

**FATHERS' PARENTING STRATEGIES: THEIR INFLUENCE ON YOUNG
PEOPLE'S SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS.**

By

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements

For the degree of

DOCTOR OF LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY

in the subject

PSYCHOLOGY

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

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OCTOBER 2005

DECLARATION

“I declare that *Fathers’ parenting strategies: Their influence on young people’s social relationships* is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.”

.....

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.....

DATE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study could not have been completed without the support, encouragement and contribution of many people. I am grateful to all who were there for me over the years and especially the following persons:

- Dr Val Rapmund, who in the initial stages helped me think through and arrive at a concrete decision on where I wanted to go.
- Dr Ilse Ferns, my promoter who has painstakingly walked with me through the study despite the distance.
- Dr Ruthie Rono my joint promoter, who severally had to firmly tell me I cannot give up when I called to say I was stuck and wanted to quit.
- Daystar University Vice Chancellor and the management team for granting me permission and financial support in order to accomplish this study.
- My daughters Tibaga and Kyesubire, who transcribed the recorded interviews, typed and edited the work.
- My husband and friend and all our other children, who planted the initial seed by suggesting and encouraging me to embark on this study. They have been patient with me and have absorbed the frustrations of seemingly long periods of unfruitful efforts at times and the stress of deadlines.
- Above all my Heavenly Father who has been with me and has seen and heard what I could tell no one else.

SUMMARY

This study aims at exploring how fathers' parenting strategies and the relationship they have with their children influences the children's ability to form other relationships outside the home. The study is based on parenting strategies identified by Diana Baumrind.

Reviewed literature state that where a relationship between the father and his children is good, the children are more confident, stable and secure and therefore able to form seemingly stable social relationships. Where the relationship between father and his children is unhealthy, the children may be unsure of themselves and find it harder to form relationship outside the home. The parenting strategy resulting in the best relationships between the father and his children is the authoritative parenting strategy. Authoritative fathers set rules and follow them through while allowing dialogue. They encourage the development of self-identity and are lovingly involved in their children's lives.

All participating fathers in this study have a son and daughter in the age range 13 to 25 years and all are able to communicate in English. The four participating fathers are from different ethnic groups, religious faith and professions. For each father interviewed, a son and a daughter were interviewed too.

The same father parenting strategies identified in the literature were identified in this study. Three fathers fit the description of the authoritative parental strategy. Their six children agree that their relationships with their fathers are good. Even though these fathers are strict, they are loving and therefore the children feel secure and confident. These children are able to form stable relationships outside the home. The fourth father is an abusive father whose relationship with his children is unhealthy. His children are not very secure and are withdrawn. They have very few friends because they are afraid of the repercussions from friends discovering they have problems with their father.

This study is a door opener in an area with little documented research namely parenting strategies in Africa in general and fathering strategies in particular. There is a need to explore the field further in order to develop training and care-giving structures based on African parental voices.

Key terms

Fathers' parenting strategies; Fathering and faith; Fathering and culture/tradition; Childhood and adolescence; Young people; African context; Narratives/stories; Themes/categories; Relationships; Profession; Narrative approach; Constructivism; Social constructivism; Interviewing; Narrative and Thematic data analysis.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“Imagine lying sick on a bed unable to move. Imagine calling your father to come close and hold your hand. Imagine seeing him walk into the room and stand at the foot of your bed, stretch out his hand to reach you but you cannot reach him with yours. In front of you is what looks like very tall grass covering your father up to his chest while a kind of darkness seems to rise from the floor up to his waistline.

Whatever this grass and darkness is (let’s call it a fence), it is stopping you and your father from reaching each other. Imagine the longing and yearning for your father that you experience. Yet the more you yearn and long, the more you cannot reach each other.

Now the longing and yearning translates itself into pain that builds up over the weeks, months and even years, long after you left hospital. Then one day the barrier is broken. With an uncertain gesture you move your hand as your father moves his and you hold hands. He was always there but you couldn’t connect. You slowly begin to build a relationship and gradually the pain, yearning and longing are gone and you feel satisfied. Or maybe even after the barrier was broken you still cannot bear further pain so you choose to stay as you are. Or maybe for you there has never been a barrier, you’ve always got to your father.”

Author: The Researcher.

1.1 Introduction

The imagery above emphasizes the importance of a good relationship with a father if we are to avoid the pain that comes with not having such a relationship. A good

relationship at this **micro-system** level of society gives us a foundation and a springboard to move out and establish other healthy relationships within the family, community and society in general. Bronfenbrenner (cited in Berger, 1994) refers to the micro-system as the first or basic level of the four level ecosystem of human development. The micro-system represents the family, which has an important role in the formation of attitudes that influence acceptable relationships and behaviour in every level of the ecosystem of human development in any society. In the African context the family extends beyond the nuclear family (father, mother and their children) to the extended family. Kayongo-Male and Onyango (cited in Bitrus, 2000 p. 28) define the extended family in the following words:

Whenever the parents, their children and their children's children live together in one housing unit, this is referred to as an extended family. The term 'extended family' can also refer to families that include cousins of another nuclear family, or other relatives who are not nuclear family members... We also call a family extended if they live with relatives outside the nuclear family and are maintained through visiting or economic support.

Despite the network of relationships in the micro-system that binds various relatives together for mutual support and influence, children are impacted differently by each of these relationships. The closer the relationship, the more influence the particular relative imparts to the child. Other social settings that are part of the micro-system are the classroom and the peer group that influence children while the work place influences the older people. These other settings influence relationships established outside the family by building on the foundation laid within the family.

Another level in the eco-system according to Bronfenbrenner (cited in Berger, 1994) is the **meso-system** representing the links that connect one micro-system to another. These links can be direct such as parent-teacher meetings, social gatherings or indirect like the relationship between having to work long hours and experiencing problems at home. The **exo-system**, representing the neighbourhood and community structures, directly affect the functioning of the smaller systems such as schools, shops, religious meetings, and communication structures. Finally, the **macro-system** embraces aspects

like patterns of culture, politics and the economy. In the African setting culture strongly influences the way people do things, the person the individual becomes, as well as the economy of the people and the country. Developing relationships at the micro-, meso-, exo- and macro-system levels form part of the process of human growth and development that every human being must go through. The kind of relationships we develop is the crucial issue we have to look at. The family contributes greatly to this relationship formation but the parents or the significant others set the pattern as to how relationships within the family will develop by the choice of parenting styles they implement.

However, this researcher realizes that there are other ways of looking at the ecosystem. For example, Viljoen (2002) discusses the African world-view as founded on a holistic and anthropocentric ontology. This implies that human beings form an indivisible whole with the universe (and therefore they also form a unity with God, nature and other human beings). Everything that is said, done or happens is explained from the basis of this unity of human beings, God and nature. Their whole life revolves around this world-view. It is from this holistic world-view that Sow (cited in Viljoen, 2002) states that three cosmic orders can be distinguished as follows:

- The **macro-cosmos** is explained as the domain where God, the ancestors and spirits of specific dead people are encountered. According to Viljoen this is the order in which “the religious existence of the full humanness of the traditional African is grounded” (p.3).
- The **meso-cosmos** situated in the world of the individual and collective imagination involves the living reality as well as the natural physical reality. Sow (cited in Viljoen, 1997) describes the meso-cosmos as the place that gives rise to all good and bad fortune, the site for dramatic events as well as the source of worldly success.
- The **micro-cosmos** is the domain of the individual person in his/her everyday collective existence.

This research takes into account the fact that in the contemporary society there are those deeply influenced by their faith in God as well as those who do not believe in

the meso or macro-cosmos as presented by Sow (cited in Vijoen, 1997). Therefore, ecosystem in this study encompasses the meanings brought forth by both Bronfenbrenner and Sow quoted above allowing for a broader way of looking at the word 'ecosystem'.

This research is an attempt to study parenting strategies used by African fathers seeking to understand how these parenting strategies influence young people's development of relationships within the micro-system level of society in particular and ultimately within the meso-system, exo-system and macro-system levels as well. Among Africans it is basically the mothers who take care of children by meeting their basic needs while the father is seen as the authority figure, disciplinarian and breadwinner (Nsamenang, 1987).

In the past psychologists studying family influences on children "focused almost exclusively on how mothers affect their young children" (Sigel et al. cited in Berger, 1994, p. 7) but contemporary researchers are broadening their study of family influence to include other members of the family especially fathers. The interest in fathers, as gender models, comes from the realization that fathers have a role to play in their children's personality development. Mintz (1998) and Shapiro, Diamond and Greenberg, (1995) explain that fathers were more involved in the family until two social revolutions served to move the father out of the picture and progressively diminished his importance in the home. These revolutions were the shifting of childbirths from the home to the hospital and the Industrial Revolution. This shift left fathers feeling isolated and disconnected from their families as less time was spent with their children. Little research referring to general parental strategies and their influence on the development of social relationships in the African context could be identified.

1.2 Parenting research in perspective

The basic theoretical focus of this study is Diana Baumrind's (1966) work on effects of authoritative parental control on child behaviour; (1967) child care practices anteceding three patterns of preschool behaviour; (1968) authoritarian versus

authoritative parental control; (1971) current patterns of parental authority; (1972) an exploratory study of socialization on black children: some black – white comparisons; and (1991) the influence of parenting styles on adolescent competence and substance use. Baumrind (1966) describes and contrasts three models of parental control, namely permissive, authoritarian and authoritative parenting. She examines several propositions concerning the effects of parental control variables on child behaviour. Baumrind defends the position that authoritative parental control may effectively generate in a child behaviour that is well socialized when the child is independent.

Baumrind's (1966) research focuses on young children and the researcher has chosen to base her work on this research because behaviour and relationships developed early in life lay a foundation for the behaviour and the ability to form social relationships for the adolescent/young person. The mother's impact on parenting will be tuned out by consistently focusing on interviewing the fathers on their personal relationship with their children and their own fathers in the past, while the young people interviewed will be encouraged to focus on their relationships with their fathers rather than their mothers.

Research on the influence of parenting strategies on adolescents' behaviour is patchy but in what is available, Baumrind (1991), Maccoby and Martin (cited in Holmeck, Paikoff & Brooks-Gunn, 1995), Mboya (1993; 1995) as well as Norton (1997) tend to focus more on specific characteristics of the parent (for example, parental warmth, responsiveness and acceptance) rather than Baumrind's parental strategies discussed earlier. The given characteristics lead to specific parental prototypes. For example, Baumrind (1991) presents six parental prototypes during adolescence as follows: authoritative, democratic, directive, authoritarian, good enough, non-directive and unengaged parents. These are discussed in chapter two. The researcher postulates that the African father's strategies and/or characteristics may lead him to be categorized in the same way fathers are categorized in the Western world.

While Baumrind (1966; 1968) states that the parenting styles she used in her research were applicable to both fathers and mothers, other researchers look at fathers' parental strategies differently. For example, Arenstein (1989) and Yablonsky (1990) present

four fathering styles as follows: the compassionate – doubling father type; the peer father type; the macho father type and the psychopathic father type. These fathering strategies will be discussed in more details in chapter two. There is no agreement amongst researchers on fathers’ parenting strategies. However, each style or strategy suggested has its own strengths and weaknesses. Each researcher discusses these parenting strategies from different perspectives according to the influence of his/her cultural, religious and educational orientations.

1.3 Historical overview of parental styles/strategies used by fathers

Research on the role of fathers in the family began in the 1960s and early 1970s. McKee and O’Brien (cited in Brannen, Dodd, Oakley & Storey, 1994, p. 43) state “The women’s movement and the challenges in family life of the 1960s and 1970s highlighted the need to understand the nature of men’s involvement in the family.” Mintz (cited in Booth & Crouter, 1998) also refers to the fact that intense research aiming at reconstructing men’s role in the family began in the 1970s. However, these researchers state that what we know of fatherhood is patchy and most of the research has concentrated on early childrearing. There is little literature exploring fathers’ parenting strategies and their influence on the development of social relationships in their children or the young peoples’ views of fatherhood.

Researchers tend to depict the pre-industrial era as a time when men were intensely and actively involved in family life. Different researchers, however, have presented different views of the trends in fatherhood over the years. Demos, Pleck and Rotundo (cited in Booth & Crouter, 1998) describe historical changes in fathers’ role as shifting from the father being a moral overseer and pedagogue to being a disciplinarian and a breadwinner, a sex role model and an “androgynous” male mother and nurturer. Popenoe and Blankenhorn (cited in Booth & Crouter 1998) in contrast, describe the history of the involvement of fathers as a long-term movement from the centre to the periphery of family life. At the same time, Grinswold (cited in Booth & Crouter, 1998) argues that throughout the 20th century men’s breadwinning role served as a rationalization for a persistent unwillingness to assume an equal role in childrearing and housework.

The above researchers and many others tend to identify industrialization as the critical turning point in the history of men's familial roles - as the defining moment when men's position in the family became marginalized (Mintz cited in Booth & Crouter, 1998). Lamb (cited in Daly, 1995) proposes that over the last two centuries of American social history, fatherhood has moved through four phases with each having a different motif as follows:

- (i) **The moral teacher father** who was seen during the Puritan times. His role was to ensure that children grew up with and acquired an appropriate sense of value. According to Mintz (cited in Booth & Crouter, 1998) a series of religious revivals swept across United States society during the years before the civil war. The revivalists depicted the family as a repository of moral values and school of character and promoted what they called a 'new' definition of masculinity stating that a truly Christian family man was to serve as his family's religious leader and the educator of his children. This definition was new because of its emphasis on the Christian faith. The father would restrain the children's impulsive behaviour by enforcing discipline and taking a loving interest in his wife's and children's lives. Mintz (cited in Booth & Crouter, 1998) continues to say that during the 19th Century men tended to define themselves in terms of this religiously rooted conception of domesticity or in complete opposition to it. This meant that a man's involvement in his family was a matter of choice, even though his background influenced this choice. The contemporary African man's involvement in the family is also a choice that is still strongly influenced by his culture.
- (ii) **The breadwinner father** came into being with centralized industrialization. The physical separation of the household and the workplace contributed to this new conception of the man's familial role. Prior to the 19th century industrialization, women had been active participants in commerce, farming and the many business pursuits their husbands had been involved in. This separation of workplace and home was what led to a more rigid demarcation of male and female spheres and roles. Women began to define themselves as nurturers while men defined themselves as providers, protectors and representatives of public authority (Mintz cited in Booth & Crouter, 1998).

- (iii) **The gender role model** came into being after World War II when the father was seen as a gender role model especially for his sons. Mintz (cited in Booth & Crouter, 1998) stated that the reason for a call for fathers to be role models was the concern that boys raised exclusively by women were becoming overly feminised. He stated that family professionals called on fathers to become buddies with their sons, provide sex education and serve as models of masculine maturity. Intense fears flourished during the war years that father absence might produce many social problems including juvenile delinquency among boys and sexual promiscuity among teenage girls.
- (iv) **The new nurturant father** originated in the 1970s. He is identified as an active, nurturant, care taking father who has grown up with little of his own father's influence, involvement or example because his father was working away from home due to increased separation of the workplace from the family home. According to Shapiro, Diamond and Greenberg (cited in Shapiro, 1995) men who take a greater share of household and parenting duties do so without relevant male models from previous generations. The men who become nurturing fathers are motivated by a personal desire to be available and take more part in the care of their children.

In most African societies today the father is the central authority figure within the family. African cultures back the father's authority allowing him to wield unlimited control. He plays the crucial role in the process of launching a child into the social world the way the fathers in the Agrarian families of the Western World did (Shapiro et al. in Shapiro, 1995). He is expected to "filter the beliefs, attitudes and practices of society in general to instruct the children on what to do to become acceptable members of the family" (Nsamenang, 1989, p. 286). In order to raise respectful and obedient children, the father was and still is expected to be stern and strict even though he tends to frighten the children making it difficult for them to get close to him.

The African conception of family is shaped as part of a primary socialization process, which is fundamental to the continuation of society. Because of this conception, family institutions are highly resistant to changes. However, they do undergo gradual

changes as a result of changes in the social, cultural, economic and political spheres of society. Urbanization over the last 60 to 70 years has brought the greatest changes with the urban family system having changed much more than the rural family (Nsamenang, 1989). These changes seem to also have brought changes in the parenting strategies (for both mothers and fathers) because the emphasis on a cultural way of life may not be as strong as previously and also in the urban areas people from different cultures mix and influence each other in many ways. Despite availability of oral information, there is little research done on parenting strategies in Africa to confirm this statement.

1.4 Definition of Concepts

The following definitions explain the meaning of the words or phrases as the researcher uses them in this study.

- **Parenting strategies**, also called parenting styles in this study, emphasize all that it takes a man in bringing up his children from the moment they are born to the moment they are able to stand on their own feet as adults. This includes not just what he does but also his characteristics, for example warmth or lack thereof.
- **Young people**, also called adolescents in this study, represent persons from the age of 13 years to 25 years. The participants interviewed are between the ages of 13 and 22 years. This is the age young people establish relationships at different levels of society and begin work after college study.
- **African voices** describe the perspectives presented by both the African fathers and their children. It refers to the way they view issues as opposed to the views or voices from the more developed world that we have relied on for a long time.
- In this study **stories and narratives** are used interchangeably and bear the same meaning.

1.5 Purpose of this study

The main reason that influenced the researcher to research this topic is that, as she counselled young people facing problems with authority figures either at school or at their places of work, it often seemed that the root cause of the problems were difficult relational problems at home, mostly with their fathers. Sometimes the relational problems were direct (between the young person and the father) or indirect (between the parents yet affecting the young person in different ways).

The following case studies of three young people whose real names have been changed demonstrate this fact:

- Mueni, 21 years old was consistently getting in trouble with her nursing supervisors for not taking good care of her patients. She strongly believed she was always right; it was her supervisors who did not like her even though these reports came from every station she worked in. During counselling, Mueni revealed that her father was very strict and also cruel to her mother. Mueni's mother was not able to protect her from her father's outbursts. Mueni's defiance of authority as a student was her way of rejecting what she identified as her father's authoritarian rule, even though this was not consciously done.

- Grace, a first year student nurse was terrified by any one in authority; a situation that made it impossible to learn any required procedures as she would not allow any supervisor to get close to her. Her father constantly had problems with her mother and when she sided with her mother the father one day tried to attack her from the back with a knife. The fear experienced that day was transferred to every other situation where an authority figure was involved until she was able to go through counselling eight years after this incident took place.

- David, 21 years old, came for counselling because he was very angry and depressed. He felt useless because his father constantly told him he would never make it in life. His friends' parents often came to tell his parents how happy they were with him because he was very helpful to their children. His father's response always was " this

one, can he do anything sensible?” David felt very humiliated before his friends’ parents and got very angry with his father. During counselling, it was suggested that he should forgive his father. He reacted very strongly saying “I must get even with my father. I can never forgive him for all the pain he has caused me.” Eventually he was able to forgive his father and develop a better view of himself.

Counselling encounters like these have made the researcher want to investigate what it is in the fathers’ parenting strategies that seems to so alienate them from their children. In the researcher’s counselling experience, 90% of the problems presented by young people (mostly age 14 to 30 years) counselled seem to have their root cause directly or indirectly in their relationship with their father. These cases may not be many compared to the whole population but the numbers were enough to make the researcher want to explore the phenomenon further.

The researcher’s own background is that she always felt alienated from her father because she never felt like she measured up to his expectations of her. She worked hard to gain her father’s acceptance, therefore, her achievements were for him and other people in the family; a very sobering thought, yet a very true realization. When she realized this she was angry with herself for allowing things to be that way, yet she did not have another way of achieving approval from her father. Even though she has received full healing, her experience has strongly influenced her choice to study fathers’ parental strategies in the hope that more strategies for bringing healing will emerge from this and other research that will follow later.

In traditional Africa and to a large extent in the contemporary Africa; the father is the identified authority figure in the family (Nsamenang, 1987). The father is expected to filter the beliefs, attitudes and practices of the society in general in order to instruct children on what to do to become acceptable members of the family and hence the society. Children learn partly through observation and through modelling and therefore the way the father relates to his children will determine how they will respond to his authority as well as how they will relate to other people outside the home. The father’s parental style will partly influence the outcome of the children’s ability to relate to him and the larger community because the attitudes towards other

people and modes of behaviour used are developed in the first six years of life which Dubin and Dubin (1963, p. 263) call the “authority inception period”. The attitudes and behaviours learned in these early years of life within the home lay a foundation on which young people build their attitudes and behaviour as they grow older. The type of authority children are exposed to in these early years will greatly determine how they behave and their behaviour may influence how they relate later in life to others as illustrated in the stories of the three young people.

Listening to reports on television or radio, or conversations within the community, reading the newspapers or in interaction with clients in counselling sessions, the researcher realizes that some young people have problems in the way they relate to the larger community and to those in authority in particular. Kenya has gone through many high schools acts of rebellion, for example, on the night of 25 / 26 March 2001, 67 students died when a fierce fire razed down the dormitory they slept in at Kyanguli Secondary School (Top Story, Nation Newspaper, 26 March 2001). It was alleged that two students who are at the moment facing a charge of 67 accounts of murder started the fire (Ndetei, 2002). Between January and July 2001, 48 high schools in the country had problems with students defying authority or rejecting disciplinary measures implemented by the school system (East African Standard Newspaper, 16 August 2001, pp. 4 & 8). Almost all the universities in Kenya have had student riots or some form of student unrest in the last few years. This trend has continued in subsequent years in a lesser intensity. Whatever the cause of the problem, the response of the community in each of the above-mentioned incidences was “this is unacceptable behaviour from young people.”

Different groups interviewed by the media, the church, politicians, parent associations and school authorities gave many reasons for the behaviour described above. These reasons included use of drugs by the young people, parental failure to instruct children on how to behave, youth rebellion, inadequate school disciplinary measures, and copying bad examples from leaders. Ndetei (2002) states that at Kyanguli School drugs did not play a significant role, however, some community members speculated that “the fire was the work of unhappy spirits taking revenge on the community for unspecified sins” partly because the fire raged on despite a heavy down pour of rain

(Ndetei, 2002, p. 8). This speculation is in keeping with what Sow (cited in Viljoen, 1997, p. 6) describes as:

the meso-cosmos – a place that gives rise to all good and bad fortune...where day-to-day psychological fate of individual human beings is modulated by a subtle dialectic of complex relations between humans and the creatures of the meso-cosmos...: invisible but powerful, good or bad, gratifying or persecutory.

Within any community there are those who will think this way and desire to respond to situations from this perspective and who cannot be ignored when relationship dynamics are discussed.

The researcher chose to look at parental strategies used by fathers who are seen as authority figures and are expected by the community to teach children and young people how to relate to authority in each level of the eco-system approach to human development. Berger (1994, p.7) recognized that “no cog” in the system moves in isolation therefore no level of the eco-system can survive without the influence of the other levels. Questions that arise in the researcher’s mind are: “Is there a problem in the family foundation that is being reflected in what is happening? If the right thing is taught at the foundational level why is it rejected later in life?”

This research aims at:

- Emphasising the fact that differences of opinion occur between children and their parents because each may be viewing issues such as parental authority or amount of freedom children need from different perspectives.
- Encouraging fathers to consider what influences their parenting strategies have on their children’s ability to form social relationships with a view of modifying or strengthening the same.
- Providing a basis for counsellors and others interested in personality development to counsel or teach from a better understanding of clients/students with an African perspective.

- Opening the field for further research on parenting strategies from different parts of Africa because of the many cultures represented in the continent and because different cultures may place different emphasis on the strategies used within each of these cultures.
- Pointing out differences in parenting styles as influenced by social cultural factors.
- Assisting fathers, hence whole families and communities, to understand that children and young people are not always wrong, but that they see things from different perspectives. They look at issues from different eyes. According Tenney in (Cape & Tenney, 2000) the difference between the opinions of any two people has nothing to do with the ‘issue’ they are viewing but the fact that they are looking at the same ‘issue’ through different sets of lenses.
- The main aim of this research, therefore, is to discover and document parental strategies used by African fathers with regard to the development of social relationships in young people (ages 13 to 25 years.) The researcher is seeking to give an opportunity to African fathers and their children to present their views through their own voices as seen through their respective lenses. As these fathers present themselves, others within the continent are likely to identify with them more than they identify with the voices from the West. Fourie (1994) says that ideas co-constructed in one context should not necessarily be regarded as applicable in a different context, hence the researcher’s endeavour to co-construct stories about fathering strategies from an African context. The researcher also seeks to explore the extent to which culture, the individual man’s upbringing, religious faith and the nature of the work he does influence his parenting role.

1.6 Necessity of this study

The reason for the choice of African fathers as the topic for this study is that there is a need to create voices and perspectives that will help therapists to deal more effectively with issues that arise within the continent. Because we have very little if any documented African voices, therapists and/or teachers base their work on their own knowledge and experience of what is documented by the voices from other parts

of the world. Parenting is strongly influenced by culture and the communal way of life expressed through the extended family that is still strong in many parts of Africa. In the past the child was the responsibility of the whole community he/she lived in. A child could be fed, taken care of and even be disciplined by any adult member of the community the child lived in. If the child went home and reported that a neighbour disciplined him/her, the parents would further discipline him/her (often through beating) before going to ask the neighbour what the child had done. (Beating was the mode of discipline used by many communities and is still used regularly especially in the rural areas.)

Today in Africa, the extended family system and close communal ties are not as strong due to the social changes that have occurred in the last 60 and more years. These changes have been influenced by education, urbanization and employment away from home where mostly men are the ones employed away from home, leaving children under the care of their mothers. Without this communal care, the children whose father is absent from home for whatever reason, no longer has the male models he/she had among the extended family or in the larger community. This vacuum creates the need for both parents to be more involved in modelling and guiding the children in ways that will help them develop good social relationships. The researcher seeks to identify whether the African father's parenting strategies positively or negatively influence his children's social development and whether these strategies correspond to the strategies applied by fathers in the Western world.

Currently many people may not see the need for strict parental control in a world where individual freedom is consistently advocated. The trend is to want to allow children much more freedom than previously. The question is: "Does freedom in itself produce an adolescent or a young person who respects authority or do we need to have a measure of parental control to produce the expected 'good' behaviour that enhances better relationships?"

The researcher has chosen to base her work on Baumrind's views of parental control. Baumrind's discussion of parenting types embraces both parents, however, the researcher focuses only on the father for two reasons: (1) The African culture entrusts

the father with the responsibility of shaping the behaviour of his children; (2) A personal quest to discover why many young people have more problems resulting from their relationship with their fathers more than with their mothers. Brochner (cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) explains that peoples stories seek to express the complexities and difficulties of coping and feeling resolved, as well as showing how the people change over time through struggling to make sense of their experiences. This study is an illustration of the researcher's own struggle to make sense of her experience with her father years ago. The study attempts to tell how she resolved some of the issues arising from her relationship with her father, and how she has dealt with the unresolved issues. Doing so will be weaving another voice alongside the voices that will be weaved by the participants.

1.7 Conclusion

In this chapter the historical overview of the role of the father in the family and his parenting strategies has been discussed. The overview presents the changing father roles over the last 150 to 200 years mostly based on studies done in North America. Before the industrial revolution fathers worked from home and were more involved in the care of their children than they are since they began working away from home. After the industrial revolution women took over the care of children. As the mothers became homemakers, fathers felt marginalized from parental involvement. Since the late sixties and early seventies the women's movement has challenged men to get more involved in parenting. In the seventies researchers began carrying out more research in father involvement in parenting. However, little is documented on parenting strategies used by fathers of African origin and the aim of this research is to document results that will open the way for further research in this area. Chapter two presents a literature review in greater detail.

CHAPTER 2

PARENTING STRATEGIES USED BY FATHERS: A LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In chapter one it was mentioned that this study focuses on parental strategies used by African fathers in particular, because there is a need to create African voices and perspectives that will help therapists deal more effectively with the relational counselling issues or problems that arise within the continent. Currently very little research documents African voices and therefore therapists, teachers and others who deal with young people have to use their own experience or borrow from the documented experiences of others in the Western world.

In this chapter literature regarding different aspects of fathering that is, parenting styles used by fathers will be discussed in more detail. It covers the following three aspects namely, (i) fathers' parenting styles, (ii) the role of faith in fathering and (iii) parent-adolescent perspectives on parenting and other family issues.

2.2 Father's parenting styles in childhood and adolescence

Parenting occurs within the smallest unit of society namely the family, which represents the micro-system of the human ecosystem of any community, culture or group of people. Such parenting provides the basis for the development of social relationships whose foundation is laid in the first six years of life. Parenting styles used in parenting children under six years old are modified rather than completely changed in the sense that there is more give and take between parents and their children, as children grow older and reach adolescence. The give and take is as a result of the children's ability to understand, reason and discuss much more as they reach higher levels of cognitive development. At the same time parents listen to and take into account what their children are saying more than when their children were younger.

Initial parenting research done in the West (Europe and America mostly) was based mainly on mothers and sometimes on both parents. Mintz (cited in Booth & Crouter, 1998) refers to the fact that intense research aiming at reconstructing men's role in the family began in the 1970s. However, these researchers state that what is known of fatherhood is still patchy, and furthermore that most existing research findings focus on early childrearing.

It is impossible to assume that there is a best parenting style that can be effective in most situations because people's perceptions or perspectives are different. Even researchers use different terms to describe the same parenting style, for example what Baumrind (1966) describes as authoritarian and authoritative styles of parenting, Hersey and Blanchard (1978) describe as restrictive and permissive parenting styles respectively. While Baumrind presents parenting in specific styles in all her work, Kendler, Sham and MacLean (1997, p. 549) state "parenting is a complex, multi-determined set of behaviours that are influenced by parental personality, psychopathology, values and marital quality, and a range of child characteristics". Stoop (1992) talks of fathers' roles instead of parenting strategies. These different perspectives or perceptions are the ones described by Tenney (cited in Cape & Tenney, 1994) as looking at the same situation through different sets of eyes. As we look at fathers' parenting styles we see them from different sets of eyes and that is how we often depict them.

The basic theoretical focus of this study is Diana Baumrind's (1966; 1968) work regarding the effects of authoritative parental control on child behaviour as well as the effects of authoritarian versus authoritative parental control. Other relevant perspectives of parenting and fathering parenting strategies will also be presented.

In her 1966 study, Baumrind presents three prototypes of adult control, namely, permissive, authoritarian and authoritative prototypes and in her 1968 study she uses the same three prototypes as she discusses different types of parents. While her 1966 study covered parenting in early childhood, her 1968 study looks at the same prototypes and how they are applicable in parenting the older child (6-11 years) and

the adolescent. Baumrind (1968) uses the feminine gender to refer to the parent (both father and mother) and the masculine gender to refer to the child.

The three prototype parental styles as presented by Baumrind (1966, pp. 889 – 891) are summarized as follows.

- **The permissive parent** attempts to behave in a non-punitive, acceptant and affirmative manner towards the child's impulses, desires and actions. The parent consults with the child about family policy decisions and explains family rules. She makes few demands for household responsibility and orderly behaviour. She presents herself to the child as a resource for him to use, as he wishes, not as an active agent responsible for stamping or altering his ongoing or future behaviour. She allows the child to regulate his own activities as much as possible, avoids the exercise of control, and does not encourage him to obey externally defined standards. She attempts to use reason but not overt power to accomplish her ends.
- **The authoritative parent** directs the child's activities but in a rational, issue-oriented manner. She encourages verbal give and take and shares with the child the reasoning behind the family policy. She values both expressive and instrumental attributes. Both autonomous self-will and disciplined conformity are attributes valued by an authoritative parent. Therefore, she exerts firm control at points of parent-child divergences, but does not hem the child in with restrictions. She recognizes her own special rights as an adult, but also the child's individual interests and special ways. The authoritative parent affirms the child's present qualities, but also sets standards for future conduct. She uses reason as well as power to achieve her objectives. She does not base her decisions on group consensus or the individual child's desires, but also does not regard herself as infallible or divinely inspired.
- **The authoritarian parent** shapes, controls and evaluates the behaviour of the child in accordance with a set standard of conduct, usually absolute standard, theologically motivated and formulated by a higher authority. She values obedience as a virtue and favours primitive, forceful measures to curb self-will yet points out where the child's actions or beliefs conflict with what she

believes is right conduct. She believes in inculcating such instrumental values as respect for authority, respect for work, and for preservation of order and traditional structure. She does not encourage verbal give and take, believing that the child should accept her word for what is right.

It is difficult to say whether these styles are the same used by African parents and especially fathers because there is scarcely any research relating to African parenting styles and their relationships to the social development of young people.

Other researchers, for example, Chen, Liu and Li (2000), Harkness and Super (cited in Chen et al., 2000) propose that Baumrind's parenting styles can be interpreted in different ways within different cultural settings because different cultural groups have different perspectives and hence place different emphasis on the same parenting styles. Fagan (2000, p. 92) states, "there is a growing amount of literature that suggests that cultural variations in parenting are adaptations to the social and political environments in which parents raise their children". According to Fagan parenting styles that are viewed as less optimal in one cultural context may be necessary to cope with the realities of another cultural context. According to Chen et al. (2000) socialization goals may vary across cultures because in each culture different qualities and outcomes in children may be valued and emphasized according to the cultural expectations of the particular group. Socialization beliefs and values may in turn "affect parenting styles, practices and strategies which constitute important aspects of social context for child development" (Harkness & Super cited in Chen et al., 2000, p. 402). In China where a child's achievement is closely linked to the reputation of the family, the father's main responsibility as an authority figure is to help children achieve in the academic area, learn social values and develop appropriate behaviour (Ho cited in Chen et al., 2000). Sims and Omaji (1999) found in their study that immigrants of African origin were described as authoritarian in the way they parented their children. These immigrant families believed in spanking even at the risk of being accused of violence, yet they were very warm towards their children. These parents (both fathers and mothers) taught respect to their children through modelling and spending a lot of time with the children, giving them opportunities to observe and participate in respect-giving occasions. This study demonstrates different

perspectives of viewing authoritarian parenting than those described by Baumrind (1966) and Norton (1997).

Gerdes (1996) proposes that parental practices, styles and priorities in childrearing tend to mirror cultural ideologies and beliefs. Levine (cited in Gerdes, 1996) contrasts the prevalent theme of independence in American childrearing ideology, which emphasizes separateness, self-sufficiency and self-confidence with the African concept of social responsibility to which parents' care will later be reciprocated by filial support offered to the parents by the children. In the African context children are expected to take care of their elderly parents as a way of showing appreciation for what parents provided for the children as they grew up.

Cross-cultural developmental researchers Kagit and Cibasi (cited in Stewart, Bond, Ho, Zaman, Dar & Anwar, 2000) emphasize that parental socialization practices relate to attributes that are most valued in a specific culture. In the Western individualistic culture, initiative and self-direction are valued and a child's autonomy is encouraged whereas in traditional (and most non-Western) cultures obedience and conformity are valued while parental control is more accepted and exercised. In the light of this Chao (cited in Stewart et al., 2000) challenges the applicability of Baumrind's (1966) prototypes with non-Western groups. Chao argues that authoritarian control is not a valid construct when applied to Asian families by claiming that control has positive connotations within the Confucian culture. In contrast Caucasian, American culture equates control with domination, explaining that negative outcomes are associated with high parental control. Rohner (cited in Stewart et al., 2000) found that parental strictness correlated positively with parental warmth, suggesting that Asian youth respond positively to parental control unlike Western youth. Darling and Steinberg (cited in Stewart et al., 2000) suggest that dimensions such as warmth and control are more appropriate for examining non-Western cultures than are typologies such as authoritarian or authoritative parenting.

According to Baumrind (1967) and Norton (1997), children of authoritative parents are more self-reliant, self-controlled and content whereas children of authoritarian parents are discontented, withdrawn and distrustful. Children of permissive parents

are least explorative, self-reliant and self-controlled. Baumrind (1968) and Rambusch (cited in Baumrind, 1968, p. 263) support the position that “authoritative control can achieve responsive conformity within a group without loss of individual autonomy or self assertiveness”. Young people, who learn to disagree with their parents on a matter of principle in a warm respectful atmosphere at home, learn how to accept responsibility for their actions and are better able to face the challenges in society.

Dubin and Dubin (1963) point out that as parents impose authority in the first six years of life, children learn to express their social individuality within the confines of what is culturally acceptable. Children find that there are ranges of acceptable behaviour in most cases. They have orderly experiences with available behavioural choices and learn to distinguish between conforming behaviour and deviant behaviour. As children grow up they may choose to engage in deviant behaviour but will do so knowing the consequences of their actions. Children of authoritarian or permissive parents may not have the same opportunity as children of authoritative parents to learn how to make the above choices for themselves and therefore, often may not acquire the knowledge and experience, which could realistically reduce their dependence on their family and the outside world. Children have their parents to model for them the role of rational authority - a role that the children can assume for themselves later in life (Baumrind, 1968).

It is possible to use Baumrind’s parenting prototypes in any cultural setting if they are defined in the light of the cultural expectations of each group of people. From the works of Chen et al. (2000), Fagan (2000), Sims and Omanji (1999) and Stewart et al. (2000) it can be assumed that the communities these researchers represent do not apply permissive parenting strategy because what is presented in their studies is more of a modified (to fit cultural expectations) authoritarian or authoritative parenting style in relation to how Baumrind describes these two styles. And yet there will probably be parents in these communities who use a permissive parenting style even though cultural stipulations do not give room for permissive parenting.

Maccoby and Martin (cited in Holmbeck, Paikoff & Brooks-Gunn, 1995) used factor analysis of parents’ behaviour yielding two dimensions, which demonstrate

demandingness and responsiveness in parents. Maccoby and Martin devised a fourfold scheme, classifying parents as authoritarian-autocratic, indulgent-permissive, authoritative-reciprocal or indifferent-uninvolved, all of which can be summarized as follows:

- **Authoritarian-autocratic parents** are demanding and direct but not responsive. Their style is characterized by power assertion, expecting obedience to rules with no explanation, and expecting no demands from children. There is little parental warmth or verbal communication between these parents and their children. These parents are more likely to use physical punishment than other parents. This description of authoritarian-autocratic parents fits some of the cultural expectations of both parents and children in many parts of Africa. When the researcher grew up, children were “to be seen but not heard”, they did what they were told without asking any questions. It is possible that today’s parents who grew up in this kind of atmosphere practice the same kind of parenting because we are the product of our past, which shapes us to be who we are.
- **Indulgent-permissive parents** are indulgent, non-directive and more responsive than demanding. Permissive parents avoid regulating the behaviour of their children. They impose few rules and make few demands for mature behaviour. They avoid the use of punishment and tend to be tolerant of a wide range of behaviour.
- **Indifferent-uninvolved parents** tend to limit the amount of time they devote to the task of parenting. In so doing they limit the degree to which they are exposed to the inconveniences of parenting. Many important parenting functions such as commitment to enforcing rules in the home, are often missing from these homes.
- **Authoritative-reciprocal parents** are both demanding and responsive. They set and monitor clear standards of child behaviour. They encourage give and take and explain their expectations of mature behaviour and enforce rules. They give a rationale for rules and requirements. Disciplinary methods used are supportive and not punitive. They encourage children to express their own opinion creating psychological

autonomy (Baumrind, 1968; 1991; Steinberg cited in Holmbeck, Paikoff & Brooks-Gun, 1995; and Maccoby & Martin cited in Holmbeck et al., 1995).

Baumrind (1991) using the same factor analysis that Maccoby and Martin (cited in Holmbeck et al. 1995) used defined four prototypes similar to that of Maccoby and Martin namely authoritarian, authoritative, permissive or non-directive and rejecting-neglecting parenting prototypes.

Parents' responsiveness and demandingness appear to have their own set of outcomes according to the above findings. Parents' responsiveness appears to facilitate the development of self-esteem and social skills in their children while parents' demandingness appears to foster impulse control and social responsibility in children (Steinberg cited in Holmbeck et al., 1995). The three young people mentioned in chapter one and others the researcher has counselled, had in general low self-esteem and manifested low social responsibility. Almost all of them reported poor relationships with their fathers and in certain cases fathers were physically and/or verbally abusive. The description of these fathers fits the authoritarian parenting style without the warmth reported by Chen et al. (2000) and Sims and Omaji (1999), or the nurturance reported by Fagan (2000).

Baumrind (1966; 1968) states that the parenting styles she identified through her research namely authoritarian, authoritative and permissive are applicable to both fathers and mothers but other researchers look at fathering differently.

According to Yablonsky (1990 p. 48) a father's style is determined by the dynamic interplay of some or all of the following aspects:

- His enthusiasm for the role
- His own father as a role model
- The images projected by the mass media of how to be a father
- The man's occupational role
- The social, legal, cultural, economic, class and religious orientation of the man

- The man's unique personality
- The man's character and temperament, for example, hyperactive or calm, stressed or non-stressed, methodical or flighty
- The unique and specific socio-economic structure and familial problems of orientation and procreation at different points in time
- The number of other children already in the family

According to Yablonsky (1990) the one most significant influence on a father's parenting style with his sons is the imprint of his own father's style as a model for him. (Yablonsky based his work on fathers and sons but one assumes that men use the same influence of their fathers in the way they parent their daughters). The man's father's parenting style is consciously or unconsciously a factor that is always at work. Many men discipline their sons, counsel them and love them like their own fathers did. The opinion that men treat their sons as they were treated by their own fathers is supported by Daly (1995), Hansen and Bosset, and Parke (cited in Arenstein, 1989). Some of the men in Daly's (1995) study saw the influence of their fathers as being negative especially where the fathers were absent. These men chose not to do what their fathers did because they felt that their fathers had done a poor job of parenting.

Based on Yablonsky (1990) views, it is clear that a man develops his own unique fathering style based on the influence of his own father on him – that is, he will choose to follow or not follow his father's parenting style depending on the relationship he had with his father. As such it is possible to modify his parenting style under specific circumstances that may arise during his parenting life if he understands what needs to be changed and how to change. It is also possible for a man to adjust his fathering style without him being aware that he has made any adjustments. For example, a man whose social status changes either due to a busy job or political involvement may find himself having little time for his family because of social demands on his time. To maintain a balance a father in this situation may need to deliberately work on his priorities in order to have the time he needs with his children.

Arenstein (1989) and Yablonsky (1990) propose four basic types of fathering styles as follows:

- **The compassionate loving – doubling father type** who is generally an emotionally healthy man, capable of placing the needs of his children above his own. He is able to give of himself and he places his children in a central role in his life. He is able to double with his sons, that is, he is able to identify intensely with his children's emotions. He can feel his children's pain and joy. This father's strong emotional feelings ensure a caring attitude, which is beneficial to both father and children. However, when this father overprotects his children from the experience of pain and failure, he hinders the children's feelings and processes of growth. The children may never learn to cope with these normal experiences. Extreme overprotection can lead to providing children with anything they want but later these children will get angry when they do not get what they want from other people.
- **The peer father type** tends to share his problems with his children, especially his sons, placing unnecessary burdens on his children at an early age. This father does not know the proper status of a father because he does not see himself as capable of controlling anyone. He remains a "son type" and attempts to be a "buddy" or a peer to his children. Yablonsky (1990, p. 66) describes this father emotionally as "a perpetual child who has not attained sufficient maturity to become a father". A peer father does not discipline his children and does not generate much respect from his children. According to Yablonsky this father disciplines only when the mother insists on discipline and not because he sees the need.
- **The macho father type** has an exaggerated idea of the meaning of masculinity. His personal masculinity and identity are tied to his performance and relates to his own egocentric needs. Most brutal fathers fall in this category. A macho father seldom permits his sons to become individuals in their own right. The sons of macho fathers may become passive-aggressive because they obey orders but are very hostile underneath.

- **The psychopathic father type** whose dominant personality factor is his lack of compassion. Yablonsky (1990, p. 78) says “it is regrettable when a psychopathic man has a child, because as a father he is incapable of training that child to feel human”. If the children do not feel human they are not going to be able to form acceptable socially relationships.

Stoop (1992) on the other hand presents four fathering roles as follows:

- **The nurturing father** is most important to children between birth and five years of age. He is a father who has a deep-rooted “centeredness” within, that imparts strength to those around him. He models the ability to take another person’s perspective. He also validates a core part of his children’s identity. His children feel secure and valued. Stoop points out that a father who does not go beyond the nurturing role is often incapable of setting clear limits for his children. He is unwilling to confront them when they transgress his limits. His weakness will be an inability to set firm limits for his children and to follow through in enforcing these limits.
- **The lawgiver father** needs to model for his family the ability to approach life with competence and confidence in the way he handles problems and deals with each child fairly and respectfully. He needs to demonstrate quiet strength – solid and strong yet not overpowering. When he fails to do so, he can be a tyrant and retreat into silent detachment or become a harsh authoritarian father who will produce passive fearful children. When he is involved he helps his children develop an inner sense of security and structure. When he balances his law giving with nurturing, he helps his children (through demonstration) to learn how to make decisions about right and wrong for themselves. This father demonstrates his integrity and morality by the way he relates to his children. Stoop (1992, p. 62) states “law giving is only effective when done in the context of love and nurture”. He also points out that when children miss out on the law giving function of a father during the development stage of six to eleven years, they often grow up to have significant problems relating to other authority figures.

- **The warrior/protector father** is most important for children between 12 and 18 years. This father needs to know how to fight for his children in two ways, namely: (a) He needs to stand with them fighting on their side confronting the confusing and frustrating developmental and social changes that threaten to overwhelm both him and them. Such changes include attitudinal, emotional and physical changes that occur during adolescence. (b) He needs to fight against the forces that try to draw his children away from or even place them in opposition to him. These forces are seen as coming from the culture, the surroundings or the children and the father himself and include such things as media influence on the children, the children's choices that may be in opposition to the father's expectation of them or the father's unwillingness to let his relationship with his children evolve giving them room to grow and become men and women in their own right. In order to fight for his children, the father must stay involved with them because his goal is not to win but to help his children sharpen their social skills. If he is over controlling the children become discouraged and if he yields easily, they will not develop inner strength to draw from when he is not around. Part of his task in this role is to prepare his children to battle effectively with life, whether in business or at home. These fathers fail when all their aggressiveness is used in the area of work leaving little time or energy for involvement with their children or when they cannot contain their aggression – hence continue to challenge the children long after the battle is over or when they become abusive. These fathers need to encourage upholding of the aggressive drive that will make the difference between his children's success and failure as adults.
- **The spiritual mentor father** is of primary importance to older children as they move into adulthood. This father as a source of blessings helps draw his children to the future. He helps them dream, for example, of making a genuine difference in the world. He helps his children temper their dreams by facing up to their limitations as he acknowledges his own limitations and acts as a model.

According to Stoop (1992, p. 54) it is normal that one particular role will be dominant in every father's approach to parenting and this particular role will become his

parenting style. “To be a balanced father, however, a man must be able to assess and utilise the others roles as well as his primary role.”

Haris and Salt (1999) observe that there is no single type of father and no single way that fathers perform their roles in the family. They present four different roles that fathers play:

- Traditional bread-winning role, where fathers provide for family members
- The absent father, where fathers are either physically or psychologically unavailable to their children
- The nurturing role, where the father attends to the feelings of his family members
- The care-taking role, where fathers are instrumental in performing tasks required for bringing up children

Haris and Salt (1999) felt that fathers and mothers could fill any of these four roles, even though the last two are mainly seen as mothers’ roles. They further distinguish four father clusters:

- The absent father, who contributes no support, serves no domestic function in the home, lacks power in the matriarchal home and disrupts the family
- The affective father, who accepts and plays with his children, is attentive to their needs and hands down moral values
- The bread-winning father, who works hard outside home, demonstrates positive ways of behaving in the world, interprets the world and connects his family to the outside community
- The instrumental father, who performs care-taking tasks, fulfils useful roles in the family, enforces rules and teaches his children

Dobson (2001) refers to four traditional roles a father fulfils namely:

- The family provider or breadwinner

- The leader of the clan seen as the final arbitrator on issues of substance with the limits of his authority spelled out by the scriptures
- The protector who shields the family from the outside world and teaches them how to cope with it successfully
- The provider of spiritual direction who teaches his family about the fundamentals of faith and who is the interpreter of moral code and sacred rituals

Dobson (2001) goes on to say that a father influences his children through: (i) Modelling, where character is instilled through the demeanour and behaviour of the father as he demonstrates strength and confidence in times of difficulties. He needs to provide security and comfort for every family member. Children may not always remember what the father says but are impacted for life by what he does. Children's identification with the father is seen as a much more efficient method of socialization than the father's lecturing, scolding, punishing or bribing and cajoling. Dobson urges fathers to provide a kind of model on which boys can build their masculine identity as they carry out their traditional roles. (ii) Specific instructions that a father should transmit to his children especially his sons, for example, a father should teach his boys specifically about how girls and women think and operate in order to prepare them for relationships with the opposite gender later in life.

Whereas many of the researchers mentioned above present both positive and negative father types or father characteristics, Lee (cited in Biddulph, 2002, pp. 95- 97) describes four kinds of defective fathers of the past as follows:

- **The man who would be king** – this was a father who came home after a hard days work expecting to be waited on by his wife and children who were to be seen but not heard. He was a father who did not want to be bothered, he only got involved when he had to punish the children.
- **The critical father** – is one who often put others down when he was frustrated or angry. This father was negatively involved and often frightened the children. His personal unresolved issues were turned into an acid, which ate away on the well being of the family.

- **The passive father** – was one who gave up all responsibility to his wife. He was not really there and because he was unable to stand up to what was going on, he retreated into the newspaper, TV, alcohol or his garden. His children grew up hating him for his lack of backbone.
- **The absent father** - this was a man who was often capable and successful in his work but not at home. He was a carrier man who never attended any of his children’s activities. He provided material need, was kind and polite but not useful to his children because he was not available for them.

Biddulph (2003, pp. 14 - 15) describes five fathering essentials that he calls “Basic ingredients for fathering” as follows: (i) **start early**- He encourages fathers to begin getting involved with their children during pregnancy by talking about their hopes for the expected child. He encourages fathers to be present during the birth where possible. (ii) **make time** – Biddulph tells fathers this “If you routinely work a fifty or sixty hour week, including travel time, you just won’t cut as a dad”. He continues to say that fathers need to get home in time to play, laugh, teach and tickle their children. (iii) **be demonstrative** a father who is demonstrative will hug, play, tell stories, sit with his children and tell them often with feeling that they are great, and intelligent. (iv) **lighten up** – Biddulph (2003) tells fathers not to spend time with their children out of guilt or obligation but to just enjoy their children while taking pressure to achieve from them. Fathers are encouraged to avoid over competitiveness while they continually teach their children everything they know. (v) **heavy down** – according to Biddulph (2003) fathers should not leave all the hard work to their partners. Fathers should get involved in the discussions, supervise homework and house work. They should develop firm but calm ways of discipline and insist on respect from children. Heavy down means not being one of the children but being able to listen and take their feelings into account as well as discussing the big picture with ones partner. The aim here is to make parenting a team exercise that tightens the bond between father and mother too.

Lamb (cited in Daly, 1995) proposes that over the last two centuries of American social history fatherhood has moved through four consecutive phases, each having a different motif as follows:

- The moral teacher father during the Puritan times. The father's role was to ensure that children grew up with and acquired an appropriate sense of value. He did so by teaching his children to read and understand the Bible
- The breadwinner father who came into being with centralized industrialization
- The gender role model after World War II when the father was seen as a gender role model for his sons
- The new nurturant father from the 1970s who is identified as an active, nurturant, care-taking father

These changes agree with Arenstein's (1989) opinion that parenting patterns, and therefore fathering styles, are not fixed because they are likely to continue to change as social and work roles for men and women continue to change. The African fathering patterns have changed in the last 60 or more years with the coming of urbanisation where many fathers have to work away from home. There is little research on fathering styles in Africa and this scientific neglect of the father as a primary agent of socialisation gives the impression that despite the position the father is accorded in most African cultures, he remains a peripheral figure in the lives of his children. However, the father, in most societies, is the central authority within the family. African culture backs the father's authority allowing him to wield unlimited control. He is therefore expected to be consulted when there is trouble or major change in his children's lives (Nsamenang, 1989).

Kenyatta (1971) said that the African father, who is the head of the family, is also the supreme ruler of the homestead. According to this view the father is the owner of practically everything, or in other words, he is the keeper and protector of the family property. He is respected and obeyed by all the members of his family group. The father, except when reprimanding or correcting his children, is requested by custom to talk to children in a gentle and polite tone just as the children are expected to talk to him. In some parts of Africa, especially in the rural areas where people are still very traditional, this situation observed 65 years ago still stands.

According to Secunda (1983), in the Western political arena, the imbalance of power

within culture and family reflects a male dominated, patriarchal hierarchy with women at the bottom of the line just as in the African family and work settings. Although this scenario may still be true in some parts of Africa, there are definite changes especially in the urban areas where in some sectors women compete equally for certain jobs with their male counter-parts.

According to Nsamenang (1987) the father plays a crucial role in the process of launching a child into the social world where his kin are very important. The father is expected to filter the beliefs, attitudes and practices of a society in general to instruct the child on what to do to become an acceptable member of the family and society. In order to raise respectful and obedient children the father is expected to be stern and strict. However, children find it difficult to get close to a father who is strict and stern because he tends to frighten them.

This expectation by society for the father to be stern, is one of the things that made some of the students the researcher counselled get into trouble with authority because they did not know how to relate closely to their fathers and hence to other people in positions of authority. This severe traditional upbringing generally used in many parts of Africa, was seen as necessary in order to curb a child's negative tendencies, for example, delinquency. Hake (cited in Nsamenang, 1989, p. 286) says that in Northern Nigeria "if one is too lenient in training a child, he or she would bring disgrace to self and family". This sentiment exists not only in Nigeria or West Africa but also in other parts of Africa. According to Nsamenang (1989) punishment is an aspect of caring and a necessary component of parenthood. According to this view, children are punished when they are "bad" in order to be "good" but they are not praised or rewarded when they are good. Unlike the authoritative parent who uses supportive disciplinary methods the father in the African setting is expected to be punitive in the disciplinary methods he uses. However, as a result of changes in society that are influenced by education, urbanization or individual upbringing, there are fathers who have chosen not to use the traditionally expected form of parenting. Some fathers will use both punishment and negotiation, which could be called a modified authoritative parenting style.

The contemporary African father undergoing changes initiated by the influence of Western values on African philosophies is faced with a need for significant shifts in the role of the father. For example, where the extended family is not able to help in child care, the father needs to be able to help his wife in caring for the children. This father may find that he needs to get emotionally closer to his children than what tradition expects of him. These changes have imposed demanding social and economic priorities on contemporary fathers, especially the urban fathers, who no longer embrace the traditional parenting model nor do they have new fathering models. Daly (1995) and Nsamenang (1989) support the view that fathers spend less time than mothers with their children not because they don't love them but because they are uncertain of how to father. According to Kennedy and Lewis (cited in Daly, 1995) the most obvious candidate for modelling fatherhood roles would be one's own father. However, many fathers felt their own fathers' example served as a negative example. It seems that any generation of fathers see the previous generation as having done a poor job of fathering basing their judgement on current standards of fathering.

According to Biddulph (2003) many men of the post war era proved their love by working not by playing, cuddling, talking or teaching their children, yet these are the things children love. He believes that that generation, which was his father's generation, had few "great dads". Therefore the children of this post war generation of fathers feel strange when it comes to fathering because they have no knowledge of what good fathering looks like. Biddulph, however, believes that the more men get involved with their children, the more they discover their talents at parenting as well as their unique parenting styles.

Canfield (1992) believes that fathering is a daunting and complex work that must be learned like any other skill is learned. He further states that if fathers do not actively father their children someone else will do so. Leenhouts (1977, p. 28) agreeing with Canfield states that fatherhood like everything else worthwhile requires a lot of hard work. Leenhouts describes this work as "a labour of love". For eighteen years he loved and encouraged his son, who had been described as educationally incapable by his grade three teacher, until the son entered college. Canfield (1992, p. 38) presents four types of very active surrogate fathers as follows:

- **The TV as a father** – who says “ I will watch your children for you. I will keep them preoccupied while you do your work and live your life.” He feeds the children with large portions of the wrong food but he is heard of hearing. Therefore when children want to express what they are thinking, feeling and imagining, the TV father will not listen or respond.
- **The public school system as a father**- the schoolteacher says “ I am qualified with degrees in biology and psychology. I should be the one to teach your children about sex.” However the teaching is not in the context of love and marriage
- **The federal government as a father**- uncle Sam says to many dads “ I’ve you covered. I can make sure your kids get enough to eat. I might even foot their college bill. You don’t have to worry about them.” Many children are supported by the government father while their natural father remains out of work, distant or absent
- **The boyfriend as a father**- this surrogate father is not heard directly, but if one did he would say “ look you and I are grown men, aren’t we? And we both know that your daughter, like all daughters, longs for love and acceptance of an older man.” He may offer to give ones daughter the affection she needs from the father, but when he says he loves he may actually his own selfish hormonal drive.

Canfield’s description of a different kind of father is thought provoking and value oriented but is difficult to ignore because no community can say they do not have at least one or more of these substitutes or surrogate fathers in operation. In Africa perhaps the most common is the public school system as a father and in recent years the television as a father in the urban areas mostly.

Nsamenang (1989), whose work is based on West African children, discovered that these children are seemingly growing up with only remote ideas of what a father really is, hence, an increasing incidence of psycho-emotional disturbances attributed to what he terms as faulty or inadequate fathering. What is true of West Africa, could be true for other parts of Africa, however, little supportive research evidence was

found in this regard. The students this researcher counselled with can be included in this increasing group of adolescents who did not experience adequate fathering. Some of them had a father who worked away from home and yet when he returned he demanded total respect. Grace (see chapter one) put it this way, “I live with my mother and know what to expect from her. I don’t know my father because he comes home just for holidays and yet he expects us to satisfy his demands.” Many of these fathers could fit in the category of fathers Haris and Salt (1999) call the **absent father** who may be physically present but emotionally absent, while some are also often physically absent.

