it is embedded in the society.

"The view that all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings

and their world, developed and transmitted within an essentially social context.” (Crotty, 1998)

In this regard, this study “perceptions and fathering experiences of Nepalese immigrant fathers living in Norway” affirms the suitability to study and explore how Nepalese fathers construct their meaning of fatherhood amidst cross-cultural diversity, social policies, autonomy and responsibilities. In addition to that, the study also considers what ideals are involved in this construction, and to find their ways to interpret accounts involved in understanding contemporary fathering practices and perceptions.

This arch in understanding the social phenomena or aspect of knowing rather than describing focuses on the view to produce knowledge, known as-the epistemology is aligned with interpretivism that coincide with hermeneutic and symbolic interactionist attributes and provides recognition to the human characteristics by giving meaning to the people’s interpretations and interactions as a form of social reality (Bryman, 2012). The epistemology accounts for the accumulated experiences of an immigrant father relating to their migration journey and the experiences in the new society where they have settled in to produce a new social construct. Hermeneutics and symbolic interactionism place the element of interpretation at its center (Palmer, 1969) as interpretation is “one of the basic acts of human thinking and exists itself with the constant process of interaction” (Palmer, 1969, p.9) and holds the fact that we are interested in people and the way they interrelate.

Hence, underlying to this worldview, studying fatherhood in the context of immigration implies the understanding within social constructivist ideology, and within a fluid social phenomenon exploring more on the innate knowledge of what fathers know about fatherhood that are subjectively created and revised along with the course of interaction between members within the society. Thus, fatherhood in this study is seen as an interactive biproduct of how individuals, groups and society perceive fatherhood and label fathering depending on the context, time in history and whose perceptions are accounted for (Hobson and Morgan, 2002). Therefore, this perspective also implies that me as a researcher is also continually involved in construction of fatherhood and create other meanings such as fathering values around it as I attempt to categorize some aspects of social phenomena as related aspect of fatherhood whilst others as unrelated.

4.3 Induction and Deduction

The prominent attribute of qualitative research is to let the empirical findings lead the way in research and serve as a foundation for discovering new knowledge and produce new theories as well as alter or critic the existing ones. This inductive use of theory places the emphasis on the emergence of patterns and theories through data (Bryman, 2012) acknowledging the variable nature of social reality. In this regard, it contrasts with the deductive approach which exerts its dominance in quantitative research and includes already established knowledge and theories as the point of departure.

However, not to say that “induction and deduction are two irreconcilable opposites, but rather can be viewed as two extreme ends of a continuum where the quantitative studies have inclination towards the deductive side as opposed to the qualitative studies which incline more towards inductive side” (Wiberg, 2015, p.15). Similarly, since the selection of topic, research questions, methods, analysis is influenced by pre-existing literature and theories it can be claimed that inductive process is not completely exclusive from deductive reasoning (Gary, 2013). This is also true for this study. Because of the qualitative nature of the study, the findings and analysis are dominantly inductive in process nonetheless, some degree of deduction persists. Although, I have tried to open new array on previously undiscovered perspectives on fatherhood in context of immigration while conducting and analyzing the interviews, it is practically impossible not to be influenced by theoretical concepts, previous researches and predominant terminologies that I came across in my reading and in my studies within the field of social work. This theoretical knowledge inevitably impacted how I formulated my research questions and interview guide, how I followed up the answers during interviews and how I arranged the data throughout the analysis. Therefore, I would say my study inclines most toward the inductive approach with some pragmatic deduction relating to the foundations of the study.

4.4 Research Design and Data Collection

This research entails a qualitative study method, along with the combination of descriptive and exploratory research in its design. Descriptive studies provide a more complete picture of certain phenomena describing what occurs and how (Gary, 2009). The study explored fathering practices of immigrant fathers by interviewing them and relating to their idea of ‘fatherhood’ and father-child bond. Similarly, the study also focused on fathers’ understanding on family policies, parental leave system providing a complete yet distinct scenario of a certain phenomenon. Complementing to the descriptive nature of the studies, exploratory studies are focused on less explored research topics by establishing more on existing knowledge through a different perspective (Yin, 2003). This corresponds to the research objectives of my study representing knowledge of fathers in an intercultural setting and through greater diversity than most of the previous studies on fatherhood. The empirical evidence for the study was collected through in-depth (semi-structured) interviews, field notes, and my personal reflections on the interview sessions with seven Nepalese fathers living in Norway. In this section, I will describe the research design, research method, selection of cases, data collection, and data analysis. The challenges concerning different phases of the data collection is also discussed in its respective subsection.

4.4.1 *Qualitative interviews*

Semi structured, in-depth interview was chosen as a primary method of data collection in this study as it is a beneficial technique when seeking out information on personal experiences from people on specific issues or topics (Hennink et al., 2011 p.109). Additionally, the choice of in-depth interview for this study is motivated by its ability to reflect on fathers’ own perception of

fatherhood in the context of immigration and gather both exclusive and nuanced accounts on their thought process that can be interpreted and analyzed to answer the research questions (Bryman, 2012; Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Therefore, the interviews completed in this study explores diverse experiences of fathers set in different pointers of time starting from their migration journey to settlement, while giving meaning to be a father in a new society.

Certainly, the in-depth aspect of the method strengthens the purpose of the study to gain details into the daily lives of fathers and their related fathering experiences. Other advantage is that even when interviewees depart from significantly specific ideas, interviewers can choose to explore wide array of experiences retaining the versatility of questions being asked (Bryman, 2012). To aid myself in this process, I developed a semi-structured interview guide to achieve a flow through the series of themes of the study when interviewing the participants, and to allow fathers to recollect from their memories.

The constructivist approach of study entails the aspect of fatherhood by asking fathers to share about their fathering experiences and practices that is viewed as the way of doing fatherhood (Morgan, 2011) through the topics I bring up and the way they respond. Interview as an inclusive process brought about descriptions, opinions and experiences of what they do as fathers while constructing an ideal of fatherhood in different social context, conveying the image of fatherhood through interpretivism. The interpretive approach of this study entails a form of social inquiry when a social reality like fathering experiences itself may be viewed as a way of doing fatherhood (Morgan, 2011) and involves a process both in which me as an interviewer and fathers engage in topics through narrations that comes up in the interview process (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Another important aspect to adhere when conducting qualitative interviews is to be aware of the effect that the researcher has on the development and results of the interviews. The way questions are formulated, posed and asked along with the kind of words used and the follow up responses to the answers affect the knowledge produced through the interview (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

Although in depth and exploratory in nature, interview method can still be questioned in relation to the partial focus in this study on fathering practices mainly because of the distinction between what fathers say and what they do. Morgan (2011) highlights the risk involved in way fathers speak about what they do might not necessarily correspond to what they do which can also mean that there is a threat posed to the authenticity of data collected. Similarly, the critique on the interview as a method for studying experiences largely persists because one can never be sure if they are describing their own experiences or deriving from others or relevant events. As the objective of this study is to understand how these perceptions are constructed by the social actors that fathers themselves constitute. Similarly, the role of researcher sometimes can pose a challenge in the interview process. In this case, me as a female researcher may have impacted the responses of fathers. some of the aspect of gender roles might have been filtered out as they do not want to be seen *too patriarch* with their opinions. In this regard, some self-censorship might have occurred on their accounts.

4.4.2 The interview processes

The interview was conducted in Nepali (native) language and lasted between 60-90 minutes approximately. Conducting interview in native language generally of advantage as it helps retain the authenticity of information acquired. Similarly, it allowed participants to express more freely and not be limited by the vocabularies and language barriers. The interviews were audio recorded to aid myself in the process of data analysis and to present a clear finding from this research. The semi-structured interview guide used (appendix 2) in the study aided to a conversational style of interviewing and open-ended questions were posed along the course of conversation to avoid the risk of scheduled interview; a similar strategy used by Malbon (Bryman, 2012). The interview investigated three main dimensions—their own symbolic meaning of fatherhood, involved fatherhood ideals and life experiences as immigrant fathers.

The probing questions in the interview process aided as a blueprint for me to indulge myself in the conversation with fathers. My own role during the interview was relatively passive in terms of stirring the interview. The use of open-ended questions allowed the participants to pick up a notion while narrowing down to the need of question. During the process I was mindful about themes that would emerge with each interview hence, carefully listened to their respective accounts, intervening only when a follow up question could enrich their accounts, clarify their claims or when the conversation started to drift away. However, in some of the interviews I was required to take on a more active role by posing more direct questions and also explicitly clarify certain questions. The main objective of having a semi-structured interview guide and maintaining a discrete role as an interviewer was to enable new ideas and themes to emerge in a conversational environment. Similarly, nondirective interview strategy and interview guide also indicated that each interview had its own structure and focus.

The open nature of the questions and the flexibility within the interview guide was largely beneficial except for few times when some of the topics were not treated evenly in all the interviews. As the interviews were conducted in Nepali, one of the challenges was to literally translate what fathers shared in Nepali to English although I can ascertain that the essence of the conversation was not lost in translation. The interview location was decided as per the flexibility of participants. Some participants preferred that the interviews be conducted at their home as it matched their daily schedule and childcare. Others preferred quiet corners of cafés, or a designated space in public library.

4.4.3 Selection of participants

The network for data collection was established through personal acquaintances, real life encounters and adoption of purposive sampling method depending on the criteria and inclusion context based on unit of analysis (Bryman, 2012). The initial networking was established through a Facebook page where I managed to build significant contacts during the second

semester of my master's program and started exploring more about the Nepalese families residing in Norway.

The network gave me an access to the hub of Nepalese people allowing me to interact and establish relationship within the Nepalese group. This network contributed a lot while making the selection of participants. As a key recruitment strategy, I started communicating with the fathers towards the end of my third semester in Gothenburg, explaining my project and if they would like to be a part of it. Fortunately, five of the ten fathers whom I reached out agreed to be part of this study. Thus, when I moved back to Stavanger in early January, I actively started reaching out to them again, reminding them about the study and ensuring if they are still willing to participate. Hence, as soon as I received the approval from NSD³, I started scheduling the meetings for the interviews. Another strategy used was snowball sampling through acquaintances. In describing snowball sampling Bryman (2012) state that it is the process of locating more participants who could be used in research study from the network of initial group of people who have been selected for the study. So, in my case, as I started my interview process with the five participants who initially agreed for the interview, other two came on board through the recommendations and the network of initial participants as I asked them to share the contact information of those who will be willing to participate.