Contemporary researchers and writers explain fathering in terms of characteristics a father manifests and employs in the process of interaction with his children such as warmth, coldness, affection, unconditional love, respect or tolerance. Decker (2000), Jakes (1996) and Sharpe (1994) look at fathering from the point of view that fathers prepare their children for life experiences through the acts of loving, providing, preparing, teaching and modelling. Jakes (1996, p. 32) says “a father prepares his children for the challenges of their gender but not of their times. The children have to modify what they were given to fit their times.” Secunda (1993) believes in the importance of a father to his children and proposes that men who were not taught to be loving men by their fathers will not know how to relate to women. The inability to develop this crucial social relationship with women makes these men feel isolated and inadequate.

According to Jakes (1996) a father meets the needs of his children through preparing them to be able to meet the challenges of their gender, showing them affection and providing them with protection and material needs. Decker (2000) emphasizes that a father provides guidance, instills a value system and teaches his children by example. In order to be able to love, provide, prepare, teach and model, a father has to be actively involved in parenting his children. The father who has had a model to follow will father his own children with confidence and the children will be able to confidently interact with those outside the family. Many younger African fathers are choosing to be involved in the care of their children even though they do not have adequate models because their fathers parented them in the traditional way. These

fathers would like their children to have a different experience from their own.

Maccoby (cited in Webster, 1991) is of the opinion that no parent fits a given category of parenting styles all the time. Categories of parenting styles are simply dominant patterns that reliably distinguish certain parents from others. Maccoby (cited in Webster, 1991, p. 64) states, “Children grow physically, intellectually, socially, despite anything that parents do ... and these growth processes impose certain requirements and limitations on parents.” In light of this statement by Maccoby the research investigates parenting styles used when socializing and disciplining adolescents. The parenting strategies used at earlier stages to lay a foundation for life are the same ones used later when parenting adolescents and young people. The question is “Can the same parenting strategies be used in parenting adolescents and young people as those used for children up to 6 years old?” The researcher believes that where the parents are sensitive to the developmental needs of their young people, they can use the principles of the same parenting styles, that is, authoritative, authoritarian and permissive parenting styles but apply them differently to meet the needs of the adolescents and young people involved. These include the need to be heard and understood, the need for some autonomy or independence, the need to be able to make decisions. Baumrind (1991) proposes that in order to become self-regulated, individuated, competent individuals, adolescents require from their parents both freedom to explore and experiment, as well as protection from experiences that are clearly dangerous such as teenage pregnancies or involvement with drugs.

Luria (cited in Baumrind, 1991, p. 60) articulating the social context position with regard to identity formation during adolescence says “who persons are and who they become is defined by the communities they inhabit and the activities in which they engage in”. From this perspective, attachment to families and communities facilitates individual development throughout life including the adolescent period. In the African context, an individual is not just a member of a single family unit but of the extended family, the clan and community as a whole. Parents are a part of their children both genetically and as a result of the socialisation processes. Reality about life issues and an identity that does not include influences from one’s parents or

significant others could be problematic, especially in the African context because we learn about who we are as well as what to expect in life from parents. Parents and/or significant others provide the first level of socialization.

Ryan and Lynch (cited in Baumrind, 1991) have shown that secure attachment to parents fosters a healthy self-confidence during adolescence as it does at earlier developmental stages. Therefore, relinquishing childhood dependence on parents does not necessarily require emotional distancing or denial of parental values by adolescents.

Baumrind (1991) identified six parent types during adolescence as follows:

- **Authoritative parents** are highly demanding (assertive control) and lightly responsive (supportive control). These families are found to be well organized, manifest low problem behaviour among their young people and stress levels among family members are low.
- **Democratic parents** are highly responsive, moderately demanding and not restrictive. They are less conventional, directive and assertive in their control than authoritative parents but are supportive, caring, personally agentic and manifest no problem behaviour or family disorganisation.
- **Directive parents** are restrictive, demanding and not responsive. They value conformity above individuality, are obedience and status-oriented, provide an orderly environment and a clear set of regulations, and closely monitor their children's activities. Directive parents are further divided into two groups:
 - Authoritarian-directive parents who are intrusive.
 - Non-authoritarian-directive parents who are not intrusive.
- **Good-enough parents** reveal medium low to medium high scores on directive or conventional control, assertive control and supportive control. They do not manifest problem behaviour or disorganisation.
- **Non-directive parents** are very non-restrictive and rather responsive. They allow considerable self-regulation and avoid confrontation. They are well organized, agentic and manifest little personal problem behaviour.

- **Unengaged parents** are neither demanding nor responsive. They show low supportive and assertive control. They do not structure or monitor what happens in the family. Mothers are non-agentic and the families are disorganised.

Baumrind (1991) found that authoritative and democratic parents compared to the directive, good-enough, non-directive and unengaged parents are more rational, consistent and considerate. Authoritative and democratic parents are less likely to induce disruptive emotional responses that interfere with their children's ability for complex reasoning and task performance. Because authoritative and democratic parents are more challenging and demanding of high performance, their children are expected to perform well in school especially in mathematics and verbal achievement, and to be motivated to excel. These parents are agentic, that is they have drive for independence, individuality and self-fulfilment and are communal also, that is they desire to be of service and to be included in what is happening in the community and to be corrected (Bakan cited in Baumrind, 1996). Authoritative and democratic parents are likely to be perceived by their adolescents as loving and influential. Their children will therefore be more likely to emulate the general competence, cognitive differentiation and pro-social behaviours these parents display and comply with their parents' standards of conduct. Democratic parents are found to be more lenient during adolescence because of their commitment to democratic ideology and respect for the adolescent's autonomy.

Baumrind (1968) pointed out that by using reasoning authoritative parents teach adolescent children to seek to understand the reasons behind the directives given and eventually to exercise their option either to conform or to deviate and be responsible for and cope with the consequences of their choices. Adolescents who develop the ability to reason acquire a sense of power and are more in control of what is happening. Adolescents are at a developmental stage where they will not merely obey because parents persist in using reason based on the asymmetry of their power. Adolescents are capable of presenting principled objections, therefore when they refuse to do something basing their refusal on their

construction of reality; it is better for parents to ask “why not?” In the ensuing dialogue adolescents may learn that their parents’ directives were legitimate or the parents may see their directives as unjust. The use of reasoning avoids a head on confrontation between parents and their adolescent children, which according to Baumrind undermine parental authority during adolescence. Many parents have confrontations with their children because they think their children are rude but in the mean time the children argue on the basis of their construction of reality. If parents understand this, there would certainly be more understanding between parents and their adolescent children.

According to Baumrind (1968) there are four things that adolescents need in parents:

- Parents who have something to say that is worth listening to.
- Parents who are fully receptive to what adolescents have to say even though being receptive and listening does not mean always achieving conformity.
- Someone to argue with in order to develop his or her own position. The parent can play this role of a friendly adversary. In the traditional African context this point may be difficult to attain because children are expected to do what they are told without questioning especially the father who is seen as having supreme authority over his family (Kenyatta, 1938). However, in the contemporary African family there could be room for healthy discussion and argument.
- A strongly stated thesis to relate their own thinking to. The parent can stand and defend this thesis vigorously, and yet not limit the freedom of the adolescent to express and argue for the antithesis.

These expectations are possible when authoritative parenting is practised either by fathers or mothers or both. However, the expectations are more difficult in situations where authoritarian parenting or its equivalent is in play. What adolescents need is parents and especially fathers who are as firm as a wall against which they can bounce the balls of their ideas on without the wall cracking or collapsing. Adolescents need parents who will give them a chance to discuss their ideas.

According to Darling and Steinberg (1993) a parenting style creates an environment or “emotional” climate that is communicated by other aspects of parenting in addition to demandingness and responsiveness like tone of voice and/or body language. Other behaviours that are important components of parenting tasks that are not part of parenting style regardless of how it is defined should always be taken into account in order to explain differences in adolescents. Some of these behaviours include:

- Power assertiveness and coercive control, which is more associated with authoritarian parenting. Coercion is more common in families with antisocial offspring and occurs when family members reinforce and facilitate each other’s aversive behaviours.
- Strictness, firm control and consistency of discipline are associated with authoritative parenting.
- Monitoring, supervision and involvement, where modification in the degree of supervision is necessary as children become adolescents. The modifications in parenting are likely to facilitate satisfactory emotional and social development when built on a foundation of close relations with parents (Fulghit & Eccles; Hill & Holmbeck cited in Holmbeck et al., 1995).
- Warmth, responsiveness and acceptance, as parents need to continue being sources of support throughout adolescence and the adult years (Maccoby & Martin cited in Holmbeck et al., 1995).
- Connectedness which can be defined in terms of permeability, that is a person’s willingness to be open to the viewpoints of others and individuality which can be operatively defined in terms of self-assertion, that is, having a point of view and being able to communicate it clearly. Separateness on the other hand can be defined as the ability of the individual to distinctly stand out apart from others; knowing and standing for what you know without being swayed by what others think, do or say. Despite a difficult relationship with her father, this researcher learned a measure of separateness from him.

Holmbeck et al. (1995), Pratt et al. (1999) and Webster (1991) support the research findings of Baumrind (1968; 1991) that indicated that authoritative parenting seems to yield the best results during adolescence as it does in all the earlier developmental

stages. Hill and Holmbeck (cited in Holmbeck et al., 1995. p. 92) state “the goal of parenting during the adolescent period is in some sense to produce independent and autonomous offspring, albeit in a context of caring and connected family relationships”. Thus, parental authority and power dominate the ideal parenting to a lesser extent during adolescence. Although looking at parenting from the environmental and emotional climate is based on parenting in general, it can be applicable specifically to fathers’ parenting, both in the younger ages of childhood and middle childhood as well as during adolescence. Little relevant research could be identified that relate to fathering or fathers’ parenting styles during adolescence per se, especially in Africa.

2.3 Parents’ and adolescents’ perspectives: What do parents and adolescents say about parenting?

As researchers seek to understand the influence specific parenting styles have on children and adolescents, the views of the adolescents themselves are important. Often parents and adolescents have totally different views about the same issue. For example, a young man’s view of politics may be very different from his father’s views even though they may support the same political party. This is because they look at the same political party using different sets of lenses (Tenney cited in Cape & Tenney, 2000). In this section a review of parents’ and adolescents’ views of good parents, strong families and parenting styles is presented.

Jakes (1996), Mboya (1995) and Stewart et al. (2000) propose that parents act differently towards their children depending on their gender. For example, Jakes (1996) states that there is a tendency to provide for girls’ needs immediately while boys should wait. The different parental behaviour results in girls showing greater association with their parents than the boys as demonstrated in Mboya’s (1995) study. Girls perceive themselves as being treated with more warmth and being provided with reasonable and consultative parenting more frequently than do boys. Girls’ outcomes regarding self-confidence and internalisation of values tend to be generally more closely associated with perceptions of parental style and behaviour than are boys’ (Stewart et al., 2000). Such differences in perceived parental practices between both

genders can be attributed to different socialization practices for boys and girls (Caldwell & Peplau; Clark-Stewart; Friedman & Koch; Carlson; McClintock & Moskowitz; Spence & Helmreich; Weller, Shilomi, & Zimlot, cited in Mboya, 1995).

The level of perceived parental influence in African families decreases with age, which is similar to observations in other cultures. That is, the younger the adolescents, the closer their association with their parents. As adolescents grow older they become more distant from their parents (Clarke-Stewart & Hevey; 1981, Jacob, 1974; Kagan & Moss, 1962; Russell & Russell cited in Mboya, 1995; and Stewart et al., 2000).

Benson et al. (cited in Shulman & Seiffe-Krenke, 1997) reporting on the consequences of attachment to mothers and fathers on identity development, state that male children's attachment to fathers predicts identity diffusion (that is adolescents have few commitments to any set of beliefs and seem to be directionless and wandering). Female children's attachment on the other hand predicts higher identity foreclosure (that is there is avoidance of autonomous choice with the adolescent accepting and identifying with values and attitudes of parents). Boys' self-worth was most strongly affected by parental control in that the more the fathers were perceived as exerting control, the higher the level of self-efficacy the adolescents reported. Fathers who were more supportive and participatory had daughters with higher self-esteem and self-efficacy.

Significant differences between mothers and adolescents regarding the ability to handle crises and manage conflict, and significant differences between fathers' and adolescents' perceptions about commitment to family, spending time together and effective handling and solving of conflicts and crises were found in the study by Greeff, Marieanna and Le Roux (1999). Adolescents in this study rated family strength significantly lower and were less positive about their families than their parents were. The adolescents further demonstrated the difference in perception about family dynamics by rating family strength significantly lower than their parents do. Whether this perception is an indication of adolescents' exaggerated criticism in general, a need for more family involvement or over optimism of the parents, especially the fathers, was not clear. Erikson (cited in Greeff et al., 1999) concluded

that adolescents usually differ considerably from their parents in their perception of family dynamics and question their parents' actions. What is important, however, is to realize that different views exist which should be taken into consideration by those involved with families of adolescent children.

In a study of Jewish families by Magen (1994), more adolescents than parents stressed that a good parent should be understanding and supportive, allow privacy and autonomy and be democratic and respectful. More parents than adolescents cited the responsibility of a parent as furnishing schooling, buying and providing for the material needs of the children, performing the role of an educator and a source of authority. Children of all ages who are striving for independence expect parents to know how to set limits on their behaviour and how to provide guidance and serve as models for them to imitate as children. In an effort towards autonomy adolescents develop personal lives outside the family and formulate new expectations of what they need from their parents during this stage. They do not perceive parental authority as absolute (Youniss & Smollar cited in Magen, 1994) but they wish to maintain their connection with their parents. Adolescents seek emotional intimacy and express a desire to satisfy their parents' expectations of them and receive parental approval.

It therefore seems clear that adolescents have conflicting needs that can at times confuse parents and distance them from their adolescent children thinking that they are no longer valued. There is scanty research on adolescents' views within the African context. Therefore, there is a need for more research to identify African adolescents' views regarding family dynamics in general and especially in handling and solving conflicts and crises in families.

2.4 The role of faith in fathering

According to Kenyatta (1971) the daily lives of African people both as individuals and groups are influenced at all levels by their belief in the supernatural and this is a fact that is still very true in most parts of Africa today. The implication of this statement is so deeply engraved in the minds and ways of the African people that in

many cultures childlessness is seen as punishment by ancestors for being bad (Nsamenang, 1987). Kenyatta (1971) proposes that one reason for polygamy is a man's fear to be childless or not having a male child because the male child perpetuates the family and kinship. Therefore, a family without a male child is believed to come to an end. The extinction of a kinship group means "cutting off the ancestral spirits from visiting the earth, because there is no one left to communicate with them" (Kenyatta, 1971, p. 8). The soul of a man who has more than one wife and many sons can rest in peace because he knows that after his death his soul will not wander in the wilderness or lose contact with the earth, for there will "always be someone with whom to hold communion" (Kenyatta, 1971, p. 8). The traditional African person will reach to his god through the spirits of his ancestors in the macro-cosmic domain described by Sow (cited in Viljoen, 2002) as the domain where God is encountered, together with the ancestors and spirits of specific dead people. According to Viljoen (2002, p. 80) meeting God through the ancestors and spirits of specific dead people is the order in which "the religious existence and the full humanness of the traditional African is grounded".

Information regarding the religious beliefs and practices of traditional African people was passed from generation to generation through narratives. Who a father was and what was expected of him was told in relationship to the communities' stories of fatherhood, in the same way as narratives associated with images of God were told. Hauerwas (cited in Furrow, 1998, p. 26) describing the importance of communal story-making states that "narrative is not secondary for our knowledge of God; there is no point that can be separated from the story. The narratives through which we learn of God are the point." Narratives are explanations that cannot be supplanted with other accounts. Not only is knowledge of self tied to the stories we hear, but also we know who we truthfully are only when we can locate our stories within God's stories (Hauerwas cited in Furrow, 1998).

The religious experiences of a father are grounded in the religious stories of his community because we identify with the communities who have the same beliefs as we do even though these may not be the communities we were born in. There are different religious beliefs in any given community. Therefore, this researcher is open to

interact with every religious perspective she encounters. However, the emphasis of the literature review is the Christian faith because this is the researcher's conviction and is also what was cited in the literature reviewed. It needs to be stated that, many contemporary Africans have embraced the Christian faith. One interesting phenomenon though is that sometimes when people go through hard situations some lean back on traditional religion even though they confess Christianity. The influence of the traditional religious narratives is therefore still very strong such that there are many contemporary Africans who still adhere closely to these narratives even though their way of thinking and life has changed.

Religion is described as one of the important components of culture that has a major influence on values, beliefs and practices of childrearing (Achebe, 1958; Shor, 1998). Parents from diverse communities differ in terms of what characteristics they value most for their children and these differences in values contribute to differences in parenting behaviour. The religious dimension of parenting cannot be defined simply in terms of a specific set of beliefs, behaviours or values because it is a multi-dimensional and multilevel construct that is manifested in a diversity of ways at both the sociological and psychological levels (Paloutzian & Kirkpatrick cited in Shor, 1998). This dimension of parenting is influenced by the diversity found among different communities for example; parents from different social classes differ in terms of characteristics they value in their children. These differences in the Christian values may contribute to differences in parenting behaviour (Kohn cited in Shor, 1998).

An individual's religious beliefs, as influenced by the community often provide a guide for human interactions in general, and parent-child interactions in particular. Parents often acknowledge the role played by their religious beliefs in helping them in childrearing and in particular in taking disciplinary decisions. Some parents use the wrath of God as a tool for disciplinary control, in that they threaten children that "God will punish" them for their misbehaviour (Nelson & Kroliczak cited in Shor, 1998).

Some researchers for example Danso, Hunsberger and Pratt (1997), Gershoff, Miller, and Holden, (1999) and Simons and Conger (cited in Wilcox, 1998) whose research is based on both parents, have suggested that conservative Protestant parents tend to use

corporal punishment more which is more like the authoritarian parenting style outlined by Baumrind (1971). However, it has also been found that the conservative Protestant parents are more involved with their children and express more parental warmth than parents of other faiths (Baumrind 1971; Larzelee, Simons & Conger cited in Wilcox, 1998). Conservative parents often use corporal punishment as a backup when other disciplinary techniques such as reasoning, have failed. Corporal punishment is seen as spanking at a level that is not threatening. According to Gershoff, Miller and Holden (1999) corporal punishment is a strategy that has been proven effective in securing child compliance and has been used by parents of all religious groups for moral and prudential transgressions. **Moral transgressions** are those that involve harming others, violating the rights of others or negatively affecting the welfare of others while **prudential transgressions** are those that pose danger or threat to a child. Wilcox's (1998) study pointed out that a distinctive parenting style had emerged among conservative Protestant parents that embraced both authoritarian and authoritative typologies outlined by Baumrind (1971). This distinctive parental style stressed on obedience, allowed corporal punishment and emphasised on parental warmth. Other studies have suggested that corporal punishment may not necessarily be associated with negative outcomes as long as the parent-child relationship is characterized by high parental involvement and expression of parental warmth (Baumrind, 1971; Larzelee, Simon, Johnson & Conger cited in Wilcox, 1998).

According to Day (cited in Eayrs, 1989) parents are the first references to which children are exposed and from whom they begin to learn the meaning of definitions of religious gestures and symbols. Children's concept of God develops from the personal relationship they have with their parents. As children observe how their parents respond to God and notice how the parents' perspective of God and the world bring them either joy and fulfilment or lack of satisfaction and guilt, they learn how to relate to God themselves. Children develop their concept of God from home before they are introduced to church or other religious gatherings. This initial image is difficult to reshape (Rizzuto cited in Eayrs, 1989). Children are taught about God in propositional and relational language. If what they are taught propositionally and relationally is in disagreement then their image of God will be distorted (Heinrich cited in Eayrs, 1989). For example, if children are taught that God is a loving, caring

God but the parents do not show love or care for the needs of the children, the children will be unable to relate to God as a loving, caring God and father. Their father from whom they learn how to relate to God has not demonstrated to them the love he tells them is an attribute of God.

If children's experience of learning to submit to authority is associated with excessive parental threats and punishment, withdrawal of love, bribery or coercion, the children will grow up with this image expecting God to behave in the same way as their parents which becomes a distortion of their expectations of God (Eayrs, 1989). Children see parents as symbols of God's authority and therefore they may grow up fearing to be treated by God in the same way their parents treat them. Adolescents, who have never learned to trust their fathers because the fathers are inconsistent in the way they treat them, will find it difficult to form a different picture of God who is trustworthy reliable and consistent all the time. Latshaw (1998) proposes three important characteristics of parents if they want to pass on real faith to their children. These characteristics are **consistency**, which conveys the message that faith is serviceable as a central everyday kind of tradition and not something at the periphery. If children see a difference between what parents say and do, they receive a message that faith is unimportant because there is no consistency. For example, if parents talk to children about the importance of meeting with other people of the same faith and yet they do not attend these meetings, the children will not think it is important to meet with others. Another characteristic parents should show is **honesty**. Parents who cannot be trusted by their children on day-to-day matters will not be able to teach them about the value of their faith. A father needs to allow his children to witness his struggles in trying to live his faith in his daily life so that religion is not seen as something separate from real life. Furthermore **unity** among parents on what they believe in is essential because disunity in faith teaches a child that faith is something that is unsure and arguable. For example, if parents do not believe the same things do not go to places of worship together or have consistent arguments about their faith, their children will not know which parent to follow and may have difficulties embracing the faith of the parents or in some situations the children ignore their parents' faith and embrace something totally different.

In order to generate faith in the next generation, fathers should live as models of faith for their children. According to Latshaw (1998, p. 65) generativity of faith is “fuelled by the fathers’ great love for his children ... not wishing to see his children embroiled in chaos and non-existence without a destiny or meaning...”. Love should be demonstrated in the relationship fathers create with their children. An ideal relationship consists of the aspects of spending enough time with the child and moving down to the developmental level of the child, being able to talk to, think and perceive things from the children’s point of view. This kind of love requires a certain amount of sacrifice on the part of the father (Latshaw, 1998). In the area of generativity of faith Dollahite, Loren, Marks and Olson (1988) present fathering as generative work based on Erikson’s developmental concept. The generative ethic conceptualises fathering as generative work, rather than a social role embedded in a changing social context. ‘Father work’ is a term that Dollahite et al (1998) and Dollahite and Hawkings (cited in Dollahite et al., 1998) use to describe the conduct of generative fathering. This conceptual ethic suggests seven areas of father work that fathers should be involved in as follows:

- Ethical work, which consists of the father’s ability and responsibility to commit and continue to be an enduring presence in the life of his children.
- Stewardship work, which consists of the father’s ability and responsibility to concentrate and create / dedicate material resources to his children and provide possibilities for them to achieve
- Developmental work, which consists of the father’s ability to care and to respond to his children’s needs and wants and to change, that is, to adapt in response to his children’s needs
- Recreational work, which consists of the father’s ability and responsibility to cooperate, that is, to relax and play at the children’s developmental level, and to challenge or extend his children’s skills and coping abilities
- Spiritual work consists of the father’s ability to confirm his beliefs and confidence in his children, and to counsel, guide, teach, advice and inspire them

- Relational work, which consists of the father's ability and responsibility to commune (to share love, thoughts and feelings) with his children, and to comfort them (to express empathy and understanding)
- Mentoring work, which refers to the father's ability to consult, in order to impart words, ideas and stories when asked and to contribute to sustain and support generative work of his children

It is therefore clear that faithful fathering calls for commitment, responsibility, caring and responsiveness in the fathering role (Dollahite et al., 1998). De Jonge (1995) states that many people find themselves unaware of the contemporary consequences of what they experienced as children and embrace the same infliction of pain in the name of "Christian childrearing". "This intergenerational transmission of abusive attitudes and behaviours, therefore, has both a theological and psychological basis" (De Jonge, 1995, p. 33). Miller (cited in De Jonge, 1995) suggests that this abusive cycle can be broken through genuine forgiveness that does not deny anger but faces it head on. Forgiveness is achieved through allowing the self to feel the outrage at the injustice one has suffered, recognising it as such and acknowledging the hate for the persecutor for who he or she is. Facing these issues opens the door for forgiveness. Discovery of the anger, rage and hatred within transforms to anger and pain may lead to genuine understanding and forgiveness. Helping young people go through the process of genuine forgiveness breaks this cycle so that they don't have to repeat it on their children.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed literature regarding parenting styles based on the work of Diana Baumrind as well as other parenting styles proposed by other researchers and writers. Parenting styles in general and fathers' parenting styles in particular are often described differently depending on the perspective of the author or researcher. Some researchers have talked about styles while others talk about 'characteristics of the parent' (father) or the father's (parent's) role in childrearing. The influence of faith in fathering was also reviewed. Research shows that faith has a definite influence on parenting whether it is traditional religion or Christian faith.

In order to better understand the influence of specific parenting styles, the views of both parents and young people on parenting styles, strong families (referring to strengths or resources available in families that enable them to rebound to previous levels of functioning after a crisis or adversity in the family) were reviewed. According to the reviewed literature, adolescents view things differently from their parents and they question their parents' authority from their point of constructive reality because the parents are unable to perceive the situation from the adolescents' point of view. Adolescents want to have parents who are strong so that they can bounce their ideas on them while the parents stand firm on their own principles.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the methodology that will be used in an attempt to begin creating African voices on parenting will be discussed. The chapter covers the following aspects: qualitative research as a method of study; approaches in qualitative method namely, narrative approach, social constructivism and constructivism; method of data collection; sample information; theory of choice and method of data analysis namely thematic analysis and narrative analysis.

The researcher chose to use the qualitative research approach because she felt that this method was going to capture the details of multiple voices and perspectives that may not be captured through a quantitative approach. As the researcher listens to the stories each participating father constructs on his parenting strategies, she intends to arrive at some truth that makes a difference in the African setting and begin to open new understanding of parenting strategies used by African fathers. Listening to the young people (children of the fathers participating in the research), the researcher aims to arrive at some truth about the relationship the young people have with their fathers. This truth will be constructed through the lenses of the participating fathers and their children.

The use of a qualitative methodology will enable the researcher to increase her knowledge about fathering in Africa that can be promoted within the care giving community and society in general. Qualitative researchers recognize that there may be aspects of a phenomenon that might be missed when we restrict people to specific choice answers as in quantitative research (Banyard & Miller, 1998). Qualitative methods use among other tools, in-depth interviews (which this researcher will be using) which promote the researcher's ability to capture the perspective of the participant. The ability to capture and understand the points of view of different research participants will enlist new voices to fathering strategies in Africa. These

new voices will assist in the development of theories on parenting strategies used by African fathers (McLeod, 2001).

Qualitative research is the approach this researcher felt would be a realistic alternative that is going to work for her and adequately address the problem of 'How parenting strategies used by African fathers influence their young people's ability to form social relationships.'

3.2 Qualitative research approach

The word **qualitative** implies an emphasis on the qualities of entities and on processes and meanings that are not experientially examined or measured in terms of quantity, amount, intensity or frequency. It implies that there are meanings or processes involved in research that are not quantitative in nature and trying to quantify these processes and meaning tends to distort the meaning they present in any given situation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

Qualitative inquiry is built on a philosophical stance that assures one that at least in human affairs, reality is constructed. Therefore, there are alternative ways of understanding reality that reflect the backgrounds and interests of the research participants. Qualitative research is pluralistic in nature and as such it intends to capture the different voices of participants without casting the participants into specific moulds that could be limiting (McLeod, 2001). According to McLeod the primary aim of qualitative research is to develop an understanding of how each research participant's world is constructed. We construct the world through language, that is, stories and conversation, through actions, through systems of meaning, through memory and the rituals that we engage in as well as through institutions that have been created such as families, clans, schools, and religious institutions.

According to Gillet (1995) the philosophical foundation of qualitative research is built on the work of philosopher Wittgenstein, who drew attention to the fact that we understand the behaviour of an individual when we grasp the meanings that inform that person's activity. Gillet explains that Wittgenstein came to realise that

understanding the phenomenon of meaning or intentionality in general could only be approached by observing what people actually do. Mental activity can be defined as a range of moves or techniques viewed against a background of human activity and governed by informed rules. These rules become more evident when we consider how people correctly or incorrectly use words and are discerned and explained when they are located in the language of the people who follow the specific rules.

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000) qualitative research stresses the socially constructed nature of reality, in other words the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied as the situational constraints that shape the inquiry. Qualitative research also emphasises the value-laden nature of inquiry, seeking answers to questions that put emphasis on how social experience is created and given meaning.

Qualitative methods are powerful sets of tools for understanding the “why” of human behaviour, that is, understanding and explaining the meaning that people make of their experiences that lead to specific behaviours. Qualitative methods focus on capturing the diversity of respondents’ experiences and paying attention to the context of the research event in order to document the voices of the respondents (Baynard & Miller, 1998).

Qualitative research provides extensive, rich descriptions of an event allowing the researcher to capture the details of multiple voices and perspectives providing both diversity and specificity of human experience (Baynard & Miller, 1998). Angrosin (cited in Baynard & Miller, 1998) states that the interviewer is as much an author of the resulting text as the person whose life and experiences are the topic of discussion because he or she provides socially recognisable cues to which the research participants respond to as they tell their life stories. Qualitative research gives research participants a “voice” which allows their experiences and life stories to be documented. In documenting these voices researchers and professionals are able to construct the history of their world that was presented by their research participants or clients (McLeod, 2001). To be able to get the rich description of qualitative research, the research is exploratory and intensive, hence time consuming and expensive,

particularly because high-level expertise is called for in both the execution and evaluative stage of the research. Because of this, researchers prefer to work with small numbers of research participants.

In quantitative research, large numbers of people are interviewed on the basis of some carefully constructed sample where the data is computed on some arithmetical basis. In qualitative research, the flexibility of a less structured interview, properly used, helps to bring out the direction and strength of a participant's responses as well as what is most important within the social context of his or her beliefs, feelings and behaviour (Sampson, 1996). The tools or methods used in qualitative research include case studies, focus groups, life histories, in-depth interviews, observations and analysis of a variety of texts (Denzin & Lincoln cited in Baynard & Miller 1998). The qualitative researcher often uses more than one method, for example, interviews and observation to promote his or her ability to capture the perspective of the research participant.

The goal in carrying out qualitative research is to search for knowledge because everyday common sense knowledge in the world we live in is often far from coherent and consistent. Therefore, the pursuit is for better or more insightful than ordinary everyday understanding. This insight and understanding is what justifies the status held by the qualitative researcher (Mcleod, 2001).

According to Becvar and Becvar (2000) the spirit of qualitative research suggests that the questions of interest should dictate the design rather than being limited to only those questions that fit accepted research protocol. It is possible for the design to change during the research depending on the answers the research participant offers. According to Morse (1994) conducting qualitative research is like walking into the wilderness where some trails are well trodden while others are hardly used. The researcher's map that helps him or her to know which trail to follow is based on what the participants suggest. Morse (1994, p. 48) says

“... I saw myself as a catalyst to help people put their thoughts in words. As a consequence, I felt the obligation to go with the paths they suggested even when these differed from one’s I wished to explore.”

The above statement suggests that the choice of how the interview data collection and later the analysis is done is dictated by the researcher’s interaction with the research participants and by their perception of their concerns. To choose a different path the researcher is symbolically saying the participant’s reality may be invalid.

Becvar and Becvar (2000) suggest that data collection and interpretation are seen as valid only with regard to the unique condition of a particular project at a particular time and space. This means that under different circumstances with different participants the data and interpretations may be different because participants view issues from different perspectives using different lenses.

Qualitative research is multi-method in focus, involving an interpretative, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings research participants bring to them. The use of multi-methods or triangulation is what helps the researcher to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question (Aleksander, 1996, Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

Bogdan and Biklen (1992) propose five characteristics of qualitative research as follows:

- Qualitative research has the natural setting as the direct source of data and the researcher as the key instrument. Qualitative researchers go to the particular settings because they are concerned with content. These researchers feel that action can best be understood when it is observed in the setting in which it occurs. Significance is maintained through observing the act, word or gesture in its natural context. Qualitative researchers believe that human behaviour is significantly influenced by

the setting in which it occurs, therefore whenever possible they go to the locations where the people are.

- Qualitative research is descriptive. Data collected is in the form of words or pictures rather than numbers. The written result of the research contains quotations from the collected data to illustrate and substantiate the presentation. Qualitative researchers try to analyse data with all their richness as closely as possible to the form in which they were recorded or transcribed. The qualitative approach demands that the world be approached with the assumption that nothing is trivial, that everything has the potential of being a clue that might unlock a more comprehensive understanding of what is being studied.
- Qualitative research is concerned with processes rather than simply with outcome or products. Qualitative strategies suggest how the expectations are translated into daily activities, procedures and interactions.
- Qualitative research data is analysed inductively. Qualitative researchers do not search for data or evidence to prove or disprove hypothesis they hold before entering the study, instead they built abstractions from particulars that have been gathered and grouped together. Theory developed this way emerges from the way pieces of collected evidence are interconnected. This kind of theory is called 'grounded theory' (Glasser & Strauss cited in Bogdan & Biklen, 1992).
- 'Meaning' is of essential concern with regard to the qualitative approach. Qualitative researchers are interested in the way different people make sense out of their lives. These researchers focus on questions like: "What assumptions do people make about their lives? What do they take for granted?" By learning the perspectives of the participants, qualitative researchers illuminate the inner dynamics of situations. These dynamics are often invisible to the outsider. Qualitative researchers aim at capturing research participants' perspectives accurately.

3.3. Comparison between qualitative research approach and quantitative research approach

The quantitative research approach, often referred to as the scientific method, has traditionally been considered as the conventional mode of inquiry in both research and evaluation. Mugenda and Mugenda, (1999) state that the quantitative approach follows several logical and distinct steps in inquiry namely:

- Identifying and stating a research problem within a theoretical framework.
- Formulation of the objectives of the study.
- Formulation of hypothesis from theoretical propositions;
- Definition and operationalisation of the variable of the study and specification of procedures that will be used in data collection.
- Collection of data from a selected or defined population;
- Testing the hypothesis using statistical tests.
- Making appropriate conclusions, inferences and generalisations to the population based on the outcomes of statistical tests.

According to Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) the quantitative research approach has been used for a longer period than the qualitative approach hence many people think it is the only legitimate mode of inquiry. Due to this belief, funding agencies and decision makers prefer the quantitative research approach that yields numbers, charts and tables that are more convincing than the descriptive qualitative research approach.

The similarities and differences between qualitative and quantitative research approaches as presented by different researchers are highlighted below. Becvar and Becvar (2000), Dzurec and Abraham (1993) and Rich and Ginsburg (1999) have identified similarities of both approaches as follows:

- Both approaches seek commonalities across human experience
- Both share an investigative approach that poses a question, collects and analyses data and presents analysis

- Scientific rigor and integrity of theoretical framework are critical to researchers from both quantitative and qualitative approaches. Researchers attempt to construct explanatory arguments from their data, that is, to argue about why particular outcomes have occurred.

3.4 Theory of choice: Grounded theory

A theory is a formal framework that a researcher uses to facilitate better understanding of the phenomenon being investigated. In qualitative research the theory is grounded in the data. Grounded theory is a method for analysing data rather than a technique for data collection (McLeod, 2001). According to Glasser and Strauss (cited in Mcleod, 2001) a grounded theory approach can be used with different kinds of data encompassing both qualitative and quantitative data. The key skill of a good grounded theory researcher is being able to be sensitive to the potential multiple meanings of the presented data. To be able to achieve satisfactory grounded theory analysis, the researcher has to immerse himself or herself in the data and be flexible at the same time. The researcher should be able to reflect on his or her own biases and assumptions about the phenomenon of study.

In the grounded theory method, the conceptualisation of theory is derived from data rather than first conceptualising the theory and then testing it with data. The application of the method involves a thorough understanding of the meaning of the texts under scrutiny whatever the format of the text namely, transcription of interviews, notes of participant observation of social conduct or videotapes. Glasser and Strauss (cited in Rennie, 2000) maintain that grounded theory is relative to the perspective(s) of the person(s) producing it. Therefore different researchers working with the same information may derive alternate theories from it. This means that each researcher's theory may be different even though it is accountable to the specific information. Each researcher's intent in data analysis is to derive understanding of the meaning of the text that is able to stand on its own (Rennie, 2000). According to Strauss and Corbin (cited in Neuman, 2001) grounded theory is a qualitative research method that uses a systematic set of procedures to develop inductively derived theory

about a phenomenon. The purpose is to build a theory that is faithful to the evidence. In the use of this theory, a researcher compares unlike phenomena with a view of working towards identifying similarities. The researcher sees micro-level events as the foundation for a more macro-level explanation, for example, listening and interpreting what a few fathers say about their fathering strategies. The results become the foundation for explaining the effects of fathering in the African setting in general (Rennie, 2000).

Grounded theorists seek to understand people's experiences in as rigorous and detailed a manner as possible. They want to identify categories and concepts into substantive and formal theories. To be able to develop these theories, researchers use grounded theory, which is an interactive process where the researcher becomes more and more grounded in the data in order to discover increasingly richer concepts of how the phenomenon being studied really works (Ryan & Russell, 2000). According to Skodol and Hutchison (2001) grounded theory seeks to discover basic social psychological problems and processes assumed to be inherent to various groups. A researcher can build a theory around the social process that explains the behavioural variation in a given situation. Grounded theory's quest for the study of basic social processes fosters the identification of connections between events. The social world is always in the process, and the lives of the research participants shift and change as their circumstances and they themselves change (Charmaz, 2000). This researcher will find out whether the fathers in the research sample may have changed their fathering strategies as a result of the changing circumstances they have encountered in the process of parenting, for example, change imposed by the father's work.

According to Charmaz (2000) the strengths of grounded theory methods lie in: (i) strategies that guide the researcher step by step through an analytic process; (ii) the self-correcting nature of the data collection process; (iii) the method's inherent bent towards theory and simultaneous turning away from a contextual description and (iv) the emphasis of comparative methods. Like other qualitative methods, grounded theory research is an emergent process rather than the product of a single research problem logically and deductively sequenced into a study. From the analysis, the researcher tells a story about people, social processes and situations. The researcher

composes the story that reflects both the experiences of the researcher and the research participants because in interpreting the reality of the phenomenon of study, the researcher has to understand both his or her own experience and the participants' experience as they tell it.

3.5 Method of data collection

The method of data collection to be used in this research is interviewing. Bogdan and Biklen (1992, p. 96) define an interview as “a purposeful conversation usually between two or more people”. Sometimes this conversation is directed by one person (the researcher) in order to get information from the other (the research participant) (Morgan cited in Bogdan & Biklen, 1992).

According to Bogdan and Biklen (1992) interviewing in qualitative research is used in two ways, that is, as a dominant strategy for data collection or in conjunction with participant observation or other techniques. Interviewing is used to gather descriptive data in the research participant's own words so that the researcher can develop understanding in how the participant interprets situations and phenomena in his or her world.

Interviews can take many forms and can vary in length, that is, in the number of questions to be asked and in the time taken for each interview. It may contain a few questions or an in-depth probing experience that may last for an hour or more. The length of the interview is dictated by the basic research questions (Berg, 2001). Length is a relative concept when conducting interviews because some topics and participants will produce long interviews while others will create short interviews. Interviews may also vary in the structure of the answers and interpersonal relationship between the researcher and the participant (Hayes, 2000). Different types of interviews are briefly discussed below.

Open structured or unstructured interviews are used to encourage participants to give open-ended accounts of their ideas and opinions. Open structured interviews provide richer quality of information, however, the participants need to have freedom

to organise their answers more freely (Hayes, 2000). Open structured interviews may often come across as conversations between the researcher and the participants (Hayes, 2000) and lead to greater richness in the data obtained (Howard, 1985). It seems that the essence of unstructured interviewing is the establishing of human-to-human relations and identification (which ever way this is done) with the respondent and the desire to understand rather than to explain (Fontana & Fray, 2000).

In structured interviewing the researcher asks all research participants the same series of pre-established questions that have a limited set of responses. This interview provides little room for variation in responses. The responses are recorded according to a pre-determined coding scheme so as to reduce his or her influence on the participant's answers (Fontana & Fray 2000). According to Converse and Schuman (cited in Fontana & Fray, 2000) the researcher is expected to maintain a style of interested listening that encourages the participants' participation without evaluating the responses. This kind of interview often elicits rational responses but may inadequately assess emotional dimensions of the participants.

As a first step forward, researchers using interview as a method of data collection determine the nature of their investigations and the objectives of their research. This determination provides the researcher with a starting point from which to begin developing a schedule of questions as well as choosing the type of interview to be used (Berg, 2001). The interview is seen as an especially effective method of collecting data particularly when researchers are interested in understanding the perception of the participants or learning how the participants come to attach certain meaning to events (Taylor & Bogdan cited in Berg, 2001). Interviewing skills involve a high order combination of observation, empathetic sensitivity and intellectual ability to judge what the interviewee says (Gordon cited in Fontana & Fray, 2000).

In semi-structured interviews also referred to as semi-standardised interviews, the whole situation is carefully structured and the major areas of the inquiry are mapped out but the participants are given freedom to express their definition of the situations that are presented to them. The researcher has the freedom to explore ideas, reasons and motives or to probe further into directions that were not anticipated as prompted

by the participant's story (Sampson, 1996). Although the participant is free to express his or her line of thought, the researcher directs the interview towards a definite type of information he or she is interested in so as to achieve the desired end. The researcher can use the predetermined questions in a systematic consistent order and then follow with other questions to probe for answers (Berg, 2001).

This researcher will use semi-structured interviews and observations for data collection. There are three basic questions for the participating fathers and three for the participating young people in the intended interviews. These questions will give the broad direction but the probe questions depend on what each participant presents in his or her story. The fathers will answer the first three questions while the young people will answer the last three. These questions are as follows:

- How would you describe your fathering strategy for both your son and daughter?
- What factors influence your fathering strategy?
- How would you describe your relationship with your son and/or daughter?
- How would you describe your relationship with your father?
- How has your relationship with your father influenced your life and your relationship with others outside your home?
- What challenges have you faced in your relationship with your child or father?
How have you resolved these challenges?

3.6 Sample group

The selection of the sample group has been done randomly with the following criteria in mind:

- Fathers selected have to be fairly fluent in spoken English as a medium of communication to avoid the loss of the meaning of their story through interpreters. According to Giorgi (cited in Ashworth & Giorgi, 1996) language influences how reality is perceived.

- Every father has children, at least a boy and a girl in the age group of 14-25 years.
- In order to create more voices each father participant comes from a different ethnic grouping or nationality. Different nationalities are included in the sample.
- Participants from different religious faiths are included because the researcher aims to discover if and how a father's faith influences his parenting strategy.
- Participants are drawn from different occupations to find out if a man's occupation affects his parenting strategy.
- A son and a daughter of each participating father in the stated age group will be interviewed for the purpose of determining how parenting strategies influence the development of social relationships.

In all, six fathers were selected to participate in this study. Together with their two children each, the sample should consist of eighteen participants.

3.7 Narrative approach, constructivism and social constructivism

The **narrative approach**, which will be used in this study, enhances the understanding of human experiences from the point of view of a person in a given social context. According to Mancusso (cited in McLeod, 1996, p. 1780) "people live within cultures and construct their identities from the symbols or meanings on offer within their cultures". The self is constructed through life by drawing on the stories culturally accessible to the person. The accessible stories or narratives represent the basic human way of knowing or understanding the structure of the involved symbols or meanings within the given culture. The understanding develops distinctive features when contextualised, renationalised and moralised (McLeod, 1996). Narratives are powerful means of communication to the one told and the one telling. According to Clark and Standard (1997) the narrative theory sees people as attempting to organise their experiences in the forms of stories they regard as true even though there are no essential truths. Constructing or structuring narratives is very selective because we remove from our personal stories all those aspects that are not congruent with the individual's social, cultural and family story.

Narratives are dynamic and not static because they are set within culture and culture is dynamic. Because life is a growth towards the future, it involves retelling stories and attempts to relive stories. At any point of life, we are engaged in living, reliving, telling and retelling our stories at the same time (Connell & Cladinin, 1990). This process explains why narratives are dynamic because as we live, we change and hence our stories change. The stories of those around us influence us to retell our own stories while encounters with experiences that are incongruent with our stories, make us change the original stories. Polkeinghome (cited in Callahan & Elliot, 1996, p. 92) describes human beings as “immersed in narrative,” the human ability of “making meaning.” He further urges that narratives are the primary form by which experience is made meaningful. Bruner (cited in Callahan & Elliot, 1996) a noted cognitive psychologist, asserts that the narrative mode is usually the preferred mode of expression while Sabin (cited in Callahan & Elliot, 1996, p. 93) states “human beings think, perceive, imagine and make moral choices according to narrative structure”. Narratives have been described as vehicles for depicting the self as intelligible (Gergen & Gergen cited in Callahan & Elliot, 1996).

Corradi (cited in Krummer-Nevo, 1998) advocated that a narrative science refers to people’s verbal accounts or specific aspects of their lives. Narrative is both about living and part of living. Life and narrative are inextricably connected because life draws meaning from the story it tells (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). The narrative approach in this study is used to tell stories about fathering strategies used by African fathers, what influences these fathers to father the way they do as well as the influence these fathering strategies have on young people. According to Krummer-Nevo (1998) a narrative constitutes a central component of human experience. We are not able to understand a person’s life without constructing it from a narrative. To understand the narrative we have to know something of the reality from which it was derived. Reality and narrative are intertwined to such an extent that what is not integrated in the narrative is what was not experienced (Crites, cited in Krummer-Nevo, 1998). Formulating a narrative is a selective process where events that are not congruent with an individual’s social, cultural and familial story are frequently removed from the

story. Self-identity is also constructed and reconstructed by social narratives told to individuals and communities (Anderson, cited in Clark & Standard, 1997).

According to Clarke and Standard (1997) social constructivism emerged from the post modern epistemology and expanded on post modernism by suggesting that the researcher constructs reality as he/she sees it. The researcher also views reality through the influence of culture, gender and social class. Our ideas about the world develop through conversation and interaction with others. With this view in mind, it is hoped that the conversations and interactions with the research participants in this study will enable them to construct their fathering stories.

McLeod (2001, p. 105) presents Riessman's principles of the narrative approach as follows:

An interview schedule is used that encourages informants to tell their stories.

- Interview data is collected from a number of participants to improve one's understanding of different experiences.
- A few key informants are selected whose stories can be viewed as 'typical' of broader themes in the data.
- Interview material from these key participants is subjected to detailed transcriptions and close reading.
- Exemplar narratives from these interviews are selected for use in a paper or report.
- The paper or report is written around the intact narrative text, which is produced in full.
- The goal of the analysis is to assist the reader to understand the meaning of the informant's experience.

The researcher will listen to the narratives of the fathers and their children in an attempt to understand how these narratives influence the relationships fathers have with their children as well as the relationships the young people have with members of the society around them. The voices of the fathers and their children presented in the study could represent many in Africa who have no voice to represent them at this

point in time. Allowing the participants to tell their story in “their own way” no matter how difficult it is, gives them a sense of equality with the researcher (Marcia & Strayer, 1997, p. 347).

According to Speed (1991) constructivism is the view that what we know is determined by our ideas, so that our view of reality is just that: a view constructed in our heads because we can never know reality. Our ideas determine what we know. Berger and Luckman (cited in Speed, 1991) argue that we socially construct reality through the use of shared and agreed meanings communicated through language. In essence, what is been said is that our beliefs of the world are social interventions and as such what we know is determined by the ideas of others.

From a constructivist perspective, what is observed in living systems is constructed partly by the researcher and partly by the research participant (Von Glasersfield cited in Fourie, 1994). This construction is done through language. The researcher constructs what is observed internally to himself or herself and externally through communication with others (Efran, Lukens & Lukens cited in Fourie, 1994). Internally, the researcher makes distinctions between what is observed and what is known (Kenny cited in Fourie, 1994) using personal constructs, for example meaning (Feixas cited in Fourie, 1994). We know an object by distinguishing it from other known objects. The ideas of all known objects are meanings and that is language (Loos & Epstein, cited in Fourie, 1994).

The constructivist perspective is based on the assumptions that in the process of perceiving and describing an experience to ourselves or to others, we construct both our personal knowledge base about reality as well as reality itself (Becvar & Becvar 2000). Our discernment of how things are is a function of our beliefs. From this perspective we cannot observe and know the truth about people in an objective way. This means that all we know are our constructions of people or other phenomenon around us (Becvar & Becvar, 2000).

According to Von Glaserfeld (cited in Becvar & Becvar, 2001, p. 9) our focus is “on how individuals, cognitions, as active phenomena that are structurally determined by

the nervous system, are continuously producing ... one's adaptations with the environment". We only know our constructions of others and the world. The assumption inherent in this approach is that human systems are linguistic systems and therefore language is the instrument through which meaning of the constructed narratives and/or problems are expressed. This change in meaning can occur through behaviour, experience, and nonverbal communication or through a conversation (Coale, 1993).

Knowledge is a complex construction of realities as it involves a process of assimilation of previous structures (Piaget cited in Chiari & Nuzzo, 1996). We do not have to destroy previous structures but rather adapt them to new situations. This view implies that knowledge development is a recursive process founded on the individual's previous knowledge (Chiari & Nuzzo, 1996). Knowledge is built to "fit" the context rather than universal "truths" (Fourie, 1994). Chiari and Nuzzo (1996, p. 170) state "if we say something fits, we have in mind a different relationship; a key fits if it opens the lock. The fit describes the capacity of the key, not of the lock...". In this sense, there is a need for interaction between previous and present knowledge about any given phenomenon or situation.

According to Charmaz (2000) constructing constructivism means seeking meanings of both the participants and the researcher. Seeking participants' meanings involves going beyond the surface or presumed meanings into looking at views, values, acts and facts presented by the participants. We look for beliefs and ideologies as well as situations and structures surrounding the participants. As we study all these aspects we clarify rather than challenge the participants view of reality. A constructivist approach calls for a relationship between researcher and the participants that allows them to tell their stories as they choose to. Researchers need to listen to the participants' stories with openness to the feelings and experiences of the participants.

The kind of experiences we have shape our meaning, which further shapes our experience (Coale, 1992). The experiences a father went through will shape the meaning of his fathering for him as he develops a relationship with his own children. This is because the meanings we construct are interdependent with what is in the

world around us. The world presents us with new material out of which meaning evolves and recursively shapes our experiences. For example, if we live in a region that is always hot, we have more words to describe hot weather than cold weather, which we have little experience of. Conceptions of the process of understanding phenomenon or issues, therefore, differ from one culture to another (Healas & Locks, cited in Gergen, 1985).

Social constructivism rests on ontological assumptions that what can be known is constructed by people as they interact within a social context. Social constructivistic thinking assumes that reality exists within the conversation between knower and known; a relationship that is characterised by interdependence, reciprocity and mutuality (Jankowski, Clarke & Ivey 2000).

According to Hoffman (1990) social constructionists place emphasis on social interpretation and the inter-subjective influence of language, family and culture. Social construction theory holds that our beliefs about the world are social inventions where development of knowledge is a social phenomenon and perception evolves only through communication. According to social construction theory, meanings evolve continuously from interactions between people. These meanings are part of a general course of continuously changing stories (Schwandt, 2000). Human beings construct knowledge by inventing concept models or schemas that help them make sense of their experience. We continuously test and modify our constructions in light of new experiences encountered. We construct our interpretations against a background of shared understandings, practices and language. This research will seek to find out how the experiences of the participating fathers have changed their parenting strategies as a result of new experiences encountered, for example through their education, work experience or religious beliefs.

Social constructionist inquiry is concerned with explaining the process by which people begin to describe, explain or account for the world they live in. It attempts to fit together common forms of understanding in the present, in the past (taking into account a historical perspective of this understanding) and in the future (Gergen, 1985). Since understanding is the result of an active-cooperative activity of persons

involved in a relationship, inquiry into the historical and cultural basis of various forms of world construction is important. It is expected that historical perspectives and culture will influence the parenting strategies of the fathers participating in this research. According to Fish (cited in Schwandt, 2000) reality is the result of social processes accepted as normal in a specific context, while knowledge claims are intelligible and debatable only within particular contexts and communities. Guba and Lincoln (cited in Schwandt, 2000) propose that the researcher (observer) should not be removed from the observed in the process of inquiring into constructions. This means that the findings of an inquiry are creations or constructions of the particular inquiry process. These constructions are in the mind of the individuals who construct them.

As the researcher uses a narrative approach in this study she will together with the research participants, construct life stories that will explore and explain the influences that enable the participating fathers to use the parenting strategies they have used. The researcher and the research participants will keep in mind the fact that what can be known is constructed as people interact within a social context. The experiences of the past influence the parenting strategies used by the participating fathers whereas the experiences of the young people influence the relationship they have with their fathers and those in the society around them.

3.8 Data analysis

Qualitative data analysis is less abstract than statistical analysis. It delves deep into the raw data to draw out results. Qualitative analysis does not draw data from a large, well-established body of knowledge of statistics or mathematics. Data is in the form of words that are context-based and have more than one meaning (Neuman, 2000). According to Collins (cited in Neuman, 2000, p. 419) "...words are a mode of expression with greater open-endedness, more capacity for connecting various realms of argument and experience and more capacity for reaching intellectual audiences". Qualitative analysis is a search for meaning of how people view specific phenomena, situations or events, rather than the determination of cause and effects. Therefore, the questions developed to facilitate the process of searching for meaning need to be more

open-ended than the questions used in quantitative research. The process of data analysis stimulates the researcher to critically think about all that he or she sees and hears (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). The researcher therefore needs to maintain written record of his or her own thoughts and feelings, mental connections, recurring events and circumstances that are related to the phenomenon of study.

Adequacy in qualitative analysis is measured by the magnitude of data collected rather than by the number of subjects involved as in quantitative analysis. When sufficient data is collected to provide a saturation of information, then adequacy is attained (Morse cited in Neuman, 2000). According to McLeod (2001) analytic procedures do not in themselves generate themes or categories. Meanings emerge as the researcher actively engages himself or herself with the text of study as well as from his or her own drive to know or understand the text and its related phenomena. Methods of analysis, for example, thematic analysis, do provide a structure and a framework that ensure that all aspects of the data are given due weight. Following set analytical procedures enables the researcher to examine the text closely and avoid premature closure of the search. Furthermore, findings within the text are found only by the researcher who is actively searching for them. In data analysis, the researcher is constructing new understanding from his or her interaction with a text (Jankowski, Clark & Ivey, 2000). This understanding is influenced by the researchers' values, assumptions and beliefs about the self, the participants, the phenomena and the overall investigative process. The researcher's interaction with the data and his or her influence of the whole investigative process is what Gadameis (cited in Jankowski et al. 2000) would call "fusion of horizons". Narrative and thematic approaches to data analysis are the preferred approaches in this study.

Narrative analysis starts from a specific point of the participant's story and works through it in order to reconstruct an event in the story (Flick, 1998). It aims at reconstructing the narrator's subjective interpretations of his or her life because a person's life history is a social construction shaped by cultural narratives and life stories (Brunner cited in Flick, 1998). The goals of analysing narrative data is to disclose the narrative process while the key idea in narrative analysis is that people basically make sense of and communicate their experiences to others in the form of

stories (McLeod, (2001). The central idea in narrative analysis then, is that research participants' stories are treated as the primary source of data. McLeod (2001) states that the development of a distinctively narrative approach to the analysis of interview data can be attributed to the work of Mishler and Reissman. According to Mishler (cited in McLeod, 2001) often in qualitative interviews, the most useful and interesting material is generated when research participants tell stories about specific episodes in their lives that are relevant to the inquiry theme.

Narrative analysis, therefore, combines a discursive emphasis on the construction of meaning through talk and language as well as the awareness of the self that strives to achieve meaning and fulfilment in life. Since the qualitative researcher is continually engaged in making sense and finding meaning from the data, the process of analysis and interpretation of the given material takes place all the time (McLeod, 2001). The aim of this researcher and the participants' narratives is to explore African fathering strategies that promote formation of relationships between fathers and their children hence enabling the young people to establish healthy social relationships.

The following stages are involved in analysing data:

- Stage 1: Telling – this stage involves the interviewing of research participants. From the content of the interview the researcher and the participant aim to develop meaning.
- Stage 2: Transcription - the recorded interviews are roughly transcribed and retranscribed. In this stage generating themes and categories and establishing the relationship of themes and categories is done.
- Stage 3: Analysing – themes, categories and patterns identified in stage two are evaluated to determine their adequacy, credibility and usefulness. Usefulness of information is evaluated in relation to the research question (Mugenda & Mugenda, 1999). There is an overlap of stages two and three because during analysis more themes, categories and patterns can emerge. If necessary, the created stories can be checked with the research participants to ensure accuracy.

Thematic analysis involves identifying particular themes that occur in the material that is being studied. These themes emerge from the data as they are analysed and can take the form of recurrent statements, attributes or assumptions which people make (Hayes 2000). Thematic analysis is an inductive method that follows the following stages according to Hayes (2000, p. 178):

- Preparing data for analysis through transcribing interviews or notes.
- Reading through each interview, noting items of interest.
- Examining proto-themes and attempting initial definition.
- Taking each theme separately and re-examining each transcript carefully for relevant material for the theme.
- Using all the material relating to each theme to construct definition and supporting data.
- Selecting the relevant illustrative data for the reporting of the theme.

In this study the researcher will use both narrative and thematic approaches for data analysis. The researcher will identify the themes from the narratives she and the research participants will have constructed together.