The selected Nepalese fathers are living in Norway, who are the legal fathers of their children through biological bond. The age group of fathers ranges between 28-45 years along with an inclusion criterion for the fathers to have a child older than 6 months and above. Although the sample selection was a smooth process during the initial phase of the study, a challenge of two interviewees withdrawing from the study did falter the flow of the interview and also could affect the time. However, after two weeks of active recruitment strategies and reaching out to the network of participants whom I interviewed before, resulted to two additional fathers who were willing to participate. The last two fathers who were interviewed in the study came on board through the recommendations from the fathers who participated in my study and serving purposive sampling method in this study.

4.5 Data Analysis

4.5.1 Transcription

Ontologically, transcription is regarded as the product of a process that can be political, interpretive or a peripheral participation (Bird, 2005). Firstly, the transcriptions are subjective in a sense that they represent the *voices* of the participants in a written format. A duplicate copy of all the recording and transcriptions were kept in a password protected computer with respective

³ Norwegian Centre for Research Data, NSD

pseudonyms. Regular meeting with supervisors ensured the integrity of synthesis by reviewing transcription and translation procedure, coding and successive analysis.

The process of the data analysis started by transcribing the audio recordings of the interviews in word to word–verbatim form. In other words, naturalized method was used. I aimed at clean transcripts to preserve the vital information communicated through specificity of native language, phrases, slangs, expressions, and combination of words. In this regard, although my main goal was to keep the transcripts very close the original interview, some minor changes were done in order to increase the understandability of the narratives. Non-verbal communication such as pauses, and other reactions were generally not transcribed as my intention was not to analyze the depth of linguistic details. However, if I found that the nuanced reactions within the conversation such as laughter, different body language such as subtle gasps or a very long pause that made difference in the interpretation of the text—then those responses were indicated in the transcripts within brackets to retain the authenticity of the actual conversation. The fathers in the study were coded with pseudonyms as per the privacy provisions. Assigning pseudonyms to the participants was important in managing the data and to organize the information on *who said what* which was very much useful during the analysis of the quotes.

The interviews were transcribed full length unless the conversation went completely diverted from the main purpose. This was one the strategic way to increase my efficiency to manage the time-consuming task of transcribing seven almost ninety-minutes long interviews. The completion of transcriptions resulted to 78 pages of text material, including simple spacing in the dialogue pattern.

4.5.2 Translation

As the interviews were conducted and transcribed in the native language-Nepalese and the selected quotes and narratives were then translated to English. As a researcher my top priority in translating the content was to preserve the essence of the original conversation as much as possible and not to get lost in translation. Therefore, while translating, I tried to retain the personal tone of each participants and their respective quotes. This was a bit challenging because of the uniqueness of the Nepalese language, use of expressions, phrases and slangs used in the conversation which could not be translated literally in English. Hence, the use of such phrases, expressions and slangs had to be loosely translated because of the limitations of the English language. Although this is seen as a limitation of the study, the fact that participants communicated using the language they felt more comfortable and expressive with overpowers the purpose of the study.

4.5.3 Data Coding and Analysis

The analysis of this study incorporates *voices* of the fathers from immigrant background, the stories about themselves, their actions as fathers and the representation of themselves in the

fathering process. In order to understand the fatherhood ideals of immigrant fathers in a new country, it was thereby important for me to focus on their stories and rely on analysis while interpreting stories about the topic. In this regard, my research analysis is based on thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Bryman, 2008) as it focuses on the verbal material, usually stories or accounts of personal experiences as an analytical approach to qualitative studies (Smith, 2000). Moreover, the focus was on what fathers say, how do they say it and the narratives set behind it. This approach enabled me to go more in-depth and access unconstrained data from my participants and furthermore create a strategic analytic framework from the small units of meaning accessed from the data by grouping them into a structure, coding them and analyzing themes as per six-phase *thematic analysis* guideline as outlined by Braun & Clarke (2006) as detailed out in *audit trail*⁴ (see appendix 6) and enlisted as follows.

1. Familiarization with the data
2. Developing initial codes
3. Searching for themes
4. Reviewing themes
5. Defining and naming themes
6. Writing up

The analysis of the transcribed material was done manually using the table from Microsoft excel in order to categorize the data. Furthermore, key themes from the content were underlined in different colors which allowed me to group them under identifies themes and subthemes. While grouping the narratives into a common theme, I also made some notes about what patterns emerged more equivocally than others and what were the non-repetitive opinions that emerged during the process of Analysis.

The crucial aspect in thematic analysis was to locate myself in realities through social constructivism interpretive framework used in the research. The narratives or storytelling of participants in terms of fatherhood, migration, culture and gender norms that shape their lives; and my interest in seeking how the fatherhood ideals shape in Norway intersected, that I will present more about on *Findings and Analysis* chapter more discreetly. Similarly, throughout analysis process the relationship between theory, literature and the empirical data was actualized as I moved back and forth within literature review and conceptual theoretical framework to make sense of the empirical data and to confirm or retaliate with the theoretical ideas.

4.6 Research trustworthiness

There are multiple parameters for looking into research trustworthiness suggested by various scholars. In order to ensure interpretive framework in documenting the participant's experiences,

⁴ Audit trail is detailed out in appendix 6 to ensure the transparency and accuracy of the data presented.

the four-principle categorization outlined by Lincoln & Guba (1985) was used described as follows:

4.6.1 Credibility

Credibility is one of the key aspects of qualitative research as it provides a synthesis of researcher's confidence in the truth of study's findings. The credibility of their experiences and the meanings of their narratives value much more in qualitative studies that upgrades the reliability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Firstly, being a Nepali and having lived in Nepal almost all my life, I held an adequate understanding of the culture that my participants adhered. This was very important in building the trust and the rapport with the participants. Similarly, conducting the research study in Nepali was another added benefit as the participants were more comfortable conveying their ideas and opinions. Similarly, I made sure of staying closer to my research questions and led the conversation as per the relevancy of the research. After finishing the transcription, I reviewed it with audio recording to ensure its accuracy. Conversely, inconsistencies in the narratives that participant provided were not necessarily alarming since it could have indicated the unspoken tension that could not be stated straightforwardly which was interesting to analyze.

4.6.2 Transferability

An important aspect of a holistic research is to understand its transferability in the real world or in the academia through the choice of research aim, questions, methods and theoretical frameworks used throughout the research study. Therefore, the precision with which the knowledge is considered relevant, effective to be transferred and shared across the relevant field of study is carried by transferability. In this regard, I can state that the findings from my research can contribute to the knowledge on exploring more about immigrant fathers and the ideals of fatherhood in intercultural context. Additionally, it lays the ground for future research and knowledge about immigrants especially from Nepal who have different socio-cultural norms to that of Norway.

4.6.3 Dependability

Adhering to the criterion defined by Lincoln & Guba (1985), the findings of this research explores from a nuanced understanding of fatherhood to a macro analysis of fatherhood in a context of immigration. In my research, the referencing technique, illustrated data analysis techniques—an audit trail (see appendix 6) and thematically structured findings provides an optimal space for other researchers to replicate and build more on the similar research study. Similarly, coverage of minority migrant fathers could possibly motivate other researchers who are exploring the research possibilities in a similar arena. More so, my position as an insider (a Nepalese) in this research study, I can confirm the authenticity of their life trajectories without any bias.

4.6.4 *Confirmability*

Complying to the Guba's (1981) aspect of neutrality, I ensure that my research findings are completely based on the participants' narrative and responses and not on my personal bias or motivations. As an original transcriber and translator of all the documents I have verified and reviewed the interview material to deliver the accurate and authentic findings. Similarly, to establish the confirmability, I have also provided an audit trail (see appendix 6) which illustrates the step-by-step process of the data analysis and rationale for the decisions made based on the step-by-step data analysis process recommended by Braun and Clarke (2006).

4.7 Ethical Considerations

To ensure that the study takes place according to ethical guidelines for good research, I diligently followed all the research ethics during all stages of the study. As outlined by Diener and Crandall (1978), the four aspects of ethical issues in research is identified as: lack of informed consent, deception, invasion of privacy and harm to participants.

In this study, selected participants were notified and well oriented about the purpose of study, data collection procedure, implication of their participation and the usage of information collected. In addition, the participation in the study was entirely voluntary meaning that participants could always decide to contribute or withdraw from the study even after the end of the interview. Similarly, interview transcript was provided to one of the participants who had expressed a need for it. The participants were fully explained the motive of the study, the procedures involved, and the written informed consent were obtained from them. Audio recordings were used for the interview process and no private conversations were noted and no photographs were taken in this process. Confidentiality was maintained throughout the study and information was be anonymized in accordance with the privacy policy. Additionally, this study is notified to the Data Protection Official for Research, NSD with all the related document, and the approval from the department validates with the ethical stance maintained by this research project.

After the closure of the project, results and analysis from the study might be used for scholarly publications, research articles, professional presentations and knowledge sharing among educators. Data will be presented in a compressed form to maintain confidentiality. When the material is being processed and presented, information about the participant that may lead to their identification will be deleted, redacted or pseudonymized to ensure his anonymity. The audio recording will be destroyed as soon as the project is completed.

Chapter 5: Findings and Analysis

5.1 Overview of the chapter

In this chapter, findings from the interviews are presented and analyzed illustrating the experiences of being father in a new country and their ideals of fatherhood through their narratives. The deeper explorations from the interviews allowed me to piece the narratives into three major themes and other relative sub themes underneath it as per the guideline recommended by Braun & Clarke (2006). In analyzing their interviews, I relied on themes emerged from the narrations and experiences of the fathers. The narratives were chosen considering their ability to symbolize the normative tendencies in the interview accounts. Likewise, contrasting narratives were also chosen to indicate the differential opinions that exist in the experiences of fathers. Likewise, pseudonyms have been given to all participants/fathers of the study complying to ethical guidelines.

This chapter is divided into three sections—each section representing a significant theme or an aspect that stood out in the interview material as follows:

1. The first section *being a father* explores the participant's own ideals on meaning of fatherhood, their symbolic meaning on being a father while transitioning into a new society.
2. The second section constitute how fathers envision their roles in the everyday lives of their children and how do they put it in practice and the challenges involved—as *involved fatherhood*.
3. And the third section *Life experiences as immigrant fathers* categorizes the life experiences and perceptions of immigrant fathers, the opportunities and challenges as they navigate through different situation and circumstances in a new country.

This interconnectedness within fatherhood and immigration in each section is substantiated by *acculturation process* as an overlapping context to highlight the challenges, adaptation and changes that comes along the new world of fatherhood.

5.2 Being a father

The findings presented in this section of this study explores and discuss the participant's own meaning of fatherhood, their transition, their feelings, emotions and the challenges of being a father in a new country. The themes and sub themes developed in this section are inspired and relates to Genesoni and Tallianine's (2009) three factors in development of fatherhood: the image of one's self, the creation of a family, and the adjustment to a new culture.