As a researcher reads through data, certain words, phrases, patterns of behaviour, participants' way of thinking and events are repeated and/or stand out in the text. Developing a coding system involves identifying these repetitions and writing down words or phrases that represent these topics and patterns. These words or phrases are coding categories that aid the researcher in sorting the descriptive data collected in order to physically separate material bearing given topics from other data (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992).

Coding is guided by the research question and often leads to new cues. It encourages high level thinking about the data in question and moves the researcher towards formulation of theory and generalization. Coding data is the hard work of reducing data into manageable bites allowing the researcher to quickly retrieve relevant parts as necessary. According to Neuman (2000, pp. 421 – 423) a researcher codes the same raw data in three phases as follows:

- Open coding is performed during the first reading of the transcriptions. It locates and assigns initial codes or labels. It is the first attempt in condensing the data into categories. Open coding brings themes from deep inside the data to the surface. These themes emerge from initial research questions, concepts in the literature, terms used by the participants or new thoughts stimulated by the researcher's immersion in the data.
- Axial coding is done during the second reading through the data. The focus now is on initially coded themes more than on the data. Additional codes or new ideas emerge during this phase and the researcher notes them. The researcher moves towards organising ideas or themes and identifying key concepts. The researcher begins to look for categories or concepts that cluster together. Axial coding stimulates thinking about linkages between themes or concepts as it raises new questions. Some themes may be dropped while others are examined in greater depth.
- Selective coding takes place when the researcher looks selectively for cases that illustrate themes and make comparisons or contrasts after most or all of the data collection is completed. During selective coding, major themes or concepts ultimately guide the researcher's search. The researcher then reorganises specific themes identified in earlier coding and builds on major themes.

3.9 Validity, reliability, objectivity and ethical issues

Qualitative research methods emphasise **validity**. The main goal of the qualitative researcher is to develop a true understanding of what is going on, emphasizing the communication coming from the research participants and the social processes that are taking place. The researcher acknowledges that the research findings can be replicated and therefore are valid (Hayes, 2000; McLeod, 2001). According to Ellis and Bochner (2000) validity means that our work has to have an appearance of being true and real; it has to evoke in readers a feeling that the experience described is life-like, believable and possible. The experience should help readers in communicating

with others different from them or it should offer a way of improving the lives of participants and readers.

According to Neuman (2000) qualitative researchers are particularly interested in authenticity, that is, the research findings should give a fair, honest and balanced account of social life from the perspective of someone who lives that life daily. Qualitative researchers aim at giving a candid and truthful portrayal of social life according to the experience of the people studied.

The issue of validity can be addressed through triangulation, which is the use of multiple sources of data collection (Maxwell cited in Jankowski et al. 2000); bracketing which is making preconceived thinking about one's experience prior to the current research process (Knack cited in Jankowski et al., 2000); and self-reflexivity which involves thinking about one's experience with and understanding the phenomenon as well as one's ongoing sense making process (Chanail & Maione cited in Jankowski et al., 2000). The researcher will combine observation with in-depth interviews as well as self-reflexivity, that is, thinking about her own relationship with her father and how that influenced her relationships with others.

Reliability refers to dependability and/or consistency (Neuman 2000). According to Ellis and Bochner (2000) there is no such thing as orthodox reliability in created personal narratives, however, it is possible to do reliability checks. When other people are involved, they have a chance to comment, add material and offer their own interpretations of the narratives in question. Neuman (2000) observes that qualitative researchers want to be consistent in how they do observations similar to the idea of stability reliability, which answers the question whether a measure used more than once would achieve similar results. However, the processes that they use are not stable because interactions between the researcher and research participants change or develop as time passes. The relationship between the researcher and the data is an evolving process.

Objectivity resides not in a method as such but in the framing of the research problem and the willingness of the researchers to pursue the problem wherever the

data and their hunches may lead (Goffman, Fontana & Vindich cited in Vindich & Layman, 2000). In qualitative research, each researcher is free to check or judge the work of others and accept or reject it if the work does not communicate something meaningful about the world. However, researchers should keep in mind the fact that what is meaningful to one person is not necessarily meaningful to another just as what is meaningful in one context is not meaningful in another (Vindich & Layman, 2000).

According to Neuman (2000), in the absence of objective techniques, the qualitative researcher should be forthright and open about his or her personal involvement in the entire research process. Qualitative researchers should emphasize trustworthiness that is, ensuring that research activities are dependable and credible. A researcher creates trust by the way he or she presents evidence, that is, by providing interlocking details and sufficient texture to facilitate a sense of being there for the readers.

Ethical issues. Becvar and Becvar (2000) state that even though each professional body, for example, psychologists or anthropologists, has its own code of ethics in relation to research, there is no marked difference in the standards of ethical conduct of each group. Christians (2000, p. 138) proposed that in value free social sciences, codes of ethics for professional and academic associations are “the conventional format for moral principles”. Important areas of concern during qualitative research include the following:

- **Informed consent:** The participant makes a choice to participate in the research without the element of fraud, deceit, duress or any form of manipulation. The participants are given information about the expectations of the researcher during the research (Berg, 2001; Christians, 2001). These participants sign a consent form. Implied consent is used when researchers conducting the interviews explain in detail the nature of the research as well as any potential risks and benefits at the beginning. Affirmative responses and completed interviews serve the purpose of implying consent (Berg, 2001).
- **Privacy and confidentiality:** Codes of ethics insist on safeguards to protect research participants’ identity. Personal data ought to be secured and concealed (Christians, 2000). Berg (2000) argues that confidentiality and

anonymity are not quite the same. Confidentiality is an attempt to remove from the research records or elements that may reveal a participant's identity while anonymity means that participants remain nameless. Confidentiality means changing participants' real names or giving them a number. Researchers need to be careful in the way they discuss the participants and their settings to avoid exposure (Haggan & Hessler cited in Berg, 2001). Confidentiality involves protecting participants from all forms of harm or embarrassment as a result of research practices (Punch & Reiss cited in Christians, 2000). To provide privacy and confidentiality in this study the names of each research participant has been changed and as far as possible names of places will be omitted.

- Deception: Deliberate misrepresentation of data is forbidden (Bulmer cited in Christian, 2000). Deception cannot ethically be justified - it is not necessary and is not in the best interest of the researcher. When this principle is kept in mind, researchers work with research designs that are free of deception.
- Accuracy – Researchers need to ensure that all data is accurate. This means avoiding fabrication, use of fraudulent material or omitting data deliberately, all of which are unethical (Christians, 2000).

For this study participants signed a consent form after a clear explanation on what was expected from each of them. Permission to tape the interviews was also obtained from each participant beforehand. Both informed and implied consent were obtained from each research participant.

3.10 Conclusion

In this chapter, qualitative research methodology was discussed and compared to quantitative research methodology. The approach of choice for this study is narrative approach. Interviewing as the method of data collection was explored as well as narrative and thematic analysis as methods for data analysis. Other issues discussed in this chapter are validity and reliability, ethical issues, selection of the sample group and other sample information.

CHAPTER 4

GOODWIN FAMILY STORY

4.1 Introduction

The three part story of this chapter is based on the transcribed interviews between the researcher (EM), the father Goodwin (G), his daughter Rehema (R) and his son Eric (E). The transcriptions are to be found in Appendix A. Paragraph numbers refer to the paragraph numbers allocated in the transcriptions. The story of each participant is included in this chapter.

4.1.1 Setting

Goodwin and his family stay in a beautiful suburb of the city of Nairobi. Their house is set within a court of six, very well maintained maisonettes. Both Goodwin and Rehema were interviewed in their home. Unlike the rest of the family, Eric's interview was carried out in the researcher's office because the day the others were interviewed he was in school. He then chose to be interviewed in the researcher's office rather than at home because he felt he would be more relaxed and able to open away from home.

4.1.2 Personal information

Goodwin is a 51-year-old married father of three daughters and one son. He is a tax expert who holds an MBA degree. He has a wide working experience; he worked with the ministry of finance at different levels of service for 15 years before retiring from the government to join World Vision International in 1990. In this position he has worked as a trainer, auditor, consultant and currently as a financial coordinator in the East Africa region. He is the sole breadwinner because his wife is a full time student, working on her first degree in theology. The participant comes from a family of four sisters and three brothers. His mother is 82 years old and his father died a few years

ago. His father was a farmer and a mason. The participant and his family originate from Tanzania but he has worked in Kenya for the last four and half years.

4.2 The experience of parenting for Goodwin

An analysis of the data indicates that for Goodwin fathering has two dimensions that are interconnected and that influence each other. These are the way he was brought up and the way he is bringing up his own children. During the interview the respondent identified the following as the most important factors that have made him the man and father that he has become: learning to share experiences (paragraph 6), having a father who worked hard and disciplined him (paragraphs 6, 14, 18, 22, 28 and 30) the influence and support of the father and the community expectations and culture (paragraphs 16 and 26).

As the respondent reflects on how he has brought up his own children, he identifies the following influences: the way he was brought up (paragraphs 34, 36 and 56), his ability to observe his own children (paragraph 78), the influence of his profession, the books he read and his faith (paragraphs 82, 84, 88,126, 130, 132, 144 and 146). The respondent describes his fathering role as one of a facilitator (paragraphs 92 and 132) and his fathering strategy as one of listening, watching, observing, interacting and coaching (paragraphs 102, 104, 110, 114 and 150).

During the actual fathering process the respondent has used traditional parenting techniques but has modified these ways (paragraphs 34, 35 and 56). These techniques are intimidation, affirmation and differential treatment (paragraphs 42 and 48, 54 and 68, 70 and 74). He has encouraged openness and transparency in his relationship with his children (paragraphs 82, 110, 150 and 152); development of leadership in his children (paragraph 88); decision-making (paragraphs 118 and 124); development of interest and human potential (paragraphs 130 and 138); formation of relationship with his children through participation (paragraphs 94, 96, and 100) as well as building trust and confidence in his children (paragraph 146). He has also disciplined his children adequately (paragraphs 116 and 118) and dealt with conflicts between him and the children in a positive manner (paragraph 92).

From this interview four narratives that will be discussed separately under the following titles emerged: the respondent's own upbringing; factors that influenced his fathering; the actual upbringing of his children; and his parenting style.

Narrative 1 - The respondent's own upbringing

Even though the interviewer began by asking the respondent in paragraph 3 to tell the interviewer what he wanted her to know about himself, his focus was on how his family was a close family who often sat down, shared and learned things with and from their father. By doing this the respondent seems to align himself with the more positive aspect of his relationship with his father, that is, a father who sat down and talked to his children, drawing them into a close relationship emphasized in the phrase "we were very close" (paragraph 6).

3: EM: Today is the 18th May 2002 and I want to introduce Mr. Godwin who is going to tell us a little bit about himself and then he will tell us also about the way he has brought up his children. I will begin by asking him to tell us what he wants us to know about himself at this point.

6: G: My mother is 80 years old. Eh, but in terms of the degree of bringing up in the family we were very close as a family. Eh, I remember those days in the village we used to sit down by the moon-side and then share a lot with my father about things of our background. So I was brought up in eh, a family where we used to be sharing most of the things. Eh we came to know our backgrounds and even getting to know our parents. That is the situation I grew up in. I went to Lyamungu Primary School in the village and after I finished I went to... to Moshi Secondary Schools for my 'O' and 'A' levels respectively some distance from home. It was a boarding school.

The statement "we are very close" is re-emphasised in (paragraph 14) by the words, "we did things together". Despite what the respondent says here, in (paragraph 18) he says, "my father was very strict by the way," and in (paragraph 28) he talks about having been exposed to corporal punishment by both the father and members of the community, he still felt that his father was strict and loving "...it is what was expected

in the community and him” (paragraph 28). From what the respondent says, it seems as if love, teaching about responsibility and discipline, even when discipline involves corporal punishment, were part of bringing up children in the traditional African communities. Corporal punishment is a practice that is still carried on today because it is still viewed as normal in many parts of Africa. The interviewer grew up in a different African country where the same principles of parenting were practiced. Love perhaps was assumed because basically parents didn’t tell children they loved them. The following excerpt of the interview is a highlight of how the respondent developed his work ethic. The respondent is making it clear that there were no favourites at home; they all worked together as demonstrated in the following quotation.

18: G: No, no, no. We didn’t feel that way. My father was very strict by the way. Um, what I treasure about my father was that he used to make us work, he used to make us work, and it is now I am coming to recall that that is the most important piece that my father gave me.

19: EM: So your work ethic is something that was passed on?

20: G: (Interrupts) Um it was actually passed on to me by the way...

21: EM: Yeah and nurtured by your dad.

22: G: Um ...um, you know the other day I was sharing with the children and saying as much as I think I kind of got tortured. It’s now, looking at what we are in now that I don’t regret the process that we went through. Waking up at six for example, taking care of the cows before we would go to school. And I think that is what I treasure most, because that is the thing that created a kind of responsibility in me, you understand. That responsibility is what is making me think even more clearly because in me there is something that was build to be responsible so without being told, nobody will push you for example. Once it is a way of life nobody will push you to do something. You will automatically feel like it is now my turn to go home. It is time to go for this activity and not be presumptuous.

The respondent treasures the fact that his father used to make them all work hard (paragraph 18). His work ethic was passed on to him and nurtured by his father. Even though he thinks he got “tortured” through the hard work he was made to do when he

was growing up, he does not regret the process because this process created a sense of responsibility in him. The sense of responsibility helps the respondent to think clearly and do things without being told or pushed. Working hard and taking responsibility has become a way of life for him (paragraph 22). This kind of parenting helped in the creation of a sense of satisfaction in the respondent (paragraph 26). A point of emphasis is that the way he was brought up was “a kind of mutual responsibility of making sure that children behaved in the way they were expected to behave” (paragraph 30). Hence the way these fathers treated or brought up their children had no bad intention or ill motives. These fathers believed that teaching children to take responsibility and discipline (corporal punishment) was the way to make the children grow (paragraph 32).

Narrative 2 – The way the respondent has parented his own children

In the second narrative the respondent discusses his ways of parenting his own children. Responding to the question by the interviewer “what about when it comes to yourself now?” (paragraph 33). This question was prompting a move from talking about how he was brought up to how he is bringing up his own children. The respondent says “I also found myself bringing up the children the way I was brought up and from what I learned from my parents” (paragraph 34). However, he began by saying that in the current generation parents may want to bring up children as they were brought up yet, this inclination is hindered by the fact that the environment is different from the one they were brought up in. Another fact that makes the traditional way of bringing up children difficult is the fact that culture evolves and sub-cultures have developed in the cities under the influence of urban systems. The respondent proposes that the way the current generation perceives as the right way of bringing up children is not the traditional societies’ way of bringing up children. Because things have changed, the current community settings do not do things in the same way. He sees parents today as “mixed up on how to balance the children because of the environment they bring them up in” (paragraph 34). The respondent tended to be very philosophical as he talked about “mixed up parents” who are facing the dilemmas and challenges of parenting today. These are parents in general, and fathers in particular, who are caught up in a period of transition from the traditional style to the current

ways without real models of the current ways of bringing up children. This trend of thought was a digression by the respondent from focusing on himself to focusing on parents in general, something he tended to do often.

Following on the statement made by the interviewer “I learned from my father how to do it” and “this is the way I am trying to do it also, even though it is in a different environment” (paragraph 39), the respondent agrees but quickly adds “...I think I have learned a lot from my children, even more than what I learned from the society” (paragraph 40). For example, he learned that boys were slower when they are small while the girls impress you (paragraph 40). From experience with his own son, the respondent learned that putting pressure on boys without considering their developmental stage intimidates the boys causing them to lose confidence (paragraph 42). Intimidating and pushing children to do things they cannot do makes them give up. The respondent reveals that he learned this after a few years of trying to push his own son as he helped him with his studies. The respondent was able to identify the differences between boys and girls because he was raising a boy and a girl at the same time. The respondent discovered that girls tended to concentrate more while boys became more intimidated. He therefore stopped pushing his son and asked someone else to help him with mathematics. Responding to the interviewer’s comment “and that tended to create a lot of impatience in you” (paragraph 45), the respondent rejoined, “Definitely, that used to create a lot of impatience. I used to think the boy is stupid. How can he not understand even simple things, but then I, I had to accept that this was a weakness but there are some things which he has, which I had not yet discovered. I discovered a lot of things during our Bible study sessions in our house... His ability to reproduce and articulate the message in the scriptures made me have a different opinion of him. I realized he was not stupid but could be he had a wrong foundation and perhaps was living in fear because I used to cane him when he repeated mistakes; it was at this juncture I realized I needed to bring him closer to me and build confidence. I tried to bring him back to a friendship and tried not to push him too hard” (paragraph 46).

By the use of affirmation together with focusing on the son’s strengths, the respondent was able to correct the fear he had created in his son and build a new relationship

between father and son. A further observation by the respondent is that in general, parents need to understand the differences in dealing with children in order to make the necessary adjustments in the way they deal with each child (paragraph 54). He feels that parents need to be closer and more available to their children in order to encourage the children to keep working hard. As he talked about parenting at this stage, he would pause with a reflective distant look as if he was regretting the mistakes he made in the past. There was a sense of personal rebuke to himself. In response to the question “Would you say that the way you’ve treated them is different?” (paragraph 63), the respondent says “I guess everyone is created differently therefore you cannot treat each one the same way. It is important to spend some time trying to understand each one of them” (paragraph 66). He continues to say, “they are different and they will respond differently... I can assure you that I have treated each one differently” (paragraph 68). In order to create a sense of responsibility in his son, the respondent asked the son to cut the lawn as well as wash and take care of the car. He has helped draw his second daughter out of her withdrawn situation because she is shy even though formal and focused (paragraph 76). However, he pushes all of them to be what they ought to be (paragraph 68).

The interviewer asked the respondent to highlight some of the differences he sees in his children and his response was “my first daughter you won’t get a mistake out of her. She would just please you whatever you say. She is soft. My son very, very charming but very irresponsible” (paragraph 70). The respondent believes that cultural expectation on girls such as cooking, washing and taking care of other children cultivates in them a sense of responsibility. This realization made the respondent assign tasks to his son to make him responsible because “in our African culture, boys don’t do as much as girls” (paragraph 74).

As the respondent’s children have grown he has encouraged openness and transparency – however, he knew they were not open with him. He encouraged them to honestly assess him and his wife for example he says, “Each one took turns openly, not in secret, telling us how we were, how we mistreated them, how we were good to them and whatever” (paragraph 82). After the assessment he says he implemented what the children suggested. The respondent goes on to say that transparency and

openness makes the children feel more confident. He goes on to say that children have a right to know why the parents are making certain decisions as well as understand why things are done in a particular way.

Another thing the respondent has done is to encourage the development of leadership and decision-making in his children. The respondent states that his family discusses different ways of leading as a way of grooming his children as they mature. In relation to decision-making, the respondent states that he counsels the children about the environment and the dangers found in it. For example, he spends time talking to them about “dangers and social hazards from alcohol, from smoking and from sex” (paragraph 108) and then leaves them to make decisions for themselves. In other issues, the family discusses and establishes a win-win situation if the topic of discussion “is not a disciplinary kind of thing” (paragraph 124). In this way the children learn to make their own decisions.

The respondent strives to develop interest in his children by taking time to discuss with his children what they are doing. As he shows interest in the children he develops human potential and human value because “everyone has value, that is the thing we identify and build upon so that we can increase their level of the confidence they need to have” (paragraph 130). The respondent goes on to say, together with this, “we also need God to touch our children; to help our children understand what we are thinking is for their benefit. You know you can talk and talk but until the Holy Spirit makes them understand and appreciate, it becomes impossible” (paragraph 146). The respondent seems quite aware of the need to cooperate with God in bringing up his children if they are going to become what he would like them to become.

Even though the respondent has created confidence and developed interest and human potential, he has maintained discipline through rebuking what is to rebuke, being firm and reprimanding (paragraph 110). Currently the respondent does not beat the children, but after discussion, he states his position and probably institutes the necessary discipline. The respondent states that despite instituting discipline he still sits with the children to make sure they understand why he took the action he took (paragraphs 114 and 116).

Answering the following questions from the interviewer “I am wondering whether you have had what you would call conflict between you and your children, either the boy or the girls? And if so, how did you solve those? Or were those solved in this family get-together?... (paragraph 89), the respondent replies, “I just can’t say eh, there has been those kinds of tensions as such eh, basically because in our African culture a child won’t really rise against you as such but there have been some moments of dissatisfaction where you can feel this kid is not happy. Eh, you cannot avoid. There have been those instances” (paragraph 92). Even though the respondent is educated and very modern in his outlook and the way he does things, he falls back to culture and cultural expectations with regard to how children should behave towards their parents. The interviewer observed that the respondent did discuss conflict issues with the children, aiming at understanding each other’s perception and then correcting the “perception that had created certain assumptions and beliefs” (paragraph 92). A correction of a perception of a particular issue would lead to the development of the right attitude, assumption and belief. When the respondent talks about correcting the children’s perceptions, it is a recognition that the children are seeing things from different lenses than the father as demonstrated in the following example, “...one of the things that hurt my children sometimes are when I would demand for an accountability of whatever money I gave them, they didn’t like it. Basically because ‘daddy even in small things I should account for, don’t you trust me?’ So we knew that there is a kind of a perception that was not right” (paragraph 92). As they went through the seven habits and talked to each other, the respondent says, “It helped me to even understand that I hurt someone when she was in class two which I thought was not hurting at all. But the good thing also we went into moments of repentance. I apologized to the children and they also apologized to me and we said let’s start clean today and can we relate now to be more closer as a family and be open” (paragraph 86). From this experience the family decided to go to the person who has caused hurt in order to talk about it. The family learned to apologise to each other (paragraph 86). The respondent stated that he and his wife made the children understand the mistakes and their consequences and often the conflict was resolved by asking for forgiveness (paragraph 118).

Looking at his children's ability to form relationships outside the home the respondent begins by saying he can't generalize "because of the differences and styles each one has," (paragraph 94). He, however, continues to say that the first two children are very social, especially the son. The respondent also thinks that given the right environment the children would be open but adds that he can't fully tell how competent the children are in forming relationships because he has no experience of their environment (paragraph 94). The respondent adds that "I have been getting very good feedback about their active participation in sports, their activities in schools and even at home are very much voluntary. For example, the first daughter does a lot of work in the Church. The other girl does eh; she is good and gifted in terms of decorations that is her responsibility at the Church. They are active participants" (paragraph 96). The respondent emphasises that what the children do is voluntary; it is what they want to do and they are committed at doing it. He doesn't have to drive or push the children to do what they do (paragraph 100).

Narrative 3 – Factors that influence Goodwin's fathering strategy

The respondent acknowledges that the way he was brought up and what he learned from his father has influenced his way of bringing up his children even though as he says "the reality is that we cannot do so because we are bringing up our children while living in a different environment. This is also true because in any case culture evolves" (paragraph 34). The respondent continues to say "I also found myself bringing up the children the way I was brought up and from what I learned from my parents" (paragraph 34). The respondent has been influenced by his professional experiences in the way he is bringing up his children too. For example, out of his management experience he realized that he needed to get to a point where his children could be open with him. The respondent felt that as teenagers they could sit and openly assess him and his wife (paragraph 82). The books he read reinforced the respondent's personal influence on his children. "Then after this we went into Steve Covey's book on Seven Habits. It is a very powerful book by the way. We would challenge one another by the Seven Habits. For example, I would listen to someone talking in the kitchen (loudly) the other one would say, "What is that habit? Why?" So we challenged ourselves into that kind of thing. This took us about three months

but the whole performance evaluation took about two weeks” (paragraph 84). After studying the habits as a family, they chose to enforce these habits by checking on each other according to whichever principle was applicable. The respondent felt that the experience he gained in managing people, organizations and his own companies, is important when it comes to managing a family because some management principles also apply to the home. For example, he says “The way you would like to develop staff is the way you would like to develop your children, your family as well” (paragraph 126). One question that arose in the interviewer’s mind as she listened to the respondent was “Is it possible to be as strict or as firm on the family as one has to be with employees?” The answer to this question is partly answered by the son’s view of his father (to be discussed later in this chapter).

As the interviewer commented that there seems to be a closeness that the respondent had with his children (paragraph 131) the respondent in deep reflection replied, “unless you reach a point where your children are open and can confidently come to tell you something, you won’t be able to help them. It does so for organizations - a leader is someone that people must follow and if they don’t follow you you’ve ceased to be a leader and it applies at home too” (paragraph 132). This statement is a demonstration of the fact that a leader in an organization leads those close to him and this should be the same in the family otherwise children will be distant from their parents. The respondent was quick to say in a very pensive mood, “if you ask me to make a final comment I would say ...we need wisdom from God.... By ourselves we can’t” (paragraph 144). Earlier the respondent had said “Um, I think the biggest thing is the Christian faith um (pauses), which helps me to know that I am responsible to bring up the family in the manner in which God would like it and God is going to demand from me the consequences of my actions in bringing up my family; not only the children but including my wife. I think that understanding is the biggest value. And knowing God will keep on showing me how God would have responded in this kind of situation; how would He have treated the situation. And I would think that this gives us the sense of wanting to be or bringing up the children in the way He would like us to” (paragraph 88). After a long contemplative pause the respondent continues to state that many people who are leaders, himself included, were not trained to be leaders. In most cases they therefore struggle to be “the people that God

wants us to be” (paragraph 88). As the respondent concludes talking about the influence of his faith in his parenting, he says “So what has helped me and is important is Jesus” (paragraph 132).

The respondent also shared that he learned how to bring up his children through observation. He chose to observe his own children to find out why they were different from one another. The respondent said that he took a long time observing and learning new things from his children (paragraph 78). For example, “there is a tendency of dads wanting to have their sons behave exactly like themselves. But then when I was not really getting that I thought maybe there is something I needed to understand, why is it that there he was different? So I decided to take some time to learn. I took a lot of time doing that, learning and observing. This helped me understand why boys get spoiled in most cases because sometimes we demand from them too much before they are ready to change” (paragraph 78).

Narrative 4 – Goodwin’s fathering role and fathering strategy

Answering the question “What exactly is your role as a father?” the respondent begins by saying, “When I say we, essentially it is me facilitating the process but, we create an ownership of the process that I just don’t come and say, ‘here guys, this is the recipe’. But I say how about going through this study process? So I normally do a facilitation kind of process” (paragraph 92). The respondent is the one who sets the pace and invites everyone else to follow and come alongside him. In order to achieve this, there is a need to have those being facilitated come close to the facilitator (paragraph 132) - a position the respondent seems to have arrived at by spending time with each of this children as well as with the whole family together (paragraph 138).

The interviewer asked the respondent to summarise his parenting strategy using five words (paragraph 101) and this was his reply, “Listening, watching, interaction, coaching. I think I better use my observation rather than watching. Coaching has three variables” (paragraph 102). The respondent went on to explain the three variables of coaching as follows: (1) There are things that are non-negotiable “like this is my position this is my decision, period” (paragraph 114); (2) There is coaching

through counselling (paragraph 104); and (3) Coaching through discussions, “We normally sit down and talk” (paragraph 110). “So I have actually involved them extensively in discussions and decision-making” (paragraph 118). The fifth word that describes his parenting style is transparency, reflected in the statement “We’ve been very transparent to one another, so they know exactly what is going on; everybody knows they know, they know. So this openness makes them also have confidence in us” (paragraph 150). This fathering strategy is clothed in the fact that a two-way communication channel is implemented, where the respondent says “The child has a right to know why we are making such decisions and he has got the right to understand why things should be done the way they are being done” (paragraph 152).

Although the respondent did not come out with a specific fathering style as such, the way he described his strategy and what came out throughout the interview, he does fit well as an authoritative father because he encourages verbal give and take and shares with his children the reason behind the decisions he takes. He values their contribution as demonstrated to the statement “So I have actually involved them so much in discussions and decision making. Even in family property, what we want, the next move we want to make, where we want to live. They give us a lot of insights by the way; they have given us a lot of advice, which we couldn’t have come up with” (paragraph 118). He exerts firm control while encouraging independence (paragraphs 114 and 124). He also works on affirming his children (paragraphs 52 and 54).

4.3 Rehema’s story

4.3.1 Introduction

This account is based on the transcribed interview between the researcher (EM) and Rehema (R). The transcription is to be found in Appendix A. Paragraph numbers refer to the paragraph numbers allocated in the re-transcription. Rehema’s story will be told in two major narratives as follows: her relationship with her father and her ability to form relationship outside the family.

4.3.2 Personal information

Rehema is a 22 year old, female, student at Daystar University. Her personal data was obtained in the process of the interview. She was born and brought up in Tanzania and came to Kenya for two and a half years. She had done her primary and secondary education in Tanzania. At the point of the interview she was studying for a Diploma in Community Development. She has since proceeded to study for a degree in the same field at the same university. She is the first born in a family of four – three daughters and one son. Her brother is in university while one sister is in high school and the other is in primary school.

4.3.3 Rehema's relational experience

Rehema's story is told in two major narratives: (i) Her relationship with her father, which she says, is a close relationship, with a father who is easy to talk with (paragraph 12). The respondent describes her father as open, kind and social (paragraph 14). She describes herself as being "like my dad" (paragraphs 78, 80 and 82). The way she has dealt with conflicts with her father is discussed in this narrative also (paragraphs 44, 52, 56, 58, 60, 64 and 68). The respondent's reflections of her birth position and self-image (paragraphs 8, 40 and 42), future plans (paragraphs 48, 86 and 88) and faith (paragraphs 70, 72 and 76). Her opinion about her father's parenting abilities is also presented (paragraphs 90, 96, 100, 106, and 108). (ii) The second narrative entails the influence her relationship with her father has had in her ability to form relationships outside the home. To begin with, his love and trust has enabled her not to be cheated (paragraph 22), and to be determined (paragraph 22). He has given her a sense of security and a positive outlook (paragraphs 23, 24 and 30). She has a non-judgemental attitude (paragraph 30) and accepts correction when necessary (paragraph 34). This relationship influences her decision-making and makes it easy for her to apologise (paragraphs 42 and 44).

Narrative 1 – Rehema's relationship with her father

This narrative will include the story of how she was brought up as well as details

about her relationship with her father. When asked by the interviewer how she would describe her relationship with her father (paragraph 11), the respondent began by stating that they were a very close family that discusses a lot of issues together and every time the children, have problems they just tell their father. “It is very easy to talk to him because he is the kind of person who’s very understanding first and foremost. He understands our problems and we do like it. And sometimes um, we cannot even talk to him but he can look at us and he’ll just tell us ‘you know you look down today, what’s happening?’ in fact he’s the one who starts it sometimes. Because sometimes you may look down he’ll just come and say, ‘today you are not happy, what’s happening to you?’ Tell me, you’re thinking of this, you’re thinking of this, why? So you start all around. So he is just kind of fun” (paragraph 12). She begins here by identifying her father as “kind of fun” and goes on to describe him as open and hence his children have developed trust in him (paragraph 14). She began to experience her father this way since she went to university. Before then the respondent was in boarding school, “at that time we didn’t know much about our dad” (paragraph 14). The respondent’s realization of her closeness to her father became clear when she talked to her friends who couldn’t understand why she could buy nice cards and sent to her father. She retorts “In fact when you are in a relationship you can’t know it, until you’re outside then somebody tells you “ha, you do this” and then you come to realise yeah ok, fine” (paragraph 20). This close relationship with the father has led the respondent in believing that at times she acts and makes decisions like her father (paragraphs 78, 80 and 81).

Despite the close relationship and the openness of this relationship with her father, the respondent has experienced some conflicts with her father, basically in the area of dressing. Answering to the following questions posed by the interviewer, “Are there times when you have been either upset with him or has he done things that have made you mad or something like that?” (paragraph 51). The respondent answers, “Yeah sure. Sometimes um, when it comes to some selections on clothes, I can say that because now the age you can just tell, so sometimes he’s like I want this kind of clothes. And him he doesn’t like it you know, because me I want to be in this fashion. So he’s just kinda tell me, ‘what you’re thinking is not right for you. As a Christian girl you have to dress like this.’ And so sometimes I don’t like it anyway, but when

he comes to talk to us, I mean he just talk to us until we get it” (paragraph 52). The respondent states that they talk about fashion and she lets her father know that she wants to be in fashion and wants to wear fashionable (short) clothes because she likes it. This conflict was resolved through talking and sometimes what she calls “preaching” by her father. She uses the word preaching because her father kept on talking and occasionally using the word of God as he told the respondent what he thought was good for her until she began wearing longer length clothes. Currently she wears much longer dresses out of her own choice. The respondent says that when she gets angry her father tells her to “cool down” (paragraph 58) or he would just look at her and then he talks slowly or just keeps quiet. Her father’s words and behaviour influence her especially when she is very angry, they remind her that she is supposed to be patient, to listen and look at the issue making her angry.

The “look” by the father that makes the respondent stop doing what she was doing and the silence that accompanies it tend to give the impression that the father is intimidating even though the respondent doesn’t say so. One thing that seems to have come out of the conflict of dress and its resolution is that the respondent seems to have developed her own dress code values as she states that “now I feel like it’s right because um sometimes even I have been going through, looking around at people who are dressing very short dresses and see what people are talking about them. And so when I came back home, my daddy then I think like ok, this is what my daddy was telling me anyway. So when I dress like that I become like another girl. You know people will look at you like you’re uh, you’re not intelligent or stuff like that; you’re not smart...” (paragraph 56).

The interviewer asked the respondent whether being a first-born has made a difference in the way the father treated her and whether there were challenges she faced as a first-born (paragraph 7). In her reply she said, “Yes, being a first-born I think it’s somehow difficult. As in your brothers and sisters are looking at you and they are expecting you to do something different and they are looking at you as their older sister. And so I’ve been trying to be kind of leader in our family, cause when they look at me they expect me to have all the answers and its difficult but sometimes they do, we do kind of discussing, discuss things because of the age, the age range”

(paragraph 8). Despite the challenges arising from her siblings' expectations, she is able to discuss a lot of issues with them.

From the relationship with her father, the respondent has developed a positive self-image as demonstrated in the response that she is very confident as such sometimes she decides things for herself (paragraph 40). As a result of reading the book, *Seven Habits* by Steve Covey, she has learned to choose or decide on what she wants to do (paragraph 42). The respondent says that she is close to the family and has learned to say sorry even though saying sorry at times is very painful (paragraph 44). Here she is reinforcing what she said earlier that they are very close as a family and they discuss a lot of issues (paragraph 12).

As the respondent looks to the future, she begins her story by saying, "when I was in secondary school I was thinking of becoming a doctor and then I wasn't, I was not good in physics and chemistry" (paragraph 48). However, as a result of not being good in physics and chemistry her father influenced her to concentrate on the arts; a move that led her to study community development. Though the respondent has confidence in herself and the future as she believes in herself, (paragraph 88), she also states that she will leave the future to God, "...cause he's the one who is going to direct me, yeah" (paragraph 86). The faith that makes the respondent choose to leave her future to God is her own as demonstrated by the following words, "So in fact to follow Jesus Christ is my decision, my own decision yeah. And you make it to be your own decision, as in you have to decide for yourself" (paragraph 76). Her faith is also built on the influence of her father's faith implanted in her through his example (paragraph 70). For example she says, "ok if my daddy is doing like this, why don't I do it" (paragraph 70), and also "I'm a Christian because of what he is saying and he's living that way" (paragraph 72). The demonstration of the father's influence on the respondent is perhaps a clear indication of how children learn from observing others (modelling). At the same time this modelling has also drawn her closer to her father and the rest of her family.

Narrative 2 – Relationships outside home

The respondent approached the question of formation of relationships by explaining the qualities instilled in her by father. These qualities have helped her get out of home and form relationships with confidence. The respondent begins by saying, “because my daddy trust me and he loves me that’s why I can’t go you know, nobody can just cheat me as in I can do this and this for you” (paragraph 22). Love and trust has saved her from being cheated by men out there because what they want to offer her she can get from her father as demonstrated by her words, “As in when you go outside there, there are so many guys who are coming to you. But when you look at it, some they are offering all kinds of stuff you see like he’ll take you out, you can do this and this,” (paragraph 22). Other attributes she developed through her relationship with her father are determination and confidence, which help her not to be cheated, “So in that case it influences me in that I look at myself I’m, I’m determined; I can, I can do anything yeah. I feel like I’m able, I’m confident. So nobody can just cheat me around” (paragraph 22). Answering to the question, “...would you say it’s given you a sense of security?” (paragraph 230), she retorts, “Exactly it has” (paragraph 23). When she is secure then she can feel more confident and demonstrate determination.

Another quality the respondent developed through her relationship with her father is a positive outlook and non-judgemental attitude demonstrated in her statement “I look at people positively. It’s helped me a lot ‘cause my daddy is the kind of person always to talk about positive things yeah” (paragraph 30). “So I’ve learned that even in my relationships when people are talking about other people even me myself; first I can’t judge a person without talking to him or her. I have to go and talk to him, I have to talk to her even if he’s bad or if he’s good whatever” (paragraph 30). A positive outlook accompanied by a non-judgmental attitude are noble qualities that may not be common, yet they can save us from a lot of hurt as we choose to get to know people before we make uninformed conclusions of who they are. The respondent decides to find out about the past experience of the person before she makes any judgment. Being able to decide and choose are important qualities when it comes to relating to people in any situation. The respondent learned to take decisions and make choices as the family read the books they did (paragraph 42). One thing she decided and chose to

do is to apologise to her family by learning to say, “I am sorry” (paragraph 44). She has learned to apologise to her younger siblings. Doing so she explains “...brings peace into our minds” (paragraph 46). In a very excited manner, she talks about her ability to make decisions and act like her father, something that her sister experiences as well (paragraph 82).

Asked by the interviewer to summarise what she had said about her father, she described him as a listener who understands without shouting at his children, a man who is able to say sorry when necessary (paragraph 90). He is a father who is warm in his relationships - always available (paragraph 96) and yet cool, that is, not talkative though quite open when approached (paragraph 98). He is a father who spends time with his children (paragraph 100). The respondent is compelled to tell other parents to talk straight to their children so as to give them confidence to go out into the world and form healthy relationships. The respondent would like all parents to hear this message, “...Sometimes us kids we do wrong to you and what we do is exactly our choices what we make. As in sometimes we feel like to go out at night; sometimes we feel like to dress that kind of stuff dresses, which you don’t like. But you have to understand it’s age. When you talk to us straight and talk to us um at a very nice way, as in you, you accept the way we are and you love us, in fact the best stuff you, is to tell your children is that you love them yeah straight. That “I do love you.” You know that’s when you feel confident when you go outside there” (paragraph 106).

According to the respondent being quarrelled by others does not bother her because she knows her father loves her because he has told her so. This love and security provided by her father stops her from getting into trouble with drugs or other bad habits. Furthermore her sentiments are that other young people would be able to keep off trouble if parents were there for them as her father has been there for her (paragraph 106). The respondent feels that parents need to be there for their children, show their concern and pray for these young people (paragraph 108). The respondent concludes by saying that she needs her father more now than ever before and she would like him to continue to direct her (paragraph 110) and wishes other parents can say and do the same things for their young people as her father does (paragraph 112).

The interviewer recognizes that despite the respondent saying that she was determined and confident at times she presents herself as rather nervous and unsure of herself. The question that arises is, “Is this determination still evolving?”, particularly due to the fact that the respondent only got to know the father well and have a close relationship with him when she got to university (a period of three years). Could this nervousness be a result of her previous experience in boarding school? Observing family relationship at home, one can see the closeness the respondent talked about even though the father tends to come forth strongly in his conversation. What the respondent says about relationships outside the home gives the impression that she may not have many friends.

The researcher has kept touch with the respondent and has recently learned that the respondent had some bad experiences while in boarding school that explain her nervousness discussed above. For a long time the respondent hid these experiences from her parents but has finally gathered courage to share with them. She states that her father had sensed there was something wrong for a long time but did not know how to draw it out of her. She explains that a heavy weight has been lifted from her shoulders through the sharing with her parents and the researcher.

4.4 Eric’s story

4.4.1 Introduction

This account is based on the transcribed interview between the researcher (EM) and Eric (E). The transcription is to be found in Appendix A. Paragraph numbers refer to the paragraph numbers allocated in the re-transcription. His story is told in two main narratives as follows: his relationship with his father and his ability to form relationships with others outside the family.

4.4.2 Personal information

Eric Goodwin is a single 20 year old, male student studying at the United States International University (Nairobi). His personal information was obtained during the

interview. He has three sisters, one older and two younger than him. He is studying International Relations and is in the University football team.

4.4.3 Eric's relational experiences

Eric's story is told in two major narratives as follows: (1) His relationship with his father, which he says, is both good and not so good (paragraphs 38, 46, 54, 158 and 176). In this narrative he talks about his father as being good (paragraph 286) as well as his dealings with conflicts and conflict resolution (paragraphs 200, 202, 206, 208, 216). Difference in treatment between him and his sisters is highlighted (paragraphs 58, 62, 66, 76, 80, 86, 88, 92, 100, 104 and 108). The respondent also reflects on his faith (paragraphs 254, 258) and on his future (paragraphs 224, 225, 232 and 224). (2) His relationship with his father in forming relationships outside the home has influenced him in different aspects. For example, it has made him principled (paragraphs 162, 164 and 166), influenced him with regards to boy-girl relationships (paragraph 178) and has taught him how to respect authority (paragraphs 182 and 192). These influences were impacted by culture (paragraph 192). This narrative comes to a close with an evaluation of his father's parenting strategy (paragraphs 14, 18, 22, 24 and 268) and a description of his father (paragraphs 130, 132, 134, 135, 136, 138, 140, 142, 144, 152, 154, 234, 236, 268, 270 and 273).

Narrative 1 – Eric's relationship with his father

In paragraph 11, the interviewer began by asking the respondent, "How would you describe your relationship with your father?" His reply was that he has been obeying and listening to his father's way of seeing things (paragraph 12). Right from the beginning the interviewer sensed that the respondent is very philosophical in the way he expressed issues concerning his father.

The respondent went on to say his relationship with his dad is good and not so good (paragraph 38) while in (paragraph 276) he said the relationship was "Quite a little bit good" and in (paragraph 278) he says "it's, uh it's, it's just satisfactory." The reason for the relationship not being so good was that he felt the father put him "under much

pressure” (paragraph 38). He goes on to explain how fathers should treat children that is giving children freedom and guiding them through that freedom. He would like to have children who have the final word instead of the fathers always having the final word. This statement can be said to be coated with a streak of rebellion that dare not be exposed openly to the father who has the final word most of the time and who only gives partial acceptance (paragraph 158) especially when a child has failed (paragraph 154).

Despite the above description of the respondent’s relationship with his father, he still presents his father as a good dad whom he will not exchange for another (paragraphs 281 and 286). Furthermore, the respondent describes his father as someone who will listen when his children talk and allow them to criticize him and to tell him what they think (paragraph 122). For this reason, he presents his father as humble (paragraph 122), one who will even act on his children’s advices (paragraph 126).

The respondent acknowledges he has had conflicts with his father in the areas of dressing, eating and sports. His father wants the respondent to dress up in an appropriate manner when they are going out together. He is to wear smart trousers, tuck in his shirt and polish his shoes when they are going to meet his father’s friends (paragraph 200). The respondent explains “And sometimes it brings out eh quite a bit it brings out conflict. Um maybe I feel like dressing like this and I’m pressurised to dress this way so it becomes uh it becomes argumentative” (paragraph 200). Another major area of conflict is on how much time the respondent should spend in games and sports. According to him he should do a 50-50 deal where he reads for 50% and play for 50% of the time but his father insists on reading 70% of the time and playing 30% of the time. The rationale for the 50-50 time story is that he will be well rounded as he has seen soccer players who are rich but his father’s argument is that one cannot make money from soccer in Africa but he can make money from books (paragraph 206). Both are looking at the issue of sports and evaluating it from totally different lenses - hence conflicts arise.

Although the respondent discusses issues with his father, the respondent states that he has to submit to what the father says (paragraph 202), because the father has been

winning in all kinds of arguments (paragraph 208). As the respondent goes on to say that his father has been winning, he chuckles a rather sarcastic chuckle that shows that he is not particularly happy with this situation where the father wins all the arguments. Answering the questions: “But then how does that leave you feeling that you don’t seem to win in the conflict? Now that we are focusing on you does that make you feel angry with him?” (paragraph 216). The respondent answers in a rather dejected manner and agrees that the answer is a way of rationalizing (paragraph 218). He is not able to express what he feels but says, “What I’m doing now is a part of me that I can I can approve I can approve and um, um I’m doing it now” (paragraph 220).

Carrying on about the unfairness of the conflict resolution, the respondent goes on to state that in the future he wants to be a different kind of father from his own father. In a very philosophical tone of voice he goes on to say, “...Because the state I’m living now is not going to be the same as the one I’m going to live in the future. The society would have changed, everything the technology would have changed” (paragraph 224). The respondent continues to imply that he will not follow the principles he has been brought up with altogether because, “I will, I will not continue to them all together because I have also my role to play and impact a lot of things. So I’ll give more a role of freedom of choice as a father and, and uh and not pressurising a lot on my kids that um if they, they want to do this kind of thing let them do it” (paragraph 228). The respondent emphasises here that he will not pressurize his own children; he will let them do what they want to do. This reaction could be seen as rejection and expression of hidden pain as a result of pressure put on him by his father who had pressurized the respondent to be like him.

Replying to the question “How has religion influenced who you are?” (paragraph 242), the respondent says, “I am a born again Christian and religion is a basic thing in our family” (paragraph 246). He expounds that his father links everything with God and this linkage has had an influence in his life even though he came to a point of embracing faith for himself because he sees the value of faith. He qualifies the value issue by saying, “God has done so many things in my life. And when I look back I see all these transformations I, I, I say yeah - there’s nothing impossible” (paragraph 254). The respondent believes that if his parents were not religious people, if they

didn't believe in God the way they do (paragraph 257), he would have been a very different person, "...because I'd have gone in the way the society goes and obviously the way... the way even them the way they go so if um... if um if they were smokers and drunkards I'd have been the same definitely" (paragraph 258). At the age of 15 years, the respondent decided to experience how it was to be a drunk and he drank alcohol excessively for two years. He eventually stopped when he got born again out of his own will.

It is worth noting that the two years the respondent drunk were a part of the period his father put a lot of pressure on him to do better in mathematics - the period the father felt that he wanted his son to be like him, and yet all his realized was that the respondent was not able to reach the set standards. The father then discovered that the respondent was good in the area of bible reading and understanding. The interviewer proposes that this drinking could have been a rebellion towards the pressure and intimidation from the respondent's father. However, the teachings engraved within religious influence, influenced the respondent positively such that he embraced faith for himself and stopped drinking.

Regarding differential treatment, the respondent is quick to indicate that there is a difference in treatment between him and his sisters because they have different roles to play. The respondent states that "because um, there are certain kinds of things he wants to teach me as in because I can be called, he keeps on telling me I have to be responsible in eh at the end of the day I'll have a family to lead, I am a man and all that so um, he's, there's this lesson of responsibility that he has to teach me rather than not much on sisters" (paragraph 58). Together with responsibility goes the emphasis on doing things within the set time, for example "... That's why I said they're more of principles that if at 8pm we are supposed to eat, the food has to be on the table. If the car has to be washed in the morning before he goes to the office that means it has to be clean by that time. So eh the question of time that's the kind of, the discipline has to be, the discipline of time" (paragraph 62). The respondent feels that his father is harder on him than on the girls in every way (paragraph 66). However, since the respondent turned 18, he feels that his father treats him more like an adult and therefore there are things he doesn't do. For example, he used to help in the

kitchen and even cook but now he does not do that any more (paragraph 76). Instead, he washes and maintains the car. The difference in the roles played is influenced by the culture (paragraph 86). The relevant cultural issue is the fact that in the African traditional setting, men do not go to the kitchen and do not cook. This is one of the traditional influences that are bound to take a long time to change in most parts of Africa.

Answering the question, “Do you spend time with him alone, just as a son?” (paragraph 97), the respondent says he does so when he goes jogging with his father (paragraph 100) and he values this time because it is when he talks about his personal issues with his father and gets the father’s advise (paragraph 106), for example “Like studies yeah. What I think of the future yeah and um like um my ups and downs; friends the way I was treated badly all that kind of thing” (paragraph 108).

Narrative 2 - Father’s influence on the formation of relationships outside the family

It was rather surprising that the first thing the respondent attested to was the fact that the way he was brought up has assisted him in making friends with certain kinds of people. “But, I can say that um most of the time it has helped me to think twice before involving in any relationship. It has moulded me to become more of a principled man” (paragraph 162). The father is principled to the point that some people think he is weird when he stresses on things (paragraph 162), such as not spending money on buying luxurious things without good reason (paragraph 166). The respondent explains that he has to think twice before doing anything (paragraph 166).

The respondent’s father influenced him in the area of boy-girl relationships such that he can cope with good groups “because I know at the end of the day it’s me who will suffer because everyone has his own life. When you talk of uh boy-girl relationship it has helped me uh think twice is this kind of right girl I want at this particular time or is this uh a kind of relationship I need at this particular time. So there is a difference between the girl you want and the kind of a relationship you want from her. So when I think of that, it, it, it gives me steps to take before I get involved into it” (paragraph

178). The respondent's upbringing has helped him learn to respect people in authority as well as the elderly. The respect of those in authority is cultural too - culture allows one to give views and ideas on certain issues as long as respect is maintained and one doesn't move out of set boundaries (paragraph 182). The respondent emphasizes this point by saying, "Our culture insists on respect even in those times when parents like eh, a child used to be a child of a community not a child of one person. So each and every parent can teach discipline to this child in that same kind of a community. So it's, it's coming from our cultural background" (paragraph 192). The expectations of culture were passed on to the respondent by his parents. The observation of the interviewer is that no matter how educated people are, there are aspects of culture that were learned when people were young that are hard to alter when they are older. For example, most people who have grown up in the traditional African culture and have learned to respect the elderly find it impossible to act differently, no matter how educated they are. Often these values are passed on to the next generation whether that generation is brought up in the city or village as demonstrated by the respondent's narrative (paragraph 192).

The interviewer asked the respondent how he would describe his father and it seemed as if the best description was that his father valued education which can be expressed in statements like, "Uh his one thing is education he values education. So um, he regards, as people who are educated are most valuable to him. So and um he, he understands that people in life, the, the, they, the people can win life, they can have all these riches and all that. But, on the fact that you are only educated" (paragraph 130). "He encourages education. That's another thing, and he values it" (paragraph 132), "he can he can do anything for us to get maybe the best education" (paragraph 134). Answering the question, "Now, if any of you was not doing very well in your studies, what is his attitude towards... if any of you was not doing very well?" (paragraph 135). The respondent answers that his father tends to discourage the one not doing well because he acts as if he doesn't understand the reason why that person is not doing well (paragraphs 136, 138 and 140).

The father is also described as inquisitive because when any of the children does not do well he tries to find out why, by asking a lot of questions (paragraph 142), together

with “Yeah, he’s inquisitive. Why? Why? Why? Why? Why? You know, so that, that in that approach, he actually finds out in the end of the day that this is the kind of thing that makes you fail. Yeah. Is it laziness, you know? And he likes complaining about laziness most of the time yeah” (paragraph 144). The respondent says that when the father asks a lot of questions “that makes you like um puts you in a cage” (paragraph 152), because he really wants to find out why you did whatever you did (paragraph 154).

One interesting description of the father is that he is slow in taking decisions and he is not very straightforward (paragraph 234). The respondent describes his father in this way: “Uh he has more of uh more of uh beating around the bush (both laugh) when he when he wants to get something, something clear. So he doesn’t come out very transparent to his kids that maybe, maybe I want to do this and that and that” (paragraph 236). The father is also described as a man who can’t keep his promise and one who has reasons for everything. The respondent qualifies this by saying, “So maybe I think it’s the question of perception he views um things on different or you want to put everything on each side of the coin to see” (paragraph 236). The interviewer regards this as a very clear demonstration of how we perceive things from different lenses. The respondent’s description of his father as not straightforward and beating about the bush in his decision-making, may seem contradictory to how the father presents himself and his ability to make decisions as a trained manager. The truth, though, is the two present two different views. Perhaps these differences are more marked between sons and fathers than between daughters and fathers, because the daughter didn’t make this observation about her father.

The respondent describes his father as a religious parent (paragraph 270), who is humble (paragraph 274). The quality of humility is further qualified by the fact that he allows his children to criticise him and tell him what they think.

The respondent depicts his father’s parenting strategy as authoritative (paragraph 140), because he sets boundaries, for example he wants the family to eat together even when in a hotel (paragraph 18), he allows them to talk and discuss issues even though

he has the final word and he criticizes them (paragraph 22) and at times he takes his children's opinions and acts on them.

During the interview, there were times when the interviewer felt like the respondent was contradicting himself, especially when he talked about his father, but somehow he was able to explain his opinions. There were times too when the interviewer felt like the respondent wanted to impress her by the way he said things.

4.5 Evaluation of the Goodwin family story

The thread that runs through the three Goodwin family interviews is that this is a close-knit family. The work ethic that the father learned as he grew up (paragraph 226) has been transferred to his children even though each child has a different role to play (paragraph 58E).

A striking difference between the young people is their respective views of their father. Rehema views her father as kind, social and open (paragraph 14R) and describes herself as being like her father (paragraph 78R), while Eric sees the father as inquisitive (paragraph 142E), slow in making decisions and "not straight" (paragraph 234E). At the same time the father sees Rehema as a soft first daughter in whom "you won't get a mistake out of" and who would just please you while Eric is very charming but very irresponsible (paragraph 70G).

Focusing on the father's parenting strategies, Rehema describes his fathering characteristics as warm and yet 'cool' in that he is not talkative (paragraph 98R), kind and social (paragraph 14R), a father who spends time with his children (paragraph 100R). On the other hand, Eric refers to his father as an authoritative father, which is a specific parental strategy. The two descriptions are in agreement in that the characteristics Rehema focused on are characteristics of an authoritative parenting strategy. Even though Rehema and Eric seem to discuss a lot of things between them and with the family, their outlooks are quite different, and this is a clear indication that they view things from different lenses.

The interviewer did not always find it easy to direct the father to focus on his own parenting experience because there was this strong pull in the respondent to discuss parenting in general.

The relationship between Goodwin and his children seems to have prepared them relatively well and enables them to form relationships outside the home. However, it is not very clear whether Rehema has been able to make many friends. She states that she is confident but it does not come out clearly whether she actually has made friends. Eric seemed to be better able to deal with relationships outside the home as he states that he is principled and is well able to deal with boy-girl relationship. Furthermore, he is able to respect those in authority as well as the elderly.

CHAPTER 5

KIRIVA FAMILY STORY

5.1 Introduction

The three-part story of this chapter is based on the transcribed interviews between the researcher (EM), the father Kiriva (K), his daughter Mghoi (M), and his son Timothy (T). The transcriptions are to be found in appendix B. Paragraph numbers refer to the paragraph numbers allocated in the transcriptions. The story of each of the above participants is included in this chapter.

5.1.1 Setting

The Kiriva family stays in the rural area about 400 kilometres from Nairobi city. The researcher travelled to their home to carry out the interview. Their home is like a model home in the village that does not have many stone built homes; most homes are made with mud walls. They have electricity in their home built on the side of a beautiful hill. It is a well maintained home with a relatively large garden where the family grows most of their food. Both Kiriva and Mghoi were interviewed at their home but Timothy was interviewed later in the researcher's office. Timothy is a student and was not able to travel home at the time the researcher travelled to interview the rest of the family.

5.1.2 Personal information

At the point of the interview, Kiriva was 51 years old. He is married and the father of one son and three daughters. Kiriva is a Catholic, very active in the church where he plays the piano every Sunday. He went to school up to high school after which he was trained as a primary school teacher. He teaches English, Geography, History and Civics. He has been deputy head teacher for the last seven years. Kiriva is very active in the life of the community, where he is in the leadership of various groups. For example, he is the chairman of the road construction committee and the burial

committee, the secretary of the village development committee and the secretary of the church council.

5.2 The experience of parenting for Kiriva

An analysis of the data indicates that like Goodwin in the previous chapter, Kiriva's fathering experience has two interconnected dimensions that influence each other. These are the way he was brought up and the way he is bringing up his own children. The most important factors that have influenced the respondent to be the man and father that he is are having a very strict father that he feared (paragraphs 55 and 57) and cultural influences (paragraphs 105 and 107). Both of these factors have made him follow a different path from that has been demonstrated by the two factors. These two factors will be discussed in detail later on.

As the respondent reflects on how he brought up his own children, he identifies the following influences: the way he was brought up (paragraphs 64, 73, 75 and 85); influences of African traditional communities (paragraphs 29, 31 and 33); his moving away from culture (paragraphs 261, 269 and 273); the influence of his profession (paragraphs 133, 137, 139, 151, 157, 165 and 171) and his faith (paragraphs 5 and 119). The respondent describes his fathering role as a demonstrator (i.e. he demonstrates to the children what he wants them to learn) (paragraphs 5, 17, 22, 255, 261, 321 and 327).

During the actual parenting process, the respondent has used modified traditional and cultural ways of childrearing (paragraphs 29, 31, 255 and 261). Initially the respondent was very harsh and used corporal punishment but he changed later on (paragraphs 133, 137, 139, and 151). The respondent has encouraged the children to be free and to express themselves (paragraphs 43, 57 and 61); he has taught them to share (paragraphs 317 and 321); he trained them for leadership and to work hard (paragraphs 255, 327 and 329); he taught the children to respect others and to take responsibility (paragraphs 324, 342 and 354); he brought the children up according to his religion (paragraphs 5 and 119). The respondent believes that his children are able to form relationships outside the home because they are disciplined and principled and

take note of his example (paragraphs 233, 239 and 245), as his relationship with the children is very good. The respondent has disciplined his children as well as dealt with conflicts between himself and the children (paragraphs 187, 193, 195, 207 and 215).