Over-arching theme	Sub-themes
“Being a father”- meaning of fatherhood	Being a father- “A purposeful life”
	Triadic relationship
	New beginning, new adjustments

Table 2: Themes and sub-themes emerged when exploring about meaning of fatherhood

5.2.1 *Being a father: of symbolic bliss and new adjustments*

To all the participants, being a father was a significant role to be in and much embedded in their own belief system, culture and values in understanding the symbolism of fatherhood (Mwoma, 2015). Henceforth, in understanding the meaning of fatherhood in the lives of Nepalese fathers revealed the happiness and challenges that came with being a father in a new country. Fathers expressed that having a child in their lives made them more aware of their own wellbeing, added more meaning to their lives and guided them with a moral compass– “Now we think of them before even thinking about ourselves” Hari shared.

“Being a father is an amazing experience. It made me feel complete and life became more meaningful. Sometimes I feel like a child myself and cannot imagine that I have young child who is growing, doing new things every day. It has been an exciting journey to see him walk, talk, dance with pure joy...Of course, I never imagined a child could come with such a big responsibility...so, it is challenging but, it is also a meaningful experience.”–Ram

Just as Ram, others shared that fatherhood gave them a new sense of perception, meaning of unconditional love and purpose to life.

Laxman: “I grew up in a joint family so, when we first came here, I would feel a lot lonely but, when I became father, I realized that my family is complete and now, I bear lot of responsibilities and it is the greatest feeling.”

I: What is the nicest moment of being a father?

Laxman: “[...] so, like I said, when I come home, they(children) are waiting for me and I feel that I am important. I feel like I am my kids’ hero. When I enter the house, they run and come to me, they hug me and in that sense that is a big stress reliever, I feel calm. Another thing is, I get to be a child with them. We get to talk from their level, that we miss in our daily lives. In our daily life, we aspire to be perfect, we act like a grown up,

we go to work, we try to present ourselves as nicely as possible. Sometimes we even pretend to be what we are not. But, when you come home, you get to be what you are with the kids, your originality comes out. You get to be a kid again. You can forget all the worldly things; you keep your professional stuff and personal problems outside the doorstep, and you enjoy the little moments. I think those are the nicest thing about being a father.”

Likewise, *triadic bond* that the fathers established with their wives and children was another interesting spectrum where they shared that witnessing their wives go through pregnancy, the delivery and through post-natal period strengthened their relationship with their wives. As Shyam shared, “She is not just my wife, but the mother to our child.”

“Because of my wife’s health condition, we were quite concerned about her being pregnant...honestly, we had already made up our mind to go for adoption...but to know that I could have a baby of my own was an amazing experience. I was beaming with joy...the delivery process was quite complicated. My wife passed out for four hours after delivery. I was nervous, anxious...but to finally know both baby and mothers were safe was the greatest relief of my life...my love, and respect grew for her even more after all that she went through” –Hari

Similarly, participating in childbirth in Norway was a completely new experience for some fathers that influenced a stronger *triadic bond* with their wives and children—an experience otherwise would have been confined as *women’s affair*. As Bhanu shares,

“[...] to see my wife, go through so(o000) much pain and sweat was very hard...something I had never imagined (pew)...she literally risked her life for us to be a family...and I feel she’s brave and beautiful because of that. Also, I feel thankful that I got to be a father here because in Nepal, we are not even allowed inside the delivery room. It’s the women’s affair you know. But I am glad I could witness the birth of my child and be there for my wife.” –Bhanu

Contrary to the symbolic blissfulness of fatherhood, one of the common curves that came attached on being a father in the new country is the realization of *new beginning and new adjustments*—“a start from the scratch” as Bhanu puts it. Similarly, it indicated the physical, emotional and psychological stress that fathers experienced, while adjusting in a new society. There was a large consensus among participants regarding newness in culture, lifestyle, language and a “new” home that they envisioned to build almost immediately after leaving their world of comfort behind—a pertaining characteristic when migrating into a new society also identified by Roer-Strier et al. (2005) in their study. For many fathers, the “new” beginning indicated newness in the lifestyle, language, the culture and social environment that was very different from what they had known.

“[...] Me and my wife literally came here with each of our suitcases and really nothing else...and as soon as we landed, I told her, that we gonna have to work really hard to

create a “home” of our own in this foreign land...I still remember her confused face (laughs).” – Gopi

“Coming here without language, without anyone that you know is a scary thing. My family joined me 9 months after I came here, and I tell you I freaked out. I had never felt so helpless in a long lo...ng time. I was supposed to “provide” for my family...but here I was...struggling, cramped up in an apartment that was barely spacious for all of us and making ends meet. I was new here myself, yet to figure out stuff for myself, I was studying, and I was working hard. But as a father, I had to start from somewhere...that was somewhat expected of me” – Krishna

5.3 Immigrant fathers and involved fatherhood ideal

As an important cornerstone of this research, the findings on involved fatherhood ideal provided the distinctive insights on fathering practices and their participation in everyday lives of their children. In exploring this ideal, the narratives of fathers on how they describe their participation in everyday lives of their children highlighted the emergent themes such as: *the accessible father, positive engagement and caregiving responsibilities*. Fathers in the study were found to be engaged in various degree with their children while adhering to the prominent *breadwinning role* alongside.

In order to channel the findings and analyze involved fatherhood ideal, this study procures the ideas from Lamb and Pleck (2010) involved fatherhood ideal discussed in chapter 2.

Over-arching theme	Sub-themes
Immigrant fathers and Involved fatherhood	Accessible father- “being there”
	Positive engagement, direct and indirect care
	The breadwinning responsibility
	Shared caregiving responsibility, changing gender dynamics

Table 3: Themes and sub-themes emerged regarding involved fatherhood ideal

5.3.1 Breadwinning responsibility vs the involved fatherhood ideal

There was a significant division between the fathers who responded that they equivocally fulfilled their role of providing while simultaneously making sure of quality time and moments spent with the children as opposed to fathers who expressed their concerns for not being able to

spend as much time as they wanted with their children because of the hefty work hours and study schedule.

Some of the emergent concepts in the narratives aligned to the fatherhood ideals as outlined by Lamb and Pleck (2010), discussed as follows:

The prominent concept that emerged in almost all the conversation was the aspect of *being there* whereby fathers mentioned about the importance of having proper interaction and being accessible to their children. Fathers with younger children shared about their daily schedule in explaining how they interact and *be there* for their children by being involved in care giving activities such as changing diaper, feeding them, giving bath, and giving proper care and attention they deserve. For those with relatively older children talked about the importance of being able to communicate with their children, listening to them, asking how their day was, attending school events and spending quality family time together by going on a drive, having dinner together and sharing about each other's life.

“Listening to them is very important, they can only share their problems and issues if you're listening to them...because my kids are growing up every day, they are curious about everything, they want to share their ideas...they ask really difficult questions...to which, I don't always have answers but, I try to help them in every ways I can. Similarly, they display different kind of needs, feels and they want attention in different stages of their life and as a father I try my best to address them.” –Laxman

“As a father of teenagers, I try to be as involved as I can. I ask about their day. We usually have dinner together. I think that is important to maintain that family connection and keep the love and trust alive in the family.” –Krishna

Similarly, in assessing the narratives they also talked about *indirect care* such as making appointments at health clinic or taking care of the practical needs that doesn't necessarily involve direct interaction with the child.

Ram shared about his strategic ways to reconcile his busy work schedule in order to make up for the days he was not fully present with his children. It included family activities such as cooking together, feeding children when he was home with them, going on a drive and trying to make best out of the weekends and holidays. Similarly, other fathers also emphasized on the notion of making up for the time they couldn't be fully engaged with the children.

“On weekends the schedule is bit different... On weekdays, we wake up, have breakfast and drop kids to *barnehagen*⁵ and head to our respective jobs. But on weekends we do a lot of activities together as a family. It is very important to us. We prepare breakfast together, clean the house, go for swimming, teach them alphabets, solve puzzles or read out stories. Sometimes we just go out for a walk or on a park, play with kids. Being out in

⁵ Kindergarten in Norwegian

the open really helps and breaks the cycle of constant work...I have to admit it's best for both me and my child." –Laxman

Bhanu also emphasized about the importance of quality time over quantity and added, "I try my best to make optimum use of few hours together with the children rather than long hours where everybody is busy with their own smartphones and iPad." For him spending quality time was an integral part of involved with his children. A lot of what fathers expressed in their interviews resonated to Lamb and Pleck's (2010) proposition on paternal involvement construct which talks about positive engagement, qualitative interaction, accessibility and the direct-indirect care from fathers which enrich strengthens the father-child relationship, and mutual affection for each other.

On the contrary, some fathers expressed that their breadwinning responsibility was one of the barriers to achieving optimal paternal involvement. As apparent in other studies, breadwinning is a fundamental role adhered by immigrant fathers (Bouchard, 2003). Likewise, in this study as well it was evident that fathers tend to equate their *sense of responsibility* predominantly with the *breadwinning responsibility*. Gopi shared, "as a father, I am supposed to bring food to the table". For Krishna, being a father in a new country meant "being a backbone of the family—the one who provides, make decisions and ensures the future of his children." Hence, the breadwinning responsibility plunged them into a situation where they were "either constantly working otherwise very tired" as Gopi shared.

"When I came here, I came with other three members who relied on me. So, I had to take charge of everything. Before even registering where I was, I had to go searching for jobs, making money and putting food on the table. I felt it was my responsibility to have a job. As a male member of the house I had to feed my family"—Bhanu

In this regard, fathers explained that although they wanted to spend quality time with their children, they were restricted by the work conditions and time constrains.

"One of the difficult things of being a father for me here is the lack of quality time with my child. I am working so much and doing my night shifts that we have to wait till weekends to meet properly and do things together as a family. I do feel my family struggles a lot because of that." –Gopi

"I try my best to make sure that my son is spending quality time with me but, sometimes it's just too much. I have work, I have studies and I have other responsibilities. In those situations, it is specially very hard to separate time for him. I feel bad that I don't get to spend as much time as I want with him but, things are not always under my control you know." –Shyam

To sum up, it is important to highlight that although breadwinning responsibility was a challenge for some fathers that limited their abilities to optimally be involved as fathers there was a large confirmation from all the fathers that they implied strategic ways to reconcile their involved

fatherhood ideals and compensating for their lack of presence. As described by fathers, they filled this gap by performing micro responsibilities such as feeding, bathing, and doing other everyday activities to macro responsibilities such as catering the child's emotional and cognitive needs and ensuring proper care, comfort and a stability to grow (as mentioned by Lewis & Welsh, 2005). Likewise, it was also gripping to notice that despite of their busy work schedules and study hours, there were efforts from these fathers to make more time for their children which translates to an ingrained understanding of *involved fatherhood ideal*—a western fathering value adhered by immigrant fathers, which is one of the fascinating arch in the findings.