From this interview there emerge three main narratives that will be discussed separately under the following titles: the respondent's own upbringing; the actual parenting of his children; and the factors that influenced his fathering strategy combined with his fathering style.

Narrative 1 – The respondents own upbringing

As the respondent was discussing his fathering strategy, the interviewer asked him what influenced him to use that specific strategy (paragraph 50). The respondent responded that he didn't want to bring up his children the way he was brought up because that is not the way he would want to live (paragraph 53). The respondent went on to narrate that, "Our father was very strict. There was no time you could talk to our father. Even at one time we witnessed our father beating our mother and in that respect we realised our father was a strict man and we don't need to talk anything to him..." (paragraph 55). The respondent continues to say that, "They were brought up in a way to fear the father..." (paragraph 57). However, that is not the way he would like his children to grow up. He prefers to have his children interact freely with him. The respondent underwent severe corporal punishments for every little mistake he made as a child. For example, if he brought water to his father with a finger in the glass, the father would slap him so hard that he would fall down (paragraph 75).

The interviewer asked the respondent whether he felt his father was a bad example and his response was "Yes". As a result of the bad example of parenting, the respondent chose not to follow his father's parenting ways. The treatment the respondent received from the father led him to decide to work very closely with his children. He worked towards making the children feel free with him (paragraph 57).

The interviewer was able to observe pain and disappointment on the respondent's face as he talked about the harsh treatment he received from his father. It was amazing that despite all the harshness, the respondent went on to say that the father really loved them (paragraph 83). The respondent explains the father's love as follows, "He would always beat you severely and at the same time love you" (paragraph 83). Although his father never told his children he loved them, when he found them outside chatting, he would sometimes laugh and joke with them. The respondent and his siblings translated this kind of attention by their father to indicate love (paragraphs 85, 87 and 89). Perhaps like many other African children of the respondent's age or even much younger, a father who played with his children no matter what else he did, was seen as a loving father. The children would assume that they are loved because parents in many African communities, especially in the rural areas where there is little outside influence, do not usually tell children they love them.

The way the respondent was brought up was influenced by the cultural expectations of his day in the sense that he was taken to school at a time when fathers used to educate only boys. In parts of the community that the respondent lives in, some parents still do not take the education of girls seriously. The woman who did not go to school was and still is considered a fool in the respondent's community and was not allowed to talk in front of people who were educated. The respondent did not like this treatment of women and hence he chose to change these beliefs, attitudes and practices and be different. This change led him to educate his own daughters alongside his son. He has given equal opportunities to all his children (paragraphs 107 and 109). To choose to be different from the other men in the village community can pose big challenges but the respondent has been able to overcome the challenges and move forward as a community leader and to influence others to educate their girls. Some of the challenges the respondent faced included been thought of as one controlled by his wife.

Narrative 2 – The way the respondent has parented his own children

In the second narrative, the respondent discusses the fathering strategies he used with his own children. The interviewer started by asking the respondent to describe his style of bringing up his children, both boys and girls. In response, he states that he considers his children as children, that is, he considered his children as equal and did not separate the way he treats them except for special situations that relate to his son. For example, the respondent felt that he needed to educate his son on how to deal with different people as he grows while he discusses what he wants his daughters to know with his wife who then talks to the daughters. He advises his son on how to live well in a fair way with other people. This kind of teaching or advising is done when they are working or when they take walks together. The respondent clearly states that he sets apart time for this kind of advice. He would deliberately decide to take a long walk so that he can spend time with his son talking. The effects of spending time together is demonstrated in the closeness between father and son and also in the way the son values his father and talks well of him. The respondent was influenced to spend so much time with his son by the traditional community in which he grew up. The respondent echoes this idea as follows, "...this is because in most African traditional communities, boys are more used to their fathers than girls." (paragraph 29). It is important to note that the practise of sons spending time with fathers is currently practised in some rural communities much more than in the urban communities. The rural communities tend to maintain togetherness more than those members who have moved to the urban areas.

The respondent does spend time with his daughter but not as much as with his son because of the cultural influence. He talks about issues concerning the daughter with his wife who then discusses them with the daughter. The respondent believes that he teaches and influences his daughter through the mother. As the respondent states, "...I also advise the mother to behave the way she teaches her, because she should not teach her, behave this way she does not do the right thing. For example, when I for example, when I say arranging things she comes with shoes then she drops them outside there or anywhere, or she takes a knife, after using it she leaves it there. I can advise her to go back and I can advise her to work this way or that way but then at

times I also tell the mother to stress on that and also she behaves the same way for her to get the right concept” (paragraph 39). The longest period of time he spends with his daughter is when he is taking her to school or college.

Getting back to the interviewer’s question at the beginning of this narrative, the respondent’s style of parenting can be described as teaching and influencing by example. Frequently during the interview, the respondent demonstrates this truth. For example, he says, “...the way we are as a family, we work together in all aspects” (paragraph 5). He continues, “Me I cook, I wash clothes, I iron. I do everything. In fact we exchange. If you come here I think most of the people will be saying I am overtaken by my wife (I am ruled by my wife) but that is not how I feel,” (paragraph 261). He taught the children to learn to share by telling them: “You see and that’s what I told them even at a time I told them, even if you find a shirt or a jacket that you are not putting on, take it to this man. You see the other time I gave him a shirt; I gave him trousers” (paragraph 321). The man they were to give things to is the one who cares for the cows and the compound.

The respondent described his fathering style accurately when he says, “I believe in teaching by action” (paragraph 279). The respondent has desired that his children should be free with him unlike the way he feared his own father. In order to achieve the level of freedom he would like to see, he allows them to say what they feel. Particularly before prayers the father and mother talk to the children and open a discussion for all to participate in as they sit around their dining table. Everyone gets an opportunity to say what he/she would like to say (paragraphs 43, 44 and 47). The respondent reports that as a result of these discussions and expression of how each child feels, he has noticed that the children go directly to share their problems with him instead of going through their mother (paragraph 61). Together with allowing the children to discuss issues freely the respondent also accepts and acts on the children’s opinion when he feels it is the right thing to do (paragraphs 183 and 185).

Responding to the question “...Do you find it easy to tell your children you love them using the words, I love you?” (paragraph 90), the respondent answered by saying that the children know he loves them because when he talks to them, he tells them that he

advises them because he loves them (paragraph 95). Telling his children he corrects them because he loves them is, for the respondent, a deliberate move from the kind of parenting strategy his father used where his father never told him he loved him (paragraphs 96 and 101).

With regard to traditional cultural values, the respondent clearly demonstrates that he is moving away from the expected because he fully participates in all household chores. He declares that it is more comfortable when all members of the family share the work. The respondent agrees that this is not the African men's way of looking at things but as a family they help each other (paragraphs 264, 265 and 267). The respondent emphasises the fact of departure, from the expected cultural behaviour, by narrating the response of a Nigerian visitor in their home as follows: "I do everything, we exchange. If she goes this way, I go this way. She goes that way I go until when it is time to rest. You know even there is a sister who came here, a Nigerian sister. She was here for a mission. She came here at one time and found me ironing. She came on a Sunday again and found me ironing. And she told me, "You don't look like Kenyan men." "Why?" "No, most Kenyan men don't help their families that way." Especially the Luhyas and the Kikuyus don't consider their wives as people who should answer anything in front or tell them anything" (paragraph 273). Regarding cultural expectations, the respondent clearly takes the opposite position and states so clearly and strongly (paragraph 275). He believes in taking all people as equals and in helping each other do whatever there is to be done without any demarcations.

The respondent has taught his children to respect and share things with those less fortunate than they are. He has taught them to share food with the man who looks after the cows while they are away at school. This man sits at the table and eats with the family (paragraphs 317-319). Not many families would sit and share a meal at the same table with someone who is working for them. The respondent has also asked the children to give this labourer some of the clothes they don't need. In response to this the son gave the labourer a jacket (paragraphs 321 and 323).

Another way the respondent has used to teach his children to respect others is by observing the way people respect him as a leader in the community. The respondent

has encouraged his children to get involved in community service with him because he believes that as one serves people he/she learns to respect them as they respect him/her (paragraph 342). Through participation in community activities the respondent believes that children begin to value the community as well as learn to take responsibility (paragraph 354). The respondent advocates that for children to learn to take responsibility, they need to be trained in leadership. In his own situation he has trained his children for leadership through example. Not only is he a very effective leader of his family team, he has many leadership roles in the community, school and church.

When asked about disciplinary or conflict issues with his children, the respondent was quick to say, “With my own children I have never had issues of discipline” (paragraph 187). He attributes the lack of conflicts or disciplinary issues with his children to the fact that he started counselling his children as early as they started helping him in the house (paragraphs 193 and 195). When the interviewer asked the respondent what he meant by counselling as far as his children were concerned (paragraph 196), the respondent said that instead of punishing a child who did something wrong, he would ask the particular child, “Why have you done this? And do you think this is the right thing? That is, discussions let me say, discussion in a way to get conclusions. So I sit with them, I ask, if it is one I sit with her. If it is the boy, I sit with him, he answers and that’s the only way I think” (paragraph 197). Once he has discovered the reason for the behaviour he would advise the child and that would be the end of the conflict. The respondent however, went on to say that there was a time he used corporal punishment on his children. He used to keep two canes in the house but since the children reached nine years of age, he has not used the cane on them. Two factors influenced him to stop using the cane. Firstly, the children were disciplined, a fact he could observe. Secondly, they were also old enough for him to use the art of reason as they discussed issues together. This means that whatever conflict arises between him and his children is resolved through talking, discussion and reasoning (paragraphs 206-215). The decision to deal with conflicts with children through talking and reasoning rather than using the cane is another demonstration of the respondent’s desire to change and not follow his own father’s bad parenting example (paragraphs 64 and 65).

When the interviewer asked the respondent how what he taught the children has influenced them away from home, he said he believed they were okay. He qualified his answer by saying that he had not heard any burning issue from other people or from the children themselves. He strongly believes that they are disciplined and that he has also taught them to keep to their principles (paragraphs 231 and 233). The respondent has told his children to be careful, to be serious with their studies and learn to take matters seriously so that one day they can live a better life than their parents and be responsible for their own families (paragraphs 239, 243 and 249).

Finally, the respondent describes his relationship with his family as being very good because the children are well behaved and they respect him (paragraphs 217 and 219). What the respondent says about his children is clearly evident as one observes the family in action around the house or as they sit together at the end of the day. The children are hardworking, very well behaved and welcoming. The whole family sit and talk with each other in a very relaxed manner after all domestic chores are done.

Narrative 3 – Factors that influence Kiriva’s fathering strategy

The respondent acknowledges that the way he was brought up, his profession as a teacher and his religious faith are the factors that have influenced his fathering strategy. As indicated before, he emphasises the fact that his father set a bad example of fathering because of his strictness, severe punishment and instillation of fear in his children (paragraphs 55, 56 and 57). The respondent began by being equally harsh when he caned his children but he decided to change (paragraphs 107, 133 and 137). The respondent reports that his teaching profession has helped him change from harshness, to guidance and counselling, which he considers as the best way of teaching a child (paragraph 139). He is quick to state that the way he treated the children he taught at school was the same way he treated his own children at home (paragraphs 135, 141 and 143). The turning point for the respondent was reached when the children from his school grew up and went to secondary school then became important people in society. He puts it this way, “...that’s the time I realised a child should be taken, should be taught, should be brought up very carefully because we do

not know who he or she will be as when she grows up. Some of them really respect me...” (paragraph 137). As he reminisces about his initial harsh treatment of all children, he has a sad look of regret on his face. It is hard for the interviewer to even imagine that this very gentle, friendly father was once harsh as he states so remorsefully.

The respondent continued to weigh the ways he uses to bring up his own children and the many children in his school by asking himself questions like, “Why should I consider these ones (his own) more politely than those ones (school children)? Why should I do that?” (paragraph 157). These reflections on his own behaviour are the ones that led to the change that he expresses so clearly when he says, “I’m no longer harsh. I’m softer and I believe in guidance and counselling” (paragraph 165). As a result of this change he discusses things with his children and gets their opinion, asking questions like, “Why do you do this? Do you think this is right?” (paragraph 171). Responding to the question, “Do you always have the final word?” the respondent states emphatically that he doesn’t always have the final word. When what the child says is the right thing, he implements what the child said (paragraphs 176 and 183).

Another major influence on his fathering strategy is his faith. This influence is clearly demonstrated in the following statement, “I have one boy, three girls and uh I have, we have tended to bring up all of them in our religion, that is Catholic” (paragraph 5). He continues to say that as Catholics they are taught that the first thing they should follow is the ten commandments of God and this is what he stresses to his children. He tells his children that “If you are doing anything try to see what commandment is that you are breaking or you’re following in religion...” (paragraph 119). The respondent believes that without God nothing can be of great success, hence his advice to his children, according to what he was taught.

The respondent’s parenting style comes forth as authoritative. Though it is not clearly called that, it is demonstrated relatively well by what he describes as his way of dealing with parenting issues. He clearly states that he teaches by demonstrations, he works together with his children in the house (paragraphs 5, 17, 255 and 317); he

allows discussions and even implements the ideas or opinions of his children (paragraphs 43, 183 and 185); he disciplines his children, initially, through caning but later through discussions, guidance and counselling (paragraphs 139 and 165) and he also encourages them to work hard and be better than he is. He tells his children about his own upbringing and asks them to observe the way the family lives now (paragraphs 239 and 245) so as to improve and live even better lives. As the respondent talks about his good relationship with his children he brightens up and is full of joy.

5.3 Mghoi's story

5.3.1 Introduction

This story is based on the transcribed interview between the researcher (EM) and Mghoi (M). The transcription is to be found in appendix B. Paragraph numbers refer to the paragraph numbers allocated in the re-transcription. Her story will be told in two major narratives as follows: her relationship with her father and her ability to form relationships outside the family.

5.3.2 Personal information

Mghoi is a 21 year old Catholic Christian. When she finished high school in 2000, she thought she would continue to study law but her high school grades were lower than the expected entry point for law school. In 2002 she was able to join a computer training college in Nairobi and that is what she was doing at the point of her interview. The respondent was brought up in the village and her primary and high school education was in the rural areas. She is the first born in a family of four – three daughters and one son. Her brother is studying for a diploma in engineering while one sister is in high school and the other still in primary school.

5.3.3 Mghoi's relational experience

Mghoi's story is told in two major narratives as follows: (i) Her relationship with her father, which she says is very good because her father values her education and her future (paragraphs 88 and 94). The respondent describes her father as caring, hardworking, loving, determined and responsible (paragraphs 185, 187 and 189). Her upbringing is discussed in this narrative (paragraphs 30 and 40). Other aspects of the respondent's story presented in the first narrative are her reflections on her birth position (paragraphs 68 and 171-181); her faith (paragraphs 48, 278 and 281); her relationship with her father (paragraphs 199, 201, 203 and 209) and her father's parenting strategy (paragraphs 10, 40, 45, 48 and 223). (ii) The second narrative talks about how her relationship with her father has influenced her ability to form relationships outside the home. She begins by saying that her father has shown her how to be courageous, an attribute that has helped her talk to people from different walks of life (paragraph 235). However, she agrees that choosing friends is hard because when one meets someone he/she cannot tell whether the person is good or bad (paragraph 257). She tends to look for friends who are hard working rather than choosing friends for what they own (paragraphs 161 and 171).

Narrative 1 – Mghoi's relationship with her father

The first narrative discusses the story of Mghoi's upbringing, her relationship with her father as well as conflict and conflict resolution between her and her father. The effects of her position of birth will also be discussed in this narrative.

Responding to the question "What stands out clearly about the way your father has brought you up?" (paragraph 9), the respondent began by describing her father as very caring person, one who helps her sort out her problems (paragraph 10). The respondent went on to say that when she was young her father was strict and used to beat her but he stopped beating her and started counselling her as she grew older (paragraphs 12 and 14). She excitedly continues to say that she talks a lot, and discusses things, with her father. The respondent declares that her father is caring because he is concerned about what she does, he has provided for her education,

clothing and food (paragraph 26). The respondent's father taught her to be courageous and talk about her feelings without hiding what is in her heart. She has learned to be open by observing what her father does or how he talks about issues (paragraphs 30, 33-34). She has also learned to work hard from observing her father as well as from his example. She describes this example, "you know like me I did this when I was in school, I worked hard. These were times when things went down but I did not give up" (paragraph 40).

Replying to the question, "How would you describe your relationship with your father?" (paragraph 85), the respondent began by saying that she did not know how to describe it (paragraph 86). The interviewer realised that the respondent had not quite understood the question and hence proceeded to ask the question, "Do you say it is good, it is fair, it is bad, it is what?" (paragraph 87). The respondent responded, "It is very good," (paragraph 87). The respondent continued to explain that the relationship was good because the father favours all the children equally, he values her education and her future and values her as a person (paragraphs 90, 94 and 96). Responding to the question "Do you think your dad loves you?" (paragraph 99), the respondent speaking softly says he loves her even though he has not told her so. She sees it through his actions (paragraphs 100 and 102). When the interviewer asked the respondent whether she would like her father to tell her that he loved her (paragraph 105), her response was "He doesn't have to tell me 'cause I've seen it" (paragraph 106). At this point she was acting in a very shy manner. Her reactions to talking about love openly can be seen as consistent to the traditional African cultural way of upbringing where parents never directly tell their children they love them. Love is often assumed just as the respondent assumed she sees love in her father's actions. The way love is communicated to children is a cultural issue that has not changed much in contemporary African culture, especially in the rural areas. The fact that love is not verbally communicated may have led the respondent to declare that she has never thought of wishing that her father would tell her that he loves her (paragraphs 114-117).

The other factor that makes the respondent's relationship with her father good is because they spend time together in the evenings when they share meals and pray

together (paragraphs 48 and 127). Sometimes they travel together, for example when he took her to school in Nairobi (400 kilometres away). Her father's presence during this trip to Nairobi provided her with a sense of security and confidence (paragraphs 135, 137 and 147). The respondent went on to explain that, "When he's not around I miss him a lot" (paragraph 161). She continues, "Actually when I was not used to be outside without him I used to feel very insecure" (paragraph 169). Her sense of confidence and security was the result of the way she was raised, that is, having a father who was a source of security – a father who was there most of the time (paragraph 165).

The very good relationship with her father led her to develop a "clarity of vision" that is, learning to think beyond the here and now and thinking about the future (paragraph 52). She learned to think ahead and make decisions for herself (paragraph 62).

Answering the question "Would you say there is a difference between the way he talks to you yourself and the way he helps out your brother?" (paragraph 67), the respondent categorically says there is no difference because often the father advises her and her brother together (paragraph 68). The father encourages her and her brother to pursue the careers of their choice and not what he thinks is good for them (paragraph 78). Asked whether her close relationship with her father was because she was the first born (paragraph 170), the respondent retorts that, was not the case (paragraph 171). However, she thinks that the family expect much from her because when the father counsels her he tells her that her younger sisters expect her to set an example for them (paragraph 179). The interviewer asked the respondent whether she felt that this expectation tended to put a lot of pressure on her to work hard. Her response was that at the beginning she felt the pressure because she did not understand why her father was doing so, but as she grew up, she understood what kind of person her father wanted her to be. As a result she is more comfortable about her father's expectations (paragraphs 180-181).

Reflecting on conflict and conflict resolution between herself and her father, the respondent said that she had misunderstandings with her father concerning her behaviour. She explains that she joined a group that misled her making her father very

angry with her (paragraph 209). The respondent declares that this incidence was the only time she felt unhappy with her father but she came to realise that she was the one who had made a mistake (paragraph 209). This misunderstanding was dealt with through her father counselling her. He talked to her about the consequences that would have followed had she continued with that relationship (paragraph 201). The respondent revealed that she wanted to have her own way at that point but after spending time alone and reflecting on what her father told her she made up her mind to leave those friends. She goes on to state that, "...I find that counselling a very good one" (paragraph 203). The fact that the respondent insists that this was the only conflict she had with her father could be explained by the fact that she is close to her father who is consistently advising her and teaching her how to behave by the example he sets.

In paragraph 4, the respondent began by saying that, "...I am a Catholic. I am a Catholic Christian," a religious position influenced, to begin with, by her father (paragraph 48) but later on through her own personal decision (paragraph 281). The example of praying together as a family set by her father has given her the courage to pray wherever she is even when she is alone (paragraph 48). Also, the fact that her parents have put their faith to practise has influenced her to make a personal decision to follow the religion they follow.

Focusing on her father's parenting strategy, the interviewer asked the respondent to describe her father in five words (paragraph 184). Her response portrayed a father who was caring, hardworking, loving, determined and responsible (paragraphs 185, 187 and 189). Answering the question, "Would you want to be like him?" (paragraph 194), she replied "Yes, because I would like to be responsible, determined, caring, loving and hardworking too" (paragraphs 195 and 197).

The respondent continued to describe her father as a person who teaches through demonstration, for example, he is hardworking (paragraph 40) and he goes to church every Sunday (paragraph 48). He not only lives as an example himself, as the family works together, (paragraph 27) but he also teaches by giving examples. The respondent upholds that at the beginning her father was very strict and often used

physical punishment but then he changed as she grew up and now he counsels and discusses things with her and her siblings. He uses counselling to solve any conflicts in the home (paragraphs 12 and 14). The father also listens and implements her ideas and suggestions at times and when he does so she feels very happy (paragraphs 227 and 229).

Narrative 2 – Father’s influence on the formation of relationships outside the home

In answering the question, “Do you find it easy to make friends and choose friends?” (paragraph 258), the respondent said this, “No, choosing friends is hard. According to me it is hard because when you meet someone, you can...you cannot say for sure whether this person is good or this person is bad” (paragraph 259). She went on to clarify that her choice is influenced by her desire to have people she can discuss issues with, especially education related issues since she is a student. Specifically, she looks for friends who are hardworking because these are the ones who are more like her and will positively help her especially when they study together (paragraphs 261 to 269). The respondent states that she makes these choices because her father advised her to do so. She explains it this way, “He told me, when you’re choosing friends, you should choose friends who are hardworking, who mind about what you’re going to do. Let’s say studies, you should choose friends who you can discuss your studies where you have problems. Not choosing friends because they are rich. Not choosing friends because, because of what they have and that. You just choose friends whom you can discuss things, which can give you better future” (paragraph 271).

The qualities the respondent developed as a result of her close relationship with her father have been helpful in her endeavour to form relationships outside the home. Some of the qualities are courage and determination. She reports that because she is courageous, she is able to talk comfortably to the different kinds of people she meets whether she knows them or not (paragraph 235). The fact that she has developed a clear vision of what she wants to do in the future makes it easier for her to choose friends who are like her as well as keep focusing on the important issues of life (paragraph 52).

When the interviewer asked the respondent whether she had problems with relationships outside home (paragraph 242), the respondent replied by saying “I cannot say that life was that easy outside the home. There are times when I have difficulties with people outside,” (paragraph 243). She further explains that there were misunderstandings with other students when they were playing games or in the class or when someone would steal her property and deny they stole despite there being witnesses. When the interviewer asked her how she solved these problems she stated that sometimes she called her father for help. For example, when a student stole the respondent’s textbook, changed numbers and handed it in and the teacher refused to believe the respondent’s story she called her father. When the father came and checked the book, he identified it as the respondent’s book and was able to explain this to the teacher (paragraph 249). When her father was not there, especially during her high school years, she sought help from the teachers. The respondent’s ability to consult with teachers is a demonstration of her courage as well as her confidence that those she turned to for help would help her.

The interviewer asked the respondent what she would tell other young people about the things that helped her to be the person she is if she had an opportunity. Her immediate response was as follows “Actually I, I am used to telling my friends and my younger ones about my experience with my dad. And many at times even when I was in high school, I used to give out the same, same example which I have given you when I was in class eight and joined bad company and then he counselled me. And I usually give out that example as much as possible because it is an experience which I got and you know they say experience is the best teacher” (paragraph 217). This answer depicts trust and confidence in what the respondent’s father has taught her as well as her willingness to share with others what she has learned. Asked what she would tell young people to do if they want a good relationship with their father, the respondent states that she would advise them to obey their parents especially their fathers. Young people should take advice seriously and work hard because parents work hard. The respondent believes that if young people work hard, their relationship with their parents will be good (paragraph 219). She continued to state that when

young people give their opinion and parents do not act on the opinion, the young people should not give up (paragraph 223).

Even though the respondent is quite shy, she talks with a lot of confidence and seems to be very sure of what she wants to do and what she expects from others.

5.4 Timothy's story

5.4.1 Introduction

This account is based on the transcribed interview between the researcher (EM) and Timothy (T). The transcription is to be found in appendix B. Paragraph numbers refer to the paragraph numbers allocated in the re-transcription. His story is told in two main narratives as follows: his relationship with his father and his ability to form relationships with others outside the family.

5.4.2 Personal information

Timothy is a single 19 year old, first year student studying for a diploma in electrical engineering at the Kenya Institute of Mass Communication. He has three sisters; one older than him and the other two younger. His primary and secondary education was achieved in the rural area where he grew up. He began staying in the city when he began studying for the diploma in engineering.

5.4.3 Timothy's relational experience

Timothy's story is told in two main narratives as follows: (i) His relationship with his father, which he describes as a very good relationship (paragraph 8). The respondent describes his father as determined, ambitious, strict, loving, one who spends time with his children (paragraphs 193, 195, 197 and 228), a man who uses an authoritative parenting strategy and teaches through demonstration (paragraphs 16, 36 and 38). The respondent states that he was brought up in a strict way (paragraph 8) and yet he has learned many things from his father such as punctuality and being careful when performing different chores (paragraphs 36 and 38). Despite being strict, his father

loved him and spent time with him (paragraphs 276, 278 and 280); they perform many chores at home together even though at times the respondent wanted to have time with his friends. The respondent's reflections of his self image, his future and his faith are presented in narrative one (paragraphs 50, 70, 104, 270, 54, 56 and 60). Conflict and conflict resolution are also dealt with in the first narrative (paragraphs 130, 137, 145, 147 and 149). (ii) The second narrative entails the influence the respondent's relationship with his father has had on his ability to form relationships outside home. Firstly, the respondent feels that he is different from others (paragraph 12). He felt that his father has nothing to do with his outside relationships the choice of his friends comes automatically (paragraphs 84 and 86). However, when he made bad friends his father would talk to him (paragraphs 92, 94, 104, 106 and 108). The respondent has advice on how young people should react when their parents are strict (paragraphs 270 and 273).

Narrative 1 – Timothy's relationship with his father

In this narrative the story of how the respondent was brought up, his relationship with his father, conflict and conflict resolution between the respondent and his father will be discussed.

The interviewer began by asking the respondent to tell her how his father brought him up. The respondent started off by saying, "My father has brought me up in eh...a very good relationship with him. Eh although we had some few quarrels sometimes but (pause) he brought me up in a strict (pause) yeah I can call it a strict relationship with him" (paragraph 8). The respondent felt that his father was strict because he did not allow him to go out to spend time with his friends especially over the weekend. Instead the respondent stayed at home and helped with any work that had to be done. The respondent however, appreciates the fact that he performed better than his friends at school and has moved on with education while other young people he was in class with performed poorly in school and ended up having a bad character. He attributes the difference between himself and other young people to the fact that he did not get time to go out and learn to smoke and drink at a tender age because his father kept him busy (paragraph 12).

The respondent knew that his father's ambition was to make his children learn until they had a very good future (paragraph 212), but he is quick to add that there were times his father put a lot of pressure on him especially when he was in primary school. The respondent explains that when he and his siblings came home from school, the father would give him extra schoolwork to do and finish before he went to sleep because the father was a teacher. All this extra work caused stress (paragraphs 218, 220, 224 and 228). The respondent continues to report that the pressure the father put on him and the stress it caused did not affect him negatively, instead it was for his own good because he can now see the fruits (paragraph 236). For example, he learned to work hard both at home and school as a result of that pressure (paragraph 240). Basically, the respondent was brought up in an atmosphere of hard work - his father worked hard and he learned to work hard. It was an atmosphere where he worked closely with his father and it was therefore helpful in the development of what the respondent calls "a very good relationship with him" (paragraph 8).

Despite the good relationship, the respondent states that he grew up fearing his father even though he does not fear him presently. He states that his father "had a very big voice. In fact when he is quarrelling with you, you just, you just can't dare to oppose him" (paragraph 18). He however, stopped fearing his father when he went to high school because his father changed his attitude and begun giving the respondent the opportunity to air his views. The father initiated the change and began listening to and even implementing the respondent's views (paragraphs 26 and 28).

Responding to the question "Did your father ever tell you that he loved you?" (paragraph 323), the respondent said that his father told him that he loved him though not very often. He feels that he is loved the same way his sisters are loved, not because he is the only son. Another important factor in building this good relationship between the respondent and his father is the fact that they spent time together. He thinks that spending time together is one of his father's ways of showing him that he loved him (paragraph 274). For example, the respondent states that his father would choose a day for them to just walk and talk, often walking for a very long distance over the hills. These trips were geared towards spending time together apart from time

spent together working at home and buying things for the respondent and his sisters (paragraphs 274, 276, 282 and 288). Unlike many other young people, the respondent was very happy to spend much time with his father whether travelling for leisure or working together at home (paragraph 302). The statement “you work with him, you work together doing everything there is to be done at home” (paragraph 305), is clarified by the respondent by saying “We work together. We have a, we do a lot, a lot of the works we do at home we just do it together. In fact wh...wh... (stammers) when he sees me maybe idling, he’ll just choose any piece of work s...s... (stammers) so that we may do it to...(stammers) together” (paragraph 306). The respondent clarifies his feelings about working with his father by saying that sometimes he is sad because he has worked all morning and would rather rest and relax in the afternoon yet his father calls him to do more work. In other words, he would appreciate some time off to relax and spend with his friends (paragraphs 308 and 310). These times of working with the father have taught the respondent to be hard working (paragraph 240) and have also influenced him to become the person he is (paragraph 322).

The interviewer observed that the respondent tended to stammer during the interview when he was excited or when he had strong feelings about what he was talking about. For example, he stammered when he talked about his father’s involvement in the community (paragraphs 254 and 256), when he referred to his father buying them presents, their working together and his sadness because he could not get time off work to be with his friends (paragraph 300, 304, 306 and 308).

When asked to evaluate himself in the light of other young people of his age, the respondent stated that there were some differences between him and others. For example, he feels that he has progressed because he has someone who shows him the right way to follow (paragraphs 48 and 50). Focusing further on his self-image, the respondent feels that he is able to make good choices, for example, not to indulge in smoking and drinking even though some of his friends do indulge in these things (paragraph 104). The decision not to indulge in smoking was a result of him having realised that smoking had no meaning; it was a waste of money and a cause of disease. This realisation was influenced by his father (paragraph 70). What the respondent portrays is a picture of a confident young man who is able to make choices

and stand by his decisions despite the pressures from his peers. He had started smoking when he was much younger but stopped on his own volition (paragraphs 72 and 74).

Another choice the respondent made is to become a Catholic. Introducing himself, he said, "...my religious background, I'm a pure Catholic in a Catholic environment and up to now I can't change a religion" (paragraph 4). This is a strong statement for a 19-year-old young man. What began as an influence of a father's example, (paragraphs 54, 56 and 58) became a personal decision to adhere to the teachings of the Catholic faith qualified by the following statement, "It is just my own decision I've made that I'll never want to change my religion from that faith" (paragraph 60). "I am going to be a Catholic, I can never change because I want to be a Catholic for myself" (paragraph 63). As the respondent gets excited and stammers, he goes on to say that his peers complain because he goes to church every Sunday. Many of his friends and peers do not go to church. (paragraph 58). The interviewer observed that the respondent is relatively strong willed.

In paragraph 8, the respondent indicates that he has had a few quarrels with his father. However, he chose to highlight one conflict, which according to him was the only major conflict with his father. This conflict revolved around property lost or destroyed in school such as books, clothes and even the suitcase the respondent used to have. According to him, he didn't carelessly lose things; they were either damaged by others or stolen, especially when he was in his first year in high school. The climax of this conflict was after he returned home at the end of high school. (He had been in a boarding school). His father and mother were very angry because he brought home just a few of the things he had taken to school. His father thought he had sold his things and spent the money on girlfriends. When the respondent explained what had happened the father was not convinced (paragraphs 131, 135 and 137). In retrospect, the respondent realises that had he told his parents earlier what was happening in school the situation would have been better (paragraph 143). Answering the question "How did you solve that eventually?" (paragraph 144), the respondent stated that his parents sent him to live with his cousin in Nairobi soon after he finished high school (paragraphs 145 and 147). He was sent away from home to separate him from "bad

friends in the village” (paragraph 149). Even though the respondent explained that he was not doing bad things, his parents did not believe him and that was why they chose to have him stay with his cousin away from home (paragraph 167). When the interviewer asked the respondent whether he thought that being moved from home was a good way of solving the conflict (paragraph 182), his response was that it was a good way (paragraph 183). He goes on to say that he has no ill feelings towards his father as a result of that decision (paragraph 189).

Discussing his father’s parenting strategy, the respondent explains that his father used an authoritative strategy. He was a strict father who would explain why he did what he did or why he needed to be strict (paragraph 16). His father taught through demonstration or by his example. For example, the respondent learned to be punctual, clean and careful in his work from observing his father demonstrating these attributes (paragraphs 36, 38, 42 and 46). The respondent practised how to clean the cowshed by repeating what his father had taught him through demonstration (paragraph 46). Another reason for believing that his father is authoritative is that he supports him. For example, when the respondent found himself a school to study electronic engineering, his father supported his decision because his father had seen him struggle to repair things at home (paragraphs 171, 175 and 179). The interviewer asked the respondent what five words he would use to describe his father and he used the following words; determined, ambitious, strict, cautious and loving (paragraphs 193, 195, 197 and 199). The respondent then explained that his father is determined because when he decides to do something, he persists until he does it. On the other hand, the father is cautious because when he is doing something he is very careful about how he does it (paragraph 20). He is ambitious because he always has very high hopes about whatever he is doing. As an example of his father’s ambition, the respondent says “In his own life I heard him say that he wanted to make us learn until we have a very good future for our family” (paragraph 212). An extra description of the father is a man who loves music; he plays the piano in church (paragraph 250). He is also very involved in the community (paragraphs 254 and 256) but despite this involvement and his job, he spends time with his family and is a loving father (paragraphs 323 and 324).

Narrative 2 – Father’s influence on the formation of relationships outside home

Despite the good relationship between the respondent and his father, it was interesting to hear him announce that his father is not in anyway involved in his relationships outside home (paragraph 84). He was responding to the question “Has the way you were brought up helped you form relationships outside home?” (paragraph 83). When the interviewer asked “How do you choose friends?” the respondent asserted that “ok, maybe I’m seeing it comes automatically from the, from the brain” (paragraph 86), he continues that when he sees that the characteristics of a person are similar to his, he then decides to attempt forming a friendship. Apparently when the respondent was younger, he made friends with people who behaved badly and his father used to quarrel with him and tell him that others in the village were talking about the behaviour of those friends (paragraphs 92 and 94). This quarrelling and correction by the father eventually influenced the respondent in his choice of friends. That is why he looks at the characteristics of a potential friend. He has not found it difficult to make friends despite the values he had developed. Sometimes the respondent has made friends with people who smoke and drink but when they begin to put a lot of pressure on him to smoke he severs the relationship instead of succumbing to the friend’s pressure (paragraphs 104, 106 and 108).

Responding to the question “Do you have many lasting friends, long term friends?” the respondent reports that his long lasting friends are not many because most of his friends were school friends who have gone their own way (paragraph 112). The other reason for not having lasting friends is that he is away from home and he does not go home often and therefore there is no time to continue those friendships (paragraph 114). According to the respondent’s story, he is able to make friends easily and therefore he has many friends. However, the respondent doesn’t seem to have many lasting friends because it seems as if he does not keep in touch with his friends when he moves from one environment to the other. The respondent has also moved on with his tertiary education while his friends are way behind him because they had to repeat some classes. The respondent illustrates this by saying, “...in fact my best friend finished primary just the other day” (paragraph 12). The difference in the level of education may be a hindrance to maintaining a close lasting relationship with some of

his friends. Even though the respondent declares that he makes his own choices in making friends, his father's influence in making him the person he is, that is, a man focused on his studies, has influenced his choice to leave those friends who have moved on.

As the interviewer and the respondent reflected on his relationship with his father, she asked him what he wanted to say to other young people like him (paragraph 267). The first thing the respondent declared was that the young people who had good fathers like his father should follow the example of their fathers. Those who had strict fathers should just bear with their fathers and try to follow what they tell or show them.

During the interview, the respondent comes forth as a very pleasant person who tended to stammer when he talks about issues that make him excited or sad. Even though he says the conflict with his father was solved and he has no ill feelings towards him, the interviewer was left thinking that there was still some hurt in the respondent because of his manner, his rather sad tone of voice and his expression. The interviewer was left wondering whether there was an unwillingness to share negative aspects about a father he had a good relationship with. It is also possible that the cultural teaching according to which young people should not talk negatively about their parents or elders influenced this young man who was brought up in the village.

5.5 Evaluation of the Kiriva family

The thing that stands out about this family is that they share very good relationships – a fact stated by the three respondents (paragraphs 217K, 88M and 8T). This relationship is strengthened by the fact that the family spends time together when they work, eat, and pray together as well as the time the father chooses to spend with each child alone especially when he goes for long walks with his son in order to allow them time to talk alone (paragraph 82 and 302T and 127M). The three respondents also agree that the father was very strict when the children were small but he changed later on (paragraphs 133 and 135K, 12 and 14M and 20T). The father's strictness created fear in both children in their early life, however, later in life they overcame that fear (paragraphs 18 and 20T).

Focusing on the father's fathering strategy, Mghoi highlights the fathering characteristics he presents namely caring, loving (paragraph 185M), a person who provides security (paragraph 147M), and spends time with his family (paragraph 127M). On the other hand Timothy refers to an authoritative relationship with his father; a father who is strict yet explains the reason for his strictness (paragraph 16T). Both describe their father as a person who taught through demonstration as he encouraged them (paragraph 40M and 36 and 38T). The two opinions are in agreement because the characteristics Mghoi brought out can be regarded as characteristics of an authoritative parenting strategy. When Timothy talked about an authoritative relationship with his father, the interviewer wondered whether he meant an authoritative or an authoritarian relationship. However, as he continued to talk about his father, the interviewer was convinced that he understood what he was saying.

During the interview there was a clear difference between the young people's ability to express themselves. Even though her answers were clear, Mghoi tended to be brief despite the interviewer's attempts to get more information from her. Timothy, answering similar questions to those Mghoi answered, was able to explain himself better using more words.

Even though both children had a good relationship with their father, Mghoi presents a picture of a perfect relationship while Timothy seems to have had a side of his experience that reflected a somewhat marred relationship. The marred side of Timothy's relationship seems to anchor on the fact that the parents did not seem to have trusted him fully. This is demonstrated by the conflict arising from what had happened to Timothy's belongings in school (paragraphs 131,135 and 137T). As a result of this conflict his parents sent Timothy to stay with his cousin in Nairobi to make sure that other boys in the village whose behaviour was questionable did not influence their son.

Observing Kiriva relate to his whole family, one obviously sees the closeness both he and his children talk about. The family is very well integrated with a father who is in

charge and yet often operating at the level of the children. This very healthy atmosphere seems to have prepared the young people well in enabling them to form good relationships outside home. Both young people appear to be very confident and sure of themselves.

The interviewer feels that Kiriva's upbringing had a bearing on the way he raised both his children. For example, he initially used corporal punishment hence creating fear in his children just as his father had done despite the fact that he had decided to be different from his father. However, after a lot of reflection Kiriva changed and began counselling his children instead. This counselling created confidence and trust instead of fear.

CHAPTER 6

MUNYAO FAMILY

6.1 Introduction

The Munyao family story demonstrates more than any other family story the picture of one of the questions the researcher set out to identify, namely “Can young people form stable relationship outside the home if the relationship with the father is not good?” A further complication for in this family is that the parents got divorced when the children were young and the mother who used to look after the children later died. These issues are woven into the fabric of this chapter.

The three-part story of this chapter is based on the transcribed interviews between the researcher (E M) and the father Munyao (M), his son David (D) and his daughter Wavata (W). These transcriptions are to be found in appendix C. Paragraph numbers refer to the paragraph numbers assigned in the transcriptions.

6.1.1 Setting

Munyao and his family stay in a relatively poor neighbourhood at the outskirts of a rural town (Kitui), 250 kilometres from the capital city Nairobi. The home is not very well maintained even though it is clean. Both Munyao and David were interviewed at home while Wavata, who is in a boarding school 10 kilometres away from home, was interviewed at school.

6.1.2 Personal information

Munyao is a 54-year-old married father of two daughters and one son. He works as an accountant with the Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT), Kitui branch. Munyao left school after completing his high school education and has since trained himself through correspondence and on the job training, rising from the position of a clerk when first employed to an accountant presently (paragraphs 14a and 16). He had

worked in two other institutions before embarking on the job he is doing now and he has worked in this institution for the last ten years.

6.2 The experience of parenting for Munyao

From the data analysis, the story of Munyao's parenting emerges as two interwoven dimension that strongly influence each other, that is, his own upbringing and the way he has brought up his own children. During the interview process the respondent identified the following as the most important factors that have made him the man and father he perceives himself to be: having a father who not only mistreated him (paragraph 186) but one he describes as having been "very wild" (paragraph 200) as well as another man he calls "uncle" even though there was no blood relationship (paragraphs 270-275).

As the respondent reflects on how he has brought up his own children, he identifies the following influences: the way he was brought up (paragraphs 218 and 220), the community where he grew up (paragraph 62) and the influence of his job (paragraph 308, 309 and 318). The respondent perceives his fathering strategy as one of delegating responsibilities (paragraph 112, 110 and 548). During the actual process of parenting the respondent seems to have demanded absolute obedience from his children. He comes forth as a strict disciplinarian (paragraph 62, 68 and 102). The respondent states that he has trained the children to perform house chores by allowing them to work while he helps (supervises) them (paragraph 82 and 88)

Three narratives emerged from the interview. These will be discussed separately under the following titles: the respondent's own upbringing; factors that influenced his fathering strategy; his bringing up of his own children; and his parenting style.

Narrative 1 – The respondent's own upbringing

The interviewer began by asking the respondent whether the way he brought up his children was influenced by the way he was brought up (paragraph 181). The first thing the respondent said was that he grew up in very poor family where he was the

only one who made an effort to further his education (paragraph 182). His father was still alive when he was growing up and lived with the family but the respondent is quick to add that his father “mistreated him” (paragraph 186). The respondent stated that his father also mistreated his mother and explains that his father would come home drunk and beat his wife (the respondent’s mother). When the respondent tried to intervene his father would beat him also. The following section of the interview portrays the respondent’s view that he is who he is today because his mother encouraged him and not because of his father’s support. “My mother and when...see I was young by then, when I try to intervene he was also beating me but my mother gave me the morality. “OK, your mother is the one who stood with you? “Yeah, told me, you just go to school whether you are swollen...don’t worry, you just go to school. God will help us.” “So are you saying you are what you are much more because of what your mother did not what your father did?” “Yeah, yeah” (paragraphs 192-196).

The respondent continues to state that he never sat and talked with his father because his father was “wild” (paragraph 200). The respondent described his father as wild because whenever the father came home from his drinking sprees the respondent and his siblings would have to run and hide in order to avoid being beaten for nothing (paragraph 200). The respondent reported that his father’s behaviour made him unhappy and up to the day his father died their relationship was not good (paragraphs 212 – 216). While the respondent narrated his story he appeared to be extremely removed from the whole situation like someone reporting a story he had heard and not an experience he had lived through. In this detachment the interviewer sensed a lot of anger in the respondent, which he was unwilling to even, begin talking about.

Responding to the question “Did that make you decide to choose to be a different kind of father?” (paragraph 217), the respondent states that he decided to love his children and not treat them the way he was treated by his father in order to make them happy (paragraphs 218 – 222). However, the respondent did not refrain from using the cane on his own children. Instead, he did try to use the cane in moderation because he did not want to incur the expense of having to take his children to hospital if he hurt them badly while using the cane (paragraphs 100, 106 and 108). The respondent light

heartedly made the following statement “ The child.... they say you you youyou do what with the stick and then you spoil the child?” (paragraph 102). He was trying to quote a verse from the Bible in Proverbs 13 verse 24.

When the interviewer asked whether the father was employed, the respondent said that his father first worked as a policeman then as an assistant chief after which he became a peasant about the time the respondent was born (paragraphs 228, 230 and 232). At that point the respondent said “I had forgotten actually he had a first wife and then when the first wife died he got married to another and when this one died he got married to my mother” (paragraph 232b). The respondent further explained that his father built a house for the children of his second wife far from where his mother lived (paragraph 234). He did not develop a relationship with his stepsisters and stepbrother even though he knew them.

It is difficult to determine whether the respondent’s forgetting that his father had two wives before his mother was a deliberate action or a situation of selective remembering as a polite way of dealing with a painful past that he is unwilling to face. Perhaps this forgetfulness is supportive of the interviewer’s impression that the respondent was removed from the narrative he tells by using limited words, that is, he did not seem to be able to explain anything in depth giving the impression of ‘keep guessing what is next’. Often the interviewer felt that no amount of asking for more detail could make the respondent discuss anything further, a fact that caused a lot of frustration during the interview.

It appears as if the way the respondent was brought up accorded him little opportunity to develop a stable relationship with his own siblings because when he meets the only living stepsister he only greets her- they do not talk (paragraphs 240 – 244). The respondent adds that he shifted from his original place of birth because his own brothers treated their children the way their father treated him and his siblings (paragraphs 240 – 254). The story of the respondent’s childhood years and his relationship with his family is a very sad story that has repeated itself in his relationship with his own children. The respondent himself does not present it as such because he says he chose to love his children and treat them differently. However,

what the children have presented painted a picture similar to the one the respondent painted about his relationship with his father. The different perspectives presented by the respondent and his children are demonstrations of people in the same family looking at the same issue from totally different lenses.

Narrative 2 – The way the respondent has parented his own children

The respondent's wife died in 1998 when the oldest child (the son) was 14 years old. Responding to the question by the interviewer "How would you say you have looked after your children this well for them to have done so well?" (paragraph 61), the respondent began by stating that he moved from his original home to where he is staying now because the residents in his original home area are not good as they like smoking and drinking and their children do the same. He moved away so that he could "tame his children" (paragraph 62). The interviewer asked the respondent to explain what he meant by saying he wanted to tame his children and this is how he explained it: "Yes, yes, you see...by taming them, when you want to go somewhere as a visitor, it will take too long to come and understand the other people. What is going on? Yes, what is going on? So theirs was in the morning they wash, they go to school, and from school they come back to the house. And then, I was watching their movements. Yes" (paragraphs 66-68).

Even though the respondent let the children go to school alone he expected them to come home straight from school. He was able to watch their movement by making sure they got home at the expected time.

The respondent stated that after school they together prepare something to eat but on seeking further clarification he explained that the girls cook while he helps or supervises them. He continued to explain that he trained them to do everything they needed to do, that is, he demonstrated how to do things as he worked with the children. He checked their schoolbooks to ensure homework was completed. The respondent believed that one has to beat children a bit because if one does not do so, the children get spoiled. He believed that if he beat them a lot, he would seriously hurt them, and would have to spend money taking them to hospital for treatment

(paragraphs 99-110). As the respondent was talking the interviewer got the impression that he had been severely beaten by his father and hence his calling his father “very wild”. Because the respondent limits beating he corrects his children through talking, though not directly. For example, when he sees a mistake in the girls he advises his son to deal with them or asks the older daughter to deal with her younger sister (paragraph 110-112).

However, when the children have a problem, the respondent meets with them and they tell him their problems. The respondent states that the children are very open with him (paragraphs 116 and 120). Sometimes the respondent tells the children to put their needs in writing and then he struggles to meet these needs (paragraphs 122 and 124). When the interviewer asked the respondent “How he has prepared the girls to be women” he stated that he usually leaves his uncle’s wife and her daughters with his daughters hoping that the aunt will give them some guidance (paragraphs 545 –556). The respondent is not happy when his girls ask questions relating to boys and he basically advises them to concentrate on their studies for the time being otherwise his aunt is responsible for talking to his girls about issues of relationships.

The respondent however, talks to his son preparing him to be a responsible man even though he would not want the son to get married at this point in time. According to the respondent the son has not reached “a stage of getting married” (paragraph 576). The respondent’s argument is that his son should go to university first or get some training before getting married. The respondent’s refusal to allow his son to get married now is in agreement with what many African fathers believe should be the progression of events before their sons get married. The respondent made it clear that he treats his son differently not because he is a first-born but because he is a man. He could take his son out for a walk and talk to him. For example, “You see, I know I can go out with him talking about eh, you see you should get ready, you should be aware of these girls, when you come across a girl and then you put me in another task that your sisters will miss now education, so just refrain now from these people, stick to education, it will come a time when you will be free to do whatever you want” (paragraph 590).

When the interviewer asked the respondent whether he had any disagreements or problems with his children he reported that sometimes when he gives instructions the children do not follow them. The interviewer asked him how he solved these problems and his response was as follows: “When I ask them why, they keep quiet. Then it is what I was telling you. If it is... this... the youngest girl, I tell the middle one to tell her I am the father and am the mother. If it is this one... the middle one, I tell the older brother” (paragraph 352).

The respondent emphasizes to the children that he is the mother and father and therefore they should obey him (paragraphs 354, 356 and 358). The respondent does not give the children time to question what he says (paragraph 360), instead he delegates the responsibility of solving problems to the children or to the uncle if he has problems with the son (paragraphs 361 –370). From the conversation in the stated paragraphs, one gets the impression that the respondent avoided facing problems. However, it is not clear why he does so - perhaps it is a way of avoiding using the cane on the children often or not wanting to take responsibility for correcting and disciplining his children. This behaviour may be due to the fact that he has no experience on how to face problems. According to the respondent he asks the children to tell him about the mistakes he makes if he had any. He would then tell the children that their mistake was not following his instructions (paragraphs 374 and 380). The respondent further states that he apologizes to the children if he was wrong and promises not to repeat what he had done. The motive for his apology is a desire to keep them happy (paragraph 388) and not wanting them to be as miserable as he was when he grew up (paragraph 390).

The interviewer asked the respondent whether he feels his children are well prepared to meet the challenges outside home. His response is interesting because he seems not to know whether they are able to meet the challenges “because they are almost converted to Christianity”. The respondent qualifies his answer by saying that when the children go to church, he does not follow them to make sure that they were actually in church. The visitors who come to visit his children bring bibles along and together with this the pastor seems to be happy with his children (paragraphs 421 –

428). However, the respondent says that his son tells him when he faces problems outside the home. For example, the son told him that other boys were asking him to pass through wrong places with them leading to his getting home late. The respondent feels that the things others were telling his son to do, namely to drink and smoke are the ones that made him leave his home area and avoid the influences of these other children on his son. As a result he transferred the son to a boarding school far way from home (paragraphs 431 –455). It is not clear from the conversation between the interviewer and the respondent about the children’s ability to form relationships and meet challenges outside home, whether this respondent knows what is happening to his children outside home. The interviewer senses that he was somehow a stranger to his own children. The respondent seems unhappy with the fact that his children have converted to Christianity.

The respondent explains that his relationship with his children is good because they obey him (paragraphs 126 and 129). For example, when he asked the children to do something and they did it as quickly as possible, he felt that they were obeying him hence he was happy with them (paragraphs 130 and 134). The respondent continues to say that he loves his children and misses those in boarding school (paragraphs 140 and 144). According to him, he had not told them that he loves them but they just know he loves them because they can notice his love. On further exploration by the interviewer, the respondent says that he had told the children that he loved them in vernacular that is “*ninimwendete*” (I love you) (paragraph 174). The respondent also listens to the opinion of the children – especially his son. He takes walks with his son and they discuss things with him. If need be he tells his son to discuss the issues they discuss with the sisters and give feedback to him. The respondent then chooses whether to implement his son’s opinion or not. Even though the respondent doesn’t say so, not discussing things with his daughters directly is a strong influence of the culture of the community he lives in, men generally do not seek the opinion of women. This is a practice that is still strongly adhered to in many rural communities in Kenya today.

Narrative 3 – Factors that influence Munyao’s fathering strategy

The respondent acknowledges that the way he was brought up, the man he calls his uncle and his professional experience have helped him become the father he is. These factors have influenced his fathering strategy. As discussed earlier, the respondent described his father as a ‘bad example’ of fathering because of his violent ways that sent his children to hide every time they heard him coming home so that they could escape undeserved beatings. His father’s behaviour made the respondent call him “very wild” (paragraphs 192, 200 and 208). He was a man that the respondent could not sit and talk to. As a result the respondent chose to treat his children differently, that is, to love them while beating them just a little rather than treat them the way his father treated him (paragraphs 218, 220 and 100). From the narrative the respondent gives the impression that his father did not love him and that is why he chose to love his own children.

The other man who influenced the respondent’s parenting style is a man he calls “uncle”. This man is not a blood relative of his father or his mother but comes from the same clan the respondent’s father comes from - that is why he regards him as a paternal uncle. Relationships like this have been and still are common in many communities. They are generally accepted and the people involved are accorded the full rights of a proper uncle or aunt. The respondent repeated that this man loves him and always visits him. The respondent says this of this uncle “Now that one we are matching” (paragraph 286). This “uncle” counsels the respondent’s son while his wife prepares the respondent’s daughters to face future challenges (paragraphs 362, 548, 564 and 566).

The respondent says that his profession as an accountant has assisted him in the process of parenting in various ways. Firstly, his job provides him with his daily bread as such and he is therefore able to feed his family (paragraph 308). The respondent also states that from the discussion he has with his colleagues he gets good ideas, which he then shares with his children. Secondly, his accounting experience helps him when he does window shopping for the items that the children need. When he finds out the cost, he then gives the children the money they need and tells them how much

the items actually cost. The respondent believes that doing things this way is training the children to be good in using money carefully (paragraphs 318 – 332). The respondent feels that the children appreciate his way of assisting them to use money and they are happy with him (paragraphs 335 and 336).

As regards religious influence the respondent goes to church when he gets “time to go” (paragraph 472). From this statement one can assume that he does not regularly attend church and may not have a strong commitment to his faith. However, according to the respondent he used his religious knowledge to teach his children what Jesus did when his children were younger (paragraph 538). He does not discuss things about going to church or things of God with the children any more because they are adults now and are aware of these things. His children also know what they are supposed to do (paragraphs 539 and 540). The respondent’s faith may have influenced or assisted his family when the children were much younger. Currently it is not certain whether his faith is important to him because he does not go to church regularly.

The respondent reveals involvement in traditional matters as portrayed in him getting medicinal herbs from herbalists. Herbalists are in most African cultures viewed as the traditional medicine men and/or women who do good things in order to help their people. This belief is what makes the respondent to quickly differentiate between herbalists (paragraph 514) and witch doctors because he does not believe in witchcraft (paragraphs 516 and 506). Many times people do not want to be known to have visited witch doctors as they are seen to only cause problems. The respondent goes to herbalists because he believes that they treat and cure diseases, for example, chronic backache (paragraph 524). In many African communities association with both herbalists and witch doctors is viewed as involvement with traditional beliefs which are believed to oppose Christianity. Involvement in traditional religion by this respondent could cause conflict between him and his children who are strong believers of the Christian faith.

Focusing on the respondent’s fathering strategy, one finds that he uses a combination of techniques. For example, he states that he trained his children through telling them

what to do and helping them to do it (paragraphs 82 and 88). He delegates a lot of the difficult problems to either his own children or to his uncle's family to solve (paragraphs 110, 112, 548, 564, 566 and 633). He also demands obedience from his children, for example, he told the children they should obey him because he was both father and mother (paragraphs 354 and 356). His parenting style is more of an authoritarian style. He is a man who demands to be obeyed at all times and allows no room for questions (paragraphs 354 and 360). At the same time he talks about a desire to tame his children by moving them away from his home of origin to rent a house for them where they are living now (paragraph 62). It is worth noting that the respondent says he listens to the opinions of the children and acts on them, especially his son's opinion. Despite the fact that the respondent emerges more as an authoritarian father, there are things he seems to ignore. Not only does he not discuss matters of faith with the children currently, he doesn't seem to care what his children do on Sundays. He assumes that they know what they should do; as such, he assumes they go to church. In this respect he is relaxed about his expectations for his children. Another assumption from the respondent is that his children have adapted to the death of their mother since they never talk about her (paragraphs 621 and 622). However, the children's view about the death of their mother is very different. It will be discussed within their narratives.

The impression the interviewer has is that in some ways the respondent is not in touch with his children and his relationship with them is not as good as he regards it to be. Before the interview started the respondent had mentioned that he was hoping that the interviewer would help him with school fees for the children after the interview was over. The interviewer made it clear that financial support was not the intention of the interview, but at times she wondered whether there was an intent or hidden agenda by the respondent to impress just in case some financial assistance was possible.

6.3 David's story

6.3.1 Introduction

This story is based on the transcribed interview between the researcher (EM) and

David (D). The transcript is to be found in appendix C. The paragraph numbers refer to the paragraph numbers allocated in the re-transcription. His story will be told in two major narratives as follows: his relationship with his father and his ability to form relationships outside the family.