5.3.2 *Involved fatherhood ideal and changing gender dynamics within the household*

Despite the adamant contrast in the narratives of the fathers regarding their degree of involvement with their children in their daily lives, one of the pragmatic notions that appeared in the study was the acknowledgement of the changing gender dynamics within their respective household. Firstly, fathers themselves accepted that as males, they undermined their own caregiving abilities because of the socialization process within their social construct while growing up. Coming to Norway and starting their new life made them realize that they are “as equivalent and caregiving parents as mothers are” Hari shares.

“[...] since they (children) were very young it's me who have always changed the diapers and gave them bath and feed them.... As they grow up, I do my best to provide them with comfort. They wake up at night, they get scared or panic so, providing the comfort is a responsibility of a good father. I am aware of the fact that I cannot tell my wife to do everything, she is working so, she also gets tired so, it is also my equal responsibility to check on them, take them to doctors or *helsestasjon*⁶ and attending meeting at kindergarten. So, being involved in all these things are pretty natural.” –Hari

Settling in one of the high-income economies such as Norway and adhering to western fathering values such as involved fatherhood ideals, dual earner/carer model fathers agree that it has helped them break free from their traditionally prescribed gender roles. Moreover, they felt it was important to help their wives with the household chores and share the caregiving responsibilities.

Although being a *provider* was a predominant notion in the conversation, it was also interesting to trace fathers taking up the caregiving roles parallelly. This portion of analysis gave an interesting arch to my research that being in a breadwinning role doesn't conclude to hegemonic masculinity as cited in various literature rather, the phenomena is more circumstantial in the context of immigrant fathers. Moreover, adjusting to the new society over time, allowing their partners to step in the labor market creates a middle ground for both genders to exchange and evolve through the changing gender dynamics.

⁶ Health Clinic in Norwegian

“Well definitely, as a working wife she has lot of independence and freedom, she is financially independent and no longer have to depend on me so, it’s great that she can contribute to household expenses.” –Hari

“One of the benefits of being in Norway is that there is a sense of equality at home and work. My wife works full time as well and I understand that sometimes she can be tired, irritated...she can have a tough day at work and I like to take into that consideration and I help her with chores, look after kids and help her in whatever ways I can. Afterall, household responsibility is not entirely hers. Also, you learn and adapt to new place. Now, I do things which I wouldn’t have done in my country because socially it’s not acceptable for fathers to do chores” – Laxman

There are lot of apprehension documented in migrant families because of changing gender roles in the host country (as found in Deng & Marlowe, 2013; Khawaja et al., 2008; Stewart et al., 2015). However, it was evident in this study that fathers were positively accepting of the changing gender norms and adhered the responsibility of sharing emotional and financial burden together as husbands and wives within the family. This also indicated the changing mindset of fathers and redefining nurturing as normal for men (Scambor et al., 2014) while confronting hegemonic masculinity.

5.4 Life experiences as immigrant fathers: opportunities and barriers

Fatherhood is an important aspect of man’s life but being a father in a new society also triggers many challenges and opportunities (UN⁷, 2011). Fathers may feel vulnerable because of their age, employment and education (Devault et al., 2015). As the aspect of migration and fatherhood is intertwined, this section looks at the different facet of fatherhood, lived experiences, process of acculturation, the opportunities and barriers faced by immigrant fathers while exploring their fatherhood in a new society.

Over-arching theme	Sub-themes
Life experiences as immigrant fathers: opportunities for and barriers to fatherhood	An immigrant’s fate- of sacrifice and future aspirations
	Diasporic consciousness: bridging culture and retaining identity
	Navigating through fatherhood in a welfare society
	Father-child dynamics

Table 4: Themes and sub-themes representing opportunities and barriers to fatherhood

⁷ Abbreviation for United Nations

5.4.1 *An immigrant's fate- of sacrifice and future aspirations*

Most of the fathers expressed that underemployment and not having a right job highly influenced their own wellbeing and their fathering capabilities. As participants discussed, they had to learn skills, take up the low status jobs, or update their qualifications in order to find a job. Language was another major barrier for them. Fathers also talked about the impact of underemployment on their self-esteem. Most of them expressed that the type of the job that they acquired was never their preferred choice but, they kept working considering it as a part of their *immigrant's fate* in an exchange to future aspirations and better life to their children.

“I was a teacher back home (Nepal), I agree I was not earning much there, but people respected me, people in the community knew me, and I was in the advisory council of a community organization. I felt like I could always contribute to my society. But then I came here to pursue my studies. Firstly, I struggled a lot to find a job and when I eventually found one, it was a cleaning job at *barnehagen*. Not, that I want to disrespect the job but, I really struggled with that job. My self-esteem was low, I started feeling unimportant. And the toughest thing was to wake up every 6.00am in the morning to go to the kindergarten. I would feel nostalgic as I passed through the classrooms, the corridor, the toilets...and I felt as if I was transported back home...only the difference was, I was not there to teach but to mop the school floors. I struggled a lot with my self-esteem but, kept doing the job for my family and especially my children's future” – Krishna

Similarly, according to fathers it was crucial for them to sustain themselves financially during the initial years of migration because of the visa issues and other administrative aspects that are hidden prior to immigration. As Bhanu shared,

Bhanu: “I was very mindful of how much I needed to earn and how much we would spend because if we didn't have enough bank balance, there was less chance for visa extension. So, I was working tirelessly no matter what...after all I came here to achieve something and provide better for my family.”

I: And how do you feel about that kind of circumstances?

Bhanu: “Umm, well...what can I say? It's not a pleasant situation to be in...umm...you feel limited in so many ways... but, I guess that's what we carry with us, being an outsider. It's an immigrant's fate.”

Here, what Bhanu described as *immigrant's fate* summarizes a backdrop for all the sacrifice immigrant fathers make as they navigate within in a new society. They all shared that sacrifice is an inevitable part of an immigrant father's life. But also agreed that all of it is worthwhile as their children have a better future in an affluent nation. They want their sacrifice to translate into healthy, happy, well behaved and well-educated children. In understanding this notion of what fathers conceptualize as *immigrant's fate* strongly co-relates to what Strier and Roer-Strier

(2005) illustrate in their deficit and resilient perspective of immigrant fathers. While undergoing through all the acculturative stress and barriers contests their competence and capabilities as a father, contrastingly it also illuminates their resilience to strive better for the family's future and positive hopes for the betterment of the lives of their children.

5.4.2 *Diasporic engagement- bridging culture and retaining identity*

Firstly, fathers expressed that being a part of a Nepalese group in Norway is very important to them as they feel connected to their home. "It is like having a piece of home" Gopi shared. Likewise, fathers also shared that they missed the presence of their close family members, parents, grandparents and the support they would have received with the childcare. As referred in the literature, the collective nature of Nepalese society accounts for *social fathering* where parents, grandparents and extended family members inherently become responsible for the care arrangements (Nirmala, 2013). In this regard, having a diasporic connection among Nepalese within Norway was a filler for fathers and a way to ease the parenting process. They also shared that the experienced couples help them with various parenting advices when they became fathers. Similarly, they also shared that it is helpful when other Nepalese couples had the kids of their children's age that they could hang out and play with.

"Life is always on the go here. All of us wake up and get ready for the day. Kids head out to schools and us to job. And we have to reach on time to pick them up, drive them to their after-school activities and what not! It's a busy life. At those moments, I miss the support that I would have received from my parents. Sometimes I want to take a good pause because I am always busy either with work or with housework. You know, in Nepal it's grandparents who have the responsibility to look after them (laugh)...here it's different." – Gopi

"When we have arguments regarding any decision that we had to make for our son, we generally turn to the older couples or our friends with the child of the same age to see and understand what they do. Having a group of Nepalese here has helped us a lot with our parenting process especially when we don't have our parents with us to guide us" – Ram

Similarly, group of Nepalese as a diaspora have allowed them to organize events and celebrate festivals which enabled an environment for their children to have a taste of local culture and festivities. Fathers also shared that having a group of other Nepalese around them kept them closer to their roots. Moreover, fathers asserted that the culture, traditions and values they carried with them represents who they are and thus, express a greater consensus in the importance of transferring their values and belief system to their children in order to keep them closer to the roots.

"I think our culture, values and tradition that we carried with us is our greatest asset. And I always want to abide by that. The moral values closely relate to our Hindu culture and I want my kids to have the same values and ethics we carry. As Nepalese we are rich with

our culture and values and I am very proud of that. So, it is very important for me to teach my children our values and not let go of our culture and traditions.” – Bhanu

While embracing Norwegian culture was important for all the fathers, they mentioned that there were some things they didn't really like such as excessive drinking culture or moving out at a young age.

“I don't want my daughter to move out when she is 18. In my eyes, she's still so young. Without any supervision an 18-year-old is not mature enough to decide for themselves... also, drinking culture is really bad here...and imagine the risk of being prone to bad influences during that age...I don't understand why they have to move out so young. I would rather want my daughter to move out when she is mature, have a job and can sustain herself independently.” –Bhanu

When responding to questions about their values and belief system that guides their fathering process, the participants shared the importance of being guided by their custom, religious background, integrity and compassion for others. As Nepalese fathers, they acknowledged that their fathering values were coherent to Hindu culture and values and that it was important to maintain family cohesion and values.

“When we are at home, we try to watch Nepalese TV shows, songs and videos of different festivals and traditions. At home we have a rule that we'll speak in Nepali as my children feel more comfortable speaking Norwegian. We try to preserve our way of life which I think is very important. As a father, I always want my children to be connected to their roots.” –Shyam

Similarly, some of the fathers also expressed about the generational cultural gap between them and their children because of not being able to disseminate the essence of Nepalese culture in their daily lives and that diasporic engagement and activities help them preserve that.

“...But also I feel like I am pushing my kids a lot, especially my daughter because she is a young girl now and she is at that age where she understands everything that is around her so, I keep pushing her to attend events, go to gatherings, Nepalese New Years, *Dashain*⁸ events and what not! I want her to be close to her roots and get a sense of what Nepalese culture and lifestyle is like. I don't think she enjoyed when she was younger but, now she does, and she attends them more voluntarily.” –Krishna

5.4.3 *Navigating through fatherhood in a welfare society*

Majority of fathers in the study regard their fathering values as the amalgamation of both Nepalese and Norwegian culture and lifestyle. The fathers also appreciated the fathering culture in Norway, the outgoing nature and respecting the individuality of the children. Similarly, it was

⁸ Biggest Hindu festival of Nepal

interesting to notice fathers using a lot of Norwegian words and phrases such as *barnehagen*, *gå på tur*⁹, *ferie*¹⁰ during the interview that was conducted in Nepali language, signaling the hint of *norwegianness* incorporated in their lives.