6.3.2 Personal information

David is a 20 year old, born again Christian. He just finished high school and was waiting for his national examination results. He was planning to go to university after the results were out on condition he would get sufficient money to pay his fees. When the results eventually came out his marks were good enough to qualify to go to university. He is currently awaiting the university selections. David is the first-born and only son in a family of three siblings - his sisters are in high school. He was brought up in the village and all his education was in the rural areas. The respondent and his sisters are very involved in youth work at their church, unlike their father who they say doesn't go to church at all even though he told the interviewer he goes if he has time.

6.3.3 David's relational experience

David's story is told in two major narratives as follows: (i) His relationship with his father, which he describes as a somehow bad relationship because of the way the father has been treating him and his sisters since their mother died (paragraph 42). The respondent describes his father as a person who drinks a lot, is abusive, does not care and a person who gives no guidance (paragraphs 64, 16, 18, 36 and 144). The respondent's upbringing; his faith (paragraphs 130 – 134); conflict with his father and conflict resolution (paragraphs 80, 90, 210 and 216) and his father's parenting strategy are discussed in this narrative. (ii) The second narrative is about how his relationship with his father has influenced his ability to form relationships outside the home. The respondent begins by stating that the relationship with his father has both positive and negative effects on his relationships with other people (paragraph 114). He declares that his relationship with his father is limiting him because he only chooses friends who understand him – a task that is not easy (paragraphs 124 and

126). The respondent's view of the future will also be discussed in this narrative (paragraphs 8, 160, 228 and 186).

Narrative 1 - David's relationship with his father

The first narrative deals with the story of David's upbringing, his relationship with his father as well as conflict and conflict resolution between him and his father. His father's parenting strategy and his faith is also discussed in this narrative.

The interviewer needs to state from the beginning that the respondent's narrative seems to be a total contradiction to what his father says. This narrative is a very clear demonstration of looking at a situation from two totally different perspectives, that is, looking at the same picture through different lenses and identifying very different features of the same picture. "Whose view is correct?" is the question that lingers in the interviewer's mind. One possibility is that both participants are correct according to their distinct perspectives. In this narrative we find a young person who is hurting deeply and feels angry with his father. The researcher is faced with the challenge of presenting each perspective as it was presented to her whether it seems right or wrong, without being judgemental.

The respondent's reaction to the interviewer's request to talk about his relationship with his father (paragraph 3), was that his relationship with his father is not good (paragraph 8). The respondent continues to say that when their mother died in 1998 he and his sisters were left with their father who took another wife. The father uses all of his salary to support the other woman and leaves the respondent and his siblings with financial problems in regard to food and school fees. The respondent dealt with the issue of school fees by talking to his high school principal who supported him all through high school while his pastor talked to the principal of his sister's school. The principal waved her school fees too. The church meets their other needs for school while some neighbours give them food sometimes (paragraphs 18 and 24).

The respondent proceeds to reveal that his parents had divorced in 1989 when he was only six years old. From that time he lived with his father while his mother took care

of his sisters until she died in 1998 when the respondent was 15 years old. After his mother's death the father brought his sisters to live with them. According to the respondent their problems started in 1999 (when he was sixteen) because his father then started living with the other woman (paragraphs 98 and 96). However, the respondent is quick to add that during the first year they lived together after the death of his mother, his relationship with his father was rather good (paragraph 98). It seems as if the past is completely overshadowed by the respondent's current problems. Although that period may have had its own pain, it seems to be overshadowed by the pain of the present. In all his discussions he does not talk much about the years with his father before his mother died.

The present problems have caused the respondent to wish he had not been born in this family because as he puts it "I feel bad" (paragraphs 42 and 48). The respondent continues to state that his father despises him because his father thinks he is too young to make useful decisions (paragraph 80). The respondent also feels embarrassed to be seen with his father because the neighbours despise him and his sibling as a result of the father's bad relationship with the neighbours (paragraphs 118 and 120).

The respondent describes his relationship with his father as abusive because his father sometimes beats him and chases him away from home (paragraph 36). In addition, the father refuses the respondent and his siblings permission to go to church because he hates their pastor (paragraph 40). The choice of words the respondent uses to discuss the father's attitude are strong words namely "The father hates the pastor and yet pretends that he loves him when he is near". However, when the pastor is not present the father talks bad about the pastor (paragraph 40). The respondent explains that his father hates the pastor because the pastor who knows about the problems the respondent and his father has tried to talk to the father. His father is of the opinion that the pastor was too involved in his family (paragraph 56).

Responding to the question on how he solves conflicts between him and his father (paragraph 79), the respondent explains that the father despises him therefore he talks to his pastor about the conflicts. What the respondent was saying is that his father does not listen to him and therefore they do not really solve their problems (paragraph

92). His father sometimes provokes him and invites him to fight back, but he does not. The respondent states that at times he just cries even though crying does not help him. However, many times he talks to their neighbour who sometimes talks to his father or pastor (paragraph 90). Despite the fact that the neighbour and pastor talk to the father, the respondent is still not able to sit with his father to talk about their conflicts (paragraph 202).

The interviewer asks the respondent how he deals with the pain from the conflicts he has with his father (paragraph 207). The respondent answers by saying, “I as a person...and I will also talk on behalf of my sisters. You know we have grown with it so we have known to be patient and how to...you know...how to live with him. We just...when the problems are not solved we just live with them that way because we have grown with them and we have been patient all that time” (paragraph 210).

The respondent acknowledges that patience alone cannot deal with what is in his heart - especially the anger he feels (paragraphs 211-214). At that point he applies his faith and chooses to forgive his father despite the fact that anger remains. The respondent explains how he feels and deals with his emotions using the following words “Ok... the positive one is that... if it were not the way he is behaving, then I would have not have got so much close to pastor. Actually...actually because of these problems I have become so close to my pastor and we have become friends. He is there for us every time. When I need help, my pastor is there and I have liked him so much. I also have come to like his family because of the way they have been doing things for us just because of the problems we have now. Amen. But now to the side of negative. Actually the... I can say that the people who are neighbouring us in this area they... they despise us so much because of him. Even when we are passing you can hear them gossiping about us because of the way my father has been behaving and it has come to...to...to...to a degree that I don't even want to walk with my father going to the town or going somewhere I just like walking alone or with my sisters” (paragraph 116).

The pain displayed on the respondent's face as he gives the above explanation is almost unbearable. He has tears in his eyes that he constantly fights back. The

respondent agrees that at times he feels like God is not hearing him, however, he knows that God is always there. He continues to explain his reasoning this way “Yeah...for me. Now let me use for me. I know he is there for me. Sometimes because I have been having...I have been hearing teachings from the church that sometimes God can let you go in a certain problem to mould you to be a good person in future, so that one in fact helps me so much. Sometimes I think oh...God may be letting me undergo this problem so that I may be another person in future and then sometimes I say thank you Lord even in the book of James, tells me that sometimes I count it all joy when I pass through problems. But sometimes I ask God, Now God, this is too much for me. You can't take it out of me? That is the way it has been” (paragraph 220).

The respondent clearly states that he was a born again Christian (paragraph 130) and emphasizes that his faith is his own because his mother never influenced him as he never lived with her and his father does not go to church, and therefore, he has not influenced him either (paragraph 134). Responding to the question “How has your faith helped you?” (paragraph 131), the respondent indicates that his faith helps him into two ways. Firstly, he knows how to forgive and hence he forgives his father as Christ had forgiven him. Secondly, his faith helps him to accept the problems he is going through because the Bible tells him that other people, including Jesus, had gone through problems and had come out victoriously. He believes that one day God would help him to be a victor despite the problems (paragraph 132). Despite the respondent's faith there are still times he wonders whether God hears him as explained earlier. Because of his faith the respondent prays to God for help to make a difference in the family now as well as in his own future family (paragraph 182).

It does not seem as if there is much difference in the way the respondent and his siblings are treated because as he narrates his father beats them all. Sometimes his sisters were beaten more than him because they are younger (paragraph 84). Perhaps the only difference in treatment is that when the father challenges or provokes the respondent to a fight he does not challenge the daughters to do the same (paragraph 90).

When the respondent is asked to explain his father's parenting style he asks for an explanation before he responds. The interviewer expounds on three types of parenting styles as follows "You see...there is a kind of person who will sit down and talk with you and you talk together. You discuss things, he will tell you this is what I want to be done for this reason but you also say this is what I feel and you discuss things like that and you come to an agreement. There is another person who will come and say this is what I want to be done this way and you have to do it because I've said it. There is another person who doesn't really bother, whatever you do it doesn't matter but he will come and say, I am still your father so I want to be respected. Which of these three do you think is like your father?"(paragraph 143). The respondent is quick to say that his father fits in none of the explained parenting styles because when he comes home he usually is in a bad mood; he quarrels with and beats his children and then walks away without telling them what they are supposed to do. The respondent continues to say that as children they are growing up with no guidance and counselling about what is good (paragraph 144). The respondent explains that his father left his home area because he quarrelled with his family and as a result he was chased away. The respondent's father does not treat his family members as people because they do not work. The respondent feels that his father mistreats him and his sisters by beating them without cause and when asked why he beats them the father says that he does not remember beating them (paragraph 152).

When the respondent is asked to give three adjectives that describe his father he uses the following words: a hateful father (paragraph 232), an uncaring and irresponsible father (paragraph 236). Responding to the statement "And that makes you feel?" (paragraph 289), he says that it makes him feel bad, angry and frustrated (paragraph 242). Despite all these feelings the respondent reveals that he does not hate his father, he actually loves him (paragraphs 246 and 248). The respondent recognises that his father is not really his friend even though he would love to call him his friend. The respondent seems to talk from the depth of his heart and the hurt within him is obvious as he says these negative things about his father.

The interviewer asks the respondent whether he knew his grandfather and what kind of a person he was. His response is that his grandfather was not a good person. The

respondent had been told that there is an area where no one dares to mention the name of his grandfather without the risk of being beaten by the people. The respondent can not go to that area and say he is the grandson of Kivevelo (his grandfather) (paragraphs 174 – 180). There is an interesting similarity between the respondent's father and his grandfather - where the family lives now people also don't like his father, and that is why the respondent does not want to be seen with his father in public. The very sad reality of this narrative is that there is hardly anything positive that the respondent has to say about his father. Everything he says about his father is said with a lot of pain because he also feels like he is exposing his own father.

Narrative 2 - Father's influence on the formation of relationships outside the home

Responding to the question "How has your relationship with him (father) helped you in relationships outside?" (paragraph 113), the respondent says that their relationship has a negative and a positive effect on his relationship with other people (paragraph 114). The positive aspect is that because of the poor relationship with his father, he got very close to his pastor and they are now friends. According to him the pastor is there for him all the time. He is very fond of the pastor and his family. The negative aspect is that the neighbours where they live despise him and his siblings because of the father's behaviour. As a result the respondent avoids walking with his father in public or going anywhere with him (paragraph 116). On the other hand, the people around them see the respondent and his siblings as godchildren because they do not engage in bad behaviour like their peers who do not respect people (paragraph 122).

As far as making friends is concerned, the respondent states "Ok... I like to make friends... those who understand me and friends who understand my problems. The friends who do not despise me when they know the way I am. You know sometimes you make friends... other friends... they want to be your friend because maybe you have a certain achievement or maybe you have... yeah such things. But I want to make those friends who are true friends. Friends who understand me and friends who are there because they... they need to be my friend not because of any other thing, not because I have such a thing or whatever. Just friends who understand me... true

friends” (paragraph 124). Three things are clear from the above statement, namely: the friends the respondent seeks out are friends who understand him and his problems, they are true friends who need to be friends with no attachments; his choice is limited because to find such friends is not easy and the result is that he has very few friends. Some of his friends left him when they discovered he had so many domestic problems (paragraph 126).

What the respondent says is that not only did his father fail to prepare him well in order to be able to make many and varied friends, the relationship they share has influenced his ability to make friends. To a certain extent the father-son relationship has led to others rejecting the respondent because they do not know how to handle a friend with as many domestic problems. One possible outcome of this scenario is that the respondent is bound to be lonely or will always have superficial friendships that cannot be dependent on.

The respondent’s reflections about the future have two aspects. Firstly he wants to go to university - on completion of his university studies, he wants to get a good job, rent or buy a house so that he can live with his sisters and take care of them (paragraphs 8, 166 and 228). Secondly the respondent focuses on the kind of father he would like to be. Responding to the question “If you had to be a father, would you like to be a father like your father?” (paragraph 185). The respondent emphatically says “No! I hate it. I...I won’t want to be a father like him and sometimes I say that...sometimes I do thank the Lord for what he is doing for us because it is a kind of training. Now when I get my family and my children, I won’t be treating them the way he is treating us because I will be thinking and saying, hey my father was treating us this way so I won’t want my kids to be treated this way and treat them well” (paragraph 186).

The respondent believes that with God’s help he will be a different kind of father. It would be good to know him as a father in the future and discover what kind of father he is. According to the respondent’s story, his father is not very different from what his grandfather was. The respondent’s father describes his own father as having beaten him and being wild. The respondent’s description of his own father is not actually different from his father’s description of his own father.

6.4 Wavata's story

6.4.1 Introduction

The story is based in the transcribed interview between the researcher (E M) and Wavata (W). The transcript is to be found in appendix C. Paragraph numbers refer to the paragraph numbers allocated in the re-transcription. Her story will be told in two major narratives as follows: her relationship with her father and her ability to form relationships outside the family.

6.4.2 Personal information

Wavata is 17 years old and in her last year of high school. She hopes to do a catering course after finishing school. If her result is good enough she wants to go to university and study languages, especially English literature. Wavata is the second child in a family of three children. She has an elder brother and a younger sister. Her mother, grandmother and aunt brought her up in the village until her mother died and she began staying with her father. How this upbringing by three different people functioned, will be explained later. At school she is the deputy head girl as well as the leader of the Christian Union Group and the wildlife club.

6.4.3 Wavata's relational experience

Wavata's story is told in two narratives as follows: (i) Her relationship with her father, a relationship she says made her bitter and made her cry often. The father does not want her to talk and he is abusive calling her a prostitute and accusing her brother of selling her to men (paragraphs 84, 88 and 92). The respondent describes her father as someone who just beats and hates her (paragraph 100 and 102) and does not care about her at all. The respondent's upbringing is also discussed in this narrative, according to her, she was brought up by her aunt and grandmother because her mother had to work away from home to support her and her siblings since she was divorced from Wavata's father (paragraphs 32, 34 and 36). Other aspects of the respondent's story discussed in this narrative are issues of her faith which the respondent refers to as her own (paragraphs 116, 168 and 176) and the issues of conflicts and conflict

resolution between her and her father. The respondent states that she rarely sits to talk with her father and when they do, only the father talks (paragraph 242) hence she learned how to solve her own problems (paragraph 134). Different ways that her father uses to treat her and her brother are discussed in this narrative (paragraphs 102 and 104). Lastly her perspective of her father's parenting style is presented (paragraphs 245 and 246). (ii) The second narrative discusses how the respondent's relationship with her father influenced her ability to form relationships outside the family. The respondent states that she does not feel good that others know about her domestic problems (paragraph 130). Sometimes she just accepts what the father said even though it is not true because she knows she will not live with him forever (paragraph 92). Her views and hopes for the future are discussed in this narrative. The respondent looks forward to doing catering, going to university and one day living on her own (paragraphs 6 and 92). Lastly, her self-image is discussed in this narrative (paragraphs 134, 146 and 148).

Narrative 1 – Wavata's relationship with her father

This narrative tells the story of Wavata's upbringing; her relationship with her father; conflict and conflict resolution between the respondent and her father; her views of her father (description of her father) and his parenting style; her father's different treatment of her and her brother, and her faith.

The interviewer needs to explain from the beginning that Wavata's story is very different from that of her father. Her story is a clear demonstration of two people having different perspectives and explanations of the issues they look at. The lenses through which the respondent looks at her upbringing and relationship with the father identify features of pain, hurt, bitterness and regret whereas her father's lenses identify a happy relationship where he is close to his children to a point of being able to sit and discuss issues with them. Both the father and the respondent are correct from their individual perspectives. However, this is a family the interviewer would recommend for therapy in order to assist them to view the issues presented through the same lenses. New perspectives gained can lead to better understanding of each other.

In response to the question, “How has your father brought you up” (paragraph 17), the respondent chooses to start at the beginning by saying that she was brought up by her mother and she did not get to know her father until her mother died in 1998 (paragraph 20). The respondent explains that she knew her father when she was 11 years old (paragraph 26) because her parents had divorced when she was still young (paragraph 32). After the divorce the respondent and her siblings stayed with their mother for a short while before she left home to go to Nairobi (250 kilometres) to look for a job. The respondent’s mother left her and her siblings under the care of their grandmother who died soon after that forcing them to be moved to their aunt who took care of them until her mother died (paragraphs 36 to 45 and 79 to 80). Responding to the statement “So you didn’t know your mother either”, the respondent is quick to add that she knew her mother because her mother used to visit them. The respondent added “Yeah. We never stayed with her but most of the time...like when it is at the end of the month, although I was very young, I used to go to Nairobi and I could collect whatever she has worked for so I could take it home and use it for our needs” (paragraph 52).

At the very tender age of 10 years the respondent started travelling alone in public transport for more than 250 kilometres to get money from her mother for the children’s use. The story of his respondent is heart rendering and almost difficult for the interviewer to believe. However, the story is so consistent and gripping that any hearer or reader is left with no other choice but to believe it. The respondent narrates vividly how her mother was killed near the house she lived in while the respondent was in the house waiting for her to arrive home from work (at 10 pm) (paragraphs 82 and 84).

The respondent explains that after her mother was buried in April 1998, she and her siblings were told to move from her aunt’s home to stay with her father. She says that she was a good friend of her mother because every time she visited her she stayed with her for a week. She also spent her holidays with her mother. However, her father believed his wife was practising prostitution in Nairobi and when the respondent moved to stay with him, he accused the respondent of having been trained to be a

prostitute by her mother - an accusation that according to the respondent was not true (paragraphs 84 and 86).

Her father's accusations and treatment were the respondent's introduction to a father she had never known and the basis on which she had to develop a relationship with him. It is not surprising that these insults from her father made her feel bitter and left her crying often (paragraph 88). According to the respondent her father would accuse her brother of selling her to men. She explains it graphically as follows "It is not true but I just take it because I know forever I will not stay with him and a day will come when I will be living alone. So I just...when he calls me so, I just...I just decide to keep quiet. Sometimes I normally ask him because sometimes he calls me even before people. He says I am a prostitute. He goes telling people in the village that I am a prostitute and even sometimes like when I go to church and my brother...he normally tells me that my brother is selling me to men so that he can be given the money. That is the kind of life I have been living with my father and when I was in primary school, he used...he used to go to an extent of beating me and he could beat me very badly, and he could kick me..." (paragraph 92).

The respondent experienced a lot of beating from her father who seems to hate her because she reminds him of her mother - the woman he divorced years before. The respondent continues to explain how her father wants her to get married so as to get out of the family. According to her father she will then stop giving him trouble. This hostile relationship has left the respondent sleeping outside at times because her father chased her out of the house (paragraphs 100, 102 and 106).

Responding to the question "Why was he chasing you away?" the respondent gave the following reply "Just because of petty...petty things. You know for example, when he takes water and places the cup on the table, now I don't know whether he has finished using the cup or what but he could use that one to quarrel me. It is as if there is something else he had...then he will start quarrelling me, "What kind of woman are you? You can't even take this cup to the kitchen?" then I ask him, I don't know whether you have finished using it...it...it. He says "You are a woman you should know." Sometimes when he places there and you take it to the kitchen he asks me

why have I taken and he has not used it? Has he told me to take it? So it is as if every time he finds something to quarrel me” (paragraph 108). As the respondent talks about these nasty incidents, she often sheds tears. The following questions were consistently in the interviewer’s mind: “Could a father truly be this cruel to his own child?”, “Is this the man who gave such a good picture of his relationship with his children only two hours before?” In retrospect the interviewer has to remind herself of the fact that the respondent’s father had said he beats his children and demands total obedience from them. Often the interviewer experienced the pain of the respondent intensely and had to wrestle with strong feelings of anger towards the respondent’s father. The expression of the deepest pain for the respondent was seen and felt when she talked about her father taking his whole salary to the woman he lives with and paying school fees for this woman’s children when the respondent and her siblings were going without food, fees or clothes, and had to depend on neighbours and their pastor to provide for these needs (paragraphs 144, 118 and 120).

When the interviewer asked the respondent whether all the activities she was engaged in school were making her academic work suffer (paragraphs 191 and 193), she was quick to explain that what made her academic work suffer was her relationship with her father, not the activities. The following are the words she uses to explain her statement “Yeah. What...what...what came at the first place and started making my academic life suffer is my relationship with my father. When I was in form 1 and 2, because I remember when I came to form 1, I was position 9, then I dropped from...that is second term, I dropped from position 9 to 50” (paragraph 194). “Yes and I went on like that...like that but when I said that I...I should accept what is happening to me and accept it is a problem and then work to make it better in future, then I got another attitude towards my...my life. So I started working and improved. When I worked hard I became position 30, I went to 22 to 21 and now I am improving. I am just approaching the grade that I want” (paragraph 198). The interviewer could clearly identify with what the respondent was saying because she too dropped badly in class at the end of her first year in high school as a result of a bad relationship with her father. Later on she improved and was able to obtain a good grade in her final high school results. The respondent could hardly say anything about her father that is supportive or supports a healthy relationship. Almost everything she

said depicts a very abusive relationship that gives no foundation for any positive development, especially the development of a positive self – esteem.

As the interviewer asks the respondent to describe her father using three adjectives (paragraph 211), she says that her father is not caring (paragraph 216), is easily influenced by others (paragraph 218) and he is also a person who has fear in him and is rather insecure (paragraphs 220, 223 and 224). He is also commanding and never allows any discussions (paragraphs 230, 232 and 234). He is a man who has a bad temper and is equally abusive (paragraphs 247). The respondent's amazing answer was "You know I have to accept that he is my father" (paragraphs 248). She however, continues to explain that sometimes she feels that if she had a different father, things would not be the way they are. When she sees young people talking happily with their parents she wishes those parents were her parents (paragraph 250). Deep within the respondent is a longing for a happy family, which the interviewer believes anyone else in the respondent's position would long for.

The interviewer suggests that the respondent's father's parenting style was authoritarian and the respondent agrees. This conclusion is arrived at from the respondent's description of her father, that is, a man who is abusive both physically and verbally, commanding obedience without allowing any room for discussion at all, not caring and bad tempered.

The respondent feels there is a difference in the way the father treats the girls and the way he treats their brother. The father often tells her that he does not like her and her sister because they are girls (paragraph 102). Through this discrimination her father chases her away, leading her to sleep out when she was in class eight (paragraph 106). It seems as if the respondent reminds her father a lot about his wife (her mother) and this is the basis of his hostility towards her. This view is supported by the following explanation from the respondent "...yeah. I started nose bleeding and then when I bled for a long time...when he saw the blood he told me that...that one cannot make him be afraid so I had just to...to...to just stay like that. There is nothing I did. Then most of the times he could...he normally goes, even around the village, and talks about me and even about my sister. Sometimes about our brother but not so

much about my brother. Every time he talks I see that he hates me because of my mother and every times he normally tells me that I am like my mother. He tells me that my mother used to look at him badly. What does he want me to look at? How does he want me to look at him? Then he tells me I am looking at him with the eyes my mother used to look at him. He doesn't see me he doesn't want to own me. Then he tells me even I get married he will not care. He wants me to get married and come out of the family because I am giving him trouble. Like even with my school I can remember last year when I had to stay at home for one full month when he refused to pay my school fees and he said that he wants me to get married. He normally keeps on telling me I find someone to get married to so that I can get our of the family that I will stop giving him trouble...because he says he doesn't like me and my sister because we are girls. He wants my brother...he is the only one who will help him”

(paragraph 102). The respondent feels that her father likes her brother because he believes that as a son he would help him latter in life. Despite the fact that her father and brother seem to get on, they often quarrel each other because the respondent's brother tells their father that the way he treats the respondent and her sister is not good (paragraph 104).

The relationship between the respondent and her father seems to be constantly riddled with conflicts and problems and therefore it was inappropriate for the interviewer to ask whether she has problems. However, when the interviewer asked the respondent how she solves her domestic problems she is quick to explain that her father never allows them to discuss anything with him. The respondent does not speak to her father about anything. Any time the family sits down (which is rare) the father talks. If the children begin to talk or challenge anything the father says, he looses his temper and beats them (paragraphs 232 and 242).

According to the respondent the problems her father gives her, make her more mature. Her explanation of this maturity is demonstrated in the fact that she can currently work through any problem without talking about it or showing other people she has problems (paragraph 134). She has also learned to rationalize at times, for example, she knows her father's accusations are not true but she is able to tolerate these accusations because she knows one day she will live away from him (paragraph

92). The fact that the respondent has so little because the father does not provide for her, taught her to share with those who have less than she does (paragraph 150). She also teaches Sunday school (paragraph 168), leads the Christian Union in school and the Wildlife Club (paragraphs 188 and 190). The problems she experiences teach her to take responsibility and make sure that she gets food for her siblings. She goes to the pastor to explain that they have needs. She also takes responsibility for, and makes sure problems at school are sorted out (paragraph 148). According to the respondent the problems train her to be a different person, that is, she no longer has a negative attitude, but a positive attitude towards her father. The positive attitude enables her to love her father to the extent of washing his clothes after he soils them while drunk (paragraph 150).

Responding to the question “What has helped you develop this positive attitude?” (paragraph 151), the respondent explains that in the beginning she was bitter, cried often and hated her father. However, through the things she learned in literature books and books dealing with the suffering of African women, she chose to pay his bad treatment with good deeds. The result of her choice is an experience of peace within her and a feeling that she has conquered her father. The more good she does to him, the more peace she experiences (paragraphs 152, 154 and 160). Possibly the respondent’s ways of dealing with her problems are not adequate because she does not deal with her own feelings and emotions. As explained before, the respondent often fights back tears as she narrates her experience with her father but for the time being these ways assist her in coping. The kind of data received through interviewing this respondent might be used to encourage her and others in similar situations, to seek help through therapy.

Responding to the question “How does going to church help in your problems?”, the respondent explains that she believes in God and has learned to take her problems to him”. For example, she states that, “...If I get a problem like I feel that I am bitter in my heart, I go to God and I make sure those tears I shed them before God and tell God to give me comfort. Then I pray that God will add me the love I have for...for my parents and for these people. I think that is all what has kept me” (paragraph 176). According to the respondent this faith in God is her own - it is personal. She adds that

when she was saved or converted, she was prayed for and as such God is everything to her because he takes care of her needs. She continues to say that she goes to God as her Father in heaven and talks to him telling him where it hurts or where she is wrong and also asking for help from him (paragraphs 168, 173, 176, 180 and 184).

The depressing reality of this respondent's narrative is that despite her young age she has gone through harrowing experiences that are very painful. This pain is deeply tucked within her and is often reflected in the sad expression on her face and the often restrained tears. It is amazing that despite all of this the respondent talks about her faith and her relationship with God, her heavenly Father, the one in whose presence she can sit and cry freely. When the respondent talks about this relationship with God her face glows while she seems to be at peace within her.

Narrative 2- Father's influence on the formation of relationships outside home

The interviewer began by asking the respondent whether her friends know about her domestic problems. Her response is that the friends at church know about her true situation (paragraph 126). When asked how she feels because her friends know she experiences problems with her father, the respondent states that she does not feel good. At times she feels like her friends laugh at her, especially when they tell her how much money they have and yet they do not share with her. At times some friends have spread rumours about her and this too does not make her feel good (paragraph 130). From what the respondent narrates she has a limited number of friends - not necessarily because she is afraid to make friends but much more so because of fear of the hurt that comes as a result of people being insensitive to her situation. The respondent actually feels that she is able to form good relationships outside the family (paragraphs 205 – 208). Though not very clearly explained during the interview, the respondent mentions that she has a close relationship with her pastor and his whole family. The relationship with her father definitely limits the respondent and makes it difficult for her to develop many relationships outside the family.

Despite the problems the respondent faced she feels her self- image is good. This feeling is demonstrated in the fact that she says that she is able to solve her own

problems in a satisfactory manner. The respondent also views herself as being mature and responsible (paragraphs 134, 139 – 400 and 148). She also feels that she has developed a positive attitude towards herself and life in general.

In the future the respondent would like to train in the field of catering and eventually go to university to study languages, especially English literature. She desires to train in catering so that she could help people in her community (paragraph 6). The respondent also looks forward to the day when she will be living on her own, away from the insults she has received from her father.

As the respondent looks to the future, she has in her mind the image of the father she calls an “ideal father”. According to her, an ideal father is one who is caring and able to treat his children as people and who can sit down and share ideas. He should also be a father who is willing to create time for his children and relate to them in a friendly way (paragraph 260). Responding to the question “Should this father be someone who can discipline?” the respondent believes that such a father should discipline his children and even use corporal punishment in the proper way. She explains the correct way to discipline as follows, “Ok, the first time if a child has done something wrong, I...I think that the parent should call the child and tell...try to explain why she has...she has or he has gone wrong. For the second time, if this child is not changing the parent should ...make it clear to her or him that this what she is doing is not good and you are not pleased with it. Then if the child isn't changing he should take other measures like if she...” (paragraph 266). It is amazing that despite all the mistreatment the respondent went through, she still believes that spanking is a good disciplinary measure where spanking is not used excessively (paragraphs 267 – 270).

6.5 Evaluation of the Munyao family

The story of each participant in this family is a very clear demonstration of a father's negative influence on his family's ability to develop close relationships both within and without the family. From these stories the hearer is left feeling that there is actually nothing that can be called positive in the relationship between Munyao (the

father) and his children. The actual relationship seems to be defined by this father's name that means "drought". There is truly drought in this family. The drought has caused the drying up of a loving, caring relationship that left David wishing he does not belong to this family while Wavata wishes she had different parents.

An important disturbing thread that weaves its way through three generations is the strong thread of violence. Munyao describes his father as a man who was wild, who mistreated him and often beat him and his mother (paragraphs 186 and 200 M). David recalls that his father told him that his grandfather was so hated in some parts of the community that his family members could not go to these parts of the community and say that they are related to him without being beaten (paragraphs 174 –180 D). Both David and Wavata are in agreement that their father has used a lot of violence on them (paragraph 34 D, 100 and 102 W). Not only does their father administer physical violence, he often uses verbal violence especially on his daughter (paragraphs 84, 86 and 92 W). Munyao's father was physically violent to his mother and he himself is divorced from his wife. The interviewer did not discover the reason for this divorce. Munyao never spoke about the divorce and the children who spoke about their parents' divorce did not know why their parents divorced because it took place when they were small. The interviewer wonders whether the thread of violence in this family could have been a possible cause of divorce.

The interesting fact is that Munyao stated that he chose not to treat his children the way he was treated. According to him he chose to love his children and make them happy (paragraphs 218 – 222 M). However, what he chose to do and what he did eventually seem to be in total disagreement. The picture presented by the behaviour of this respondent is one of a man who knows what he should do and yet is unable to do it. The respondent is a father who needs help to realize that the father he views himself to be, and the father viewed and presented by his children, are two totally different fathers. The interviewer wonders what kind of parents these children will be in future - will they turn out just like their father and grandfather despite their saying they want to be different?

Another important inconsistency between what Munyao said and what his children said concerned his statement that his total concentration was on them and all he got was theirs (paragraphs 460 and 464). Both his children describe him as a father who is hateful, uncaring, irresponsible (paragraphs 232, 236, 239D, 216W), commanding and abusive (paragraphs 230, 232, 234, 243, and 244W). According to both children their father gives all his money to the woman he is living with currently, while their needs are met by their pastor, their church or their neighbours (paragraphs 18, and 24D, 144, 118 and d120W).

The children stories are in great agreement in all aspects, as it were one perspective looking at each issue through the same lenses and seeing the same features in the larger picture, despite their gender difference. The slight difference in this whole picture was one feature concerning difference in treatment. David feels that his father does not beat him as hard or as often as he does the girls and he does not challenge them to fight him (paragraph 90D), whereas Wavata feels that her father is friendly to her brother simply because he thinks her brother will help him later in life. She feels that her father does not like her and her sister because they are girls and therefore he wants them to get married and leave home. This respondent also feels that her father hates her because she reminds him of her mother – the wife he divorced years ago (paragraph 102W).

Both David and Wavata portray a picture of two young people who seem to be reviewing a bad dream they both experience, hoping that somewhere out there, relief is coming their way. “What do they both see as a possible way out?” Definitely not an improved relationship with their father but both of them are looking forward to a time in the future when they do not have to live under their father’s roof. David looks forward to going to university, getting a job, having a house where he can live with his sisters and take care of them (paragraphs 8, 166 and 228D). On the other hand, Wavata states that she takes her father’s insults now because she knows that the day will come when she will be living on her own (paragraph 92W).

The other greater source of hope for a better and brighter future for both children is the faith in God that they embrace and call their own because they did not learn it

from their mother or father because he does not seem to embrace the same faith. Both children are saved or converted to the Christian faith. Wavata declares that God is her heavenly Father whom she talks to and shares all her problems with. God is a father in whose presence she can cry and be sure He will comfort her (paragraphs 184 and 176W). David explains that his faith taught him to forgive his father and accept his domestic problems. He believes that one day God will make him a victor. He also prays for God to help him make a difference in his current and future families (paragraphs 132 and 182D).

Whichever way one views the plight of these two young people, there seems to be a way out if only they can continue to have financial and emotional support currently provided by the church and their respective school principals. Both of them are good students who are able to make good progress. Both of them are focused and seem to know what they want in life. Supportive therapy especially to deal with the deep hurt that causes anger as well as improve their self-worth thus helping them move on in life with greater confidence than they already have is necessary.

CHAPTER 7

IDRISS FAMILY STORY

7.1 Introduction

The three-part story of this chapter is based on the transcribed interviews between the researcher (EM), the father Idriss (I), his daughter Kadija (K) and his son Adam (A). The transcriptions are to be found in appendix D. Paragraph numbers refer to the paragraph numbers allocated in the re-transcriptions. The individual story of each of the three participants is included in this chapter.

7.1.1 Setting

The Idriss family stays at the Moi Air force base in Eastleigh where Idriss works and is allocated a military house. The Air Force base is on the outskirts of the city of Nairobi. Idriss is provided with all the facilities and privileges accorded to the military officers in the nation. Because there are younger children in the family who could have disrupted the interview process at home, the interviews were carried out in at the air base counselling centre. This counselling centre is very comfortable and provides good facilities that offer the necessary privacy.

7.1.2 Personal information

Idriss is a 42 year old father. He is the youngest among the fathers participating in this research project. He is married to one wife (in a community where polygamy is allowed) and is a father of three boys and two girls. Idriss is an active Muslim who has made sure his children grow up as Muslims with no compromise. He attended school up to high school after which he went through several training programmes. He holds two Diplomas in Communication Technology, which led him to become a communicator with the Kenya Air Force. His job facilitates good communication between the pilots and the ground crew.

7. 2 The experience of parenting for Idriss

From the data analysis, the story of Idriss' parenting emerges two closely knit dimensions that strongly influence each other: these are his own upbringing and the way he has brought up his own children. These two dimensions are strongly influenced by two closely weaved factors identified by the respondent as the most important motivators for his parenting. These two factors are his religion and his culture (paragraph 34 and 38). The respondent claims that his culture is an offshoot of Islam, his religion (paragraph 722), hence the close weaving together of these two factors that are inseparable according to the respondent.

As the respondent reflects on how he has brought up his own children, he identifies the following influences: the way he was brought up (paragraphs 352, 354, 356, 370), his religion and his culture (paragraphs 34, 38, 40, 72, 93 and 114). The respondent however says he is moving slightly away from his strict culture in order to educate his girls because he does not want his girls to blame him later for not educating them (paragraphs 288 and 290). He also refused to marry from his clan – in fact his father had wanted him to marry his cousin (paragraphs 172, 180 and 182). His refusal to marry someone from his clan created problems between him and his father until some older men had to talk to his father (paragraph 184). This refusal to marry the woman of his father's choice is an influence of the respondent's exposure to education and interaction with other cultures where people do not marry such close relatives (paragraph 704).

During the actual process of parenting, the respondent seems to have endeavoured to instil discipline in his children, an influence of his disciplined profession (paragraphs 352 and 354) and yet he spends time talking to them and trying to draw them closer to himself, especially the boys (paragraphs 130, 450, 452 and 453). He however, does not allow his children to argue with him because his religion and culture do not allow children to argue with parents or with other people who are older than the children (paragraphs 565, 594 and 596). From what the respondent says about rearing his children he comes forth as a flexible, caring yet strict father who allows his children to ask questions even though they cannot argue with him; a father who provides all

their needs and helps them adhere to their religion (paragraphs 40, 70 and 574). The respondent's style of parenting can be described as a mixture of authoritative and some authoritarian styles.

From the interview with the respondent, three narratives emerge. These will be discussed separately under the following titles: the respondent's own upbringing, the factors that influence his fathering strategy and his upbringing of his own children.

Narrative 1 – The respondent's own upbringing

The interviewer would like to state that it was difficult to get the respondent to state exactly the way he was brought up. The respondent constantly makes reference to his religion and his culture as the major influences of all that a Muslim does. How he was brought up, how he brings up his children and how his children will bring up their children is roughly the same because the expectations are stipulated by his religion and culture. These cultural and religious stipulations will be discussed later in this chapter.

Responding to the question "How has your relationship with your father helped you become the father you are ...?" (paragraph 148), the respondent's reply was that to his people a father and a mother are very important even though his own parents were not alive (paragraph 150). The respondent goes on to explain that his parents "really helped me to bring me where I am now" (paragraph 156). However, his father brought problems when the respondent got married because he married outside his clan as stipulated by his culture. This problem with his father led the respondent to divorce his wife for one year but after the intervention of some older men, he remarried his wife (paragraphs 156, 160, 188 and 180). The respondent attributes his problems with his father to the fact that his father was not educated and did not value schooling. The lack of value for education led his father to removing the respondent from school during his second year in high school to go back to the village to look after cattle. The respondent explained the problem to an educated uncle who chose to pay his school fees for the remaining two years in high school (paragraphs 212, 220 and 684).

Despite these two problems, the respondent describes his relationship with his father as good (paragraphs 679 and 680). Responding to the question, “Would you say the way he has brought you up is the way you are bringing up your children?” (paragraph 687), the respondent emphasises that there is no difference because he is following what his culture stipulates (paragraphs 688 and 690). The respondent continues to explain that even if his children studied up to university, when they eventually get married they will do the same and bring up their children just as he is bringing them up (paragraphs 694 and 696). What the respondent meant by saying his children will do the same is that the basic principles of parenting will be the same. For example, his son will expect his daughter to wear a hijab just the way the respondent’s daughter has to wear a hijab all the time she is outside the confines of their home (paragraph 696).

According to the respondent, his father and other relatives favoured and spoiled him because he was both a firstborn and a son. His people value boys more than girls. His people go to the extent of not educating girls; a point demonstrated by the fact that currently in any given school in the respondent’s rural home, the ratio of girls to boys is 1:100 (paragraphs 268, 271, 272, 280 and 282). The respondent has chosen to act differently from the cultural expectation by choosing to educate his own daughters (paragraph 288).

The respondent’s story depicts a situation that demonstrates prejudice against girls and women by not educating them in the guise of culture and/or religion. To try and change this practice among the traditional communities is not an easy task. However, where members of this community are educated there is hope for their girls to receive education.

Narrative 2 – The way the respondent has parented his own children

Responding to the question from the interviewer, “Now is there anything very specific in the Koran to...to tell you this is the way you look after your son or children?” (paragraph 69), the respondent states “ In fact, yes. My religion says children...you have to look after your children always. First educate them, cloth them in fact looking

after everything basically all you need in this world. It is basically for the father” (paragraph 70). In addition the interviewer sought to find out who is expected to discipline the children. The respondent explained that the father is responsible for all his children but when the daughter reaches the age of 14 years, the mother take over the responsibility of disciplining her (paragraph 71, 72 and 140). The cultural mode of disciplining is through canning and the respondent used to beat his children when they were younger. He states that in his house there is always a stick used for the purpose of canning. He however makes it clear to the children what mistakes he was punishing them for. He gives them a chance and only punishes them on the third time they make the same mistake (paragraph 78, 84 and 88). The interviewer sought to confirm a statement she had heard, that in order to become men in the respondent’s community, boys were supposed to be beaten a lot. The respondent replied in the affirmative and added the following “In fact as a father in my tribe, you have to beat your children to discipline them and show them the way they are going to behave also when they become big people” (paragraph 100).

The respondent states that he often talks to his children. However, he talks more to his sons than his daughters about things and also encourages them to ask questions. He makes an effort to bring his children closer to him - especially the sons. He states that he wants his sons to be with him always so that they could discuss many things (paragraphs 446, 450 and 452). When it comes to the respondent and his daughter, he explains that he talks to her about her homework and actually assists her when she does the homework. However, when it comes to the issue of how to behave in the world, he does not talk to her about it because that is the mother’s responsibility. His culture does not allow him to talk about aspects regarding growing up and living with his daughter (paragraph 130, 132 and 114). The respondent continues to explain that he cannot even watch certain television programmes with his daughter, for example “The Bold and the Beautiful”, yet he is allowed to watch the same programmes with his sons (paragraphs 456 and 458). The respondent was not able to explain exactly why his culture prohibits him from doing so. In many traditional African cultures there were and still are stipulated behaviours between different categories of people especially where the threat of incest was involved. For example, in the traditional setting the interviewer’s father-in-law or her own mother were not allowed to sleep in

her marital home. The reason for this prohibition was to prevent the possibility of incest between her mother and her husband or between her and her father-in-law.

Another difference in the way the respondent has brought up his children is that whereas his daughter helps her mother with all kinds of chores in the kitchen the sons only help wash dishes at times. The explanation for this discrimination is that other men will laugh at his son if they know he cooks because culture says that the kitchen is for women. Culture stipulates that men are not allowed to enter the kitchen (paragraphs 410, 414 and 418). Responding to the interviewer's question "What happens if your wife is sick?" (paragraph 429), the respondent laughingly says that he can not enter the kitchen if he is in the village. He will have to ask a female relative to come to his house and cook for his family. However, in the city, when his wife or daughters were not there, he or his sons go to the kitchen and cook because his people are not near to see him or his sons cooking (paragraph 430, 432 and 434).

Despite the fact that the respondent talks a lot with his children and allows them to ask questions, he does not allow them to argue with him. For example, even though his son can ask him why he caned him (paragraph 574), he cannot argue with him about it. When the respondent tells his son to do homework, his son cannot retort and say, "You are becoming too much dad," (paragraph 594 and 596). Responding to the question, "Are you saying that in your culture and in your religion there is no room for rebellion from children?" (paragraph 575), the respondent replied, "In fact it is there but there is no room for that. We don't encourage that but it happens" (paragraph 576). Children are expected to respect those in authority and that is why they cannot or should not argue with their parents (paragraph 548-550). The interviewer was left with the question, "How then do the young people express emotions? Would it be right to assume that these emotions were expressed inappropriately at times?" The researcher feels that it is possible for these young people or even the adults to express their emotions against those who do not belong to the same religion because there is no obligation to treat them in the way those belonging to the same religion should be treated.

The respondent observes that just like his younger brother often argued with him when they grew up, his eldest daughter and son argue and fight a lot. But the respondent is quick to blame his daughter for causing the problem despite the fact that his son is one year younger than his sister and is expected to respect her (paragraphs 308, 310, 312 and 328). The respondent does not seem to have a good solution for this problem. The daughter, however, feels the brother does not respect her as expected and hence continues to express her frustration with him through fights and arguments.

The respondent agrees that he has had conflicts with both his daughter and son even though the conflicts were not about big issues. The main conflict he has with his daughter is over her manner of dress. The respondent declares that both his culture and religion clearly state that his daughter should dress complete with the hijab. Therefore, every time he sees her with a t-shirt or anything else outside their home he is not pleased and he calls her to find out why she is dressed like that. He also calls his wife and accuses her of encouraging his daughter to dress like that (paragraphs 474, 476 and 482). He calls his wife because he believes that his wife is the cause of all his daughter's problems. For example, if a daughter gets pregnant, it is the mother who is blamed for the pregnancy (paragraph 54 and 58). The assumption of the community is that the mother is bad and does not look after her daughter properly (paragraph 66 and 68).

Despite the fact that culture condones caning and the respondent has a special stick in his house for beating the children, the respondent says that currently he does not beat his children very often. Instead he calls them and they talk and he makes them understand why they need to do what he wants them to do (paragraphs 470, 486 and 488). For example, he talked to his daughter and explained to her that she has to wear her hijab all the time except when she is inside their house (paragraphs 494 and 490).

The main problem the respondent is experiencing with his son is that his son loves playing and does not do his homework properly (paragraphs 508 and 514). The respondent expects the children to maintain a regime where they come from school, take a bath, have tea, do homework and then go to play (paragraph 520), but his son always likes playing. When he comes home he takes his football and goes out to play,

a decision that always leads to a “collision” with the father (paragraphs 514 and 516). The respondent is troubled by the son’s behaviour to such an extent that he had to discuss the problem with the teachers. As a father, he has talked to his son making him understand that his schooling was important for his future. However, his son tends to argue with him asking the father why he wants him to stay in the house all the time (paragraphs 532 and 606). Because the son is argumentative, the respondent is allowed to cane the son since discussing issues is not bringing any change in his behaviour. If the son’s behaviour does not improve, the respondent may call in other family members to deal with his son or send his son to his maternal grandmother to be disciplined by her (paragraph 626). The idea behind this action is to contain the problem within the family (paragraphs 621 and 622).

The interviewer has the impression that the boy has a deeper problem that has not been understood by the parents because not only does he argue with his father, he also argues with his mother and elder sister. He has been taught that he should respect people older than him and definitely is not expected to argue with his father or mother - yet he does. The respondent has perhaps not been firm enough with his son who is the eldest son. Alternatively, the son may be reacting to the father’s insistence that he should do homework rather than play viewing his father as been overstrict. The lack of strict enforcement of the culturally expected discipline is part of the change that the respondent has embraced. That is, relaxing some disciplinary aspects that are expected of him because he is living in the city and not in the traditional village (paragraphs 702, 704 and 708).

When the interviewer asked the respondent how he would describe his relationship with his children, his reply was that their relationship is good and he was encouraging them to get even closer to him, especially his sons. He would love his daughters to get closer to him but there are cultural limitations that hinder him from doing so (paragraphs 443, 444, 446 and 450).

The respondent does not come out clearly about the evaluation of his children’s ability to form relationships outside. The one thing that comes out clearly is that he is rather protective of his children. For example, when he allows them to play with the

neighbours' children, he does not allow them to go very far from their home (paragraph 708). Too much protection may sometimes work negatively and create a sense of lack of confidence in the children so that they do not trust their ability to handle relationships away from the protective eye of parents. Over protection can also lead to rebellion and a desire to explore fields one could not explore under the watchful eye of the parents.

Narrative 3 – Factors that influence Idriss' fathering strategy

The respondent acknowledges that his profession, his culture and his religion are the major factors that have had the greatest influence on his fathering strategy. He declares that his religion and culture are intertwined and support each other. One tends to wonder whether the participant and his community follow the prescriptions of both culture and religion rather blindly. There does not seem to be any questioning of why one does what he is doing. The interviewer wondered whether there will come a time when the upcoming generations will question some of the current religious and cultural stipulations. If this does happen will it bring a collision between the younger and the older generations? As the respondent clearly states, his son argues with him and this causes a "collision" between them (paragraph 516).

The respondent is in the military, a very disciplined profession and he states that, "In fact eh, as a soldier first, we are all disciplined and the same discipline in fact from work from the office up to my home that discipline should be there" (paragraph 352). He continues to say, "The children must be disciplined; my wife must be disciplined the way I am" (paragraph 354). The respondent demonstrates how he maintains this level of discipline in his family by giving the following example, "We don't shout at home. We don't shout at all. You know it is not like sometimes the way I see civilians doing" (paragraph 356). He states that at home they speak softly as they solve problems. He also believes that it is not a good idea for him to shout at his family members asking why they did whatever they have done outside their home. When the respondent wants to speak to his children, he calls them inside the house, closes the door and then talks to them so as not to disturb the neighbours (paragraphs 364, 366 and 370). The respondent has also attempted to instil discipline in the children by

expecting them to get home and do their homework immediately after school before they do anything else. When they finish their homework, he checks the work to make sure the children have done it well (paragraphs 381, 382 and 400). The respondent summarises his attempts to instil discipline in his children in this way, “In fact they really like what I’m doing, I’m supporting them, in fact very much and I want them to complete their education even to the highest. That is what I want and as a soldier in fact even my firstborn son says he is going to be a soldier” (paragraph 376).

When the respondent begins talking about his religion and culture, he talks with so much enthusiasm that he is often carried away. As stated before, the respondent believes that it is not possible to separate his religion and his culture. It seems as if each reinforces and strengthens the other. The respondent states that the Somali customs and background go together with Islam because what Islam says is also what is in their customs. The respondent continues to say that his culture came from Islam and that is why all Somalis are Muslims. According to the respondent, amongst the Somalis there is no traditional religion or Christianity practised because everybody is Muslim (paragraphs 718, 722, 734 and 737-740). In the light of what is stated above, the influence of religion and culture will be discussed together.

As the respondent talks about his family, he begins by explaining that both his religion and the clan he comes from which represents his culture state that it is the father’s responsibility to bring up his children (paragraphs 34, 38 and 40). Bringing up children involves meeting all their needs. However, there are limitations to what he can talk about or do with his daughter after she reaches the age of 14 years (paragraphs 130, 132, 456 and 458).

Both culture and religion stipulate that disciplining the children is the sole responsibility of the father but once the daughter reaches the age of 14 years the mother takes over the disciplining of the daughter. The amazing thing is that when a daughter repeats the same mistake a number of times, the mother is held responsible for those mistakes (paragraphs 72, 112 and 114). The community assumes that the mother is not teaching or correcting her daughter in the right way. The main accepted method of discipline is canning (paragraphs 78, 86, 93 and 94 and 100). Discipline by

canning is extended to the wife also. The respondent explains it this way, “Yeah. Even in my culture what they say is even your wife, if you do not beat your wife and a year ends that means you are not a man (laughter). So the same happens with my children” (paragraph 104). The reason why the husband may cane even his wife is for the man to prove that he is responsible for his household (paragraph 110). When the interviewer asked the respondent at what age he would stop canning his sons, he retorts that a father can beat his son no matter how old the son is (paragraphs 534 and 548). The respondent gives a vivid example of what he had said as follows, “Yeah, culturally yeah. My father in fact I remember my late father slapped me when I am a big man but didn’t say anything that is with my culture it is ok. No problem” (paragraph 552), and “Yeah I allow it. That is my father who has beaten me, there is nothing wrong” (paragraph 554).

Another cultural and religious expectation is that the younger persons must respect the older whether the older people are young or old (paragraphs 324 and 328). The respondent was able to enjoy this respect from his younger siblings because he was not only older but was also the eldest son.

When the issue of the respondent’s son helping his mother was raised, the respondent was quick to add that his son can help to wash dishes but he should not cook because other men will laugh at him. As a result the respondent himself does not cook because culture does not allow men to enter the kitchen because the kitchen is for women (paragraphs 410, 418 and 424). When a wife falls sick or is not there, the man has to get a female relative to help (paragraph 430). In these days of gender sensitivity the above expectations can be seen as an abuse of the women’s individual rights and yet it seems like the women involved are quite comfortable with these stipulations.

The above cultural and religious stipulations are the ones the respondent uses to guide his fathering. As he stated earlier, the way he brings up his children is the way his father brought him up and is the way his sons will bring up their children (paragraphs 687, 688, 694 and 696). The interviewer realises that it is difficult to change people’s attitude and behaviours when they are so engraved in both their own culture and

religion. These two factors tend to be guarded jealously in many African community whether traditional or contemporary.

7.3 Kadija's story

7.3.1 Introduction

This story is based on the transcribed interview between the researcher (EM) and Kadija (K). The transcription is to be found in Appendix D. Paragraph numbers refer to the paragraph numbers allocated in the re-transcription. Kadija's story will be told in two major narratives as follows: her relationship with her father and her ability to form relationships outside the family.

7.3.2 Personal information

Kadija is a fourteen-year-old Muslim girl in her last year of primary education. She was brought up in the outskirts of the city at the Air Force base where her father works. The respondent is the firstborn in a family of five children – three brothers and two sisters. All her siblings are in primary school.

7.3.3 Kadija's relational experience

Kadija's story is told in two major narratives as follows: (i) Her relationship with her father, whom she describes as a very good daddy because of the things he does for her. For example, he loves her and tells her so and he allows her to give her opinion and at times he implements those opinions (paragraphs 364, 378 and 340). The respondent's upbringing is discussed in this narrative as well as her position of birth, her faith, self-image and future. (ii) The second narrative discusses how her relationship with her father has helped her develop relationships outside the home. The respondent begins by saying that she chooses her friends depending on how she feels because there are times when she thinks her father does not want her to have friends. However, after she ponders over the things her father taught her, she realises he has influenced her on her choice of friends too (paragraphs 197 and 201).

Narrative 1 – Kadija’s relationship with her father

The first narrative discusses the story of Kadija’s upbringing and her relationship with her father. It also discusses conflicts between the respondent and her father and the solutions applied, her faith, her birth position, her self-image and her future.

In response to the question, “What are some of the things that your father has done to help you grow?” (paragraph 176), the respondent says that her father guides and teaches her (paragraph 4a). For example, he teaches her not to play with boys because that would bring shame to the family. He also tells her not to fight with girls at school (paragraphs 181 and 183). The respondent describes her father as a good, nice father whom she likes very much because he teaches her a lot of things about being a Muslim and about her schoolwork (paragraphs 358 and 435). She clarifies what she said by stating that she does not just like her father, she actually loves him because he loves her and tells her so (paragraphs 362 and 378). Even though the respondent may not have given details of her statement, her manner demonstrates a depth of joy as she speaks about her father. There is an excitement and pride when she says, “I like my daddy very much. I like my dad,” (paragraph 358). This statement demonstrates a depth of affection between the respondent and her father, a relationship that may be influenced by the fact that she is in her teenage years when a close relationship between father and daughter is expected.

The respondent’s father has spent time talking, discussing and doing things with her and her siblings. The respondent and her father discuss issues when the mother is not available (paragraphs 321 and 332). The interviewer seeking a clarification on what issues the respondent discusses with her father asked her whether she discusses issues about forming relationships or other problems with her father. The respondent’s answer was, “Yes,” (paragraph 322) meaning that they discuss many things and at times her father takes her opinion (paragraph 340). The fact that she discusses more issues with her mother could be influenced by the teaching of her faith and culture, where women are supposed to train their daughters about the issues of life.

The respondent felt that the fact that her father and mother trusted her by not suspecting her to be doing wrong things makes her feel strong and confident. This trust has made her choose to do the right thing when she is outside the home. The demonstration of the parent's trust was in allowing her to go out many times when she needed to go out (paragraphs 203, 205, 207, 212, 213 and 217).

When the interviewer asked the respondent whether her father canes her, she was quick to state that the last time her father caned her she was in class two or when she was 9 years old (paragraphs 252 and 254). However, her father sometimes quarrels with her when the teacher reports to him that the respondent has not finished her homework (paragraph 261). Her response to the quarrelling is either an apology or silence because her religion does not allow her to argue with her father (paragraphs 266, 269, 270 and 272). Responding to the question, "When he quarrels with you, what do you feel?" (paragraph 275), she says "I just feel like getting out of that house" (paragraph 276). However, she is quick to add that she does not know where to go if she gets out of the house. The reason for wanting to get out is the fact that the father continues to quarrel while repeating the same things she had done over and over making her tired of hearing them and perhaps creating guilt in her (paragraphs 279-282). The respondent points out that when her father's temper has gone down he may apologise to her directly or send her mother to apologise to her on his behalf (paragraph 296).

The things the respondent has learned from her father have engraved in her the fact that she needs to respect her parents. She not only respects her parents but she believes that other young people should respect, obey and do good things to their parents no matter what kind of parents they have (paragraphs 406 and 408). Her upbringing has made the respondent want to please her parents through doing well in school (paragraph 384), helping at home (paragraph 390) and as stated before doing the right thing every time she is away from home. Finally, the respondent declares that not only does she love her father; she loves and likes all the other members of the family because they too love her (paragraph 350).

Reflecting on the issue of conflicts between the respondent and her father, she discloses that there have been three misunderstandings. The first one was based on her school performance. Her father expects her to score 360 marks or above out of 500. If her marks fall in the 350 range, the father quarrels her (paragraph 234 and 236). Secondly, as a Muslim girl she is expected to keep her headscarf (the hijab) on all the time except when she is inside their house. If she is outside the house and has no headscarf on, her father quarrels her (paragraph 300 and 302). The third issue was the issue of unfinished homework, when her teacher reported her to her father (paragraph 262).

In resolving these problems, the respondent at times tries to explain to her father why she has done what she did (paragraphs 266 and 268). Sometimes she apologises to her father (paragraph 274) while many times she just keeps quiet because her religion does not allow her to answer back, quarrel or argue with her parents (paragraphs 269 and 270). At other times she talks to her mother instead of her father (paragraph 238). There are times she feels like getting out of the house especially when she feels her father is quarrelling her the whole day, however, she has nowhere to go (paragraph 276, 278 and 280). To avoid quarrels about wearing her hijab she has chosen to wear it all the time when she is outside the house (paragraph 302), even though there are times she does not want to wear it (paragraphs 299 and 300). The respondent reveals that there are times when her father would say sorry to her or ask her mother to apologise to her on his behalf (paragraph 296). The Muslim faith emphasises respect for parents and that is why the respondent could not quarrel with her father because doing so is seen as disrespectful (paragraph 272).