“I was fascinated by how Norwegian fathers took so much care of their babies. They are sporty and outgoing in nature but also very involved. I grew up in a household with a strict father so, that was very refreshing to see...And I always thought, if I will become a father, I will be a *friend like father*. I think my fathering practices are more Norwegian like. I try to spend quality time with my child, *gå på tur* (go on a walk), do BBQ, take kids to swimming, read them stories, go for small trips if we cannot afford expensive vacations. Because being able to do that is a large part of Norwegian lifestyle and children do not get missed out when their teacher ask about what they did in weekends and holidays. But, of course my own values as a Nepali father is also there. I also make sure that they attend some of our special festivals, explain them the history of it and remind them to pray and be thankful for everything.” –Laxman

Likewise, all the fathers shared that no matter how different the system is and how hard to get used to, they are very impressed with the administrative system and the responsibility that state shows towards each family. As Ram shares, “there is a system for everything, and I take it positively.” They feel that Norwegian system treats everyone equally and they feel secure in the system. Furthermore, the welfare provisions such as the paid paternal leave system, universal cash benefits, and routine health checkup allowed fathers to be more involved with their children and promoted a healthy fathering environment. Laxman shared that parental leave system was helpful not only in strengthening his father-child relationship but also his marital relationship.

“Parental leave system is very good. You get 46 weeks. 15 weeks (for mother and father respectively) and 10 weeks was shared. [...] And regarding father’s quota, it is mandatory, you have to take it otherwise it’s lost which I think is very good because it gives the sense of belongingness to fathers, and the promotes the closeness with your child. It’s a very good system, you get full pay and you get to spend time with your children in their early years. I think one of the reasons why kids are so close to their father here is because of this provision. Fathers also stay home and take care of the children. So, when children see that it’s not just mother but also father who takes care of them, then they become even more close. And I think because of this even mother and father’s bond improves. There is a high rate of divorce here as well and I think when they spend time with their children they tend to think for their child and maybe the relationship between husband and wife improves as well.” –Laxman

Similarly, other fathers also mentioned about the financial support that they receive for the child and the regular appointments at health station which was of great relief and support to regularly

⁹ Go out for a walk in Norwegian

¹⁰ Vacation in Norwegian

check on with the growth and development of the child. All the provisions not only improved the wellbeing of the families but also made the integration process rather comfortable.

“And my experience as a father here in Norway is nice. And I think it is because of that reason, even when I want to go back to Nepal, I think twice if they(children) will receive the same care that they have received here. Everything is systematic and nicely organized here and all of these provision kinda stops us from going back...for example the health checkup...the first year of the baby is really active, they invite for the follow up regularly for the height and weight inspection. They compare it with the European average. Height, weight and vaccination is under control and we don't have to worry about it. So, even there is problem in terms of height, weight, etc. they contact us and connect us with the specialized department of the children. So, they follow up with us and we don't have to worry about it. In my daughter's case she started walking a little late and we mentioned about it to *helsestasjon* and they discussed within their network and a physiotherapist contacted us. As they advised we went for the checkup right away and everything turned out to be normal. The system is so much sophisticated here that you don't have to note down anything. –Laxman

Similarly, fathers also acknowledged the fact that Norwegian society taught them to treat their children with respect and value their independence which according to them, made them more compassionate and loving as fathers as Ram shared,

“You cannot beat or spank your child just because you're a father and that is something all of us should learn. Our children will only learn the value of love if we treat them with love and not fear. I was very shocked to learn...that you cannot even touch your child, but in a good way you know! Personally, I have learnt my ways to deal with my children differently rather than simply shouting or getting angry at them.” –Ram

5.4.4 *Father-child relationship and dynamics*

Another very important arch in this research was discovering about the father-child dynamics. Fathers expressed about different set of dynamics that they established with their children over the years. Conversation with fathers revealed that the relationship between parent-child is not a straight-forward caregiver-provider role but quite the opposite. Because most of the children were born in Norway itself or came here when they were young, they became more accustomed to culture, language and societal structure of Norway. As Bhanu shares,

“When we came here, there was a big gap between me and the Norwegian society because of the language barrier. And my daughter who is born here started helping me with chores such as translating bills, documents and notices since very young age. Even now, although I can speak good Norwegian, I need my daughter's help to translate me the laws, programs, official papers and provisions. This dependency of mine has completely shifted our dynamics. It's not just me who is taking care of her but, she is also taking care of me.” –Bhanu

Similarly, Krishna also shared,

“My son was very young when he came here probably 6 years old. He got enrolled in the school and he speaks perfect Norwegian. We have lived in this country for the same amount of years but, he’s much more Norwegian than I am. Whenever I need to ask something in public or approach a Norwegian, I send him to do my job. It makes things easier.” –Krishna

I: Can you share an example of such an incident?

“...Once, we were going somewhere and I got confused with the direction so, I asked my son to go and ask a Norwegian woman who was in front of us. And he did. Made my life easier. (laughter).” –Krishna

Relevant research and studies have proved that children integrate faster than their parents (Sluzki, 1992) and this shift between father-child relationship was very interesting to explore even in this research study as the sense of responsibility was diverged between fathers and children. In many instances, fathers shared that they needed help of their children to navigate and understand the Norwegian context, laws and values. In this regard, children played a valuable role in helping fathers to adjust to a new society.

Chapter 6: Discussion

This study sits at the intersections of the experiences and perspectives of Nepalese immigrant fathers in Norway, their own understanding of fatherhood, involved fatherhood ideals in the context of immigration. The above findings correspond to all the three components as addressed in the introduction.

6.1.1 Summary on findings

Firstly, cultural variations were found to be embedded in the roles and meaning ascribed to fatherhood, as well as in the context of immigration where they participated in meaningful moments such as *childbirth* and developed triadic bond with their wives and children as per the current social construct. Similarities were found among all the fathers as they adhered to breadwinning responsibility as the prominent responsibility in order to ensure the well-being of their family. The fathers interviewed in the study exhibited greater sense of involved fatherhood ideals although facing backlash in some cases because of their breadwinning role, underemployment, hefty work hours and study schedules. They were also appreciative of the reformation and changes in gender dynamics within their household and committed to raising their children exerting a significant role in their lives. Similarly, fathers expressed strong regard for transferring the family values and cultural beliefs onto their children and hoped that their children maintained the cultural continuity and family values which they found lacking in Norwegian society. Fathers also acknowledged the cultural change, involvement with children in childcare, recreational and outdoor activities as a byproduct of migrating to an affluent welfare nation.

6.1.2 Immigrant fathers: assessing deficit-resilient perspective

On a conceptual level, assessing the deficit/resilient theory perspective on immigrant fathers, the empirical findings from my study suggest that fathers exhibited more resilience throughout their migration journey, settling in Norway while adhering to their fathering roles and responsibilities. Although some of the findings outlined the challenges and difficulties faced by the fathers, there is no evidence to support an absolute deficit theory of fathers that undermines their fathering capabilities and roles because of the challenges they had to face during the process of acculturation. Likewise, the empirical evidence counters the pathological comprehension of immigration as a multisource stressor inflicted upon immigrant fathers and families (as referred in Robertson, 1992; Shimoni, Este & Clark, 2003). Conversely to their interpretation, fathers in my study conveyed that the challenges and barriers that came along their way made them stronger and instilled a greater sense of self-esteem by overcoming it and strive better for future. Moreover, their implication on facing the challenges as immigrants and overcoming them strongly indicated their resilience.

Following the theoretical framework, the past research and policies have projected that underemployment and lack of language are main barriers for immigrant fathers. Similarly, confronting changing gender norms is also considered as a threat to father's position and their status in the family. Contrastingly enough, in this study fathers were appreciative of the changing gender norms and they were more willing to accept and adhere the shared value of caregiving responsibility. Similarly, they regarded immigration as an opportunity to embrace new culture and revise their prescribed roles as fathers in a new society. Regarding language, although it is also interpreted as a challenge by fathers, they also saw it as an opportunity to have access to new culture and lifestyle. Evident enough, there was no trace of acute disintegration as outlined in other studies (referred in Deng & Marlowe, 2013; Khawaja et al., 2008; Stewart et al., 2015). Rather, study observed resilient fathers who were positively engaged with their children and contended future hopes and aspirations while navigating through struggles of adaptation, language acquisition and employment. Likewise, accessing better resources in the host country such as welfare provisions in Norway where fathers discussed about benefits of paid paternal leave system, health care, cash benefits for children were some of the instrumental components of host country that built more on the resilience exhibited by these fathers. The diasporic engagement with the rest of the Nepalese community, celebrating festivals together, transferring their values to their children and having a sense of home in a new country also strengthened their abilities as fathers and availed a support group for fathers to build more on their resilience. In this regard, it was refreshing to explore the understanding of fatherhood ideals pointing towards the resilient theory as opposed to deficit theory that has been projected in many studies.

Immigration research has time and again contested the salience of cultural contributions and changes in family roles (Hernandez & McGoldrick, 1999). Therefore, fathering practices and fatherhood ideals are as well situationally malleable pushing the ideological boundaries of social adaptability and gender dynamics (Acker, 1997).

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Pursuing my inquisitiveness to explore the fatherhood ideals among Nepalese immigrant fathers enabled me to explore the intertwined relationship between migration and fatherhood, as well as have a deeper understanding of cross-cultural difference, social policies and acculturation process that impacts individual father's transition to fatherhood. Similarly, realizing the literature gap that was evident in the fatherhood researches, I designed this study to explore the perception and experiences of Nepalese fathers living in Norway. In this regard, this research study contributes to bridge the knowledge gap by bringing out the voices of minority immigrant group of Nepalese fathers living in Norway. Hence the purpose of the study was to explore:

1. What is the symbolic meaning of fatherhood for Nepalese fathers? How do fathers discuss their involved fatherhood ideal, childcare and caregiving responsibilities amidst welfare system?
2. How does migration and socio-cultural differences intersect with their fatherhood ideals, experiences and the diversity in which fathers discuss and enact their fathering? What are the challenges and opportunities they face resulting from the acculturation process while settling in Norway?