The interviewer has wondered about the effect of not expressing one's feelings for fear of being labelled as disrespectful of parents. The emotions of the frustration, anger or disappointment that do arise from the conflicts or even the feelings of being pressurised to achieve as in the case of this respondent, are repressed. Are these then displayed by showing aggression to those one is not expected to respect? For example, is this the reason why the respondent would like to beat her siblings when they tease her and make her angry or does this repression make her quarrel with her siblings (paragraphs 97-99, 111 and 119)? If this is true then she displaces her emotions and takes out her frustration and anger on the wrong people.

In her introduction, the respondent clearly states that she is a Muslim (paragraph 25). Answering the question, “How do you become a Muslim?” (paragraph 26), the respondent says that the first thing one is supposed to do is to learn the Muslim religion, learn to pray and learn how to do things like a Muslim (paragraph 27). Even when one is born in a Muslim family he or she still has to learn. This learning can be achieved through attending Madrassa classes or being taught by schoolteachers or by parents at home (paragraph 35 and 41). It seems that the Madrassa is the place where one learns most about the Muslim faith while she or he is young.

The respondent is a firstborn who is happy to be in that position because when the parents bring anything home, she gets the first opportunity to receive whatever the parents bring home. She is able to take care of the younger siblings also (paragraphs 73 and 83). The respondent feels that she is treated well and is expected to take responsibility in the home and do a lot more work in order to help her mother (paragraphs 85 and 89). However, the respondent has to cope with a lot of teasing from her younger siblings especially her brother who follows her. The respondent reports that her siblings tease her because she is shorter than the brother who follows her and yet he feels like the firstborn because he is height (paragraphs 97, 101 and 103). She agrees that at times the teasing makes her angry and leads to her quarrelling with her siblings (paragraphs 114, 115 and 119).

Looking at her self-image, the respondent is uncomfortable because she thinks she is fat for her age. This thought is aggravated by the fact that her siblings tease her about her being fat (paragraphs 137 and 149). One reason for her going to the gym with her father is her desire to lose weight and hence get slimmer (paragraphs 161 and 157). Even though the respondent feels bad about her being fatter than she would have liked to be, she also feels that she is strong (paragraph 203). The strength the respondent talks about here is strength of character achieved from the things her father taught her. This strength is what enables her not to do what she calls “anything stupid” (paragraph 205). Another contributor to this strength is the trust her parents place in her (paragraphs 208, 209, 212 and 213).

The future for the respondent holds the hope that she will pass her KCPE exam at the end of year (2004) and then go on to high school. Even though the respondent does not talk about going to high school, she states that she would like to become a doctor or a nurse. To enter these programmes she must go through high school. Her ultimate future goal is to please her parents by getting a job and looking after them when they are older. Currently she pleases her parents by helping her mother with housework (paragraphs 11, 384 and 388).

Responding to the question, “How would you describe your father,” (paragraph 42), the respondent has several ways of describing her father, both positive and negative. The interviewer feels that the respondent is objective in the way she views her father and makes sure that the negative aspects of her father do not interfere with her generally positive attitude towards him. The negative description of her father states that he can get very angry and when he gets angry he quarrels for a long time until his temper cools down (paragraphs 246, 256 and 262). She continues by stating that when her father’s temper goes up he gets very “bad” (paragraph 244) but he does not beat her, he only quarrels her (paragraph 256).

The positive description of the respondent’s father depicts him as a man who guides and teaches, takes the family to places and plays with his children (paragraphs 49, 55 and 59). He is a father who talks to his children and tells them that he loves them (paragraph 78). Finally he is depicted as a very good daddy; one who is nice, kind and helpful (paragraphs 43, 368 and 364). The positive qualities of the respondent’s father causes her to both like and love him resulting in a good father and daughter relationship.

Narrative 2 - Father’s influence on the formation of relationships outside the home

When the respondent was asked whether she chooses friends because of what her father taught her, she was quick to say that she chooses friends according to how she feels but sometimes she considers what her father taught her (paragraphs 197 and 199). On further exploration, the respondent was able to clarify that at times she feels

that her father does not want her to have friends (paragraph 202). The respondent states that she chooses friends who are good and helpful as a result of her father teaching her not to play with girls who liked playing with boys (paragraph 189). When the respondent talks about “playing with boys,” (paragraph 189) it is understood to mean boys who have bad character and like sleeping around with girls carelessly.

The respondent states that she has many friends in school. Sometimes she and her friends go to the gym to exercise together; they visit each other’s homes, play together and even revise schoolwork together. The respondent strongly feels that her parents trust her. The trust her parents have shown her, has given her a sense of strength, which has led her into gaining the confidence she has in choosing her friends (paragraph 203, 218 and 219). Because the respondent’s parents trust her, they give her permission to go out and spend time with her friends. The time spent with her friends has given her an opportunity to cement and strengthen these relationships (paragraph 217).

Responding to the interviewer’s question, “Do you have friends who do not like their families?” (paragraph 393), the respondent reports that she has many friends who fall in this category. She adds that these friends react this way because their parents do not treat them well (paragraph 398). Some of the girls have fathers who beat them. In response to bad treatment and quarrelling, these friends talk badly about their parents (paragraph 400). However, the respondent usually advises these friends not to say bad things about their parents (paragraph 394). The respondent believes that it is not “nice” to talk badly about one’s parents. She feels that children should respect their parents and do good things for them. The respondent’s reaction to the way her friends treat their families demonstrates that she is mature in her thinking, in her way of doing things and is also able to stand firmly on her convictions. This maturity is what makes her feel that she is strong.

7.4 Adam's story

7.4.1 Introduction

This story is based on the transcribed interview between the researcher (EM) and Adam (A). The transcription is to be found in Appendix D. Paragraph numbers refer to the paragraph numbers allocated in the re-transcription. Adam's story will be told in two major narratives as follows: his relationship with his father and his ability of form relationships outside the family.

7.4.2 Personal information

Adam is 13 years and 8 months old and in class seven at Moi Air Base primary school. He is the second born but first son in a family of five children. He has two brothers and two sisters. His school is in the outskirts of the city where his father works and lives.

7.4.3 Adam's relational experience

Adam's story is told in two main narratives as follows: (i) His relationship with his father, which he describes as close because they do things together even though he does not view his father as a friend (paragraph 318, 276, 298 and 62). The respondent describes his father as a good father, one who helps, teaches and gives money despite the fact that he beats him. He is also a kind father (paragraphs 284, 420, 282, 286 and 144). There have been conflicts between the respondent and his father. The cause and resolution of these conflicts will be discussed in this narrative as well as the respondent's self-image, view of the future and faith. (ii) Narrative two discusses how the relationship between the respondent and his father has influenced his ability to form relationships outside the home. The respondent states that both his parents advise him on the kind of friends he should make. However, the final choice of friends is his own (paragraph 230, 232, 240 and 234).

Narrative 1 – Adam’s relationship with his father

In this narrative, the story of how the respondent was brought up, his relationship with his father, the conflicts the respondent has with his father and their resolution, his faith, his hope for the future and his self-image are discussed.

The interviewer would like to begin by explaining that Adam is the youngest research participant, a fact that could have influenced his understanding of the questions resulting in what may seem like a lack of depth of the entire interview. Another issue is that of language. Despite the fact that Adam is in an English speaking school, he mostly speaks Arabic at home. He is living in an area where the youth speak “sheng” which is a language drawn from a combination of English and Swahili. The result of the above factors could explain why the respondent’s English expression comes out as it does. For example, in his speech there is a lot of mixing of tenses, the pronouns he and she and the words yes and no.

As the respondent begins talking about himself, the interviewer asks him what he would like to become when he grows up and he states that he wants to be a pilot (paragraph 50). He goes on to explain that as a pilot he will be communicating with his father on the ground (paragraph 53 and 54). The interviewer asks the respondent whether he spends time with his father (paragraph 59). From the respondent’s answer it is clear that he spends time with his father, working through his homework because his father helps him with homework everyday (paragraph 62, 64, 69 and 70). They also spend time together during mealtimes, while watching TV, when talking or going to town (paragraph 64, 67, 298, 299 and 300). The respondent feels that as he spends time with his father, he learns from him. For example, when the father does repairs in the house, the respondent both watches and participates in the repair work (paragraph 276). The time the respondent spends with his father whether working, shopping or talking makes him want to be like his father because of the things his father tells him as well as the way his father does what he does (paragraphs 268, 266 and 270). The respondent has learned to do the things that his father does because this father taught him how to do them (paragraph 282).

The respondent declares that his father disciplines him through various ways. For example, his father beats him when he refuses to do what he is expected to do (paragraphs 139, 140 and 144), even though these days he is not beaten very often (paragraphs 147 and 148). Other modes of discipline used by the father include making the respondent clean the house and wash clothes (paragraph 152) or putting him under a curfew, that is not being allowed to leave the house (paragraph 172). An important fact that emerges in all the respondent's discussions about the punishment his father metes on him is that the father always talks about what he is going to do and explains why he is doing so. For example, when the respondent hit his friend with a stone his father told him he would punish him for beating his friend and hurting him with a stone (paragraph 154). The father also warned him that if he got in trouble again the father would punish him by put him under curfew (paragraph 172).

One issue that emerges in this respondent's story is that being punished does not seem to have created ill feelings in him against his father. His religion has taught him that if children repeat things they are told not to do they have to be punished. This view is revealed in the following conversation (paragraphs 189-198).

EM: Now...w...w...when eh...you said...you said the Quran says that eh...your religion says you respect your parents. What does it say about boys who bring problems home?

A: They should be beaten.

EM: They should be beaten?

A: Mmmmh and they...

EM: That is what...that is what your religion says?

A: Yes. When they bring problems they should not repeat it again and when they repeat, they should be given a punishment. Yeah.

EM: So that is what your parents have done?

A: Yes.

EM: When you have repeated they have given you punishment? Many punishments? Mmmmh? Many...many types of punishment?

A: Yes.

The amazing fact that the respondent presents is that his father is never angry when he disciplines him. The father's attitude during these times of discipline or punishment and the fact that he always explains to the respondent why he was punishing him could have facilitated the respondent's positive attitude towards his father.

The respondent seems to have such a respect for his father as a father but he could not call his father a friend. He emphatically said, "He is my father so he is not my...my friend" (paragraph 318). At the same time, the respondent seems to enjoy doing things that make his father happy. For example, when the respondent's mother leaves him at home with his father, he prepares lunch for both of them and serves his father. These activities make the respondent's father happy (paragraph 308-310).

Despite the good relationship between the respondent and his father, there are moments of conflict between them. The source of the conflict is the respondent's behaviour. The respondent cites two issues that he thinks lead to serious conflict between him and his father. One time the respondent took his father's shoes, went out with them and left them outside. When the father asked for his shoes the respondent told the father he did not know where the shoes were. However, when the father threatened to beat him he went outside and picked up the shoes where he had left them and brought the shoes to his father (paragraph 114-136). The other major conflict was when he refused to do the dishes after his father asked him to do so (paragraph 144). The resolution for these conflicts was through various types of punishments, which included caning, washing dishes and cleaning the house or curfew. The respondent explains that his religion does not allow him to answer his father because answering back is a sign of disrespect (paragraphs 100, 104 and 105 – 108). Because religion does not allow him to answer his father, the respondent keeps quiet during times of conflict and accepts whatever punishment his father metes out on him since it is stipulated that children should be beaten if they do wrong things (paragraph 190). In order to avoid conflict or punishment the respondent chose to stop doing the things that lead to conflict with other people and punishment. He chose to change his behaviour in order to avoid conflict (paragraph 202).

The strong influence of religion on the respondent is clearly demonstrated in the fact that he often talks about what his religion has taught him. To begin with, he introduced himself as a Muslim (paragraph 26). When the interviewer asked the respondent what his religion teaches about children (paragraph 99), the respondent enumerated several things. For example, children must know their God; they must respect their father and other older people (paragraph 100). Part of respecting a father or mother for example, is not talking back to him or her (paragraphs 107 and 108). The respondent also reported that the Koran says that children who cause problems should be beaten (paragraph 190). Where corporal punishment is entrenched in the beliefs of the people, it becomes very difficult to eliminate the practice from the communities that practice it. The respondent's statement that he does not quarrel with his sister (paragraph 222) is a part of the religious teaching on respect to those older than him. That is why the respondent says he could quarrel with his brother but not his sister (paragraph 222). It is worth noting that despite the respondent saying that he does not answer his father or quarrel with his sister, they both state that he does. The reason for his cover up is not clear.

In the beginning the respondent felt that he often got in trouble outside home and he often brought those problems home. However, currently the respondent feels that he has grown, changed his behaviour and stopped causing or bringing problems home (paragraphs 164 and 180). The respondent feels that from the age of 10 he knew what he was doing and that is when he began changing and bringing fewer problems home (paragraph 186).

As the respondent looks to the future he wants to become a pilot (paragraph 50) so that he could communicate with his father who constantly communicates with pilots as part of his daily job (paragraphs 437 – 438).

When the interviewer asked the respondent to describe his father (paragraphs 283 and 285), his response was that his father is a good father because he sometimes gives him money and sometimes he buys him things (paragraphs 284, 286, 288 and 290). The respondent also views his father as a father who teaches him (paragraph 282), a father who helps him (paragraph 420) and as one who corrects him (paragraph 330). When

the interviewer asked the respondent whether his father is kind (paragraph 423), he first shook his head meaning that his father was not kind, but then he goes ahead and says that his father was kind (paragraph 424). As the interviewer asks the respondent to explain what he meant, he explains that there was one incident that demonstrated his father's unkindness. The respondent's father one day asked him to remain home when there was no one at home. The respondent would have rather gone to town with his father. He translated his father's request as an unkind request from an unkind father (paragraphs 428-434). Other than this incident the respondent believes that his father is a kind father. The respondent describes his relationship with his father as a good relationship.

Although the respondent does not describe his father's parenting strategy, from his description of his father it can be deduced that the father's parenting style is more of an authoritative parenting style mixed with streaks of authoritarian parenting. The respondent depicts his father as one who is kind, helps, teaches and advises his son. At the same time this father disciplines his son through canning even though he gives his son the reason for the punishment.

Narrative 2 – Father's influence on the formation of relationships outside the home

Despite the good relationship between the respondent and his father, his response to the question "Have the things your father taught you helped you as you chose your friends?" (paragraph 223), his answer was "No" (paragraph 224). The interviewer then asked another question "How do you choose your friends?" (paragraph 229). The respondent stated that he chose his good friends basing his choice on the behaviour of the person he is choosing (paragraph 230 and 232). The respondent goes on to explain that his mother is the one who has taught him how to choose friends (paragraph 234). However, after further exploration the respondent is able to state that his father has told him not to play with bad friends because if he did so he would end up with problems (paragraph 240). After further review focusing on what the father had taught him, the respondent is able to view his father's teaching as an influence in his choice of friends. He insists on the fact that his mother had a part to play in his choice of

friends (paragraphs 239 – 254). The fact that the respondent's father has influenced his choice of friends is also demonstrated by the view that the respondent does not have friends who do not have good fathers (paragraph 435 and 436). The respondent is comfortable in his ability to choose friends and as such he has many friends both in school and elsewhere (paragraph 232).

7.5 Evaluation of the Idriss family

The aspect that stands out the most about this family is their adherence to their religion and culture. Each participant could not talk for any length of time without referring to what his or her religion said or stipulated. There is an explanation for every issue discussed in light of their religion and culture. For example, Idriss begun by saying that his religion stipulates that he has to look after the children and meet all their needs (paragraph 70I). He had said earlier that his clan, which represents his culture, holds that the father has the responsibility of taking care of the family (paragraph 38I). The three participants proudly declare that they are Muslims (paragraph 6I, 25K and 26A). Kadija goes on to state that one has to learn to become a good Muslim when one is young while her father says he was born a Muslim (paragraph 30K and 6I).

All through the interview, the researcher got the impression that the participants do not question why they do what they do. They simply do things because their religion or culture expects that. For example, when the interviewer asked Idriss, "Why do you want your ladies to wear the hijab?" (paragraph 675I), his reply was, "It is something which has been imposed by my religion and they should be there as long as..." (paragraph 676I) on further exploration he said, "Yeah, decent again the ways religion says we...we want to follow. Islam says the woman should wear this, I have to follow Islam because..." (paragraph 678I).

The relationships in this family too are deeply influenced by religion and culture. For example, the children know they have to respect their parents and should not argue with their parents (paragraph 406K). Adam respects his father so much he cannot imagine him being a friend (paragraph 318A). The father describes his relationship

with his children as good while he encourages them to get even closer (paragraphs 444I and 446I). Both children view this relationship with their father as good; a fact that leads them to describe their father in the following ways: Kadija says she likes her father very much and actually loves him because he is a good daddy (paragraphs 358, 362 and 364K). Adam states that his father helps him and is kind, he teaches him. Adam wants to be like his father (paragraphs 282, 420, 423 and 268A). The major contrast between the children's view of their father is that Adam insists on saying that his father never gets angry when he disciplines him and yet he is disciplined often (paragraphs 203 – 206A). On the other hand, Kadija describes her father as a man who often quarrels her when he is angry and makes her want to get away from home even though she has nowhere to go. She describes him as a man whose “temperature goes up”- that is he gets very angry (paragraphs 238 – 246K). However, the father does not beat her even when he is very angry (paragraph 256K). The different points of view about the father held by these two young people, is a clear demonstration of how two people looking at one big picture through different lenses identify different details of the same picture. Although a lot of the features seen are the same or similar, there are some fine details that are totally different because the perspectives of these two young people are different.

Another important difference revealed during the interview is that both the father and daughter report that the son/brother does not respect them. Idriss states that despite the fact that their religion does not allow the son to argue with the father, the son often argues with him and with his mother (paragraph 608I). Kadija states that when she is busy either studying or doing other work in the house, her brother would beat her and run away. Her brother is taller and would have liked to be the firstborn (paragraphs 97, 103 and 109K). On the other hand Adam says that he respects both his father and sister and does not argue with either of them. It is worth noting that Adam often gets in trouble even with his friends outside home. He is often involved in fights, kicking others and hitting them with stones. He also tends to keep company with friends whom he called “bad friends” (paragraphs 126, 154, 161, 162 and 166A).

The fact that Adam knows what his religion and his father expects of him and yet gets into trouble and is often punished, indicates that he may have a problem that has not

yet been identified by the parents. It can be assumed that since Adam is getting into his teenage years, he may be beginning to experience the adolescence growth turmoil but his problem seems to have surfaced before he was ten. He declared that at the age of ten he chose to stop doing bad things in order to avoid constant punishment by his father. His behaviour can be a reaction to the punishment Adam is receiving or his inability to deal with the emotions he is experiencing from a strict father who is desperately trying to instil a disciplined regime in his son's life (paragraph 520I) A close follow up of this young man would be helpful in order to arrest a situation that can be explosive.

It seems as if Adam finds refuge in his bed because he often speaks about going to bed or going to sleep. For example, after work he goes to bed and sleep (paragraphs 96, 404 and 430A) or when he is beaten he goes to sleep (paragraph 377A). Adam's behaviour tends to depict a sense of loneliness in a child who says he is loved and likes being with his father. This behaviour may also be the respondent's way of making sure he does not answer back and get in trouble. He seems as if he finds solace in his bed.

One thing that is clear is that an attempt to change this family's view of life would be very difficult because their lifestyle is so entrenched in their religion and culture. Any effective or long lasting change that may be necessary will have to take into account the strong religious and cultural influence. Dealing with psychological issues will have to work alongside the family's faith and culture.

CHAPTER 8

STORY OF STORIES

8.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is the common thread that brings together the experiences of the four participating fathers and their children. Each story is unique and occurs within a particular context, yet there are notable themes in the narratives of participants as well as commonalities and differences, which will be discussed. It should be noted that even though the themes are common to all participants, they influence each participant in different ways.

The discussion in this chapter includes the themes arising from the participating fathers and from the children. The commonalities and differences will be interwoven in the discussion.

The parameters for selecting the participating fathers did not include age. However, the closeness in ages is worth noting. Goodwin and Kiriva are both 51 years old, Munyao is 54 years old and Idriss is 42 years old. Broadly speaking the four fathers are in the same age bracket, perhaps a factor that makes their major themes very similar. Idriss has two sons while the other three fathers have one son each. In the traditional African setting sons were and still are more valued than daughters. This often leads to fathers giving special attention to their sons. All the participating fathers tend to be closer to their sons and spend more time with them than with their daughters. This is noticeable even though the fathers state that there is no preferential treatment given to any of their children. Idriss made it clear that his religion and culture place heavy preference on sons and he demonstrates this preference by stating that in schools in his rural community the ratio of girls to boys is 1:100.

Kiriva and Goodwin have four children each and Munyao has three children and Idriss has five children. These are considered as average sized families in Kenya/Africa. It can be said that these fathers belong to a generation in transition

because in traditional communities most families had eight or more children. Five children per family was termed as a small family. On the other hand, many African governments and communities are calling for smaller families (2-3 children) in order to control the growth of national populations. The cost of living in many communities is also forcing families to have fewer children so that parents can give the children the best education. In the light of traditional and more modern expectations, these four fathers cannot be viewed as traditional because their families are not large enough according to the traditional definition nor can they be called modern families when the definition of a modern family expects three or less children. Generally speaking, all four fathers would want their children to achieve the highest possible level of education. However, not all the fathers seem to encourage and support their children towards achieving this goal.

8.2 Fathers' themes

8.2.1 Father-son relationship

The four participating fathers state that their relationship with their fathers has influenced the way they have brought up their children. Idriss states that the way his father brought him up is the way he has brought up his children because that is what his culture and religion expect of him. The only thing he wants to do differently from his father is to educate his daughters. Whereas his father did not value education and removed him from school to look after cows, he will educate his daughters to the highest level of education they can achieve.

Goodwin was brought up by a father who gathered his family together and told them stories under the moonlight. Currently Goodwin and his family study the word of God together every evening. The result of this interaction is a family closeness similar to the one he had in his family of origin. Goodwin makes it clear that his father was very strict and made him work hard leading to his developing an ethic of hard work. Goodwin applied the principle of strictness on his own son but the results were not totally positive perhaps because he demanded too much from his son. He, however,

realised what he was doing and decided to back off and instead work closely with his son to rebuild the estranged relationship between him and his son.

Kiriva's relationship with his father was difficult because his father was very strict and cruel. Kiriva was afraid of his father and they did not talk often. Unlike Idriss and Goodwin who had good relationships with their fathers and brought up their children in the way they themselves were brought up, Kiriva chose to bring up his children differently. He believes that his father was a negative example of a father to him. He has therefore chosen to draw his children close to him through talking to them, working alongside them, and creating a positive atmosphere for his children through the way he relates to his wife. His own father was cruel to his mother and often beat her in the presence of Kiriva and his siblings. As such, he has chosen to show his children that their mother is important and he loves her, therefore, the children should respect her too.

Munyao clearly states that his relationship with his father was not good because his father mistreated him and his siblings to the extent that the respondent and his siblings used to hide every time the father came home. Munyao describes his father as "wild" because of the way he mistreated the whole family when he came home drunk. Munyao says he decided to love his children and not to treat them the way his own father treated him. The amazing thing about Munyao is that he is so detached from the story he is narrating that he demonstrates, perhaps, an unwillingness to remember the past or allow himself to experience the painful emotions of the past. Despite Munyao saying that he chose to love his children, he is not close to his children because he seems to have treated them in a way that is similar to the way he was treated by his own father without realizing what he is doing.

During their childhood years their own fathers subjected these four fathers to corporal punishment. In the course of their parenting all four fathers have used the cane on their children when they were still small. Munyao, however, still uses corporal punishment until now, creating a very difficult relationship with his children. Goodwin's view of corporal punishment seems to explain its value in all African communities. According to Goodwin it seems as if love, teaching about responsibility

and discipline involving corporal punishment were equally part of bringing up children in traditional African communities. Whereas Munyao chose to continue using corporal punishment in what he calls “using the cane in moderation” to avoid having to take the children to hospital if he hurt them badly, Goodwin, Idriss and Kiriva chose to use dialogue with their children as they grew older.

Both Goodwin and Idriss had good relationships with their fathers as they grew up and as a result both have high regard for their fathers, while Kiriva seems to show respect for his father even though he was not a good example. On the other hand, Munyao does not seem to want to associate himself with his father or his father’s family in any way. His memory of his father seems like a bad dream not worth remembering.

8.2.2 Education and profession

The level of education each father received seemed to be a determinant of each father’s profession and yet each father felt his profession influenced the way he brought up his children. In relation to his profession each father brought up his children differently.

Goodwin is the only father who has attained university education. He holds a Masters’ degree in Business Administration and works as a tax expert and a manager. From his management experience, Goodwin has realised that he needs to encourage his children to get close to him. He also reads books that reinforce his striving towards personal influence over his children. Goodwin is the only father who said he read books to improve his parenting skills. He is able to establish a culture of reading, discussing and applying what he reads, within his whole family. It seems as if Goodwin to a certain extent manages his family in the same way he manages his employees in his office.

Idriss completed his high school education and immediately joined the military where he went through several training programmes. He holds two Diplomas in Communication Technology and works as a communicator within the Kenya Air

Force. Being a military officer, Idriss is a very disciplined man who expects his family to be as disciplined as he is. The extent of family discipline is such that Idriss does not allow shouting at home; everyone has to talk softly when solving problems. He believes that he should always call his children and talk to them in the house behind closed doors to avoid disturbing his neighbours. Idriss strives to establish a strict routine for the children to follow after arriving home from school. He expects the children to have a shower soon after arriving from school, then have tea and do homework. When the children finish their homework and Idriss checks it then they can go out and be with their friends or relax. Despite this strict routine Idriss spends time talking to his children and he has a good relationship with them.

After Kiriva completed his high school education, he proceeded to a teacher training college where he was trained as a primary school teacher. Other than teaching, Kiriva has worked as a deputy head master for seven years and as a community leader for a long time. Kiriva states that his teaching profession has helped him change from harshness to guidance and counselling, which he considers the best way of disciplining a child. His belief is demonstrated by the fact that he works together with his own children when he wants them to learn a skill. Both his son and daughter say that their father teaches through demonstration. He also spends time explaining things and giving examples from his past experiences and present situations. Kiriva is so gentle in the way he deals with his children it is impossible to imagine that he was once a harsh father who used to often beat his children as he admits himself. Kiriva says that he treats his own children in the same way he treats his school students. With a smile on his face, Kiriva states that his children respect and love him and their relationship is good.

Munyao completed high school and has since trained himself through correspondence and on the job, rising from the position of a clerk when he was first employed to an accountant presently. Munyao was less specific in stating how his profession has helped him in the upbringing of his children than the other three participating fathers. He however, states that from the discussions he has with his colleagues he gets good ideas about family life that he shares with his children. His accounting experience helps him to do window-shopping for the items his children ask for before he gives

them money to buy them. He believes that by costing the items the children need he trains them in careful use of money. Unlike the other three participating fathers who were educated by their own fathers Munyao trained himself. As a result he seems to have developed the attitude that everyone else must chart, follow and sponsor his way to self-development as he did. In regard to this attitude, Munyao is the only participating father who has left his children to struggle to raise their own school fees. His profession does not seem to have trained him to be generous and accommodating like the other participating fathers. Goodwin, Idriss and Kiriva have been able to pay school fees, assist and encourage their children in their educational process while it seems like Munyao shows very little concern about what his children go through.

8.2.3 Culture

Culture seems to have influenced the way of bringing up children for Goodwin, Idriss and Kiriva. From the interview it is not very clear how culture has influenced Munyao. The only clear example of the influence of culture for Munyao was his decision to allow his wife to take care of their children after he divorced her 14 years ago. Cultural practices among Munyao's people expect the mother to look after the children with support from the family and community in cases of parental separation. Munyao has only lived with his children for the last six years after his wife died. Munyao seems rather disconnected from his community and definitely from his family. He seems to look down upon his family because they did not attempt to improve themselves as he did.

Goodwin and his siblings worked together in the farm but he never performed any culturally prohibited household chores. For example, he did not fetch water or cook because his culture does not allow men to do so. Goodwin adds that in the community he grew up in there was a uniform way of doing things that helped him not to question his father for making him work extremely hard. He says that not only was there a uniform way of doing things; there was also an understanding of why things were done in a particular way within the community. Goodwin continues to explain that children's discipline and upbringing was a shared responsibility within the community. For example, if he misbehaved away from home, any parent in the

neighbourhood would be allowed to cane him. If he went home and told his father a neighbour caned him, his father would cane him again without asking why the neighbour did so in the first place. Goodwin says that when their fathers caned them, they had no ill motives. The fathers' concern was that the children would be well behaved and hardworking. Despite Goodwin's desire to bring up his children the way he was brought up, he realises that he cannot do so in exactly the same way because he is living in a different time and environment. He observes that culture evolves and as such people develop subcultures under the urban systems they live in. Because of the modern influences, urban communities do not do things the same way as they are done in the rural areas or traditional communities. Goodwin found himself having to create a balance between what he had learned from his parents and his rural community and the influence of the urban environment he currently lives in.

Idriss talks about his culture with so much enthusiasm it is obvious that his culture has deeply influenced him. He states that culture has set stipulations for bringing up children that he strongly adheres to. For example, the discipline of the children is the sole responsibility of the father except for daughters aged 14 years and above who have to be disciplined by their mothers. The accepted main method of discipline among his people is canning but Idriss has chosen to use less of the cane and more of dialogue. Culture also allows him to cane his wife at least once a year in order to prove that he is in charge of his household. Another cultural expectation deeply engraved in Idriss is the issue of showing respect to older persons. In his case, he had to allow his father to beat him when he was a fully-grown man because his father was angry with him. Currently Idriss is concerned that his own son is not showing enough respect towards his parents. Idriss' culture tells him that a man must not go to the kitchen to cook. If the wife and daughters are not at home, culture dictates that he should get a female relative to come to his house and cook his food. It is worth noting that as culture assigns responsibility for the care of the children to Idriss, it also assigns a lot of privileges to men as discussed above. Idriss often states that it is impossible to separate culture and religion among his people. According to him culture and religion reinforce each other because what Islam says is what culture also says. He concludes by saying that culture was born out of Islam. Idriss has put to practice almost all what culture and Islam stipulate. One cultural expectation Idriss

has chosen not to follow fully is in relation to the education of his daughters. Culture does not value education for girls. However, Idriss has chosen to educate his daughters to the highest possible level.

Kiriva demonstrates the influence of culture on his parenting in the way he spends more time with his son than with his daughter. He says that in most African traditional communities, boys are more used to their fathers than the girls. Boys are expected to learn about life from their fathers, grandfathers or other male elders while girls learn from mothers, grandmothers and other elderly females. When Kiriva wants to communicate things to his daughter he talks to his wife about the relevant issues and then his wife communicates his wishes to their daughter. Kiriva believes that he teaches and influences his daughter through his wife. Despite this, he still spends time with his daughter creating a very close relationship with her. Kiriva has chosen to teach and influence his children through his example. This choice has led him to defy some cultural expectations by choosing to participate in all house chores including cooking, washing and ironing clothes. He believes that they should work together as a family and share responsibilities. Kiriva jokingly says that most of the people in his village think “he is ruled by his wife.” However he is deliberately and knowingly moving away from the cultural expectations despite possible mockery by his male contemporaries. This decision is hard for Kiriva because he lives in a rural environment where the emphasis on men not doing household chores is stronger than for men living in an urban environment. Despite this move from cultural expectations, Kiriva is still highly respected as a community leader and therefore he is able to gradually influence other men to begin to think and behave as he does. He will be teaching and influencing these men through his example as he teaches his own children.

As we consider the influence of culture on the parenting process for Goodwin, Idriss and Kiriva, the following facts emerge: (i) These fathers have considered and implemented certain aspects of cultural expectations, for example, the three fathers have given more time to their sons than their daughters; (ii) The three fathers have encouraged their sons to get involved in chores in the kitchen despite what culture dictates: Goodwin and Idriss do not cook but their sons participate in cooking; Kiriva

has, however, broken from this cultural restriction as such, he cooks, washes, and irons clothes regularly; (iii) Goodwin seems to spend more time with his daughters than Idriss and Kiriva even though they too spend more time with their daughters than culturally expected of them; (iv) It seems like Idriss has made the least break from his culture perhaps because for him it is not only his culture that is involved but his faith also. The main reasons for the move from the cultural expectations for these men are the influences of education, the environment they are living in currently and the influence of their faith; (v) These three fathers state that they are able to tell their children that they love them. Munyao also says that he loves his children even though his relationship with his children does not seem to demonstrate a loving relationship. The open demonstration of love through speech by these fathers is a move away from the cultural ways because in the traditional cultural setting children assume they are loved because they are provided for by their parents. None of the participating fathers had heard the words “I love you” from their own fathers. Goodwin states that even though his father was very strict he was loving and supports his view by adding that they were very close as a family.

8.2.4 Religion

According to Mbiti (1969) Africans are notoriously religious where each community has its own religious system with a set of beliefs and practices. Mbiti believes that religion permeates into all aspects of life so deeply that it is not always easy to isolate it. In view of this, religion influences the upbringing of children as attested to by the four participating fathers.

Goodwin, a born again Christian, says that the biggest thing that helps him to know that he is responsible for bringing up his children as God would like, is his faith. He believes that God expects him to give an account of his actions and that God will keep showing him how to respond to different situations during his parenting process. This realisation leads Goodwin to desire to parent his children the way God wants him to. In a contemplative mood, Goodwin adds that many people, himself included, strive to be the type of parents God wants them to be. He concludes by saying that Jesus has helped him to draw his children closer to himself. During the devotional time he

spends with this family they study the word of God and address the issues at hand. He also prays that God, through the Holy Spirit, will help his children to realise and appreciate that what he and his wife are doing is for their own good. Goodwin's deep faith has been deposited in his children who have embraced the same faith for themselves.

Idriss is a devout Muslim who is deeply immersed in the teachings of Islam. When he talks about his faith he literally beams with excitement. The amazing thing that the interviewer learned from Idriss is that Islam and his culture are not separable. According to Idriss, his culture is an offshoot of Islam. Whatever his culture therefore, says about bringing up his children is re-emphasised by Islam. Furthermore, Idriss does not question what his religion says about bringing up children. He closely adheres to each stipulation. For example, he forces his daughter to wear the hijab simply because his religion demands that. His religion stipulates that the younger person must respect and obey the older. In light of this, Idriss as a fully-grown man has allowed his father to beat him. He could not ask his father why he slapped him because to do so is contrary to the stipulations of his religion. He thinks it is a normal thing to be beaten by his father even when he is an adult.

Munyao does not seem to have strong religious convictions or commitments to his faith like the other three participating fathers. According to him he goes to church if he has time. However, Munyao says that when his children were young he used to teach them about what Jesus did. Currently he does not discuss things pertaining to God with the children because he believes his children are adults and are aware of these things and also know what they are supposed to do. From what Munyao says it is not certain whether his faith is important to him and hence useful in the upbringing of his children. Munyao sometimes goes to see herbalists, an action that is often associated with African traditional religion. He, however, does not seem to use this knowledge in bringing up his children. Even though he does not agree that he is involved in African traditional religion his children and neighbours believe he is. Involvement in African traditional religion may lead one to oppose belief in the Christian faith. According to Munyao's children he has tried to persuade them to

renounce their deep Christian faith. The attempt to do so has created conflicts between Munyao and his children.

Kiriva is a staunch Roman Catholic who believes in following the Ten Commandments given in the Bible. He is very active in the church where he plays the piano every Sunday. He says that he has brought up all his children in his religion by asking the children to think of what commandment they may be breaking when they do something wrong. Kiriva believes that without God, nothing can be of great success. Because his faith is important to him, Kiriva spends time reading the Bible, discussing what is read and praying with his family everyday before they go to bed. It is during these times that he encourages his children to value their faith. Kiriva knows there are people around him who believe in traditional religions but he has refused to involve himself in the things these people do because he says these things are contrary to what he believes.

Goodwin, Idriss and Kiriva seem to have imparted deep religious values to their children through the time spent discussing religious issues with the children, living out their faith for the children to observe and through encouraging their children to get involved in religious activities for themselves, especially now that the children are older. Since Munyao does not discuss matters of faith with his children currently, it is hard to determine whether he has influenced their faith. According to his children Munyao has nothing to do with their faith.

8.3 Children's themes

One of the parameters that directed the selection of each participating father is that he had to have at least one son and one daughter in the age group 13-25 years. The participating children's ages range from 13 to 22 years. Kadija is the youngest participating girl aged 14 years and has just finished her primary school education while Rehema is the oldest participating girl aged 22 years and is in her final year at university. Mghoi is 21 years and has finished her studies for a diploma in computer science and is employed. Wavata, 17 years is in her final year of high school. Rehema, Kadija and Mghoi are firstborns in their respective families. However, it is

only Kadija who seems to enjoy a lot of privileges as a firstborn. All three participants carry the responsibilities of a first-born and especially the need to set a good example for their siblings. Wavata is the first daughter and she too has chosen to set a good example for her sister.

David and Eric are the oldest participating boys, aged 20 years. David passed his final high school exams and is waiting to enter university while Eric is in his third year at university. David should have been in university but due to financial and family problems he is late in finishing high school. Adam, the youngest participating boy is aged 13 years and still in primary school. However, in many ways he enjoys the privileges of a firstborn son. His community places a high value tag on all boys especially the firstborn sons. As such Adam in some ways is treated as a firstborn child. Timothy, aged 19, is studying for a diploma in electrical engineering. Even though David is a firstborn and the only son, he does not seem to enjoy the privileges of a firstborn because his relationship with his father seems very strained. He, however, seems to be determined to take responsibility for his sisters. David wants to complete his education, then get a job and support his sisters.

Currently Eric and Rehema are the only participating children attending university. Their father has encouraged them to continue with higher education. He has facilitated this education by paying their university fees. David would like to go to university and has the necessary grades but often says he may not get there for lack of funds. His father does not seem concerned about the school fees payment. He did not pay school fees for David in high school either. It can be deduced that a father's level of education influences and inspires his children to aim as high as or higher than he reached himself which is what the Goodwin's family demonstrates.

8.3.1 Communication

All the participating children communicated in English during the interview. However, some interesting differences emerged. David, Mghoi, Timothy and Wavata were brought up and educated in the rural areas where the standard of teaching English sometimes is lower than in the urban areas. However, from the interviews,

these four participants' ability to express themselves was much better than the four who attended school in the urban areas. There could be several factors causing this discrepancy: (i) In the urban areas there is a tendency for young people to create their own language of communication by mixing words from different languages in order to create a new language. The outcome is a language called 'Sheng'. Eric tended to be more inclined to use 'sheng' - not so much in the use of 'sheng' words but 'sheng' expressions; for example the use of the following expression "even them they used to do both"...which is a direct translation of 'sheng' into English; (ii) The background of the children. Even though Eric and Rehema have a very good immediate environment, their initial education was in Swahili, which is the national language in their country of origin. These two participants learned English as a second language later in life than the other six participants and hence there is a tendency to think in vernacular and then translate the thoughts into English. Like Eric and Rehema, Adam grew up speaking Arabic and Swahili at home, while at school he learns in English and lives among a 'sheng' speaking community. He seemed to have the most problems with his expressions especially in mixing words. For example, he mixes he and she, and says no when he means yes. Perhaps Adam at 13 years is still sorting out a lot of issues of this language mixture in his mind; (iii) Sometimes children in the rural areas put more effort into learning than those in the urban areas. To a certain extent those in the rural areas have fewer distractions or influences, for example, there is not much use of 'sheng' in those areas.

8.3.2 Relationship with father

Goodwin's, Idriss's and Kiriva's children basically believe they have a good relationship with their respective fathers. All these children agree that their fathers love them even when the fathers do not say so. For example, Mghoi gets very amused when she is asked whether her father has ever told her he loves her because she is so sure her loves her. According to Mghoi, her father provides for all her needs, talks to her and provides her with security as a demonstration of his love for her and her siblings. Munyao's children on the other hand, strongly believe their father hates them because he has never told them he loves them, he does not provide for their needs and

often beats them severely. David says that his father beats him and his sisters as if he is fighting with them.

Each of the participating young people agrees that he or she has conflicts with his or her father. David and Wavata are not able to solve their conflicts with their father because he does not often talk to them and hardly listens to them. Both David and Wavata have learned to forgive their father through their involvement with the church. Despite being involved in the church, David says he often cries because he is not able to solve issues with his father. He has nevertheless learned to live with these unresolved conflicts. Sometimes it seems Wavata deals with conflict by getting over involved in school affairs where she participates in several clubs or in church where she teaches Sunday school and in her studies.

The main areas of conflict for the participating young people are basically the same. These include: (i) Manner of dressing where the fathers insist on what they consider appropriate for the young people. Eric, Kadija and Rehema experienced this conflict and eventually conformed to their fathers' expectations. (ii) Involvement in sports or relaxation with friends, where fathers feel that the young people spend more time relaxing than studying. Adam and Eric had to eventually submit to their fathers' expectations after discussions between the young people and their fathers. (iii) The kind of friends the young people have. All the participating young people experience this type of conflict. Other than David and Wavata who do not discuss the issue of friends with their father, all the other young people have discussed the issue with their fathers. After some time all the children chose to leave the questionable friends. Timothy's father sent him to stay with a relative in the city in order to separate him from 'bad' friends. Adam, Eric, Kadija, Mghoi, Rehema and Timothy bear witness to the fact that their fathers explained and discussed the issues of conflicts with each of them. These six young people agree that despite the conflicts, their individual relationship with their respective fathers was good because the conflicts were resolved amicably.

Despite participating fathers being depicted as good fathers, Adam, Eric and Timothy say that their fathers cause them to experience stress. Timothy observes that when he

was younger he used to fear his father because his father's voice was loud when they quarrelled. Timothy is quick to add that his father changed and therefore he no longer fears his father. The cause of stress for these three young people was the pressure each father put on the son to perform well at school and at home. Eric, for example, feels his father put too much pressure on him to perform well in mathematics but he did not perform well until his father changed his approach of dealing with him. Eric wants to be a different kind of father than his own father in the future so as not to subject his children to the same pressure. He says that he will give his children freedom to choose and then guide them through this freedom without them being overly pressurised.

It is worth noting that during the period Eric's father pressurised him, Eric began to drink alcohol and kept up with the habit for two years before he decided to stop drinking on his own volition. It is possible that Eric needed something to help him cope with the stress he experienced and therefore turned to alcohol. Fortunately for Eric, when his father realised that the relationship between him and his son was strained, he changed his approach and began working on restoring this relationship. That is possibly why Eric says he does not want to exchange his father for another. Timothy had started smoking as a way of coping with his feelings of stress. His choice to stop smoking was based on what his father taught him about the dangers of cigarettes. Adam seems to react towards pressure by arguing with his father – an act viewed by the father as being disrespectful because their religion stipulates that children should not argue with their fathers or people who are older than them.

8.3.3 Faith

One amazing thing that seems evident from this research project is that all the participating young people embrace religion for themselves. Apart from David and Wavata who clearly state that their faith has nothing to do with their father, the other six participating young people were influenced by their fathers and hence embrace the same faith as their fathers. This influence was transmitted through the fathers' lifestyles and also the fact that these fathers discussed issues of faith with their children. Adam and Kadija explain that other than talking to them about their faith, their father encourages them to attend 'Madarassa' which is a special school for

teaching young Muslims about their faith. Eric, Mghoi, Rehema and Timothy agree that not only do their fathers discuss the issues of faith with them, they also pray with and for each of the participating young people.

It seems that in search of a solution to a very difficult relationship with their father, David and Wavata found themselves in a caring Christian church community. Through the love and acceptance of this community of faith and especially the pastor and his family, David and Wavata made a decision to embrace the Christian faith – hence David calls his faith his own. None of these participating young people says he or she was forced to believe what he or she believes, even though the Muslim young people may not have had an option of becoming anything else other than Muslims. Perhaps the decisions of the participating young people are a demonstration of the fact that young people are receptive to what the significant others be it the parents or any other members of the community around them do and say when there is love and acceptance. David and Wavata seem to be demonstrating that it was not their father who influenced them but the community of believers around them through loving, caring for and accepting them. David says that his father has tried to dissuade him and his sisters to renounce their conversion and hence faith in Christ - but he is adamant not to do so. Two of the participating young people are Muslims, two are practicing Roman Catholic Christians while the other four declare that they are born-again Protestant Christians.

8.3.4 Result of relationship with the father

As the researcher set out to study the outcome of the relationship between fathers and their children, she felt that the results may be positive (where the relationship is healthy and good), or negative (that is where the relationship is poor and unhealthy). It is clear that these two perspectives do emerge from the children's narratives.

There seems to be good relationships between the participating fathers and their children in Goodwin's, Idriss's and Kiriva's families. According to the young people, these three fathers are mainly using an authoritative type of parenting style. These fathers are reported to be quite strict - maybe more strict with the sons than with the

daughters. These fathers also discuss issues with their children. Even though they have the final say in many issues, they also listen to and implement their children's opinions at times. These three fathers are depicted as loving and caring. They also tell their children that they love them and spend time with them. These three are fathers who hold firmly to their faith. It seems as if they tend to spend more time with their sons than with their daughters. However, these three fathers are viewed as not favouring any of their children. Despite the fact that these three families experience positive relationships there are moments of conflicts that are amicably resolved. Eric believes that his father is unfair in the way he deals with conflicts because, according to him, his father wins in all kinds of arguments and yet Eric says that the good experiences between him and his father overshadow the bad experiences. Adam and Timothy echo Eric's attitude towards his father in slightly different ways. Both Adam and Timothy feel that their fathers are unfair because they do not allow them to spend much time with their friends.

The participating daughters tend to depict their fathers as almost perfect fathers unlike their brothers who are quick to point out what they believe are their fathers' shortcomings, especially unfairness. For example, Kadija says that her father is a very good father who is nice, kind and helpful. She says she is very happy with him and loves him. Mghoi says that her relationship with her father is very good. Her father is a strong source of security for her. She continues to say that she feels insecure when her father is not at home. Rehema depicts her father as "kind of fun" and open. She has developed trust in him and she believes that at times she acts and makes decisions just like him.

As stated above, these three fathers have disciplined their children and even used the cane on them when the children were younger. These three fathers have taken the time to draw their children to them and build a good relationship. The result of the positive relationship of the three participating fathers and their children is that the children seem to be very confident and stable. The children respect not only their fathers but also all the people around them. These young people seem to be well anchored at home and therefore can go out and form stable relationships within the society.

The interviewer expected to encounter negative relationships in more families but only one family presents a very negative relationship between the father and his children. Even though the interviewer expected negative relationships she did not imagine that she would be confronted by an extremely devastating father-children relationship like she has. The more the researcher delves into the Munyao family's narratives, the more she feels the pain experienced in this family and the clearer it becomes that negative family relationships can cause a lot of hurt and instability amongst its members.

Unlike the other three participating fathers, whatever Munyao says seems to consistently contradict what his children, David and Wavata, say. For example, Munyao says he uses corporal punishment moderately while his son says his father beats him and his sisters as if he is fighting with them. Munyao says he loves his children but Wavata says her father hates her because she looks like her mother whom he divorced many years ago. Apparently her father goes around telling people that she is a prostitute like her mother was. Munyao says he discusses issues with David and Wavata and they solve conflicts amicably but both young people explain that they never talk with their father because he does not listen to them because he despises them. David and Wavata have learned to live with the problems they experience with their father because they respect him as a father and do not want to talk about him to people outside the family circle. Both young people are often beaten by their father and sent away from home for no apparent reason. They have nowhere to go when sent from home because they have no relatives nearby. Many times neighbours and the church community David and Wavata belong to provide them with food because their father does not buy them food; instead he takes his whole salary to the woman he is currently living with.

According to Munyao he only drinks occasionally but according to the children he drinks heavily all the time. There are times when Wavata has to change his clothes, wash and feed him because he is too drunk to help himself. The sad thing about the Munyao family is that there never seems to be a happy moment that involves Munyao and his children. Both David and Wavata depict their father as an abusive, hateful,

non-caring father who wants his children to give up their faith. They both wish they were born in a different family.

Munyao describes his father as a “wild” man who was not nice to him. Munyao says his intention is to bring up his children differently from how he was brought up. However, from his children’s narratives Munyao seems to have brought them up exactly as he was brought up even though he seems unaware of the fact that he is doing so.

The result of this negative relationship with regard to David’s and Wavata’s ability to form relationships outside the family is that both experience difficulties in making friends despite been reasonably confident in themselves. David states that he likes being friends with people who understand him and his problems. He is cautious not to befriend those who despise him because they know his real background. David’s choice of friends, based on what he says, seems very limited and hence it may result in having very few true friends. Some of David’s friends left him when they discovered that he had so many domestic problems. David makes it clear that his father did not prepare him well in order to be able to make many and varied friends. He furthermore states that the relationship he shares with his father influences his inability to make friends - he does not have a friend in his father and therefore he has no model to follow.

Wavata’s story is not very different from her brother’s story. She reports that only her friends from church know she has domestic problems. At times she feels that her friends laugh at her especially when they boast to her of how much money they have and yet they do not share some with her. Wavata seems to have few friends because she is afraid of being hurt by those insensitive to her situation. Wavata feels that she is able to form good relationships outside the family and yet her relationship with her father limits her and makes it difficult for her to do so.

One amazing fact is that David and Wavata have developed deep individual faith in God despite their father’s attempt to make them give up this faith. Their father has often told them he does not want their friends who carry Bibles when they come to

visit them or pray at home. These young people have, however, found a home within the church community they belong to. Their pastor seems to have adequately taken the role of a father because when things are difficult. Both David and Wavata share their problems with him. When they are given food by well-wishers they keep the food in the pastor's home because if they take it home the father will take it to the woman he lives with.

David explains that the positive side of his bad relationship with his father is that he has become very close with his pastor and his pastor's family. According to David he bears a lot of pain and anger but his faith has helped him to forgive his father. His faith makes him strong and helps him accept the problems he is experiencing because other people in biblical times went through problems too and managed. However, at times he tells God that what he is going through is too much and asks God whether he cannot take away the problems.

According to Wavata the problems she experiences with her father have made her mature because she has learned to work through these problems without sharing them with others. From reading literature books and books dealing with the suffering of African women, she chooses to repay her father's bad treatment with good deeds because when she acts positively toward him she experiences peace within herself. Her faith has helped her learn to relate to God as her Father and someone she can share her pain with and in whose hands she can cry as she talks to Him about her problems. Like her brother, Wavata has gone through very painful, harrowing experiences with her father that seem to have left a lot of pain tucked away deep within her heart. As Wavata narrates her story there is a sad expression on her face and she literally fights off the tears welling in her eyes.

Unlike the other three participating fathers, it seems as if Munyao over-disciplines his children in the way he demands total obedience from them. He is abusive and seemingly disconnected from his children because what he says about his children and the way both Munyao and his children behave almost always seems to contradict what the children say. Munyao does not seem to have made any effort to spend quality time with the children or to build good relationships. Instead, a seemingly negative

relationship has developed between him and his children. The result of this negative relationship between Munyao and his children is that the children do not seem able to form stable relationships outside the family for fear of being hurt or of being despised by their friends.

David and Wavata are therefore very cautious, reserved young people. What has helped David and Wavata build up some hope and cope is their faith in God and the support of the church community they belong to. Both young people's hard work, especially in their studies, provides them with better prospects for the future. Both of them are doing well in their studies. Currently David is waiting to go to university because he passed his high school leaving exam with good grades. Wavata is in her final year in high school and her performance places her within the top twenty students in her class.

Amongst the participating eight young people, David and Wavata seem to be the most involved in helping other young people who are less privileged and are the most actively involved in youth groups. David plays the keyboard for their youth group at church and often accompanies his pastor for evangelistic missions. Wavata regularly teaches Sunday school. This involvement may be the result of their suffering which makes them want to alleviate the pain of others in similar situations. It can also arise from their gratitude for what the church community has done for them; therefore, they get involved in church activities. A third possibility can be that both David and Wavata need to keep busy so as to forget or not have to constantly think about their problems. Whatever the driving force, both David and Wavata are moving on and are coping with their predicament relatively well, given the amount of hurt and pain they both currently carry within them.

8.4 Family Outlook

The composition of the participating families is that two families live in the rural areas and the other two live in urban areas. The interviewer set out to isolate any significant differences between the urban and rural ways of bringing up children. From the stories of the participating fathers, there does not seem to be any significant

differences. In fact, Kiriva demonstrates the most radical departure from his cultural expectations although he lives in a more traditional setting than the other participating fathers. As stated before, Kiriva has spent most of his life in the rural area. In his community men are not expected to go to the kitchen but Kiriva has openly and consistently chosen to work closely with his family and share all the household chores regardless of what the community says. Kiriva jokingly says that the men in his community will think his wife rules him.

The family that seems to adhere the most to cultural expectations is the Idriss family. In this family, the issue of dress mode has been strictly maintained. Idriss declares that his daughters cannot go outside his house without wearing the hijab because his faith and culture stipulate the mode of dress to be followed by their women. These stipulations seem to be followed without questioning within his family even though Idriss and his family live in an urban environment.

Goodwin demonstrates more clearly that a father's profession can influence his ability to bring up his children. The interviewer felt that Goodwin tends to manage his family the way he manages his staff in the office. For example, he chose to use the book "Seven habits of a highly effective family" by Stephen Covey, to help his family develop a close relationship just as he has used similar books to develop teamwork in the office. Goodwin's daughter, Rehema often reflects on how her father would ask her which principle she is breaking, especially when she shouts at other family members.

It seems that no matter whether participating fathers are from rural or urban environments, they have a closer relationship with their sons than with their daughters. The tendency to communicate with daughters through their mothers was demonstrated by Goodwin, Idriss and Kiriva. Munyao tends to communicate to his daughters through his uncle's wife because his wife has died. This is in line with the traditional expectation in most African communities where a girl's life education is the responsibility of the mother and other significant women in the girl's life. The message these fathers are conveying is that despite education, faith, or where one lives, there are culturally dictated expectations that are not easy to abandon even when

the fathers believe they do not deliberately discriminate in the way they bring up a boy and girl.

8.5 Self-reflections

Reflecting on the analysis of the four participating families and the chapter on the story of stories, the researcher was able to connect with the participants – both the fathers and their children - at different levels. The researcher seemed to identify amongst the fathers most with Goodwin. His story during the interview was the most academically challenging. He seemed to cover the broadest scope of parenting techniques despite the fact that the researcher often struggled to keep him within the scope of the focus of the interview namely, his personal parenting strategy.

The researcher was most drawn to Kiriva who tended to be the most relational oriented of the participating fathers. His relationship with his family seems so effortlessly natural which is perhaps what the researcher longs to see within families.

Munyao presented the greatest challenge to the researcher right from the onset. As he was introduced to the researcher, he voiced that he expected a financial reward from the researcher after the interview. This expectation seemed to somehow repulse the researcher and make her rather uncomfortable with Munyao. All through the interview with Munyao, the researcher kept wondering whether the respondent was truthful and at times she felt angry and uncomfortable with him hence it was difficult to cultivate a trusting relationship with the respondent. The researcher experienced Munyao's 'evasive' narrative as the most frustrating of all the participants' narratives but felt comforted by the fact that the respondent had articulated what his expectations were. Amazingly after the interview this respondent walked off while the interviewer was interviewing his son and he did not come back home while the interviewer was there, depicting rather strange behaviour.

The researcher was most apprehensive before the interview with Idriss, not knowing what would be the outcome from the differences in faith. However, this interview was most rewarding, as it became a rich source of information on what the Islamic faith is

all about. The exposure to Idriss and his family surprisingly drew the researcher very close to the whole family.

The researcher tended to identify and be drawn most to David and Wavata whose relationship with their father seems to produce the most negative results. These two young people experience so much pain and sadness to the point that they wish they had a different father. Often the researcher shared in their pain. The researcher had experienced much pain because of a bad relationship with her father when she was Wavata's age. She too wished she had another father but today she is fully healed. Seemingly the most enviable relationship with a father is demonstrated by Mghoi, who is insecure when her father is not at home, and Rehema, who sees herself as being very much like her father. The researcher's relationship with Adam and Kadija seemed to be the most empathic as there seems to be no open venue for these two young people to express emotional frustration arising from the issues related to people in authority. Their faith and culture block the possibility of expressing frustration with people who have authority over them.

The researcher's relationship with both Eric and Timothy facilitates an understanding of situations where these young people seem to definitely love their fathers and yet question the way these fathers do some things. Questioning in this instance is viewed as a sign of maturity. Eric for example, wants to give his children more freedom than his father gives him. He also sees his father as a man who delays in decision making where as the father feels that he can easily and precisely make decisions. At the same time, Eric categorically states that he cannot exchange his father for another – a statement viewed as a demonstration of his level of maturity.

The researcher believes that she has gained knowledge about herself and the 'worlds' of the respondents from the interviews with the twelve respondents. It was brought out that the researcher strongly identifies more with young people whose relationship with their fathers is painful and hurtful because these relationships resemble the story of her own experience as a young person. The researcher is left feeling rather frustrated and disappointed with the fathers who knowingly or unknowingly cause their children pain. It was also a sobering and uncomfortable experience to be exposed

to the world of the ‘financially disadvantaged’ and realise that the researcher was not able to help. The most touching issue is the fact that David may not enter university for lack of educational fees. The researcher realises that even though she is able to connect with people across the religious divide on a personal level, she still tends to identify more with those whose beliefs are most similar to hers. It was most humbling to the researcher to realise how much trust each respondent put in her, hoping that she would present their stories with the respect they deserve – despite having known them all for such a short time.

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to capture the common themes demonstrated in the narratives of the four participating fathers and their participating children. The main emotions expressed in these narratives have been identified. Diversities that emerge from different family and individual narratives are also discussed in this chapter as well as the relationship between the researcher and the respondents.

In the following chapter, a comparison between the themes presented in this chapter and the chapter on literature review will be presented.

CHAPTER 9

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

9.1 Introduction

In chapter two fathers' parenting strategies in childhood and adolescence, the role of faith in parenting as well as parents' and adolescents' perspectives on parenting are discussed. The discussion is based on literature citation from the Western countries mainly Europe and America because little research on parenting strategies in general and fathers parenting strategies in particular within the African setting was identified. Chapter eight presents the major themes and factors that influenced the parenting experience for the fathers who participated in the research. This chapter also discusses the participating fathers' influence on their children's ability to form relationships outside the home. Emphasis is placed on the influence the culture, faith and the individual father's profession have on his ability to parent his children. The participating young people's views about their fathers as well as the fathers' influence on the young peoples' ability to form relationships outside the home are presented.

This chapter endeavours to present the commonalities and differences provided by the literature review in chapter two and the common themes extracted from the narratives of the participants as presented in chapter eight. The commonalities and differences will be discussed under the following aspects: participating fathers' own upbringing; the role of faith in fathering; fathers' and the young peoples' perspective of parenting and parenting strategies.

9.2 Fathers' own upbringing and parenting strategies

9.2.1 Parenting and the fathers upbringing

According to Yablonsky (1990), the most significant influence on a father's parenting strategy with his children is the imprint of the way his own father brought him up. A man's father's parenting strategy is consciously or unconsciously at work when he is

parenting his children. If this is true then the father who did not have his father as a model will struggle with parenting his own children. Biddulph (2003) explains that many of his generation of fathers feel strange when it comes to parenting because they have no knowledge of what good parenting is about. Lack of knowledge for them is due to the fact that their own fathers, who belonged to the post world war era, did not play with, cuddle, talk or teach their children, which are activities children love. Biddulph believes that fathers of his father's generation proved their love by working and providing for their families. He also believes that the more a father gets involved with his children the more he discovers his talents at parenting as well as his unique parenting style.

Yablonsky (1990), on the other hand seems to believe that a man develops his own father's parenting style. The choice of a parenting style depends on the relationship the father had with his own father. According to Yablonsky, it is possible for a father to modify his parenting strategy under specific circumstances that may arise during his own parenting if he understands what needs to be changed and how to change it. From this research Goodwin, who was brought up by a father who was close even though very strict, demonstrates this aspect clearly. Goodwin chose to be very strict with his son and sometimes he punished his son because of poor performance. However, when he realized that his son was not improving and their relationship was negatively affected, he chose to work on rebuilding the strained relationship with his son while allowing someone else to assist his son in mathematics. Over time, Goodwin's close relationship with his son has been restored.

While Goodwin chose to modify his parenting strategy, Kiriva and Muniyao chose not to follow their fathers' parenting strategies. Kiriva states that his relationship with his father was difficult because his father was very strict and even cruel. Kiriva grew up fearing his father as such he chose to draw his children close to him through talking to them and working with them. Kiriva states that earlier he used to cane his children a lot but as they grew older he stopped caning them. His daughter, Mghoi, testifies to the fact that her father used to cane her until she was about nine years old. She also feared her father because he used to quarrel her in a loud voice. Mghoi continues to say that since her father changed his way of talking to her and her siblings and

stopped caning her their relationship is very good. She loves her father and knows that he loves her.

Munyao says that his father mistreated him and his siblings to the extent that whenever he came home Munyao and his siblings would run and hide. As a result Munyao says he decided to love his children and not treat them the way his father treated him. Unfortunately, Munyao's children report that their father is very cruel to them. David states that his father beats him and his siblings as if he is fighting them. His father often challenges David to fight him like a man. David has refrained from these challenges. Wavata states that her father hates her and her siblings. Not only does he beat them badly, he also does not provide Wavata and her siblings with food or pay their school fees. Both David and Wavata testify to the fact that their neighbours and their church community meet their basic needs. The amazing thing about Munyao is that he seems totally unaware of the fact that he treats his children in a way that is similar to how his father treated him.

Idriss is an example of a father who has chosen to bring up his children in the same way he was brought up by his own father. In fact, Idriss states that the way he has brought up his children is exactly the way his children will bring up their children. Idriss adds that the way a father brings up his children is stipulated by the Islamic religion and reinforced by his culture.

9.2.2 Fathers' parenting strategies

The basic theoretical focus of this study is Diana Baumrind's (1966; 1968) work, which discusses the effects of authoritative parental control on a child's behaviour as well as authoritarian versus authoritative parental control. Baumrind's (1966) study presents three prototypes of adult control, namely permissive, authoritarian and authoritative prototypes while in a later study (1968) she uses the same categories as she discusses different parent types. The difference in the two studies is that the earlier study applies the three prototypes in parenting in early childhood while the later study applies the same prototypes to the parenting of the older child (6 – 11 years) and the adolescent.

Other researchers, like Chen, Liu and Li (2000), Harkness and Super (cited in Chen et al., 2000) propose that Baumrind's parenting styles can be interpreted differently within different cultural settings because different culture groups view issues of parenting from different perspectives and therefore place different emphasis on the same parenting styles. Fagan (2000) is of the opinion that parenting styles that may be viewed as less adequate in one cultural context may be necessary for coping with the reality of another cultural context. The differences on how parenting styles are viewed in different groups often depend on the socialisation goals of each group (Chen et al., 2000). According to Harkness and Super (cited in Chen et al., 2000 p. 402) socialisation beliefs and values may in turn "affect parenting styles, practices and strategies which constitute aspects of social context for child development".

It is possible to use Baumrind's parenting prototypes in any cultural settings if they are defined in the light of the cultural expectations of each group of people. This researcher set out to explore parenting styles of participating fathers in relation to Baumrind's prototypes. The researcher was open to identifying other descriptions of parenting styles as well as modifications of Baumrind's prototypes. To be able to determine the parental styles involved, the researcher asked each participating father to describe his parenting style. She also asked the participating young people to describe their fathers and their fathers' parenting styles. Only one son described his father's parenting style using the word "authoritative". The other young people described their father's parenting characteristics and/or behaviour. These characteristics and behaviours were evaluated in relation to Baumrind's description of the three prototypes.

From the descriptions given by both the participating fathers and the young people, three fathers, namely Goodwin, Idriss and Kiriva, seem to fit Baumrind's description of the authoritative parenting style. The fourth participating father, Munyao, seems to fit more into what Maccoby and Martin (cited in Holmbeck, Paikoff and Brook-Gunn, 1995) classify as authoritarian - autocratic parents, described as demanding and direct but not responsive which is what Baumrind (1966) calls the authoritarian parenting style.

Goodwin explains that when he realised that his son reacted negatively to him being overly strict, he decided to use affirmation and focus on this son's strengths in order to correct the fear he had created in his son. Goodwin explains that he pushes each of his children to be what they ought to be while encouraging them to be open and transparent with him. Goodwin has encouraged the development of leadership and decision making in his children by facilitating discussions on different issues with his children. He also spends time with each child despite his busy work schedule. When the children were younger, he used to cane them but he always explained to the children why he did that. He still institutes the necessary discipline by explaining to the children why he has to take the action he takes. Goodwin states that he has not had major conflicts with his children but there have been some dissatisfaction with some things the children do. When these arise he discusses the conflict issues with the concerned child aiming at understanding each other's perception and correcting the perceptions that had created wrong assumptions and beliefs. However, Goodwin says he has the final word sometimes and he always clearly states his position.

What Goodwin says about his parenting style is in line with Baumrind's (1966) description of an authoritative parent, one who directs the child's activities in a rational, issue oriented manner while encouraging verbal give and take and sharing with the child. This parent values the attributes of authoritative self-will and disciplined conformity and hence he exerts firm self-control at points of parent-child divergences without unnecessarily hemming the child in with restrictions. Goodwin summarises his parenting strategy using five words, listening, observing, interacting, transparency and coaching. To him, coaching has three variables, which include (1) things that cannot be negotiated, where he takes a specific position (2) coaching through counselling and (3) coaching through discussions – where he involves his children in extensive discussions and decision-making.

Both Rehema and Eric agree that their father involves them in a lot of discussions and often implements their opinions. However, Eric states that his father tends to have the final word too often. Rehema describes her father as someone very easy to talk to and fun to be with – a father who understands their problems. She says that because of her

good relationship with her father, she has developed a positive self-image. Rehema states that even though her faith in God is her own, her father who lived his faith as an example to her and her siblings influenced its development. Her ability to form relationships outside home is based on the fact that she knows her father has provided her with a home and security that stands as a strong foundation for her. Her confidence in her father is demonstrated in her stating that she needs him now more than ever before and she would like him to continue to direct her.

Eric states that his father has put him under some pressure but he is a good father whom he would not want to exchange for another. He continues to describe his father as a man who listens to his children, talks and allows them to criticise him and tell him what they think of him. According to Eric, his father is a humble man who acts on the advice of his children even as he sets boundaries. Despite what Eric says about his father, he feels that his father is unfair in his conflict resolution ways because he wins most of the time. Eric feels that when he becomes a father, he will give his own children more freedom than his father has given him and will not pressurise his children as much as his own father has pressurised him. Eric values the amount of time his father spends with him alone as they go jogging the most. During these times he talks about his personal issues like his studies and friends and gets advice from his father. Rehema and Eric's descriptions of their father's characteristics and behaviour are the characteristics reflected in the description of an authoritative parent.

Idriss states that he talks a lot with his children and encourages them to ask questions, but he talks more to his sons than his daughters. He also makes an effort to draw his children close to him, especially the sons. Conversations and discussions with his daughter involve her studies and her manner of dress mainly because his culture and religion impose limitations as to what he may talk to her about. For example, he does not discuss issues on how to behave in the world or relationships with the opposite gender because this is the task of his wife. Although his children talk to him about many issues he does not allow them to argue with him' whether they are sons or daughters. From the eyes of a Western individualistic culture where a child's autonomy is valued, Idriss' behaviour of not allowing children to argue with him may be termed as authoritarian control. However, from a non-Western culture where

obedience and conformity are valued according to Chao (cited in Stewart et al., 2000), this behaviour is not necessarily authoritarian because it is in line with both Idriss' religious and cultural expectations. In many traditional African communities and to a certain extent in rural contemporary communities, children were and still are to be seen and not heard. This expectation is assumed to be a demonstration of respect to elders and those in authority and is accepted by all concerned.

Idriss used to cane his children when they were younger but currently he talks to them and makes them understand why they need to do what he wants them to do. He actually sets limits for the children. Idriss spends time with each of his children and he also tells them that he loves them.

Adam, Idriss' son, states that his father beats him sometimes but he also uses other modes of discipline and/or punishment, for example, his father at times puts him under curfew or asks him to clean the house or wash the clothes. He adds that his father is never angry when he is disciplining him and always explains why he has to implement discipline. Adam also depicts his father as one who teaches, assists, advices and corrects his children; a father who is kind and loving and spends time with his children. Adam seems to have a lot of respect for his father as a father but cannot imagine him as a friend. This view of a father is perhaps influenced by the traditional African view of a father – where children are not often socialised to view a father as a friend. In Adam's case, the view is probably more influenced by his religion that puts a lot of emphasis on respecting parents, elders and those in authority.

Kadija describes her father as a good, nice father whom she both likes and loves. He is a father who spends time talking, discussing, playing and doing things with her and her siblings and he sometimes listens to and even implements her opinions. She states that she feels strong and confident because her father trusts her. However, her father quarrels with her a lot and that makes her uncomfortable because her religion does not allow her to answer her father or argue with him. Sometimes she wants to get out of the house when he is angrily quarrelling with her but does not have anywhere to go. This side of her father is overshadowed by the fact that her father loves her and her

siblings and tells them so.

Idriss' parenting strategy is authoritative if looked at through the African traditional and Islamic expectations of a father. However, if Idriss' parenting strategy is looked at from the Western individualistic view there are streaks of authoritarian parenting styles. According to Sims and Omaji (1999) immigrants of African origin are described as authoritarian in the way they parent their children because they spank their children and teach respect to their children through modelling when they spend time with them and give them opportunities to observe and participate in respect-giving occasions. These different views are in agreement with the position explained by Harkness and Super (cited in Chen et al., 2000) that Baumrind's parenting styles can be interpreted in different ways within different cultural settings according to the socialisation beliefs and values of each cultural setting.

Kiriva sums up his parenting style by saying that he teaches and influences his children through his example. He continues to say that he does all house chores with his children. He taught his children to share things with other people by giving to those in need. For example, he gave his gardener a shirt and a trouser. As a result, his son gave a jacket he did not need to the same man. He states that he believes in teaching through action. Kiriva allows his children to express their feelings so that they can be free with him. He allows discussions and participation in many issues especially around the dining room table. As a result of these discussions, his children share their problems with him directly rather than going through their mother, which is what many other children who are not open with their fathers do. Kiriva also accepts and acts on his children's opinions when he feels it is right to do so. When correcting or disciplining his children, he tells them that he is doing that because he loves them. This action is a deliberate move from the kind of parenting his father used because his father never told him he loved him. Kiriva used to cane his children a lot when they were younger but when he realised he was behaving like his own father, he changed and began disciplining through counselling and discussions. Through his participatory style of parenting, Kiriva spends a lot of time with his children and by doing so he has become a source of security especially for his daughter.

Mghoi describes her relationship with her father, Kiriva, as being very good because her father values her as a person, he cares for her education and future and he spends time with her. He demonstrates his love to her through his actions rather than directly telling her he loves her. Mghoi portrays her father as a caring, hardworking, loving, determined and responsible father whom she wants to be like. The way her father has brought her up has given her a sense of confidence and security. As such she has developed clarity of vision that enables her to think beyond the here and now and into the future.

Timothy begins by saying that he has a good relationship with his father even though his father is strict because he does not allow him to spend much time with his friends especially during the holidays. Timothy, however, appreciates the fact that his father's strictness helped him to academically perform better than his friends because he had time to concentrate on his studies. Because of his father's desire for a good future for his children, Timothy and his siblings were put under a lot of pressure to perform well academically when they were in primary school. However, the pressure did not affect him or his siblings negatively. Timothy appreciates the fact that his father listens to him and implements his opinions. He describes his father's parenting style as authoritative because even though his father is strict, he explains why he does what he does; his father teaches him through demonstration or by his example; he is a father who is supportive and spends a lot of time with him. Kiriva's description of himself and his children's description of him depict the characteristics and behaviours reflecting an authoritative parenting style.

As stated before, Munyao's father is depicted as a cruel father who mistreats his family to the point that Munyao chose not to treat his children the way his father treated him. Munyao, however, seems to be treating his children exactly as his father treated him. Describing his parenting style, Munyao says that he has trained his children to do everything they need to do. He also believes that children have to be beaten because if they are not beaten they can get spoiled. He talks to his children through his uncle (for his son) and his uncle's wife (for his daughters). He calls this parenting through delegation. Sometimes he asks his son to correct his younger sister. Munyao communicates to his son what he wants his daughter to do and expects his

son then to deliver the information to his sister. Munyao demands total obedience with no questioning from his children even though he says he loves them and talks to his children who he believes are open with him. According to Munyao, his relationship with his children is good because they obey him.

Both David and Wavata describe their father as abusive because he often beats them and sometimes he chases them away from home. David continues to describe his father as hateful, uncaring and irresponsible while Wavata says that her father is both physically and verbally abusive. He has caused her and her siblings deep hurt and pain. She feels that her father hates her because she reminds him of her mother – the woman he divorced many years before. Wavata's father believes that her mother was a prostitute. He often causes Wavata a lot of pain when he goes telling people in the village she is a prostitute or when he accuses her brother of selling her to men. Both David and Wavata state that their father neither talks nor listens to them. Instead he despises them and demands total obedience from them. While David wishes he was born in a different family, Wavata believes that if she had a different father things would not be the way they are. When she sees young people talking happily with their parents she wishes those could be her parents.

The sad thing about David and Wavata is that none of them had anything good to say about their father because he has denied them the basic needs such as food, clothing, school fees and love. Their neighbours, their pastor and his family, the principals of the schools they attend and their church community have met these needs. The result of this seemingly dysfunctional relationship between Munyao and his son and daughter is that both of them are unwilling to make friends for fear of what these friends will think about their domestic problems.

Munyao's description of himself as a father who demands total obedience and still beats his children and his children's description of him as a hateful, abusive and non-caring, non-listening father who demands unquestioning obedience led the researcher to view him as an authoritarian-autocratic parent as described by Maccoby and Martin (cited in Hlombeck, Paikoff & Brooks-Gunn, 1995). This is a father who is demanding and direct yet not responsive. His parenting style is characterised by

power assertion, expecting obedience to rules with no explanation and expecting no demands from children. There is little parental warmth or verbal communication between the father and his children. This father is more likely to use physical punishment than other fathers. According to Nsamenang (1987), this is the kind of father who thinks he can only bring up respectful and obedient children by being overly stern or strict. He probably sees himself as a supreme ruler (Kenyatta 1991) of his household.

According to Baumrind (1966), Munyao seems to fit best the category of the authoritarian parent who shapes, controls and evaluates the behaviour of a child in accordance with a set standard of conduct. He values obedience as a virtue while pointing out where the child's actions and beliefs conflict with what he believes is right conduct. This kind of father does not encourage verbal give and take but believes that a child should accept his word for what is right. This kind of father is what Biddulph (2002) describes as the critical father who often puts his children down when he is frustrated and angry. He is a father who is negatively involved with and often frightens his children with unresolved issues that eat away at the well being of his family. Munyao seems to be unwilling to deal with the issues of his own upbringing and his divorce that seem to have left him angry and bitter.

According to Baumrind (1967) and Norton (1997), children of authoritative parents are more self-reliant, self-controlled and content whereas children of authoritarian parents are discontented, withdrawn and distrustful. Baumrind (1968) and Rambusch (cited in Baumrind 1968, p. 263) support the position that "authoritative control can achieve responsive conformity within a group without loss of individual autonomy or self assertiveness". Baumrind (1968) suggests that by using reason the authoritative parent motivates his child to search for the reasons behind the instructions given and eventually the child learns to choose whether to conform or to deviate from what is expected and cope with the consequences of this choice. According to Baumrind (1968), young people who learn to disagree with their parents on a matter of principle in a warm, accepting atmosphere at home, learn to take responsibility for their actions and are better able to face the challenges in society. Kenyatta (1971) states that the father in the African setting is expected to be both the head of his family and a

supreme ruler of the homestead and therefore children are expected by custom to talk to their father in a gentle and polite tone. At the same time Nsamenang (1987) states that in order to raise respectful and obedient children the father is expected to be stern and strict. However, children may find it difficult to get close to a father who is strict and stern because he tends to intimidate them.

Looking at the research findings in the light of what the above researchers and writers have said, it can be deduced that the results are similar. The children of the authoritative parents and in particular Goodwin and Kiriva seem to be more content, self-reliant, and self-controlled. They are also more assertive and seem to be determined to do well in their studies and in the future. For example, Mghoi says that she spends time talking and working with her father who has taught her how to be courageous and express her feelings. She says she has learned to think ahead, that is, thinking about the consequences of the decisions she is taking. Her father supports most of her choices concerning the future.

Eric too has learned to argue about issues with his father and listens to his advice when confronted by difficult decisions especially in the area of his studies and his future. One thing Eric says is that when he grows up he will not be as strict with his own children as his father at times has been with him even though he understands why his father had to be strict with him. Eric has made some bad decisions, for example, when he was 15 years old, he decided to drink excessively and did so for two years after which on his own volition stopped drinking. He decided alcohol was not good for him and was going to affect his future negatively. These two young people demonstrate Baumrind's (1968) view that young people of authoritative parents learn to accept responsibility for their actions. Eric chose to deviate from what was expected of him but later used reason and decided to conform.

Similar to what Baumrind (1968) states, the children of the authoritarian parent are discontented, withdrawn and distrustful. David and Wavata seem to demonstrate this kind of picture well. Maccoby and Martin (cited in Holmbeck, Piakoff & Brook-Gunn, 1995) call this father an authoritarian-autocratic parent, whose style is characterised by power assertion, expectations of obedience to rules with no

explanation and no demands from children. This is the father described by Kenyatta (1971) as a supreme ruler of his homestead whose children are supposed to talk to him with a gentle and polite voice.

David and Wavata, Munyao's children are somehow withdrawn and distrustful because they are not able to make many friends for fear of what others will say when they discover David and Wavata have a lot of family problems. David clearly states that his father never prepared him for the world outside the home because his father was not there for him. Despite the fact that David and Wavata's father restricted them from going out with their friends and often asked them to renounce their faith, they both have chosen to adhere closely to a faith they call their own. Although both of them are reserved, they have chosen to be involved in activities involving other young people in the church. As stated earlier, their involvement may be a way of coping with their pain but it is also possible to be a way of drawing them out. As David and Wavata get involved in these activities they will probably discover others in similar situation to theirs. A discovery of others like them can open doors for David and Wavata to move out of their isolation. David and Wavata find it hard to get to their father because it is hard to get close to a father who is stern, strict, uncaring and abusive.

9.2.3 Parenting and father's profession

The researcher is of the opinion that professional influence on the father's parenting strategy depends on the profession he is in as demonstrated by the participating fathers' parenting styles. For example, Idriss is a soldier who uses the strict discipline of his profession to instil a sense of discipline and orderliness in his family. When he wants to talk or correct his children, he calls them and closes the door to make sure they do not disturb their neighbours. He also does not encourage shouting in his home at all. Goodwin as an administrator believes that if he is able to develop teamwork among his office staff, he should be able to create unity and team participation among his family members. As a result, Goodwin has endeavoured to create time when the whole family can sit together and discuss ways of creating family togetherness. Goodwin has also chosen to work alongside each child in order to develop the

potential in each child. Kiriva is a primary school teacher who made a choice to treat his own children as he treats the children in his school. Caning children has been common in schools for a long time, yet Kiriva chose not to use the cane at home or at school. Instead of caning Kiriva adopted guidance and counselling as a method of disciplining his children both at home and at school. Munyao is an accountant and according to his story it is not too clear how his occupation has helped him in his parenting because he does not have a close relationship with his children. Maybe as an accountant Munyao does not interact much with other people who would assist him in developing better communication skills compared to Goodwin for example. Munyao's inability to communicate well with his children may have been influenced by the fact that he does not seem to have had a good relationship with his own father and therefore did not learn how to relate to his own children.

9.2.4 Parenting and culture

Every community has a culture that stipulates how people should live and act but culture is dynamic and changes according to whatever changes are taking place in a given community. For example, increasing ethnic clashes and wars in Africa have led to an uprooting of communities from one place to another. Often these communities move to live among communities who have different cultural expectations. Many of the displaced people may struggle to maintain their own cultural practices but eventually they tend to adapt to the other group's cultural practices. As a result of this adaptation, cultural changes do occur leading to changes in all aspects of life including parenting.

Fagan (2000) is of the opinion that cultural variations in parenting are adaptations to the social and political environments that parents raise their children in. Fagan believes that parenting styles viewed as less optimal in one cultural context may be necessary to cope with the realities of another cultural context. These variations according to Chen et al. (2000) are due to the fact that socialisation goals may vary across cultures where in each culture different qualities and outcomes in children may be valued and emphasised. For example, in most African cultural groups, it is considered disrespectful to look directly in the eyes of an adult or an elder while the

younger person is talking to him or her whereas this may not be an expectation of a child in a non-African culture. Harkness and Super (cited in Chen et al., 2000) also state that socialisation beliefs and values may in turn affect parenting styles, practices and strategies which constitute important aspects of social context for child development. For example, in China where a child's achievement is closely linked to the reputation of the family, the father's responsibility is to help children achieve academically, learn social values and develop appropriate behaviour (Ho cited in Chen et al., 2000). Nsamenang (1987) emphasises that in West Africa the father is expected to filter the beliefs, attitudes and practices of a society in order to instruct the child on what to do to become an acceptable member of the family and society where the child's kin are very important. The father is expected to be stern and strict in order to raise respectful and obedient children. This expectation is to be found in most African communities all over the African continent. Sometimes however, the expectation of the child to be respectful and obedient may not be realised. The opposite may happen, for example, where children do not learn to relate to a stern father, they are more likely to get into trouble with other authority figures. The stories of Mueni and Grace in chapter one demonstrate what can happen when a father is too stern and cruel.

The participating fathers in this research have experienced the sternness and strictness from their own fathers and within the community. Goodwin explained the fact that a child belonged to the community. He also explained that caning was often used at home and within the community. For example, if a child misbehaved away from home, any adult in the community would discipline the child often through caning. If the child went home and reported that he or she was disciplined by another adult, the father or mother caned him or her further without bothering to find out why the child was disciplined in the first place. Community discipline, however, is not currently practiced widely because the strong fabric of many communities has been broken by the changes in society, especially through rural-urban migration. However, discipline by caning within the home has been maintained in many African homes. The four participating fathers have used the cane on their children for various lengths of time and severity. Goodwin, Idriss and Kiriva used the cane on their children when the children were younger but later decided to discontinue the use of the cane. Instead,

these three parents chose to use dialogue and other means of disciplining their children. The children of these three fathers believed it is good to be disciplined and are grateful their fathers disciplined them even when discipline was through caning. Currently these six young people feel confident and are doing well in their education.

Munyao seems to be the most stern and strict father in this study. He not only continues to use the cane on his children, he often over-uses it according to the children. David, his 20-year-old son, says his father beats him and his sisters as if he is fighting with them. The result of Munyao's severe discipline of his children while he remains distant and aloof is that his children are angry with him and do not want to be associated with him. Both of them wish they had another father. Despite the hurt and pain Munyao has caused his children, both David and Wavata have chosen to forgive their father and treat him well.

As the researcher listened to David and Wavata's stories she sensed that both of them constantly struggled to talk about how their father treated them. The struggle could have arisen from the fact that part of the socialisation of children among this and other African communities make it clear that it is not right to reveal family issues to those outside the family. To do so is tantamount to being disrespectful to the person or people one talks about. It is also easier to talk about good things than to talk about unpleasant things that relate to those close to or in authority over a person.

The researcher often wondered how the traditional communities handle emotional issues emanating from relationships similar to the one of Munyao and his children. The fact that the extended family was always close by and child mobility was acceptable within the community may have cushioned one from pain because there were always other people to relate to. Among African communities aunts and uncles are often called mothers and fathers who helped meet the child's needs. In the case of David and Wavata, their father is not close to his own siblings and therefore the children have no close relationships with their aunts and uncles. Somehow the church community plays the role of relatives for these two young people because only very few people in the church community know much about David and Wavata's domestic problems.

Among African traditional communities, the men are not expected to carry out any chores labelled as women's chores such as fetching water, firewood, washing dishes and clothes and cooking. Child rearing is basically viewed as a woman's responsibility and this is one of the reasons many African men do not get involved with their children except in the area of discipline and often not before a child is five years old. In some ethnic groups, the African men are not even supposed to enter the kitchen. It is not unusual to meet men, especially in the rural areas, who are in their forties or even fifties who have never stepped into the kitchen to make a cup of tea because their fathers make it very clear that a kitchen is not for men (this is true even today). In early January 2005 this researcher visited a family where three brothers, all above forty years old, said they only stand at the kitchen door and talk to their wives. None of these brothers can even pour a cup of tea for himself. Their wives or their own children serve them. These brothers state that their father who died recently not only taught them not to go into the kitchen but also demonstrated what he said. He always stood at the door of the kitchen to talk to their mother as she worked. Despite the fact that these men are educated and love their families, they do not expect to change their view about going into the kitchen.

The four fathers participating in the study were socialised to believe that the kitchen is not for them. Idriss graphically explains this fact by sayings that if he is in the rural areas and his wife is sick, he has to go and look for a female relative to come and cook food in his house. He cannot enter the kitchen for fear of being laughed at by the other men. This cultural expectation has continued as it has always been although in some areas the educated men have modified the expectation. For example, Goodwin allowed his son to participate fully in household chores until he was 18 years old (the accepted legal beginning of adulthood), when he began asking his son to take care of the garden and wash the car instead of doing housework. However, when his family had a larger farm to look after, the whole family worked together on the farm. Goodwin says that it is difficult to completely break away from this cultural expectation.

Idriss allows his son to go to the kitchen to make tea and help the mother wash dishes and when his wife and daughters are away his son Adam cooks their food. Idriss says that when he is in the city, he can go to the kitchen and cook if his wife is away and there is no one else to do so but he can never do so in his rural home.

According to Munyao, his daughters cook while he helps or supervises them. He does not indicate that his son helps in the kitchen at all. However, it is possible that David, his son, cooks for him while his daughters are in school. Kiriva seems to have completely ignored this cultural expectation because he regularly cooks, washes and irons clothes. He strongly believes in sharing all household chores with his wife and children. He states that if his wife is cooking he goes to iron or wash clothes and vice versa. Kiriva laughingly says that men say his wife rules him but that does not bother him. Kiriva who is a respected community leader instead believes that through his example he will gradually influence other men to get more involved in household chores and by so doing they too can lighten their wives heavy household load.

The effect of lack of help in household chores is felt most in the urban areas or among communities where links with the extended family have been severed due to physical distance between families or economic restraints. Unlike in the rural areas where there were many hands to do the housework, in the nuclear family the wife has to perform these duties or employ a house assistant, or enlist the help of the older children in the family to help her with household chores.

When the fathers do not get involved in caring for their children, the children seemingly grow up with only remote ideas of what a father is. This causes an increasing incidence of psycho-emotional disturbances attributed to what Nsamenang (1989, p. 287) terms “faulty or inadequate fathering”. This researcher proposes that inadequate fathering due to sternness or overly strict discipline has similar effects to those found in Nsamenang’s research. The stories of David and Wavata seem to demonstrate this fact very clearly.

In African families, sons are more valued than girls. Kenyatta (1971) proposes that one reason for polygamy is a man’s fear of not having a male child. In some instances

a mother who has never born sons is not counted as a full woman and she is placed in the same category as the childless woman in Africa. The value of sons tends to lead to preferential treatment being extended to sons as opposed to daughters. Idriss reports that in his community sons are so highly valued that they are given the best education while girls are hardly sent to school. In his community the ratio of girls to boys in school is 1:100. This researcher did not identify literature that presents the view of parents in the Western world as regards to preferential treatment of the boy child above the girl child.

In this research project Goodwin, Idriss and Kiriva state that they generally treat all their children equally but they also agree that they actually spend more time with their sons. According to Kiriva, in most African traditional communities boys are more used to their fathers than girls. In Africa men are considered to be strong and brave hence they are the ones who went hunting for food or did what communities considered heavy work for example, digging the farms or building houses. This consideration may have led Goodwin to shift his son from helping in the house when he turned 18 years, to taking care of the lawn and washing the car. Despite the strong influence of culture on Goodwin, Idriss and Kiriva, they have all chosen to educate their sons and daughters equally. These three fathers are committed to educating their daughters as far as the girls are able to advance. Currently Goodwin's daughter Rehema is in her last year at University, Idriss' daughter Kadija has joined high school and Kiriva's daughter Mghoi holds a diploma in Information Technology and is working. From the reviewed literature it is not clear how culture exactly influences the fathers' parenting strategies. However, the researcher suggests that since there is no community without a culture the cultural influence on parenting is there and its influence would be different to that in the Western world.

9.3 Parenting and the father's faith

According to Kenyatta (1971) and Mbiti (1969), the daily lives of people in Africa, both as individuals and as communities, are deeply influenced in all aspects of life by their belief in the supernatural. Each community has its own religious system with a set of beliefs and practices. The similarities and differences regarding beliefs and

practices are due to the historical, geographical, social and cultural backgrounds or the environment of each community (Mbiti 1969). Nsamenang (1987) explains that the deeply engraved religious influence in the minds and ways of the African people leads to childlessness being seen by the ancestors as punishment for bad behaviour. The knowledge of God is passed down from one generation to another through the names children are given, the stories told and religious ceremonies the people participate in (Mbiti, 1969). Both Mbiti (1969) and Viljoen (2002) explain that in traditional religion man meets God through ancestors and the spirits of specific dead people. This contact with ancestral spirits is perpetuated through the sons in a family. The spirits of the dead communicate to the living through these sons (Kenyatta 1971).

Shor (1998) advocates that religion is a very important component of culture, which has a major influence on values, beliefs and child rearing practices. Community diversity, for example, social status, level of education or different residential environments influence and define the people's religious views and values. These differences in religious values may lead to differences in parenting behaviour (Kohn cited in Shor, 1998).

The importance of religion to the participating fathers is that each father ascribes to being religious. The evidence of each father's faith being influenced by his social and cultural backgrounds is also demonstrated in the fact that each father's religious belief is different from the others. This point is illustrated by the fact that Idriss is a practicing Muslim, Goodwin is an ardent Protestant Christian, Kiriva is a staunch Roman Catholic Christian while Munyao seems to mix the Protestant Christian faith and traditional religion. Each of these fathers has shared his faith with his children. Idriss has not had to persuade his children to be Muslims because these children have no choice. They must follow their parents' religion. Idriss explains that among the Somalis everyone is a Muslim, no one practices either Christianity or any traditional form of religion. Goodwin and Kiriva have successfully encouraged their children to embrace the faith they embrace, so closely, as fathers.

Researchers Danso, Hunsberger and Pratt (1997), Gershoff, Miller and Holden, (1999) and Simons and Conger (cited in Wilcox, 1998), suggested that conservative

Protestant parents tend to use corporal punishment more than other religious groups. These researchers equate the use of corporal punishment to the authoritarian parenting style outlined by Baumrind (1971). However, Baumrind (1971), Larzelee, Simons and Conger (cited in Wilcox 1988) found that the conservative Protestant parents are more involved with their children and express more parental warmth than parents of other faiths. Conservative parents use corporal punishment (that is, spanking at a level that is not threatening) as a back up when other disciplinary techniques such as reasoning have failed. These researchers are of the view that corporal punishment may not be associated with negative outcomes as long as the parent-child relationship is characterised by a high level of involvement and expression of parental warmth. On the other hand, Gershoff, Miller and Holden (1999) propose that corporal punishment is a strategy that has been proven to be effective in child compliance and is used to various degrees by all religious groups.

From the current study, Goodwin is a Protestant parent who used corporal punishment on his children when they were younger but does not do so any more. Goodwin explains that before he uses corporal punishment he always explains why he needs to do so to the child. He is also highly involved with and expresses warmth to his children. Both Goodwin and his children agree that they have a close relationship. Kiriva a Roman Catholic Christian, has used corporal punishment on his children. The results are positive, as his relationship with his children is good. Munyao claims to be a Protestant Christian but has used corporal punishment excessively as reported by both his children. He does not explain why he beats them and is still using corporal punishment on his children. Munyao seems to fit a category of people according to De Jonge (1995) who find themselves unaware of the contemporary consequences of what they experienced as children and embrace the same infliction of pain in the name of “Christian childrearing”. De Jonge explains that this intergenerational transmission of abusive attitudes and behaviours has both a theological and a psychological basis. Munyao tends to justify his use of corporal punishment by quoting Proverbs 23 verses 13 and 14, which refers to the fact that sparing “the rod” lead to a failure to discipline and therefore spoils the child. Munyao does not seem to be aware that his own behaviour may be a result of having been abused by his father.

Idriss, a Muslim, also used corporal punishment on his children when they were younger because it is stipulated as the major mode of discipline according to his religion. Like Goodwin and Kiriva, Idriss has currently substituted corporal punishment with discussion, reasoning and other methods of discipline. Idriss, however, explains that he always has a cane in the house because a child never grows too old not to be disciplined through caning by a parent especially his father. Idriss dramatically demonstrates this fact by giving an example of how at one time his father beat him even though he was already an adult married man.

Of the four participating fathers, only Munyao seemed to have used corporal punishment excessively with negative results. Despite the different religious backgrounds of these fathers, corporal punishment has been used at different levels according to each father. Where corporal punishment is combined with parental involvement and warmth, the relationship between the fathers and their children has been good according to the description of the fathers and the young people involved. Regardless of each father's religious beliefs, corporal punishment is also strongly influenced by the African culture in general. It is the method of choice for disciplining and teaching children to obey their parents. From this perspective, corporal punishment may not have had negative effects because all children experience corporal punishment as they grow up. This experience makes it difficult for parents in Africa to abandon the practice especially where the practise is endorsed by the religious beliefs and values of a community. It is not unusual to hear African parents say that they turned out well because they were caned in order to follow the right path. It seems possible to instil discipline through the combination of corporal punishment within limits, parental involvement and warmth without breaking the young people as demonstrated by the relationship of Goodwin, Idriss and Kiriva with their children.

Day (cited in Earsys, 1989) is of the opinion that parents are the first reference to which children are exposed to and from whom they begin to learn and define religious gestures and symbols. As children observe how parents relate to God and notice how the parent's perspective of God and the world bring the parents joy and fulfilment or lack of satisfaction and guilt, they learn how to develop their own way of relating to

God. According to Rizzuto (cited in Earsys, 1989), the initial image children form about God from home before they are exposed to church or other religious gatherings is very difficult to reshape. For example, if children are taught that God is loving and caring yet the parents do not show love or meet the needs of the children, then the children may be unable to relate to God as a loving and caring God and father. The father from whom children learn how to relate to God will have failed to demonstrate to the children the love he tells them is an attribute of God.

Goodwin, Idriss and Kiriva seem to have been very consistent in what they tell their children about God. These fathers have lived their faith before their children; they have also demonstrated this faith by their love for the children and have also met the needs of the children. The outcome of this demonstration is expressed by both Goodwin and Kiriva's children who state that even though their parents introduced them to their faith, currently each of these children have embraced the faith of his or her father for himself or herself. Whereas there is often a tendency to believe that young people do not follow the ways of their fathers, Timothy Kiriva at 19 years, categorically states that he is a Roman Catholic and he can never change his religion. He agrees that his father initially influenced his decision to become a Roman Catholic but eventually he embraced and made this faith his own. Timothy's sentiments represent the sentiments of his sister Mghoi as well as Rehema and Eric, Goodwin's children.

David and Wavata explain that their father, Munyao, had nothing to do with their decision to get "born again". Their father has instead tried to dissuade them to abandon their choice. Both young people state that their faith is their own, influenced by both their school and church environments. David has found it difficult to relate to God as a loving father and often feels that God does not hear or answer his prayers. He also questions God's love for him even though he loves God deeply. The doubts arise from the fact that his father, from whom he should have learned to relate to God, has not demonstrated love or met his or his sisters' needs. Wavata also states that initially it was difficult to learn to trust herself to God as a father but gradually she has done so. She is at a point where she can go to God to talk about her pain and cry as she would love to do with her earthly father.

The amazing thing about David and Wavata is that they have learned to genuinely forgive their father for the abusive treatment he has subjected them to despite the fact that this pain still lingers on. Miller (cited in De Jonge, 1995) suggests that the abusive cycle can be broken through genuine forgiveness that does not deny anger but faces it objectively. Miller explains that forgiveness is achieved through allowing the self to feel the outrage at the injustice one has suffered, recognising it as such and acknowledging the hate for the persecutor for who he or she is. Facing these issues opens the door to forgiveness. The discovery of the anger, rage and hatred within transforms to sorrow and pain at the fact that things had to be that way. As a result of the sorrow and pain, anger and hatred give way to genuine understanding because the hurting person has gained insight into his or her father's childhood and is therefore finally able to forgive. Helping young people go through the process of genuine forgiveness breaks the abusive cycle so that they do not have to become abusive to their children in the future. During the interview, it was not easy to establish whether David and Wavata had grasped the concept of genuine forgiveness, as they were still hurting badly. However, both of them were moving along the correct path. As David and Wavata continue to understand the concept of forgiveness, healing will take place because they have already made the choice to forgive their father.

9.4 Parents' and adolescents' perspectives: What do parents and adolescents say about parenting

Often parents' present views about parenting that are totally different from the views of their young people because they look at the same issues from different perspectives. For example, a young woman's view of fashion may be different from her father's view. She often looks at what is fashionable according to what her friends are wearing and present trends as opposed to her father who may be considering what he thinks is decent for his daughter to wear. What fathers think of their relationship with their children may therefore be very different from what the young people think of the same relationship.

Jakes (1996), Mboya (1995) and Stewart et al. (2000) propose that parents act differently towards their children depending on their gender. For example, Jakes

(1996) states that there is a tendency for parents to meet girls' needs immediately while boys are made to wait. The different parental behaviour results in girls showing greater association with their parents than boys (Mboya, 1995). Girls tend to perceive themselves as being treated with more warmth and being provided with reasonable and consultative parenting more frequently than do boys. Rehema, Kadija and Mghoi in the current study, seem to demonstrate the fact that they are more closely associated to their parents than their brothers. These three girls feel that their fathers love them and are warm towards them despite the fact that their fathers spent more time with their brothers than they spend with them. David, Eric and Timothy tend to feel that their fathers put more pressure on them than on their sisters. Despite Timothy's feeling that his father pressurised him more than his sisters, he states that he felt that his father loves him just as much as his sisters. Eric feels that his father is harder on him than on his sisters in every way while David feels that at times his father beats his sisters more often than him. Adam seems to be more closely attached to his father than his sister contrary to the findings of Mboya (1993).

According to Stewart et al. (2000), girls' outcomes regarding self-confidence and internalisation of values tend to be generally more closely associated with their perception of parental style and behaviour than boys. This view is supported by Mboya (1993) who argues that people define and evaluate themselves on the basis of how others define and evaluate them or their perception of how others define and evaluate them. As such it seems that an individual's perception of another's behaviour is more important to the individual and his or her self-concept than is the actual behaviour of that other person (Blumer; Gecas; Gecas & Schwalbe; Peterson & Rollins, cited in Mboya, 1993). Because a father is regarded as an important person in the child's life, it can be suggested that the child's conception of the self is significantly influenced by the nature of the relationship a child has with his or her father (Mboya, 1993). From the current study Kadija states that she feels strong and confident because both her father and mother trust her. Rehema feels that her father's love and trust has helped her develop a positive outlook and a non-judgmental attitude towards other people. Her father always talks about people and things positively. Mghoi states that her father's positive relationship with her and his presence provides a sense of security and confidence in her. She views herself as able to think beyond the here and now, into the future. This ability enables her to make clear and focused

decisions. Because of a poor relationship with her father, Wavata does not have a very good perception of herself. She often feels that those around her laugh at her because she has many domestic problems.

Benson et al. (cited in Shulman & Seiffer Krenke, 1997) reporting on the consequences of attachment to mothers and fathers on identity development, state that a son's strong attachment to his father predicts identity diffusion (that is where adolescents have fewer commitments to any set of beliefs and seem directionless and wondering). Girls' attachment, on the other hand, predicts higher identity foreclosure (that is a situation where there is avoidance of autonomous choice with the adolescent accepting and identifying with the values and attitudes of parents). According to Benson et al. (1997), boys' self-worth was most strongly affected by parental control in that the more the fathers were perceived as exerting control, the higher the level of self-efficacy the adolescents reported.

In the current study none of the young men seemed to be directionless or wondering. Each seems fully committed to his current studies and seems to have a specific path he wants to follow. Rehema is the only one who seems to be closely following exactly what her father suggested. Her father suggested that she should do a Diploma in community development and later suggested she should pursue a degree in the same area. Mghoi was encouraged by her father to pursue a career of her own choice and she chose to pursue studies in information technology. Wavata learned to make choices for herself when she was very young because her father did not live with her and her mother who was not always there as she worked away from home.

A study by Magen (1994) focusing on Jewish families, reported that adolescents stressed that a good parent should be understanding and supportive, allowing privacy and autonomy, be democratic and respectful. Parents on the other hand, cited the responsibility of a parent as providing for school, buying and providing for the material needs of the children, performing the role of an educator and being a source of authority. Magen also reported that children who are striving for independence from all ages expect parents to know how to set limits for their behaviour while the parents provide guidance and serve as models for the children to imitate. From the

current study, Goodwin, Idriss and Kiriva were identified by their children as good parents because they are understanding, supportive, democratic and respectful. These fathers encouraged the development of a sense of autonomy in their children. These qualities in the three fathers were complimented by their ability to provide for all the needs of their children, educate their children and well as being models of authority to their children. Munyao is the one father who has not provided for the material needs or paid school fees for his children. He seems to expect his children to fend for themselves. As a result, his children do not respect him as a model of authority for them. Both David and Wavata wish they had a different father.

Adolescents do not perceive parental authority as absolute (Youniss & Smaller cited in Magen, 1994). However, they wish to maintain connection with their parents while seeking emotional intimacy with them. At the same time adolescents desire to satisfy their parents' expectations of them while receiving parental approval. In an effort towards autonomy adolescents develop personal lives outside the family and formulate new expectations of what they need from their parents during this stage. The need to be autonomous while maintaining connection with parents often tends to confuse parents of adolescents making them think they are not valued by their adolescent children (Youniss & Smaller cited in Magen, 1994). No participating father expressed a concern about feeling that his children did not value him. It seems that even when the young people reported that they had good, strong friendships outside the family, they maintained a close and healthy relationship with their fathers except from Munyao's children who wish their father was close to them.

In the current study there seem to be some discrepancy in the way some fathers' view of specific parenting behaviours seem to differ from their children's view of the same. For example, Goodwin believes that he is able to make good decisions about all aspects of parenting and that he is in control. However, Eric, his son almost sarcastically states that his father is slow in making decisions and has a tendency of beating about the bush when he has to clarify issues. Eric also says that his father cannot keep his promises and has reasons for everything. Eric's father, on the other hand, believes that he gives his children the opportunity to make contributions in most decisions and he then implements their contribution. These differences seem to be

more marked between the father and his son than between Goodwin and his daughter. She seems to be in total agreement with what her father says.

David and Wavata strongly disagree with the father's description of his parenting strategy. Munyao views himself as a loving, caring father who works closely with his children. His children on the other hand, describe him as abusive, hateful and non-caring. They experience him as a father who had not provided for them but instead has tried to make them renounce their faith.

David, Kadija, Mghoi and Rehema are all firstborns in their respective families. Despite their fathers' opinions that they treat them like any other children, these four young people feel that their fathers put a lot of pressure on them to set a good example for their siblings. Mghoi particularly feels that the pressure was once so much that she began feeling very stressed. Her stress came from the fact that she did not understand why her father put so much pressure on her to set a good example. However, when she understood why her father did so her stress lessened. Today she no longer feels that pressure. Rehema feels that pressure to perform and be a good example came from both her father and her siblings. David feels that he has to take responsibility for his sisters because his father is not there for them. The sense of responsibility he experiences makes him want to finish school and get a job so that he can take care of his siblings. Kadija's difficulty comes from the fact that her brother would like to be treated as the firstborn because he is the older son in the family and he is taller than her. Kadija is in a family that values boys more than girls because of the influence of culture and religion.

9.5 Conclusion

The similarities and differences that arise from the literature review and the outcome of stories of the participating fathers and their children are presented in this chapter. The findings from the researchers and writers of the Western world (Europe and America) are found to be similar to the findings in the current research. For example, the self-concept of young people in the Western world was found to be influenced by the way they perceive others to define and evaluate them.

Faith seems to have a definite influence on the way fathers bring up their children. The influence of faith seems to be reinforced by the important role of culture in the African setting. The use of corporal punishment within limits was implemented by three of the four participating fathers. These three fathers are also involved with and demonstrate their warmth to their children. The fourth father used corporal punishment excessively similar to the way his father used corporal punishment on him. This father does not seem to realise that the way he treats his children is the exact opposite of the way he says he would like to treat them. From the literature review, Protestant Christian fathers seemed to use corporal punishment more than other Christians but also demonstrated warmth and were more involved with their children.

The areas where there is no basis for comparison may be due to the fact that the researcher may not have directed questions that address these aspects or sought out relevant literature during literature review.

CHAPTER 10

IMPLICATIONS AND CLOSING REFLECTIONS

10.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the objectives, the main findings and the reflections on these findings. The question that the researcher sought to address in this research study is: “How does the relationship between a father and his children influence these children’s ability to form relationships outside the home?” This relationship is influenced by the fathering strategies the concerned fathers apply in the course of their parenting. Recommendations derived from the findings of the study are included in this chapter.

10.2 Objectives of the study

In this study the researcher set out to identify parenting strategies applied by African fathers as well as how these strategies influence the relationship between the fathers and their children. The researcher was of the opinion that the relationship a young person has with his or her father influences his or her ability to form relationships outside the home. The researcher also assumed that where the relationship between the father and the child is negative, that child would have difficulties in forming satisfactory relationships outside the home. The researcher chose to focus on fathers because the majority of the young people she has counselled indicate that the main root cause of their problems is based on unhealthy relationships with their fathers. “Unhealthy relationships” took two forms namely **direct** relationships where the young person had problems with his or her father and **indirect** relationships where the basic problem existed between the parents, but somehow overflowed to the young person.

Many of the young people with problems counselled by this researcher stated that their fathers were Christians. As a result the researcher included the aspect of the influence of faith in parenting. However, in this study only one father had problems

related to religion with his children. The conflict between him and his children came because he tried to persuade his children to abandon their Christian faith. This father was also abusive to his children in other ways.

In view of the above, the researcher expected to find both normal and strained relationships between fathers and their children among the participants. The researcher also sought to identify the parenting strategies used by African fathers in relation to those presented by Baumrind (1966).

10.3 Main findings

Baumrind (1966), studying parenting in general, identified three prototype parenting styles namely the authoritative, authoritarian and permissive styles. From the current study the researcher concluded that three of the participating fathers fit the description of the authoritative parenting style while the fourth father fits in the authoritarian parenting style.

The authoritative fathers direct the children's activities in a rational, issue-oriented manner. These fathers encourage verbal give and take and share with the children the reason behind family decisions or policy. Even though these parents exert firm control at points of father-child diverseness, they do not hem children in by setting too many restrictions. These fathers use reason as power to achieve their objectives but are also willing to implement the opinions of the children where applicable (Baumrind, 1966). Three fathers in this study spend time discussing issues with their children. When they discipline their children, these fathers explain the reason for disciplinary action. These fathers allow their children to pursue their choices within the set boundaries.

Authoritarian fathers shape, control and evaluate the behaviour of their children in accordance with a set standard of conduct, values, obedience and favour forceful measures to curb self-will according to what the fathers believe is right conduct. These fathers do not encourage verbal give and take. The father in this study who fits this description demands total obedience from his children. He does not sit and

discuss issues with them neither does he explain the reason for discipline. He is abusive, both verbally and physically, and does not provide for the basic needs of his children.

In this study the three fathers who applied the authoritative parenting strategy had positive, stable relationships with their children. The children of these three fathers were confident, secure, and able to make good choices in forming stable relationships outside the home. The father who applied the authoritarian parenting strategy had a negative, unstable relationship with his children. He had a very negative relationship with his own father and he seems to be treating his children in a way similar to how his own father treated him. The children seem to be confident but are afraid of forming any relationships in case their friends despise or reject them when they find out that these children have many domestic problems. From the findings of this study therefore, it seems that positive father-child relationships lead to the formation of stable relationships outside the home by the young people. On the other hand negative father-child relationships lead to restricted ability to form stable relationships outside the home.

Kenyatta (1971), Mbiti (1969), Nsamenang (1987) and Viljoen (2002) state that Africans generally are religious. The daily lives of African people, both as individuals and as communities, are deeply influenced in all aspects by their belief in the supernatural. According to Mbiti (1969) the knowledge of God is consistently passed down to generations through songs, names, stories and religious ceremonies. Since religion is a very important component of the people's lives, it has a major influence on beliefs, values and child-rearing practices (Shor, 1998). Day (cited in Eayrs, 1989) is of the opinion that parents are the first reference to which children are exposed to and from whom they begin to learn about the meaning and definitions of religious gestures and symbols. Dollahite et al. (1998) explains that faithful fathering calls for commitment, responsibility, caring and responsiveness in the fathering role. Latshaw (1998) is of the opinion that in order to generate faith in the next generation, fathers should live as models of faith for their children. Generativity of faith is propelled by fathers' love for their children. This love is demonstrated in the relationship fathers create with their children, and requires some sacrifices on the part

of the father. For example, fathers sacrifice their own time or personal pursuits in order to spend quality and quantity time with their children.

In this study, the researcher did not consider the specific expressions of faith but rather the general influence of faith on the fathers' parenting strategies. Each of the four fathers in the study holds a different orientation to faith. Goodwin is a born again Protestant Christian, Idriss a staunch Muslim, Kiriva an extremely devoted Roman Catholic Christian and Munyao tends to mix Christianity with traditional religious views. The result of the fathers' religious involvement is that the children of the first three fathers mentioned above have embraced the religious faith of their fathers for themselves. Goodwin and Kiriva's children clearly state that their fathers read the Bible, discuss what they read and pray with them on a daily basis. These fathers live their lives of faith as models for their children. Idriss' children have become Muslims because this is the stipulation of their faith and culture and children should automatically embrace the faith of their parents. Munyao's children emphatically say their faith in God has nothing to do with their father. It is their own choice. They state that their father has tried to coerce them to renounce their Christian faith. Both David and Wavata say that their father does not attend any religious gatherings or discuss religion with them. The first three fathers were able to generate faith in the next generation through living as models, loving their children and sacrificing time to share their faith and pray with their children as identified in literature.

The African father is not just religious; he is also strongly influenced by his culture in the way he does many things, including parenting. Therefore religion and culture are intertwined even in their influence on parenting. For example, in this study three fathers use corporal punishment (caning at a non-threatening level) for disciplining their children. It seems that corporal punishment is advocated for in all the African cultures and in different religious beliefs whether one is a Christian or a Muslim. In the traditional communities a child was disciplined through caning by any adult in the community because it was believed that a child belonged to both the family and the community. The three fathers whose relationship with their children is good used to cane their children when the children were younger but they always explained to the

children why they did so. These fathers are involved with their children and show warmth and acceptance. Baumrind (1971) and Larzelee, Simon and Conger (cited in Wilcox, 1998) found that corporal punishment does not have to be associated with negative outcomes as long as the parent-child relationship is characterized by high parental involvement and expressions of parental warmth (see section 2.4). These researchers' views are supported by the findings regarding the healthy father-child relationship among three fathers in this study.

This research proposes that Baumrind's (1966) parenting strategies are applicable in the African setting but need to be interpreted within the African cultural setting because each culture places different emphasis on the parenting styles used within that culture (Chen et al. 2000). In view of this proposition, three of the participating fathers use the authoritative parenting style that incorporates corporal punishment within non-threatening levels. Wilcox (1998) seems to identify a distinct parenting style that embraces both the authoritative and the authoritarian styles. Wilcox's style is what this researcher calls a '**modified authoritative parenting style**' because it is influenced by both culture and religion. The fourth father uses the authoritarian parenting style that incorporates excessive corporal punishment which results in a very painful and hurtful relationship with his children where the children wish they had another father or belonged to another family.

The researcher learned that Muslim young people are strictly disallowed by both religion and culture to argue with people older than them. It seems as if these young people have no way of expressing their emotions, hence a tendency to internalise all felt emotions. The African culture in general expects young people to respect their elders and those in authority even though this expectation may not be ardently adhered to as it is among the Muslims. In both situations, young people who do not have other ways of expressing their emotions may be more likely to develop emotional problems. In the traditional setting, these emotions were perhaps absorbed in the larger community the children belonged to. Today, however, families are more secluded because of the break of strong community or extended family systems as a result of rural-urban migration and education. The findings perhaps demonstrate the clear differences between the Western individualistic culture where initiative and self-

direction is valued (even in the expression of emotions) and the traditional (non-Western) cultures where obedience and conformity are valued while parental control is accepted and exercised (Kagit and Cibas cited in Stewart et al., 2000). Where the expectations of respect for those in authority are tightened too much, the young people are left with no way of expressing their grievances and/or emotions. Therefore, they are likely to develop emotional problems (Nsamenang 1987).

The African culture generally favours sons above daughters. Though the participating fathers say they do not favour any of their children, they spend more time with their sons and also seem to have put more pressure on their sons than their daughters. Three fathers feel they need to prepare their sons for adult male responsibilities as the culture expects them to do. The participating fathers grew up not helping in the kitchen. Two of them however, allow their sons to help only when their wives are not available. One father has chosen to help with all household chores and encourages his son to do the same irrespective of what his fellow men say about him. The fourth father expects his daughter to carry out all household chores but when she is in school, her brother is responsible for all these chores.

10.4 Surprising results

One of the reasons for the researcher's focus on fathering strategies was the observed poor relationship between fathers and their children. The researcher was surprised that from the sample only one father has a poor relationship with his children. Perhaps this result was due to the fact that the sample was drawn from seemingly normal families in the sense that no family member was undergoing any form of therapy. The sample is relatively small too. One family, however, was totally different from the others in all ways. As stated before, the father came from an abusive background and was himself abusive to his children. The children in this particular family are the only children who have difficulties in forming relationships for fear of being despised by their friends because of the problems they experience.

Another surprising finding is the faith in God strongly embarrassed by the children in the 'dysfunctional family'. Through this faith they have learned to forgive and do

good to their father despite all the pain and shame he had caused them. Rather than retaliate these children chose to love their father. In this situation one expects the children to have low-self esteem. However, both children were relatively warm and confident. This reaction is a clear demonstration by these young people that people may not react to situations through a particular set way.

Despite the cultural stipulation that men should not get involved in household chores, one father who lives in the rural areas, chose to participate fully in all household chores. He also used his leadership role in the community to share his experiences with other men with the intention of changing their attitudes and views towards helping in the home. The researcher would have expected the fathers in the urban areas away from the scrutiny of their original community to be the ones getting more involved in house-hold chores.