To address these research questions, I adopted a qualitative research design and semi-structured interview method. I reviewed the interview transcripts and translation to extract narratives from fathers that focus on the key themes as identified in the findings section. In the fifth chapter, I explored the research findings followed by further discussions on chapter six. The overall findings of this research study distinctively map out the lived experiences of the immigrant fathers in different scenario and circumstances. In this regard, the empirical findings from this research study has valuable implications in the field of social work and social policy described as follows:

7.1 Implications of Research: policy, practice and research

The father's insights on life as immigrants in Norway is very much instrumental in planning and implementing different intervention programs directed at immigrant families. The experiences of immigrant fathers as the key focus is another distinctive attribute of this research as systematic literature review revealed that the lived experiences of immigrant fathers—especially Nepalese fathers is almost non-existent. As the migration phenomenon is on the rise, researchers from human rights background and migration studies have emphasized more on in-depth investigation in the fathering experiences in the context of immigration as it influences their health and wellbeing of men, their relationship with their children and their wives (Lamb, 2013). It is then especially important to shed light on the stories of immigrant fathers as they are one of the

vulnerable yet overlooked population in the social work domain. Although policy developments and recommendations are not a straightforward process some implications in the area if policy, practice and research are presented as follows:

1.1.2 Policy recommendations

The empirical findings from this research brings into light the importance of introducing various intervention programs that are based on actual potential and resilience of immigrant fathers and not on deficit perspective. Similarly, various intervention programs are planned and carried out without the involvement of immigrant fathers and without realizing there need hence, this research opens as an avenue for conducting inclusive programs targeted at immigrant fathers. Fathers in this research acknowledged the importance of family friendly social policies and welfare provisions such as parental leave system, universal childcare stipend that they received during the prenatal and postnatal phase of their life and during the early years of their child that eased their transition to fatherhood. Although, this is a specialized policy provision it would also be beneficial to father if other long-term policies were put into place targeting immigrant fathers. Similarly, culturally sensitive support provisions and inclusive parenting programs in specific can be beneficial for fathers in reinforcing their transition from manhood to fatherhood. Likewise, this research deems for *culturally sensitive integration and immigration laws* catering the socio-economic diversity, race, ethnicity, country of origin and multitude of other factors rather than attempting *one size fits all*. Similarly, in Norway, integrative interventions directed at immigrants are composed of educational and welfare provisions are usually targeted to children (language acquisition programs) and women (maternal health services), while few are directed to the immigrant fathers. Instead creating *father-friendly* programs and policies can be another steppingstone for promoting positively involved fatherhood ideals among fathers with their children. An example of policy prescription specifically targeting fathers is found in the arena of paternity leave, which needs to be oriented and prescribed well among immigrant families. Progressive integrative provisions towards immigrants and their families translates to pro-migration policies, improving holistic services and promoting cultural tolerance.

1.1.3 Practice implications

Another important arc in achieving equitable social inclusion is by reducing the barriers to achieving them such as recognizing previous educational qualification and job experiences and offering *affordable integration programs*. As underemployment was one of the crucial concerns that appeared in the findings, the lack of recognition for foreign credentials is a major policy concern that needs to be addressed. “The government authorities should work with the regulatory bodies to advancing the provincial goals of professional integration for skilled immigrants by streamlining procedures and clearly setting stands for knowledge, skill and language required for professional practice” (Watt 2006, p. 12). Such provisions will prevent the perpetuation of unfair working condition and loss of valuable human capital. Commencement of such provisions

improves the reach of immigrant fathers to access services, increase mutual participation in education, employment and training possibilities to holistically uplift the social inclusion.

Strengthening the Nepalese social network is an amicable approach to counterbalance the parenting stress and acculturation process which can aid their fathering abilities. Existence of such social support can buffer the potential acculturative stress that fathers face and allow them to explore the changing realm of fatherhood. This will also instill a resilient and generative attitude among immigrant fathers. As fathers also expressed their interest in participating cultural exchange programs within their community or in their workplace, creating a mutual platform for social and cultural exchange will help bridge the cultural gap, respect for diversity, understand the conceptions of fatherhood from the Norwegian context and promote social cohesion.

1.1.4 Further research possibilities

Findings from this research study have implications for the field of social work. Most importantly, the knowledge and experiences from immigrant fathers can be instrumental in assessing compounding effects of migration and when working with immigrant fathers and families. Similarly, immigrant fatherhood research like this one accolades the capabilities of diverse fathers and families and not to view them from a singular cultural lens. This in return leads to explore and invest on illuminating strengths of fathers rather than tagging a deficit perspective while researching on a cultural minority.

Furthermore, this study ignites potential for future cross-cultural comparative studies among wider population of fathers from immigrant and non-immigrant background in order to compare the understanding of fatherhood research in light to more macro level and ecological contexts which can then be generalized to wider population. Likewise, national quantitative surveys can be conducted incorporating the themes discovered in this study to accurately assess the need of immigrant groups. Greenfield (1994) recommends a methodological paradigm for conducting researches on minority immigrant families in order to understand the attributes and contextualization of phenomena from a different angle. In this regard, large quantitative surveys based on the themes explored by this research and other alternative paradigms such as cross cultural, ethnographical and mixed methodological study method in addressing the perceptions and needs of different immigrant groups by giving them voice to documenting their parental expectations and recommendations for interventions. Keeping accounts on parenting process in a multicultural context helps in analyzing the diversity and deconstructing meaning of changing parental discourse. Similarly, as this research accounted for small sample of immigrant fathers, this research open an arena for inclusion of other family members such as wives, children and their perceptions triangulated to the perception of fathers that can influence the better understanding of fatherhood in a cross cultural context.

7.2 Limitations of the research

The qualitative nature of this study and a small sample size of the participants is one of the limitations of this study as it is a small representative of Nepalese fathers hence cannot be generalized to a larger population. The small sample size precluded the subtle differences even within the group of Nepalese fathers as Nepal is ethnically and demographically diverse and this diversity can impact their fathering practices. Similarly, the purposive sampling method may have led to group of fathers belonging to similar social class and life trajectory as they hangout and interact in the same social circle. In this regard, I deem that the fathers involved in my study didn't belong to socio-economically or ethnically diverse background which might have impacted the research findings. Likewise, the interviews and findings consist the experiences of fathers however, during my research process, I realized that the opinions and storytelling from their wives and children could have been equally instrumental in providing a different arc to this research study.

Likewise, another challenge with the semi-structured interview is the amount of information collected during the process which were sometimes unorganized, lacked in-depth aspect and contained a very specific perspective. This was a big challenge in arranging the narrative and producing the concise yet holistic empirical findings without losing valuable context. Similarly, time limitation and word limitation were other restrictive elements and limited my abilities as a researcher to expand and explore more on this research project.

7.3 Concluding remarks

Conducting this research study has been an exemplary experience—an insight into the lives of immigrant fathers. The strength and resilience shown by immigrant fathers and families have shown is exemplary, a lot to learn from even as a normative individual. This research, in the end is not just the amalgamation of my inquisitiveness but, rather the accumulation of strong strength, desire and of hope the immigrant fathers displayed while settling into a new society. I hope this research to be a resourceful insight for other scholars conducting research in the similar arena.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview guide

Information of the study

The aim of the study is to explore and analyze how- with what perspective in mind and through what kind of fathering practices- Nepalese fathers construct their fatherhood in line with other thematic areas such as parental leave, family policy, gender norms, and father-child relationship. This research is being conducted as a requirement for my master's degree at the University of Stavanger in Norway. With this research project, I am intending to reach out to Nepalese fathers and explore more on the areas as aforementioned. The interview guide will include questions that are relevant to the research area and will not account any of your direct private information. Likewise, the confidentiality of all the information will be maintained. All the information shared during this interview will be only used for the research project, will not be shared outside the research team. Additionally, you consented to the interview with the consent form.

Is there anything that you would like to ask before we begin?

Background information

No. of Children:

Professional Background:

Relationship status:

Working hours per week:

Working status of partner (through a passive inquiry)

Opening context

1. How long have you/ your family been residing in Norway?
2. What brought you here? Can you describe me your initial years in Norway?
3. What is your perception regarding Norwegian culture and society?

Meaning of fatherhood and involved fatherhood ideal

4. Can you describe me the feeling, when you became a father?
5. What does fatherhood mean to you? What is the most important aspect of fatherhood? How would you define a 'good father'?
6. **Probe:** Can you describe a normal day with your children (or weekends/holidays)? In what ways are you involved in the day-to-day part of your children's lives? How do you find out how your children are doing? What are the important things that you say or do

for your children? How do you express your love for them? What are the activities do you do together as a family?

7. **Probe:** Can you please describe the respective roles between you and your partner when it comes to child-care? How is the decision-making process in your family as parents? How do you deal with the conflict and confrontations that arise during the parenting process?
8. How is the father-child dynamics in your family?

Fatherhood in a new society

9. **Probe:** What does it mean to be a father in a new country? What are your experiences of being a father here in Norway? How do you socially, culturally and emotionally navigate or negotiate with Norwegian norms and services as an immigrant father?
10. **Probe:** What are the challenges that you face as an immigrant father and what kind of support do you seek out for? Can you please describe me your experience?
11. What strengths and resources helped you with the integration process?
12. **Probe:** What do you think about fathers/fatherhood in Norway? How about fathers in Nepal? Are there any differences or similarities?
13. **Probe:** What is your opinion on shared parental leave system in Norway? How did you make use of this provision? How do you evaluate it impact on your life as a father?
14. **Probe:** What is the important aspect of keeping your family together? What are the cultural attributes that you want to pass on to your children?
15. What are your future hopes and aspirations?

Before we finish, is there anything you want to add regarding the fatherhood that you think has not been covered in this interview?

Thank you so much for your time!

Appendix 2: Interview guide in Nepali

पृष्ठभूमि जानकारी

बच्चाहरु को संख्या:

वैवाहिक स्थिति:

कार्य घन्टा प्रति हप्ता:

पहिलो प्रसङ्ग

1. तपाईं र तपाईंको परिवार नर्वेमा बस्दै आउनुभएको कती भयो?
2. तपाईं यहाँ आउँदा आफ्नो साथमा के के ल्याउनुभएको थियो? नर्वेमा यहाँको प्रारम्भिक बर्षहरु कस्तो बितेको थियो, मलाई आफ्नो वर्णन गर्न सक्नुहुन्छ?
3. नर्वेजियन समाज र संस्कृतिको बारेमा तपाईंको धारणा के छ?

संलग्न पिता र लैङ्गिक सझेदारी

4. तपाईंलाई आफु बुवा हुँदा कस्तो महसूस भयो ? कृपया व्याख्या गर्नुहोस्
5. तपाईंको लागि fatherhood को अर्थ के हो? fatherhood को सबैभन्दा महत्त्वपूर्ण पक्ष के हो? तपाईं कसरी 'राम्रो बुबा' परिभाषित गर्नुहुन्छ?
6. तपाईं आफ्नो बच्चाहरु सँग दिन(सप्ताहांत / बिदा) कसरी बिताउनुहुन्छ? तपाईं कुन तरिकामा तपाईंका बच्चाहरुको जीवनको दैनिक कार्यमा संलग्न हुनुहुन्छ? तपाईं कसरी पत्ता लगाउनुहुन्छ कि तपाईंको बच्चाहरु के गर्दै छन्? तपाईंका छोराछोरीहरुको लागि भन्नु वा गर्नुपर्ने महत्त्वपूर्ण चीजहरु के हो? तपाईं उनीहरुको लागि आफ्नो प्रेम कसरी व्यक्त गर्नुहुन्छ? आफ्नो पारिवारिक समय कसरी बिताउनु हुन्छ?
7. के तपाईं बालबालिकाको हेरचाह गर्दा तपाईं र तपाईंको श्रीमतीको बीचमा सम्बन्धित भूमिकाहरु वर्णन गर्न सक्नुहुन्छ? तपाईंको परिवारमा घर सल्लाह, निर्णय गर्ने प्रक्रिया र लैङ्गिक सझेदारी कस्तो छ? बुवाभएसँग आउने चुनौतीहरुलाई कसरी लिनुहुन्छ?
8. तपाईंको परिवारमा बाबु र बच्चाबिच सम्बन्ध कस्तो छ?

आप्रवासन, नयाँ समाज र पिताहुनुको अर्थ

- 9: नयाँ देशमा पिताहुनुको अर्थ के हो? को बुवाहरुको बारेमा यहाँको के प्रतिक्रिया छ? तपाईं कसरी सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक तथा भावनात्मक रूपमा एक आप्रवासी पिताको रूपमा नार्वेजियन मापदण्ड र सेवाहरुबिच कसरी नेभिगेट वा प्रवेश गर्नुहुन्छ?

10. तपाईं एक आप्रवासी पिताको रूपमा सामना गर्नुभएका चुनौतीहरू के हो र तपाईं कस्तो किसिमको सहयोगको अपेक्षा राख्नुहुन्छ? कृपया तपाईंको अनुभव बताइदिनुस् न।
11. तपाईंको एकीकरण प्रक्रियामा कस्तो स्रोतले मद्दत गर्यो?
12. नर्वेको बुवाहरू बारे यहाँको कस्तो धारणा छ? नेपाली बुवाहरूबारे कस्तो धारणा छ? यि दुई समुह मध्ये के कस्ता भिन्नता वा समानताहरू छन्?
13. नर्वेको Parental leave प्रावधानबारे तपाईंको राय के छ? तपाईंले यस प्रावधानको उपयोग कसरी गर्नुभयो? यस सुबिधाको प्रभाव पिताको रूपमा तपाईंको जीवनमा कस्तो रह्यो?
14. तपाईंको परिवारलाई एकसाथ राख्ने महत्त्वपूर्ण पक्ष के हो? तपाईंका छोराछोरीहरूलाई पास गर्न चाहने सांस्कृतिक विशेषताहरू के हो?
15. तपाईंको भविष्यका आशा र अपेक्षा के के छन्?

यो अन्तर्वाता समाप्त गर्न अघि, के तपाईं केहि थप चाहानुहुन्छ?

तपाईंको समयको लागि धेरै धेरै धन्यवाद!

Appendix 3: Information letter and consent form

The New World of Fatherhood: Perceptions and experiences of Fathering practices of Nepalese immigrant fathers living in Norway

Purpose of the Study

I am Prizma Ghimire and the study is a partial requirement of my Erasmus Mundus Master's degree program in social work with families and children (MFamily) at the University of Stavanger. The main purpose of the study is to explore and analyze how Nepalese fathers coming from a different setting and with different life conditions talk about their fatherhood experiences, expectations, and demands in a Norwegian context. Similarly, the study entails to analyzing how the cross-cultural differences might affect practicing fatherhood in line with other thematic areas such as family policy, gender norms, and father-child relationship. Furthermore, the study aims to establish and understand father-child relationship by analyzing the impact of parental leave system for fathers as an active area of social policy in an inclusive welfare state from the migrant's perspective.

Who is responsible for the project?

I am Prizma Ghimire, master's degree student will be leading the research project under the supervision of my research supervisor Dr. Jan Otto Jacobsen in alignment with my coordinating University-University of Stavanger, Norway.

What does the participation in the project imply?

The research entails a qualitative study design where I will conduct a semi-structured interview and let fathers express in their own words regarding the fathering experiences, challenges, expectations, family policies in Norwegian context and evaluate the interconnectedness of these components to the father-child relationship. The interviews will last approximately between 60 to 90 minutes. Similarly, the interviews will be recorded in an audio recorder to preserve the authentic information shared by respondents and fact check when necessary. In addition to the audio recordings, I will also carry out participant observations and record related observations and notes on a dedicated notebook. The questionnaire is outlined under four major thematic areas: own's perception on being father and fatherhood, fathering practices and father-child relationship, family policy and parental leave and on gender norms, equality, responsibility, and autonomy.

The study will take into account 4 to 6 Nepalese immigrant fathers as respondents living in Norway. Most of the respondents are recruited from a facebook group page where I posted about my study and the interested fathers expressed their willingness to participate and be interviewed. Similarly, other few respondents came forward through snowball sampling method.

Processing privacy information

All the personal data collected will be used only for my master’s research thesis. Similarly, all the gathered information will be treated confidentially and in accordance with the privacy policy. As aforementioned, my observations and notes will be recorded in a dedicated notebook and the research data will be stored in an electronically secured encrypted file in a password protected computer accessible only to my research supervisor Dr. Jan Otto Jacobsen. I will not collect any data on direct personal information such as (full name, social security number and contact information) that will put respondents on identifiable position. Furthermore, other information gathered from the respondents will be anonymized to ensure privacy and data protection.

Voluntary Participation

The participation in the study is entirely voluntary. Interview transcripts will be provided to the respondents if they express their interest for it. At any point of the study, the participant has the right to decide whether to participate or withdraw from the study, even after the completion of the interview. The participant is entitled to refuse to answer questions or choose to stop the interview without giving any explanation. In case of withdrawal, all the information and data collected will be destroyed. If you have any questions concerning the project, you’re welcome to contact the student or the supervisor (information as follows).

Supervisor	Student
Jan Otto Jacobsen (jan.o.jacobsen@uis.no)	Prizma Ghimire (prizmghimire@gmail.com)

The study is notified to the Data Protection Official for Research, NSD- Norwegian Centre for Research Data.

After the closure of the research project

The project is scheduled for completion around 15th June 2019. Results and analysis from the study might be used for scholarly publications, research articles, professional presentations and knowledge sharing among educators. Data will be presented in a compressed form to maintain confidentiality. When the material is being processed and presented, information about the participant that may lead to his identification will be deleted, amended or pseudonymized to ensure his anonymity. The audio recording will be destroyed as soon as the project is completed.

To ensure that the study takes place according to ethical guidelines for good research, I hereby promise to follow all the principles and guidelines as stated throughout the document.

Date

Signature

Signed by: Prizma Ghimire, Student (p.ghimire@stud.uis.no or prizmghimire@gmail.com)

I have received all the important information about the project and I am willing to participate.

Date

Signature

Appendix 4: Approval from Data Protection Official for Research, NSD

5/9/2019

Meldeskjema for behandling av personopplysninger



NSD sin vurdering

Prosjekttittel

Fathering practices of Nepalese Immigrant fathers living in Norway

Referansenummer

445421

Registrert

13.01.2019 av Prizma Ghimire - p.ghimire@stud.uis.no

Behandlingsansvarlig institusjon

Universitetet i Stavanger / Det samfunnsvitenskapelige fakultet / Institutt for sosialfag

Prosjektansvarlig (vitenskapelig ansatt/veileder eller stipendiat)

Jan Otto Jacobsen, jan.o.jacobsen@uis.no, tlf: 91640861

Type prosjekt

Studentprosjekt, masterstudium

Kontaktinformasjon, student

Prizma Ghimire, prizmghimire@gmail.com, tlf: 4792511771

Prosjektperiode

07.01.2019 - 01.05.2019

Status

13.02.2019 - Vurdert

Vurdering (1)

13.02.2019 - Vurdert

Our assessment is that the processing of personal data in this project will comply with data protection legislation, presupposing that it is carried out in accordance with the information given in the Notification Form and attachments, dated 13.02.19, as well as dialogue with NSD. Everything is in place for the processing to begin.

NOTIFY CHANGES

If you intend to make changes to the processing of personal data in this project it may be necessary to notify

<https://meldeskjema.nsd.no/vurdering/5c351aba-fb31-48fd-b06e-1dbca3fd9502>

1/3

NSD. This is done by updating the information registered in the Notification Form. On our website we explain which changes must be notified. Wait until you receive an answer from us before you carry out the changes.

TYPE OF DATA AND DURATION

The project will be processing general categories of personal data until 01.05.19.

LEGAL BASIS

The project will gain consent from data subjects to process their personal data. We find that consent will meet the necessary requirements under art. 4 (11) and 7, in that it will be a freely given, specific, informed and unambiguous statement or action, which will be documented and can be withdrawn. The legal basis for processing personal data is therefore consent given by the data subject, cf. the General Data Protection Regulation art. 6.1 a).

PRINCIPLES RELATING TO PROCESSING PERSONAL DATA

NSD finds that the planned processing of personal data will be in accordance with the principles under the General Data Protection Regulation regarding:

- lawfulness, fairness and transparency (art. 5.1 a), in that data subjects will receive sufficient information about the processing and will give their consent
- purpose limitation (art. 5.1 b), in that personal data will be collected for specified, explicit and legitimate purposes, and will not be processed for new, incompatible purposes
- data minimisation (art. 5.1 c), in that only personal data which are adequate, relevant and necessary for the purpose of the project will be processed
- storage limitation (art. 5.1 e), in that personal data will not be stored for longer than is necessary to fulfil the project's purpose

THE RIGHTS OF DATA SUBJECTS

Data subjects will have the following rights in this project: transparency (art. 12), information (art. 13), access (art. 15), rectification (art. 16), erasure (art. 17), restriction of processing (art. 18), notification (art. 19), data portability (art. 20).

NSD finds that the information that will be given to data subjects about the processing of their personal data will meet the legal requirements for form and content, cf. art. 12.1 and art. 13.

We remind you that if a data subject contacts you about their rights, the data controller has a duty to reply within a month.

FOLLOW YOUR INSTITUTION'S GUIDELINES

NSD presupposes that the project will meet the requirements of accuracy (art. 5.1 d), integrity and confidentiality (art. 5.1 f) and security (art. 32) when processing personal data.

To ensure that these requirements are met you must follow your institution's internal guidelines and/or consult with your institution (i.e. the institution responsible for the project).

FOLLOW-UP OF THE PROJECT

NSD will follow up the progress of the project at the planned end date in order to determine whether the processing of personal data has been concluded in accordance with what is documented.

Good luck with the project!

Contact person at NSD: Kjersti Haugstvedt
Data Protection Services for Research: +47 55 58 21 17 (press 1)

Appendix 5: The participants¹¹

Participants (pseudonyms)	Relationship Status	No. of Children	Time in Norway
Ram	Married	1 child	5 years
Shyam	Married	1child	4 years
Hari	Married	1 child	7 years
Laxman	Married	3 children	8 years
Gopi	Married	2 children	16 years
Bhanu	Married	2 children	13 years
Krishna	Married	1 child	3 years

¹¹ The names of participants enlisted in the table is pseudonyms given to each participant to make it easier to contextualize their situation and to simplify the data analysis process. The given names are generic names of Nepal without any relevance to participant's actual names.

Appendix 5: Audit trail displaying data analysis process

The data analysis process was done manually through six-phase process using a guideline recommended by Braun & Clarke (2006) and the audit trail is presented as follows:

Phase one: Familiarization with the data

After the completion of interviews, I used the verbatim account for the transcription of the data and sometimes nonverbal utterances as well. Then, I translated the Nepalese content into English. I went back and forth through the transcriptions and the audio recordings to ensure its accuracy.

Phase two: Generating initial codes

After familiarizing myself with data, the emerging connotations and repetitive instances were given initial codes. The initialization of these codes was more data-driven and speculated the normative ideas that kept appearing in the narrations. An excerpt from the Laxman's interview is provided highlighting some of the initial codes identified as follows:

Initial codes:

1. Transition to fatherhood
2. Involvement of fathers with their children
3. Sense of responsibility
4. Gender dynamics within the household
5. Norwegian society and welfare system

I: Can you describe me the feeling, when you became father?

Laxman: [---]¹² I grew up in a joint family so, when we first came here, I would feel a lot lonely but, when I became father, I realized that my family is complete and now, I bear lot of responsibilities and it is the greatest feeling.

I: What is the nicest moment of being a father?

Laxman: “[...] so, like I said, when I come home, they(children) are waiting for me and I feel that I am important. I feel like I am my kids’ hero. When I enter the house, they run and come to me, they hug me and in that sense that is a big stress reliever, I feel calm. Another thing is, I get to be a child with them. We get to talk from their level, that we miss in our daily lives. In our daily life, we aspire to be perfect, we act like a grown up, we go to work, we try to present ourselves as nicely as possible. Sometimes we

¹² [---]: some paragraphs are skipped to keep the content concise

even pretend to be what we are not. But, when you come home, you get to be what you are with the kids, your originality comes out. You get to be a kid again. You can forget all the worldly things; you keep your professional stuff and personal problems outside the doorstep, and you enjoy the little moments. I think those are the nicest thing about being a father.”

I: What does it mean to be a father in a new country? What are your experiences of being a father here in Norway? How do you socially, culturally and emotionally navigate or negotiate with Norwegian norms and services as an immigrant father?

Laxman: [---] Being a father outside your own country is different. The sense of responsibility here is more for sure. I have realized the sense of responsibility increased. I feel like I have become more responsible. And now when I think about anything, I think from my child’s angle. And I think more for my children. Even at work, there is a risk that if I don’t perform well, and I don’t deliver things in time and I might lose a job and complications can rise from there. So, for their future and to give them that sense of security I am going with the flow, more with the responsibilities. I don’t think fathers in Nepal feel as responsible because you are not expected to anything as a father in Nepal. If you don’t have a family you have to do, otherwise, there is a large network of family that helps you with the child rearing. Especially with the grandparents, maternal home, they play huge role in taking care of the child. And usually fathers they go to office, they come home, maybe play with the kid for sometime and they sleep. So, all the small things like feeding, bathing, taking care of the baby, spending more time with the baby an doing other activities with the baby is very rare. [---] And my experience as a father here in Norway is nice. And I think it is because of that reason, even when I want to go back to Nepal, I think twice if they(children) will receive the same care that they have received here. Everything is systematic and nicely organized here and all of these provision kinda stops us from going back...for example the health checkup...the first year of the baby is really active, they invite for the follow up regularly for the height and weight inspection. They compare it with the European average. Height, weight and vaccination is under control and we don’t have to worry about it. So, even there is problem in terms of height, weight, etc. they contact us and connect us with the specialized department of the children. So, they follow up with us and we don’t have to worry about it. In my daughter’s case she started walking a little late and we mentioned about it to *helsestasjon* and they discussed within their network and a physiotherapist contacted us. As they advised we went for the checkup right away and everything turned out to be normal. The system is so much sophisticated here that you don’t have to note down anything.

I: And let’s imagine your daily life, can you describe how do you spend your time with your children in a normal day or in weekends?

Laxman: On weekends the schedule is bit different... On weekdays, we wake up, have breakfast and drop kids to *barnehagen* and head to our respective jobs. But on weekends we do a lot of activities together as a family. It is very important to us. We prepare breakfast together, clean the house, go for swimming, teach them alphabets, solve puzzles or read out stories. Sometimes we just go out for a walk or on a park, play with kids. Being out in the open really helps and breaks the cycle of constant work...I have to admit it’s best for both me and my child. So, that’s what we do. Normally my wife leaves for work early so, it’s me who make the kids ready and give them breakfast and everything and my wife pick them up in the evening. And its different on weekends. Usually, we wake up late and on Sundays we take them somewhere, be it indoor activities on a drive. I usually want to take them out because they also spend

their time a lot inside the house itself so, I try to take them outside. So, weekend is meant for family time. And I don't make other plans on Sundays and we try to be with each other as much as we can.

I: Can you please describe the respective roles between you and your partner when it comes to child-care? How is the decision-making process in your family as parents? How do you deal with the conflict and confrontations that arise during the parenting process?

Laxman: [---]Simple misunderstanding is obvious in a family and both of us work full time, as much as I have stress in work she has the same so, she might get angry as well, so as a husband I try to be reasonable, I try to divide the chores, understand her feelings, respect that and it's no secret that as wives they do a lot as well. And I think husband needs to understand that, we need to listen to them as well. One of the benefits of being in Norway is that there is a sense of equality at home and work. My wife works full time as well and I understand that sometimes she can be tired, irritated...she can have a tough day at work and I like to take into that consideration and I help her with chores, look after kids and help her in whatever ways I can. Afterall, household responsibility is not entirely hers. Also, you learn and adapt to new place. Now, I do things which I wouldn't have done in my country because socially it's not acceptable for fathers to do chores.

Phase three: Searching for themes

The relevant ideas and opinions identified in the phase two were then extracted and collated into potential themes. With the help of table format, I grouped the emergent themes into theme-piles. In doing so, a main overarching themes were identified along with other sub-themes. This process substantially facilitated the process of findings and analysis. An excerpt from two main themes are illustrated as follows:

Exploration of potential themes	Relevant narratives
Meaning of fatherhood, symbolism, transition	<p>“Being a father is an amazing experience. It made me feel complete and life became more meaningful. Sometimes I feel like a child myself and cannot imagine that I have young child who is growing, doing new things every day. It has been an exciting journey to see him walk, talk, dance with pure joy...Of course, I never imagined a child could come with such a big responsibility...so, it is challenging but, it is also a meaningful experience.” –Ram</p> <p>“[...] to see my wife, go through sooooo much pain and sweat was very hard...something I had never imagined (pew)...she literally risked her life for us to be a family...and I feel she's brave and beautiful because of that. Also, I feel thankful that I got to be a father here because in Nepal, we are not even allowed inside the delivery room. It's the women's affair you know. But I am glad I could witness the birth of my child and be there for my wife.” –Bhanu</p>

Involved fatherhood ideals among Nepalese fathers, breadwinning as a challenge	<p>“Listening to them is very important, they can only share their problems and issues if you’re listening to them...because my kids are growing up every day, they are curious about everything, they want to share their ideas...they ask really difficult questions...to which, I don’t always have answers but, I try to help them in every way they can. Similarly, they display different kind of needs, feels and they want attention in different stages of their life and as a father I try my best to address them.” – Laxman</p> <p>“One of the difficult things of being a father for me here is the lack of quality time with my child. I am working so much and doing my night shifts that we have to wait till weekends to meet properly and do things together as a family. I do feel my family struggles a lot because of that.” – Gopi</p>
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Phase four: reviewing themes

A closer look at the generated themes assisted me with the refinement of the data produced. While reviewing themes I also realized the interconnectedness within the identified themes and correlation of fatherhood, immigration and acculturation process in an illustrated form.

Phase five: defining and naming themes

After the identified themes were finalized, I explored more with the literature and other relevant resource to give proper names to the themes. While naming them, I was mindful in capturing the proper essence of the identified themes and that these names reciprocated the authenticity of what participants expressed. One of the three themes are presented as follows:

Over-arching theme	Sub-themes
Immigrant fathers and Involved fatherhood	Accessible father- “being there”
	Positive engagement, direct and indirect care
	The breadwinning responsibility
	Shared caregiving responsibility, changing gender dynamics

Phase six: Writing up

Towards the completion of the data analysis process, three themes were produced along with multiple sub-themes underneath them. In this phase, I selected relevant quotations and

experiences that illustrated the themes most vividly weaving the narrations pursuing a cohesive storytelling within the findings. Finally, they were then related to theory, literature and the context in the discussion chapter.

Appendix 7: Non-plagiarism declaration

I hereby declare that the Dissertation titled, “*The New World of Fatherhood: perceptions and experiences of Nepalese immigrant fathers living in Norway*” submitted to the Erasmus Mundus Master’s Programme in Social Work with Families and Children:

- Has not been submitted to any other Institute/University/College
- Contains proper references and citations for other scholarly work
- Contains proper citation and references from my own prior scholarly work
- Has listed all citations in a list of references.

I am aware that violation of this code of conduct is regarded as an attempt to plagiarize and will result in a failing grade (F) in the program.

Date (dd/mm/yyyy): 01/06/2019

Signature:

A rectangular box containing a handwritten signature in black ink. The signature is written in a cursive style and appears to read "Prizma Ghimire".

Name (in block letters): PRIZMA GHIMIRE