10.5 Limitations and draw backs

One of the major draw back of this research study was the lack of research literature or any other writing on general parenting and/or fathering in the African context. This lack caused an imbalance in the literature review. The researcher had to depend on fathering or general parenting literature from the Western world especially America in the discussion. In the Western world and the non-Western world view certain situations vary greatly and hence the researcher's suggestion that even though Baumrind's (1966) parenting strategies are applicable, they should be interpreted within the African cultural setting.

In the African setting, the individual is part of a group whether family or the community unlike the individual in the Western world. The counselling approaches mostly used in treatment of clients, however, are based on individual therapy. The question that arises is "How successful is counselling for example, where the relationship between a father and a son is unsatisfactory, yet the son is counselled alone?" Where change is obtained through counselling, this individual returns to the same unchanged collective environment which may negatively influence the change or the healing one sought.

10.6 Recommendations

This study attempts to understand the effects of parenting strategies used by African fathers in parenting their children. The study specifically explores how the relationship created between fathers and their children influence these young people in the formation of relationships outside the family. A single study cannot provide answers to all the questions practitioners and policy makers have on the subject. This research probably has raised many more questions that have no answers within it. Therefore, in concluding this study, the following recommendations are made regarding further possible areas of action and/or research:

- Further research on parenting strategies used by African fathers and their effects on the children's ability to form relationships outside the home needs to be undertaken. For good counselling and/or teaching programmes to be developed there is a need for more studies to support the results of the current study. Other areas relevant to the development of better programs are necessary so that informed generalizations can be made. Further studies could be in the same areas covered in the current study namely, culture, religion and the effects of rural-urban migration in order to allow for realistic generalization.
- Research studies that focus on issues related to the influence of culture and religion on father-child relationships, need to be carried out. There is a need to emphasize and investigate the effects of uprooting people from their cultural settings to strange environments as a result of tribal clashes, wars or other natural calamities such as famine, earthquakes or floods.
- There is a need to provide support groups for African fathers who want to get more involved in the fathering process but do not consider their own fathers as positive models. These groups can be based in the work place, community or at places of religious gathering.

- There is a need for books to be written on general parenting in Africa and fathering in particular in order to facilitate knowledge on fathering for the men who choose to be more involved with the care of their children. These books will provide examples that other fathers have tried and found successful during their fathering experience. They should reflect the influence of religion on parenting in the African context.
- Further knowledge from research studies should lead to the establishment of training and counselling facilities that are able to merge the traditional, cultural and contemporary African perspectives in the meeting of the needs of different communities, especially ways of expressing emotions.
- Culture is dynamic and is constantly changing as a result of education and people's movements leading to intermingling of different cultures. There is a need to evaluate the African cultural expectations for all people to minimize the stressful inconsistencies created by the discrepancy between the traditional cultural expectations and the actual lifestyles especially for those people living in urban settings.

10.7 Policy

In view of the fact that the African person is deeply religious and is strongly influenced by his or her culture no matter where or who he or she is, religious, government or institutional policies that affect people's religion or culture need to be carefully thought through before they are implemented. Policy makers may need to consider the influence of religion on the policies implemented. For example, Muslim women are expected to wear the hijab all the time. Any institution especially schools that prohibit the use of the hijab for whatever reason can be said to be infringing on the individual's religious rights. If the young girls decide to remove the hijab they create conflict with their fathers. Where the fathers remove these girls from that school, they deny their daughters an opportunity to interact with others – a situation that may be seen as rejection and hence lead to conflict.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A1 Goodwin's family interviews

INTERVIEW WITH GOODWIN

- 3:** EM: Today is the 18th May 2002 and I want to introduce Mr. Godwin who is going to tell us a little bit about himself and then he will tell us also about the way he has brought up his children. I will begin by asking him to tell us what he wants us to know about himself at this point.
- 4:** G: Well eh, it is a pleasure to meet you um, I may just share my background that I was raised up in the Kilimanjaro area near Moshi. I am a Chagga by tribe I grew up and was raised by both parents. Eh, my deceased father was a farmer and a mason but my mother is still living...
- 5:** EM: (Interrupts) Is still living? How old is your mother?
- 6:** G: My mother is 80 years old. Eh, but in terms of the degree of bringing up in the family we were very close as a family. Eh, I remember those days in the village we used to sit down by the moon-side and then share a lot with my father about things of our background. So I was brought up in eh, a family where we used to be sharing most of the things. Eh we came to know our backgrounds and even getting to know our parents. That is the situation I grew up in. I went to Lyamungu primary school in the village and after I finished I went to... to Moshi Secondary Schools for my 'O' and 'A' levels respectively some distance from home. It was a boarding school.
- 7:** EM: (Interrupts) Those were your high school years?
- 8:** G: Yes My high school years and there after I went for higher studies. In my undergraduate studies I eh um, I majored in taxation. I am a tax expert to be specific. Then I went for further studies in the US where I did my graduate studies in financial management. I also did management and MBA with UK (United Kingdom) universities. By then I was working with the Ministry of Finance. I don't know how much I should preach about my CV (laughs) I think I just meant to bridge it, it is quite long.
- 9:** EM: (Interrupts) yes please.

- 10: G:** So I worked with the Ministry of Finance for about 15 years and I have climbed through the ranks. I have been a Regional-In-Charge, a Zone-In-Charge. Eh, then about 1990 I resigned and joined World Vision. In terms of work experience, I have worked with the government, World Vision in various capacities as an auditor, a trainer, a consultant and now coordinate finance in the Eastern Africa region. Basically, that is about myself.
- 11: EM:** Let me ask you one question. You talked about “we were very close,” how many brothers and sisters do you have?
- 12: G:** Three brothers and four sisters.
- 13: EM:** That is four... four... four men....
- 14: G:** (Interrupts) four... three... three men and four ladies um. But you know if you see it from the way we were raised up, we are just like we were one family. You can't see like we were different because of the works we did.... we did things together. We would do everything together; we would go to the farm together.
- 15: EM:** (Interrupts) both boys and girls? There was no difference?
- 16: G:** Both boys and girls, we would go together. Of course, there was a difference. The difference was the cultural inhibitions of course. I wouldn't go to the kitchen to cook or rather go and fetch water. But in terms of farming and in terms of doing the other works like caring for cattle we did together. We didn't grow up thinking that this was a favoured child because we had different assignments. We did feel like....
- 17: EM:** You didn't feel like there were any favourites?
- 18: G:** No, no, no. We didn't feel that way. My father was very strict by the way. Um, what I treasure about my father was that he used to make us work, he used to make us work, and it is now I am coming to recall that that is the most important piece that my father gave me.
- 19: EM:** So your work ethic is something that was passed in?
- 20: G:** (Interrupts) Um it was actually passed on to me by the way...
- 21: EM:** Yea and nurtured by your dad.
- 22: G:** Um ...um, you know the other day I was sharing with the children and saying as much as I think I kind of got tortured. It's now, looking at what we are in now that I don't regret the process that we went through. Waking up at

six for example, taking care of the cows before we would go to school. And I think that is what I treasure most, because that is the thing that created a kind of responsibility in me, you understand. That responsibility is what is making me think even more clearly because in me there is something that was build to be responsible so without being told, nobody will push you for example. Once it is a way of life nobody will push you to do something. You will automatically feel like it is now my turn to go home. It is time to go for this activity and not be presumptuous.

23: EM: Nobody told you?

24: G: Yes.

25: EM: Kept on reminding you um...

26: G: Yes. And that kind of parenting which I think is a little bit different from what we have now. That kind of parenting is the one, which creates a sense of satisfaction. You know like you don't have to think because everyone was doing that. There is no way you are feeling like you are being oppressed or kind of forced to do more than you are expected to do. There was a uniform way of doing things and there was an understood way in which things were done.

27: EM: So here you are actually saying... okay, you are saying that your father was strict and loving but again what...what he did was exactly what the community around you was doing. It was like the accepted thing in the community. You had to be close to your children but you also had to teach them responsibility related to work so that was engraved in you. You didn't see it as anything special; it was what was expected in the community?

28: G: Yes yea, it is what was expected in the community and him. You know we used to have what we call corporal punishment (laughs). Like if you don't greet a neighbour person, you come home the neighbour person will be just there to pick a stick and beat you up and when you come home and complain, your dad will do the same thing.

29: EM: (Interrupts) and will give you another beating.

30: G: Yes, he will give you another one. So, so the way we were actually brought up was a shared limited responsibility of bringing up children. So there was this kind of mutual responsibility of making sure that children behaved in the

way they were expected to behave.

31: EM: I am surprised that happened in Tanzania because that is how I was brought up. You did not belong to your parents only but to the community. Anyone could discipline you, anyone could send you more or less and you couldn't do anything. If you refused you could be punished by the person and punished by your parents and so you knew and learned to respect the community even as you grew up.

32: G: Yes, yes, yes. So what that did I mean was like a ... to a child is like this is the way life should be. So because there was no any break our fathers did not think of any ill motive. This is what they thought was the way to bring up children. So they did not have any bad intention with them but believed this was the way they should grow.

33: EM: Yes, because they wanted you to be responsible they wanted you to be able to do things for yourself and learn. They may not even have thought so much of the workload; they wanted you to learn in order to be able to do it in the future. What about when it comes to yourself eh, now?

34: G: After that (laughs loudly), I think what I need to say is that in our generation, there is a tendency of wanting to bring up your children the way you were brought up. But the reality is that we cannot do so because we are bringing living in a different environment. This is also true because in any case culture evolves. The way we develop our subcultures around the city under the influence of the urban system. So what we perceive to be the right way to bringing up our children is not the society's now way of bringing up children. Things have changed and we are not... also we are not in that kind of setting where every community or family did things the same way. Parents today find themselves mixed up a bit on how to balance the children because of the environment they are bringing them in. For example, I also found myself bringing up the children the way I was brought up and from what I learned from my parents

35: EM: That is what you saw and learned?

36: G: Yes, that's what I learned as I grew up. But apparently that is not what the society in town grew up with because of the mixed cultures that are in town and also the different cultures. Bringing up children the way we grew up in

the village will definitely make a life demarcation towards your child. But I thank the Lord. He helped me realize this and I changed my style. We also learned a great deal from the children as they grew up because we were not trained on how to bring up children apart from what we learnt from our parents.

37: EM: You learn from your mistakes.

38: G: From your mistakes yes. I can't say that I was so perfect because of being a man but I can say I have tried to do my best as a man (hearty laugh).

39: EM: But you know none of us is really perfect... none of us is perfect. I guess each one of us makes mistakes. But, despite the mistakes, when you look back, I can say this is the way I have done it. I think you are saying "I learned from my father how to do it" and "this is the way I am trying to do it also, even though it is in a different environment."

40: G: Yea, yea like for example, eh what I can say is eh, I think, I think I have learned a lot from my children even more than what I learned from the society. There are a few things, which I observed from them. When the children were growing up, especially when they were young eh, I had my first boy, my son. In fact, I came to learn that when boys are small they are slow but the ladies will impress you. I used to think that the boy was not bright. I thought I needed to have him shape up and be a little more like the girls. I didn't know until a later stage that somehow boys are slow.

41: EM: Girls mature faster.

42: G: Yes, they mature faster than boys. If you put a lot of pressure on boys with ought taking into account their development pace, they feel intimidated and therefore lose confidence. If you start intimidating them and trying to push them to do the things, which they just can't do, they get to a stage when they can't do it. And once they cannot do it, you can be sure they will never perform. How I came to learn it after a few years of having tried to do it, because I used to help them with their studies but at the same time try to understand how they understand the subject. That is what I discovered when I was raising them. I spent time... time to know them and understand how they viewed things and why. Because I was raising a girl and a boy at the same time, I could clearly see the difference. Girls tend to concentrate more

than boys and I could see that my wish to make the boy understand things especially arithmetic intimidated him because I was pushing too hard. I kept off for a while and looked for another person who could train him. (laughs loudly)

43: EM: Being a financier you must be.

44: G: That's right, that's right.

45: EM: And that tended probably to create a lot of impatience in you.

46: G: Definitely, that used to create a lot of impatience. I used to think the boy is stupid. How can he not understand even simple things, but then I, I had to accept that this was a weakness but there are some things which he has, which he had not yet discovered. I discovered a lot of things during our a Bible study sessions in our house. We... we used to study a passage in the evenings. Maybe a chapter and then we ask each one of them to share what they learned from the scriptures. They were still young to say what they see in the passage of scripture so they would come and share and the only person who could produce the passage was the boy. The rest couldn't, even myself, I couldn't. But he could actually reproduce the passage. His ability to reproduce and articulate the message in the scriptures made me have a different opinion of him. I realized he was not stupid but could be he had a wrong foundation and perhaps was living in fear because I used to cane him when he repeated mistakes, it was at this juncture I realized I needed to bring him closer to me and build confidence. I tried to bring him back to a friendship and tried not to push him too hard.

47: EM: How did you try to mend that? What kind of things did you do?

48: G: Okay, number one is that I avoided teaching him this subject so that he would enter into a new relationship. Instead I chose a friend to help him in the subject meanwhile I continued to bringing him much closer by taking him out, just talking to him so that he would gain confidence. But then I actually explained to him what I was doing.

49: EM: You explained but also spent time with him doing other things?

50: G: Doing other things.

51: EM: You didn't ignore him?

52: G: No, no, no, no. Infarct I encouraged him to concentrate on the subjects he

was good at and I helped him on. I also impressed on him that he didn't have to learn maths. However, I continued telling him that he was brilliant and would site his ability to reproduce scriptures.

53: EM: So you literally built him up by affirming him and telling him you can do it?

54: G: You can do it and actually we worked together focusing on his strength and not to get worried by mathematics if he didn't feel like it. Actually, this went on until he went to secondary school. What surprised me was that, when he was about to complete, form four we thought he was not going to make it but surprised us with very good results. He continued with 'A' level studies and is now at the university where he has passed all his college maths exams. One day he pointed to me that he could even take a degree in mathematics. I also noted that as boys grow, they start getting serious, and the converse may be true for girls... That is my own personal experience. I have not documented it. I have not, not written it but that's my own observation. And there is a difference that parents need to understand when it comes to dealing with children because there is a way you have to switch on because things, which seemed easy may start to become different. Parents need to note these changes, be closer and more available to their children and encourage them on. Sometimes we miss it and once you miss it they give up. This is the chance busy executives miss.

55: EM: That particularly is a critical area in the 13 - 18 year age group. It seems like you are very much of an encourager particularly to your son. Would you say that eh, would say, you said that there was no difference between the way you and your sisters were treated. Would you say it is the same with you and your children? There is no difference between the way you treat both?

56: G: Let me tell you what it is and this is what I noted. When it comes to the community, the community norms are so strong, that you don't have any room to behave differently. You know for example, if you want to go your own way, they will cane and discipline you until you come back to line. This is because everybody upholds the ethics of that particular community. When it comes to town setting, it is all different and I had to learn to raise them differently from the way we were raised. Nowadays boys go to the kitchen to cook, we never.

- 57:** EM: It's true.
- 58:** G: It's true. So even the children naturally they get mixed up in this kind of upbringing. It is so different. So it is up to the family to balance things and even notice that their children are not like machines, which are set in the way of responding.
- 59:** EM: It is true.
- 60:** G: But in the rural area, they still have more or less the same style of ...of upbringing though in town this has changed.
- 61:** EM: So in other words, what you are saying is, you have spent the time to try and find out what is workable for your girl and your son respectively?
- 62:** G: Hmm, hmm. Yes, yes.
- 63:** EM: Then would you say that the way you've treated them is different?
- 64:** G: Yes, hmm, yes. The way I have treated them, I would say the way I have treated each one of them is different.
- 65:** EM: What are the differences?
- 66:** G: Okay (nervous laugh), I guess everyone is created differently therefore you cannot treat each one the same way. It is important to spend sometime trying to understand each one of them.
- 67:** EM: Yes.
- 68:** G: And irrespective of how good you act, they are different and they will respond differently. One would be happy for a small issue; one will just smile about it. The other things are really to try and understand them. But really speaking, I can assure you that I have treated each one differently. Though it as not deliberate, I would just handle them on their own depending on how they are. I push them all trying to carry them to be actually what they ought. So as, in a way of upbringing, there are differences.
- 69:** EM: Those differences are what I would like to know. Where did the differences come in? What is the effect of those differences? But I think you have already said they don't know.
- 70:** G: For example, trying to take my first daughter you won't get a mistake out of her. She would just please you whatever you say. She is soft. My son very, very charming but very irresponsible.
- 71:** EM: Irresponsible?

72: G: He was (laughs).

73: EM: He was?

74: G: Of course, that is how usually boys go. They seem irresponsible when you compare them with girls. The ladies are usually oriented to being responsible from the start. For example, in our African culture, boys don't do as much as girls such as cooking, washing, taking care of other kids. These tasks cultivate in them a sense of responsibility. Realizing this, I used to assign some tasks to the boy so as to make him feel responsible.

75: EM: Now what kind of tasks do you give him?

76: G: Cut the lawn grass, wash the car, and take care of it. I used to have a farm, so we would go to the farm together and work in the garden. Those kinds of things made him equally responsible and created a sense of responsibility. The second daughter for example, is quiet, formal and very focused. She doesn't go out but then I have to help her pull herself out. We have been helping her speak out because she is a bit shy on her own, a kind of a loner and she gets angry faster than the rest. This has changed a lot. She is more open and sociable. The school helped her a lot especially after taking her to boarding school.

77: EM: One of the things you said is that you learned these things but I just want to find out how you learned them. Did you learn them from books, or it is by observation or like how did you get to learn the differences because you said you were brought up in the rural areas where things were the same? In your initial days you had not discovered the difference, but you learned... how did you get to learn?

78: G: What I can say is eh, most of it I learned myself from observing because I really needed to understand why are these children of the same parents but they are different. So I took a long time observing and learning new things. For example, there is a tendency of dads wanting to have their sons behave exactly like themselves. But then when I was not really getting that I thought maybe there is something I needed to understand, why is it that there he was different? So I decided to take some time to learn. I took a lot of time doing that, learning and observing. This helped me understand why boys get spoiled in most cases because sometimes we demand from them too much

before they are ready to change. At the same time I have gone through various books, but I must admit not during those early days but at a later stage. When I started training myself on management and quite a number of things, I started learning from books how to raise children. I have combined therefore my observation and the knowledge from books.

79: EM: You have quite clearly said that you know they are different. When you think of the way the children look at you, what assessment would you make of what they think of you as their father? Do you think like either of them either the boy or the girls feel there is favouritism or anything? How do they look at you as a father?

80: G: Well I need to tell you that we did that assessment (laughs loudly). Um, one of the things we did when they grew up was to change our devotional study into a life application and after they grew up what we used to do in the evenings even up to now, is that we normally have a series of Bible study that is linked to our behaviour patterns and one of the things we started is eh, the Seven Habits. I don't know whether you have read Steven Covey's book on Seven habits of highly effective people or highly effective families. We spent about three months going through the seven habits. But before we started the seven habits, we evaluated ourselves using the 360-degree assessment. It was a very hard experience by the way.

81: EM: Is this based on your management experiences out there or where has it come from?

82: G: Yea, certainly out of my management experience that I needed to reach a point where the children could become open with me or open with us, myself and my wife. And the only thing I knew perhaps in the course of bringing them up is that they were not that open with us. So we reached a point after they became teenagers and now they have the confidence of talking to us more openly, we had these sessions of asking them how do they assess us. The reason why I am saying 360 degrees is because each one of us took turns. So the children took time, each one of them to say daddy you are one, two, three, four. And actually, I recorded this in my computer. Each one took turns openly not in secret telling us how we were, how we mistreated them, how we were good to them and whatever. After we finished, we said,

“yes fine.” “Then can you now say what things you want us to do in order to be what you think we should be?” We did for everybody! So we would talk about each child, the other one, and the other one. Everyone said we want you to be one, two and three in order to be what we want you to be.

83: EM: Were you doing this when you were all together as a family?

84: G: Yes, altogether as a family, all of us and we were not doing it in secret. We were doing it in the open. Then we said, “what tools do you need in order to be what you ought to be?” Then after this we went into Steve Covey’s book on Seven Habits. It is a very powerful book by the way. We would challenge one another by the Seven Habits. For example, I would listen to someone talking in the kitchen (loudly) the other one would say, “what is that habit? Why?” So we challenged ourselves into that kind of thing. This took us about three months but the whole performance evaluation took about two weeks. Now each one of us was challenged to shape up. To live up with what the other members of the family expected them to be.

85: EM: Everyone was challenged to shape up from daddy to everybody else?

86: G: Oh yes (he laughs), apparently we were shaken up (he laughs again). By opening up it, means you are opening yourself to be exposed even to the things you wouldn’t like to hear. But that helped us quite a lot. It helped me to even understand that I hurt someone when she was in class two which I thought was not hurting at all. But the good thing also we went into moments of repentance. I apologized to the children and they also apologized to me and we said let’s start clean today and can we relate now to be more closer as a family and be open. Even if I hurt you just come and let’s talk about it. So that has been a very big strength to us.

87: EM: You obviously are (pauses) learning a lot on your faith on your beliefs for your parenting. I think this is what you are saying you talked about the Bible study; you talked about this whole question of opening to each other. Despite your own background despite the environment, there is a very strong influence eh in your parenting ways because of your faith. Is that right?

88: G: Um, I think the biggest thing is the Christian faith um (pauses), which keeps me to know that I am responsible to bring up the family in the manner in which God would like it and God is going to demand from me the

consequences of my actions in bringing up my family; not only the children but including my wife. I think that understanding is the biggest value. And knowing God will keep on showing me how God would have responded in this kind of situation; how would He have treated the situation. And I would think that this gives us the sense of wanting to be or bringing up the children in the way He would like us to. Um (contemplating pause), maybe the other thing I should share is what we continue to do now and this is what we are asking the Lord to help us. Unfortunately most of the people we have now including myself who are leader, were not groomed or trained to become leaders. In most cases, we struggle so much in our career paths to be the people that God wants us to be. But we don't consciously develop people to be what they want to be. They come to learn it after they have gotten into the path or position of leadership. So what we are consciously working out is how we can bring our children eh, to be the future people by having a course of study as we do our devotions. For example, we are now...we have done a couple of books. We are now dealing with Maxwell's 21 Laws of Leadership (pauses) in the biblical way. For example, how did Moses lead? How would you lead in this situation? We do the situational leadership and so many kinds of contexts in terms of leadership. We have started to groom them as they mature. Those at the university now we have some study courses during our devotion in terms of leadership training and developing them.

89: EM: Now, you said that part of the evaluation was hearing things you didn't want to hear. I am wondering whether you have had what you would call conflict between you and your children either the boy or the girls? And if so, how did you solve those? Or were those solved in this family get-together? Or how did you solve them? And secondly, from what I am hearing you keep on talking about 'we have done' but have you taken the leadership of this or who is behind it?

90: G: (He laughs)

91: EM: What exactly is your role as a father?

92: G: When I say we, essentially it is me facilitating the process but, we create an ownership of the process that I just don't come and say, "here guys, this is

the recipe.” But I say, “how about going through this study process?” So I normally do a facilitation kind of process. That’s why I really usually say we. But at the same time every one takes turns. For example, when we were talking about the Seven Habits, each one was given a habit to study over a week then come and share the teachings and walk us through so that all of us participate in that process. Back to your question, you asked whether we have moments of disagreements or whatever. I just can’t say eh, there has been those kinds of tensions as such eh, basically because in our African culture a child won’t really rise against you harsh but there have been some moments of dissatisfaction where you can feel this kid is not happy. Eh, you cannot avoid. There have been those instances. But I know of an instance where when we opened up to discuss about the issues that hurted and they talked about a number of things and we actually sat down to clarify why we did that. For example a small thing... for example one of the things that hurted my children sometimes are when I would demand for an accountability of whatever money I gave them, they didn’t like it. Basically because “daddy even in small things I should account for, don’t you trust me?” So we knew that there is a kind of a perception that was not right. Unless you bring the perception right they would tend to construe it differently, so we started dealing with perceptions that created certain assumptions and beliefs. How do you develop the right attitude, the right assumption, and the right belief so that whatever thing you encounter you can perceive it correctly? And ah, we took a lot of time trying to explain why I needed to be told how they spent the money. So later on, they said, they said, “now we understand why you are asking us that.” And when they grew up now, I don’t ask them because I know what they did, everyone comes with their budget, I give them their stipend and no one will follow them up. But I said, “do you know why I am not following you up? Because now you’ve reached a point where you are independent; you can now manage yourself.” Yes, I can only come in if (he laughs) you are not able to manage yourself. I can just come in.

93: EM: Um, from what you’ve said and what you’ve done with your children, when you look at them go out there, um, how would you assess their ability to get

into relationships outside the home?

94: G: (Sighs), um, I don't know exactly, I can't generalize because of the differences and styles each one has. But eh, they are a bit different. Like the son is the one who keeps us, the two the first one and the son are very, very social when you turn to outside there, especially the boy. But eh, I don't know. I can't really answer fully because I haven't been in their environment out there to see exactly how they do it with their colleagues but I may tend to think if they get the right environment to, to, to, to um, which is exactly conclusive for them to display themselves I think they are open.

95: EM: What I meant here is and I think you've said part of it in what you said both of them are very social. They do not seem to have a problem of making friends or getting into relationships or being able to work with other people. For example, they have not had eh, have they had a problem with authority outside like with teachers; you know other people outside or have they been able to settle in because they have learned about authority and responsibility at home? Those are the things I am thinking of maybe from their feedback you can begin to pick some of those things. You seem to be able to pick what's going on in them.

96: G: Um, um, um the reports I am getting from all over is that they are good and are very active. Even now, quite frankly, I didn't want to just comment um on that beyond what I can see but generally the feedback I am getting, I have been getting very good feedback about their active participation in sporting, their activities in schools and even at home are very much voluntary. For example, she does a lot of work in the Church. The other girl does eh, she is good and gifted in terms of decorations that is her responsibility at the Church. They are active participants.

97: EM: And it is very voluntary; they do it because they want to do it?

98: G: Yes. We don't usually drive them to do that.

99: EM: It's because they have had enough priorities they just want to do it.

100: G: Yea, yea. It's just happens that this is what they want to do and they do it and they are really committed to do what they want to do um.

101: EM: Okay. If I asked you to, in five words summarize your parenting style, what would you say was your parenting style or strategy?

- 102:** G: Listening, watching, interaction, coaching. I think I better use my observation rather than watching. Coaching has three variables.
- 103:** EM: Which and which and which?
- 104:** G: Well, there are things that are non-negotiable. This is what I want you to know; there is coaching by just counselling, particularly when it comes to external environments that are not quite good for them failures and non-performance.
- 105:** EM: It is not just saying this environment is not good for you period?
- 106:** G: No (emphatically).
- 107:** EM: But it is saying like these are the danger of this environment and then leaving them to make a decision for themselves. This is what you are saying about counselling?
- 108:**G: Yes, for example, we spent a considerable amount talking to them about dangers, social hazards from alcohol, from smoking, from sex.
- 109:** EM: You actually talk to them about these topics?
- 110:** G: Oh yea. We sit down and talk. We normally buy them books then ask them to read and give us a feedback. So we normally talk to them but at the same time we also rebuke what is for rebuke. For example, I usually, if something is punishable it is punishable. Those are the mistakes that require someone just to be brought to the line. That process is also is taken. I take that step as well just I become firm and reprimand as it should be and they know, they know.
- 111:** EM: Not so much the beating?
- 112:** G: No (emphatic).
- 113:** EM: But discussing and really taking the necessary action?
- 114:** G: Yes, yes like, like this is my position this is my decision period.
- 115:** EM: And probably where necessary institute discipline?
- 116:** G: Yes, but in most cases even when we institute that we have to sit with them and tell them, “now listen do you understand why I ma taking this action?”
“Yes.”
- 117:** EM: So it not just discipline there is a lot of negotiation with you having a final say?
- 118:** G: Um, um, yea, yea and I would let them understand the mistake and the

consequences of that mistake. And in most cases would be resolved by asking for forgiveness. That's why they know. I used to ask them to bring a stick and when they bring the stick they would say, "father forgive me," and I ask why. Then they would say, "because I did this and I will not repeat it." What happens if you repeat it?" So I get a commitment. If they choose to repeat I say, "fine, let's resolve that; let's go on." But then I would make them understand why I took such a decision. So I have actually involved them so much in discussions and decision making. Even in family property, what we want the next move we want to make, where we want to live. They give us a lot of insights by the way; they have given us a lot of advice, which we couldn't have come up with.

119: EM: And you take it?

120: G: Seriously.

121: EM: And that makes them feel very valued.

122: G: Oh yes.

123: EM: It then prepares them for that world outside there, as they know they can with confidence give or just share out things because they have learned to be confident in themselves.

124: G: Yea, yea, it is true. A child needs confidence and to feel that they are valued. If they know they can offer advice you develop their confidence and also they can make some decisions. So we normally like that and did it deliberately. There are instances when you won't like to do it, but because you would like to encourage them to grow, you take it up. So that also comes some compromises if I may put some other aspect. There are areas where you actually, it is not a compromise it is a win-win. You establish a win-win situation where you will have to let go and someone else let go in order to reach a consensus in something. Win-win is when it is not a disciplinary kind of thing. It is a decision that you are to choose something in order to carry something that you want to launch. So that's the kind of position you take.

125: EM:I can say that your parenting is very much influenced by the work you do in management and to a certain extent, you borrowed from there in managing a family in a good just as you manage whatever else you manage outside there.

- 126:** G: What can I say, yes? It's quite true eh, having managed people, by the way today organizations and businesses operate, the aspect of managing is important even when it comes to managing families. And there are leadership principles, which apply at home as well. The way you would like to develop staff is the way you would like to develop your children, your family as well. These are the ones we've been working on. That is why I have been working on my wife. My wife is now graduating and she continues studying basically because I want her to come to this kind of level.
- 127:** EM: You haven't just allowed things to happen. Deliberately you have to cause them to happen.
- 128:** G: Yes, yes.
- 129:** EM: It is a deliberate thing even applying strategies where you want to see... deliberately work on things to happen you don't just let them happen.
- 130:** G: Yea, yea, yes. You are very right in the sense that we have been working out results and because we have been observing in terms of the trends which the children are taking and the schedules they are making. Even in the studies, I normally take a lot of time to go through their study habits even the way they are studying. Like if I find someone studying up to midnight I say, "let me see exactly what you are studying and how you are developing your plan. Because the reason you are taking so much time has got to do with the way you are approaching this the subject." So that's how we plan to develop interest. As we develop interest, we develop human potential which is essential and you have to do it differently but at the same time creating and bringing out the value in them. Everybody has a value, that is the thing we have to identify and build up so that we can increase their level of confidence they need to have and then you encompass in them to be what they are.
- 131:** EM: Just listening to you and hearing what you are saying, what seems to be coming through as a result of all this there is a closeness that you have with your children that you won't have had if you continued with the way your dad had brought you up.
- 132:** G: Um, yes, yes. Actually, this is what I would want to share with everybody that, unless you reach a point there your children are open and can confidently come to tell you something; you won't be able to help them. It

does so for organizations - a leader is someone that people must follow and if they don't follow you you've ceased to be a leader and it applies at home too. If you're distant from your child so that when you come they start chasing places where they can hide, you have already ceased to become a parent. So what has helped me and is important is Jesus.

133: EM: And somehow, despite your very busy schedule and you travel a lot, you still have managed this.

134: G:I must confess I haven't managed the way I thought I should because probably if there is any month I am around here, it can be counted as two weeks. I have got such extensive travels. But what I have managed to do, I maximize my evening. I usually block one-hour minimum of one hour.

135: EM: For the family?

136: G: Yes, through the devotion stuff, to go through the word of God and address issues. But then over the weekend, I also have time to go through their stuff. Normally, I find time just to talk and when they come here, because they find me home I normally devote the time just to catch up.

137: EM: So what you are saying here is you've been able to spend time each as an individual as well as the family. So that nobody feels like they are overlooked, everyone has had time with daddy. You've been able to create that, not only the family consensus but the individual relationship with daddy as well.

138: G: Mm, mm, what I normally do is like eh, I normally have time with each of them. When we talk about family is when we want to share these general things, but the basic things of each individual, I normally create time to try and understand their concerns and issues. I normally create time. Even the little one. I usually take a lot of interest in her text. She is very close to me; usually she won't like to leave (laughs).

139: EM: That's why she wants to stay in the room with daddy. That is good very good for a child to be that close.

140: G:(Heartily laughs) Somehow I didn't really manage to do that in my early times. But as they grew up I came to understand that this is the thing I need to understand like the hardships they are going through so that I can actually help them. I can't say I have achieved in that area as such because of my

time and because of just having too much to do in my plate. But I think of late I have to some degree tried to correct the past.

141: EM: Um, yes. Sometimes really is not so much the quantity but the quality and eh, we see the results of what you have done by observing what is going on. Since you are a good observer, as you say you observe a lot, I am sure you've seen eh, the result of your investment. It may not be so much the quantity but the quality and that is very important, yea.

142: G: Yea, yea, um, um.

143: EM: I don't know whether you have some final comment of something to say?

144: G: Well (laughs), if you ask me to make a final comment I would say ...we need wisdom from God.... By ourselves we can't.

145: EM: That's very true.

146: G: And then we also need God to touch our children; to help our children understand what we are thinking is for their benefit. You know you can talk and talk but until the Holy Spirit makes them understand and appreciate, it becomes impossible. The other thing I want to say is that we thank the Lord for our children. I am happy with them. Quite frankly, I am happy with them. Happy for what they do and what, what they are as people. We appreciate them. If I tell them anything, anything, they take it very seriously because they have built trust and confidence in us and thus the thing I've got in mind that when I call them and say, "let's look at this. How best should we do this?" They usually take it seriously and say, "I will do it." So that has given me a lot of satisfaction.

147: EM: You know I think that is very obvious because when I asked your daughter, she almost immediately said, "I am sure daddy will not mind but I am going to talk to him."

148: G: Yea, um.

149: EM: Like she knows daddy. I think that is good. I didn't have to come to you personally at the beginning. I talked to her and she said, "let me go and talk to daddy. My brother, I am sure he will do it." You know she knew "I am sure my brother will do it." It's that confidence that it can happen.

150: G: And my wife can actually tell you that. She makes a lot of decisions, which when I later ask her she would say, "I know you would (laughs) I know you

would allow this". I think we have created yea, I am happy we have done this. We've been very transparent to one another, so they know exactly what is going on; everybody knows they know, they know. So this openness makes them also have confidence on us.

151: EM: I am also thinking that whichever way you describe your parenting style it also clothed with a lot of warmth. Yea! Yes give, there is a lot of eh, probably democracy anyway. You see it, you reason, they give their opinion um, and then there are those times you take their point, there are those times they their points but they are not taken they know why. But with all that, it seems like there is a lot of warmth that is involved.

152: G: What I could say is eh it is a two-way communication. The child has a right to know why we are making such decisions and he has got the right to understand why things should be done the way they are being done.

153: EM: Or coming up, or coming up with such decisions and then in the issue of developing the two-way communication you got to understand where you agree and where you don't. Where or when you don't agree, how then do you come in to make them understand the reason you don't agree? Once you've created that, then they see that you are trying to show or explain what they need to understand they trust you. So in the course of creating communication you create a level of confidence as well as a level of trust. What makes sense here is the confidence you've nursed through your relationship and establish relationships. Once that is done, you don't have much problem understanding problems what is taking place, you just fellowship. That's what I can say.

154: G: Yea that is good. That is true. Thank you very much. As I said and you read in the beginning the purpose of this is to help those of us who are on the helping side to come up with eh, particularly if you are in a counselling situation and there are difficulties to just help people realize these things are possible. It is possible to come into a relationship like that and maybe if this work ever gets published others will look at it.

155: EM: As you said you've learned a lot from books partly. Part of what I am trying to do, is to create that kind of a voice, allowing our own voices to come out in a situation where we've always leaned alot on voices from the west. This

is the basis of what I am doing. It is trying to create our own African voices and saying these things are possible from our own experiences right from the village to wherever, it is possible to come into a relationship like this.

156: G: Um, um and maybe another thing I would like to comment on for the purpose of people that are African persons. It is so hard for people to change from the way they were raised eh, most people tend to raise their children the same way .I believe there must be a distinction between how we were raised and how we should raise our children. There are several factors, which come to play like cultural context, environment and the schools they go to. Parents need to really understand the challenges of parenting in different cultural settings so that we don't just compromise but help your children cope with the environment. Parents also need to learn the realities of changing environments and try to cope as well. For example, when we grew up we strictly followed orders but today orders don't necessarily work

157: EM:But before we come to that really, what you are saying is we need to see the changes as parents and they also need to change.

158: G: Yea, yea.

159: EM: You change because of the influences that are influencing us including the environment that we are dealing with which is different from the one we grew in. As we change as a result of the influence then we can help our children fit into the new environment that we are in now. That is basically what you are saying.

160: G: Yea, mm for example, I was raised waking up at 5:00 am to tether the cows and goats, then I dressed up to go to school. And then come back immediately after school closes to do work. Although it was taxing, I didn't think I was being mistreated because the environment allowed it everybody was doing that. So it wasn't a torture. But a person looking at it from a distance will say it was torture or mistreatment. So that is the kind of thing parents need to be conscious about and change in such a way as to treat their children in a manner that will build them up. Our children cannot do what we used to do in the village.

161: EM: The children themselves will really reject it.

162: G: They will reject it.

163: EM: And then that leads to conflict.

164: G: It is a source of conflict. Although they cannot complain it can create more disasters. We have to help parents.

165: EM: That is very true. Thank you very much. This is very helpful.

166: G: Thanks.

INTERVIEW WITH REHEMA

3: EM: Today is the 18th May 2002 and uh I want you to meet Rehema. I have already finished interviewing her father and she is going to talk to us, tell us about herself and then she'll talk to us about her relationship with her father, and then tell us a little bit how her relationship with her father has influenced her relationship with other people. And then she'll tell us if they have had any challenges or any conflicts between her and the father and what she has gone through to resolve them. Meet Rehema.

4: R: Hi. I'm Rehema and uh I'd like to talk about the relationship with my dad. Well, I'm in Daystar University. I'm taking a Diploma in Community Development. (Long pause) I'm 22 years old.

5: EM: Do you have any brothers and sisters Rehema?

6: R: Yes. I do, I'm the first born in my family; my brother is at uh is in university he's 20 years old and my younger sister is in St Christopher's she's 17 years old and lastborn is in Montessori she's four years old.

7: EM: That is good Rehema. Now, as you talk to us about your relationship with your father, please tell us whether being a first-born has made a difference and what some of the challenges of being a first born have been also.

8: R: Yes, being a first-born I think it's somehow difficult. As in your brothers and sisters are looking at you and they are expecting you to do something different and they are looking at you as their older sister. And so I've been trying to be kind of leader in our family, cause when they look at me they expect me to have all the answers and its difficult but sometimes they do, we do kind of discussing, discuss things because of the age, the age range. Um, my brother's just, I'm two years older than my brother so in that case

you can just tell that we do much of discussion and uh every time that we want to do anything we plan first together all of us even the fourth born, the one who is four years old. We plan together, even her she just gives her suggestion. I say that because even the last birthday she was the one who was ordering what should be done the items to be bought she was the one.

9: EM: Her last birthday?

10: R: Her last birthday. She was four this year infact, yeah she was the one suggests, suggesting what we can do, as in what we have to buy and stuff yeah.

11: EM: Maybe you can go now go ahead and tell us something about your relationship with dad. How do you, how do you, how would you describe your relationship with your father?

12: R: Well, I can say we are very close to our family as in, we do discuss a lot and everytime that we have problems we can just tell our father. It's very easy; it's very easy to talk to him because he's this kind of person who's very understanding first and foremost. He understands our problems and we do like it. And sometimes um we cannot even talk to him but he can just look at us and he'll just tell us "you know you look down today what's happening?" In fact, he's the one who start it sometimes. Because sometimes you may look down and he'll just come and say "today you're not happy, what's happening to you? Tell me, you're thinking of this, you're thinking of this, why?" So you start all around. So he's just kind of fun.

13: EM: So you say you're very close to your father. Can you tell us how that, how did that relationship grow for you to be that close? How did you come to be very close to your father?

14: R: I think it's because of him I can say so. Um, because he showed us openness, he's very open as to us and so that's why we did develop that kind of trust to him. Because at first we were in boarding school, me and my brother. So we when would come back home you, at that time we didn't know much about our dad but we know he's kind of social but we didn't know anything about him. But now when we join university, we have times we spend together with him I saw he was the kind of person, in fact we know he was very open to us. He can just come to us and tell us, "today you're like this, I know you want

this, or you want to tell me like this,” so in fact at that time we just talk.

15: EM: Now you said at first you were in boarding school um...

16: R: Yeah.

17: EM: Um, and then you said it's this time you got to know him better, uh when you were in boarding school, were you still very close to him?

18: R: Yeah. When we were in boarding school, we were very close to him in terms of, ok well, when we were in boarding school we used to talk to him like we want this, we want this we were very close. But as we grow older we come to know (exclaiming) ha, we are very close in fact we didn't know, yeah.

19: EM: In things like?

20: R: As in when we talk to our friends, our friends were telling us.... There was a time a bought a card for my dad and then a friend of mine looked at it and said, “how can you bought this card to your dad,” you know. “Me I can't buy it.” You know she's like.... I told her “Why, why you can't say?” “Me I can't tell my dad these words,” she was surprised. Then at that time I was like “ok fine, if you can't talk to him like this then it's bad. I think it is sad I say ok fine. Kumbe (and yet) you're not close.” In fact when you are in a relationship you can't know it, until you're outside then somebody tells you “ha you do this?” And then you come to realize yeah, ok fine.

21: EM: So, you are very close to your father. Now, how has that influenced you, I mean being very close to your father, you in your, you in particular?

22: R: In my life? Uh, ok, well, it's uh, it's helped me first of all as a girl. As in when you go outside there, there are so many guys who are coming to you. But when you look at it, some they are offering all kinds of stuff you see like he'll take you out, you can do this and this. In fact in that case I can say I thanks God for that because I know that this uh, what they can offer to me, basically I can come talk to my daddy and he can just give it to me. Apart from my friend and pals of mine, cause I've been talking to my friends of mine them they're like, well you know they've gone through many relationships and when I look at it it's kind of at home it start at home. Because basically at home they do not have this kind of close relationship that why they have very many, they have been in many relationships. But when I look at myself I say it's because my daddy trust me and he loves me that's why I can't go you

know, nobody can just cheat me as in I can do this and this for you. I can just come talk to my dad and say “daddy I want this stuff,” and he says, “it’s ok. If you want this one you can get it now or you can get it later.” But this one you have to wait you can’t get it now or you can get it later. So in that case it influences me in that I look at myself I’m, I’m determined; I can, I can do anything yeah. I feel like I’m able, I’m confident. So nobody can just cheat me around.

23: EM: So in a way it’s like it’s given you a sense of eh, would you say it’s given you a sense of security?

24: R: Exactly. It has.

25: EM: And also from what you’re saying you’re determined and you can make up your own mind, make your kind of make up, make your decisions and stand by those decisions because of what of your close relationship and the fact that you know ‘if I need this, dad can provide for it so I don’t need to get involved.

26: R: Yes.

27: EM: Other than that, how has it, has your close relationship with dad helped you create relationships with your friends, create relationships with other people outside the home?

28: R: Outside the home...

29: EM: Or even in the home?

30: R: Well, first and foremost I can say as in uh, number one, I look at people positively. It’s helped me a lot ‘cause my daddy is the kind of person always to talk about positive things yeah. When you come home and you tell him, “I’ve done this, I don’t like it.” You’re, you start blaming yourself. You just, he just tells you “what happened? Wait a moment. What have you done?” Even if you come outside the classroom and you know you’ve failed the test, you come home and say, “you know they failed me. This because of that teacher was doing this.” Daddy just say, “uh uh, what happened? It’s the teacher or it’s yourself.” You say, “no, even, even everybody is complaining about that teacher.” And then he’ll be like, “uh uh. Everybody is complaining but you now, you have to talk about yourself. Everybody is complaining because everybody can like to have failed because of the this test you have so they try to bring it to you, but you yourself you have to look positively.” So

I've learned that even in my relationships when people are talking about other people even me myself; first I can't judge a person without talking to him or her. I have to go and talk to him, I have to talk to her even if he's bad or if he's good whatever, I just look at him say, "ok, fine." Let's me find out about the past experience of his or him. Maybe it's because of his past experience that's why he's acting like this. So in that case it's helped me to look at people positively rather than looking at them negatively. And in that case I'm easy I can just talk to anybody just relax and feel ok.

31: EM: What about you yourself?

32: R: Me myself?

33: EM: Um, how do you look at yourself? How has his relationship with you influenced you in the way you look at yourself?

34: R: I always applies myself as in everything I do I have to ask, I mean, "I'm I doing it the right way?" And sometimes yeah, you may do something and my daddy is very open, he'll just tell you 'this is wrong. You know, just think, this is wrong.' Sometimes we, at first we used to not like it when he tells you 'this is wrong.' You don't like it. But when he tells you, I calm down say "daddy fine. Then I've done wrong." This is supposed I have to change so in that, in my case I am very easy to changing when somebody tells me "what you're doing is not right. You have to do it the right way." So I can just look at it in a positive way. Then with that way they tell me is, you know, so I just look at if and say "ok fine; you know I'm not doing it the right way so I have to change it." Yeah so I just change it.

35: EM: What is your image of yourself?

36: R: What I feel about myself?

37: EM: The image of yourself

38: R: I don't understand.

39: EM: No you see, you can say uh well let's say for example, I can say there are things that I'm very strong in and I know that I am strong in those things because of the way I related to my dad or because my dad helped me become strong that's what I'm thinking of.

40: R: Uh ok. There's some staff which I can say I'm very, at first place I'm very confident in and eh, that's the thing that has helped me build ...think to be, I

just feel satisfied...

41: EM: Because you can't, because you have decided yourself not because dad doesn't want you to do it?

42: R: No. I've decided. Sometimes I decide myself, yeah. You know I've learnt something uh from that, from this book here. We've been reading through this as a family. So from this there's something like in everything you do, whether you like it or not, you have to choose in your mind, as in, you decide this is what I want to do. If you said you can't do it, you can't do it. But if you say I can do it, you can actually do it what you say. Even if the thing is just like, you see it like you can't do it at first place, but you have to decide. This book was my daddy's reading to us, he was just tell us, you know sometimes I look at things and say I can't do it. But I look at it twice and say fine, I might just say in it my mind I can't do it, but I have to really think about my choice. So sometimes I think about it and say I must have bumped into it. Sometimes it's because I'm boring or stuff like that. But when I look at it, I say ok ... I just say you can do it.

43: EM: What about your relationship with your own, the rest of your family, how does the way daddy has related with you helped you relate to the rest of the family?

44: R: (Long pause) We are eh, eh I can say in our family we are kind of close, we are very close to each other. And um, one thing we say, you know sometimes it's very painful. This thing, it's very painful to say 'I am sorry.' Yaani it's very painful especially for our age. Yaani my brother can do something to me and then to come and say, "I'm very sorry to you, I have done this stuff," is very is very painful. But in such a way we have come to know that it is truth. We have to say it whether we like it or not. I mean you are sorry you have done this thing wrong to somebody you have to go and apologize to him yeah, or her. Well in that case, it has been help us 'cause when somebody has wronged me in my family, I can just tell my brother, "I'm telling you when you did that ka-stuff you, you really did something wrong to me." So he can just say "I'm sorry for that." Even sometimes I can just go and tell my sisters I'm sorry. So in that case it just bring up relationship, we are just close yeah. 'Cause if I can apologize and he can apologize to me you know, and if we do some stuff, in fact we do everything together, so we just kind of discuss and that kind of

thing.

45: EM: You don't find this in any way intimidating you? ... You know it doesn't make you know this question of having to go and say sorry to everybody all the time, doesn't make you feel uncomfortable at times? Or make you feel like do I have to do it and particularly, "I am the older one, they are small, why should I go and say sorry to them when they are small?"

46: R: Uh, not really. Not real to me. As in at first place yeah, it's very hard. But when I know exactly this is what I did, as long as I don't regard, I don't look at myself that I'm big or I'm older. I don't look at that. I can just go and say even to Sarah, "I'm very sorry to you my dear sister," you know, "cause I've done this to you." So I've been apologized for many times and they have been apologized to me so we know it's truth and it's there; it brings peaceful into our minds.

47: EM: Now, as you look to the future and you think of what you want to be, maybe you can share how you think your relationship with dad has helped you come to that conclusion of who you want to be, the kind of things you want to do.

48: R: Well at first I can say I uh was uncertain, I didn't know exactly what I wanted to do in future. 'Cause at first when I was in secondary school I was thinking of becoming a doctor and then I wasn't, I was not good in physics and chemistry. My daddy was telling me, "This stuff you're not good at. You have to stop it and do some stuff." I didn't listen because I wanted to try anyway. And then um, when I joined high school form five and form six, in fact he told me now you have to concentrate on arts. I said yeah it's ok, cause I failed that stuff before. So I concentrated on arts and now I'm doing Community Development. In fact he's the one who selected for me and said, "this is good for you to do it." Then I look at it and say "well, I can just do it because now my dreams has failed before." So he was the one select who select me what to do. And then, I really like it myself because there are times when I reach, I don't know exactly where to go; I want to do so many things sometimes, and I want to do you know, I just want to be somebody you know. So sometimes when I look at it, sometimes I just want to do business and stuff like that. So when I come to my daddy, my daddy is telling me "ok you have to face the reality. This is what you want to do, this is what, you have to go

this direction you know. So in fact he was the one pushing me to go this direction. And then when I'm at that point, I'm like "yes, I'm doing it and enjoying it in fact." 'Cause sometimes it's very hard to decide for myself.

49: EM: Would you say he's really pushing you or is he really directing you and then, because you say he's the one who is pushing you to do this, but at the same time you are also saying you like what you're doing?

50: R: Oh yeah. I can say he's directing not pushing. He's in directing. 'Cause when he's telling me what to do, in fact when I'm thinking like ok, I want to do business, you know sometimes I just want a lot of stuff. But when I come to him he's like "ok, you have to cool down, life is not going like the way you think now. So you have to go this direction. Yeah.

51: EM: Now, maybe one or, the other question I want to ask is, have you really had times you say things have not been very good between you and dad? Are there times when you have been either upset with him or has he done things that have made you mad or something like that?

52: R: Yeah sure. Sometimes um, when it comes to some selections on clothes, I can say that because now the age you can just tell, so sometimes he's like "I want this kind of clothes." And him he doesn't like it you know, because me I want to be in this fashion. So he's just kinda tell me, "what you're thinking is not right for you. As a Christian girl you have to dress like this." And so sometimes I don't like it anyway, but when he comes to talk to us, I mean he just talk to us until we get it. And then we say fine, "we have to live the way you want us to live." Yeah. So we have to accept it because there was a time when he was um, my sister, me I told him I wanted to wear I like short dresses. In fact I told him and mum. And so he's like, and so he's like "what do you want to, why is that you want to wear short dresses?" You know. It's like, "I feel it, I just like it." And he was like ok, he want to teach us more and more, in fact he went slowly and slowly telling us, "no it's not good, it's not whatever, no." He just goes on preaching because we have this fellowship uh, uh together every night so he's just kind of preaching to us you "this is good" until now I'm getting out of it. In fact all my dresses which were very short I decided to give out. Yeah.

53: EM: so eventually you have come to a point where you are wearing longer dresses

not just because he said but because you feel it is right for you to do so.

54: R: Yeah.

55: EM: Through his influence.

56: R: Exactly. Now I feel like it's right because um sometimes even I have been going through, looking around at people who are dressing very short dresses and see what people are talking about them. And so when I come back home, my daddy, then I think like "ok, this is what my daddy was telling me anyway. So when I dress like that I become like another girl." You know people will look at you like you're uh, you're not intelligent or stuff like that; you're not smart. So when I look at it and what he told me, in fact his uh his nature just become um good people, I can say that, in future. Everything that we do, we have to do it right; correctly, we have to treat people right you know. So, when people first see you in a mini skirt or short dresses, you know, first impression they have at you is like you're bad you know. So, in that case I've just come to realize even my mind I like it; I don't like... like the way I used to like.

57: EM: So how did you resolve this issue? You resolved this whole question by just talking?

58: R: Exactly. All the things we are just talking, is just talking. Like you'll see um talking is very good straight communication because it's bring you up. Sometimes you know, when you are angry somebody is telling you as in, "what you're doing is not ok," and he's there talking to you, you know, you feel like ah. You go mad (speaking very loudly) sometimes "me I said this... ah ah, cool down," you know, just like that, cool down.

59: EM: He tells you to cool down?

60: R: Exactly. "Cool down," you know or sometimes he just look at you. You've come up eh just like mad, he just look at you and then he just talk slowly. So in that case it just, in fact it influences me. As in sometimes when I want to say something like "I'm mad" I'm just remember oh, I'm supposed to be at least patient at this time and listen first and look at it. So in fact it just helps me not to be, I mean to be all that mad when I'm talking to somebody.

61: EM: So dad doesn't usually raise his voice on you or he doesn't usually sort of shout back at you?

- 62: R:** No, no, no. Not really. No. In fact I've never experienced him shouting at me, "hey you!" I mean no, no, no. I mean, even if sometimes you're the one who have very wronged him, yeah we know it, we are wrong and then we are expecting him to come and tell you something, and just, just be quiet, and sometimes you just decide to be quiet, you know you're wrong and then you just yeah, he just decide to be quiet and look at you. So we just go and say, we apologize for that silly yeah was expecting (laughing).
- 63: EM:** So, his eh his silence still communicates something to you?
- 64: R:** Exactly it does, many times, a lot. 'Cause sometimes you can come out of your bedroom and you're wearing that kind of stuff and you know it's not pleasing him anyway. You know it and you're waiting for him to talk but he's not talking at that time. He just keeps silent. And he'll just go. He'll just look at you and he'll come back, you know, just keeping quiet. So it's that silence, we just, we all know that our dad just look at you he doesn't talk to you, he just look at you. You'll go and change immediately (laughing) 'cause you know that one he don't like it. In fact sometimes we like somebody, I mean we are like "it's better if he can shout at us," you know shouting, "you did this and this and this." We want to shout it back but as long as he doesn't shout, and later on he'll come and preach it to you telling you, "Oh, this is what you are supposed to do." And then you come on "Uh, I just like it, you know what's wrong with that?" He says, "uh, uh, this is the way you are supposed to do. Even the other time when you were shouting, you know you're not supposed to shout like that. Can you just talk and listen?" So it's like "ok fine." In fact it's him who influences us a lot.
- 65: EM:** So you can say that em, your way of resolving, I mean of resolving conflicts with dad really is never through fight. It's more of a, through dialogue. I know you've used the word preaching quite a number of times. I wonder whether you want to explain what exactly you mean by that word preaching?
- 66: R:** (Laughs)
- 67: EM:** Is it the Church kind of preaching you're thinking of, or what kind of, how would you describe daddy's preaching?
- 68: R:** Ok. What I mean about preaching is that he doesn't, he does not only, in fact he's talking yeah, and in talking he put in the word of God so I said it's

preaching (laughing). Yeah, because he tell us “this is the way you’re supposed to do,” and then to give us examples in the Bible. “You know this one was going this direction. Imagine like Daniel was 16 years old,” um even the other example he uses to us is for uh Joseph yeah. “He was very young when he was taken to slavery wherever.” So in fact he tells us the Bible and give us the illustration. In that case we discover, “ok. Now this one was young and was in that situation. What about now? What about us?” So that’s why we talk about preaching but in actual fact he’s talking; it’s more of talking.

69: EM: Now, his faith and his Christian convictions, have they influenced you in any way?

70: R: Yeah. I can say yes. ‘Cause, sometimes, there are times when you want to do something and eh, we here we come, because he give us examples, like “this is how life is going and me I am a Christian father you know. I’m bigger than you. I can be thinking of something bigger than you.” So when he tells you like that and I’m still believing on Jesus, in fact, you come and say “ok if my daddy is doing like this, why don’t I do it.” So in fact you follow that.

71: EM: Eh, you mean it has influenced you to be a Christian because you have seen him living what he has said. Is that what you’re saying?

72: R: Exactly yeah. I’m a Christian because of what he is saying and he’s living that way. He’s telling us “you’re not supposed to do this” and at the same time he’s directing us. Even himself is doing, is doing what he’s saying, “this is the way” you know, he’s doing that. So in that case we say, “ok fine. If he’s talking like this and doing like this we have to follow it, you know. So there’s no contradiction in that.

73: EM: But then the following is still your own decision though.

74: R: Yeah, the following is our decision.

75: EM: Yeah, you know, the, what I mean the following here is, the following Christ here it is a personal decision or is it just because dad has said it?

76: R: Ok, now he’s telling us this is the way and he’s acting that way. And in fact he’s telling us the truth. He’s saying if you want to leave this way it’s ok, but you can decide I’m not deciding for you. You can actually decide to leave this direction and not follow Jesus. So in fact to follow Jesus Christ is my

decision, my own decision yeah. And you make it to be your own decision, as in you have to decide for yourself. He's not the kind of person who's telling you in the morning you have to wake up and go to Church. I can just decide in the morning I'm not going to Church anyway but he just come and say, "ok fine you're not going to Church. Why are you not going to Church? You know stuff like this you know is not good, you know it's like this." So in that case he just influences me, inside me; I just know I have to go to Church. I have to be a Christian. Even outside there, I can just stand and say I am a Christian; I know it myself, yeah.

77: RM: So what you're saying is that dad's way of life has really influenced your own way and em his style, his... his way of life has influenced you to be who you are also?

78: R: Yeah, even sometimes when I'm out there with my friends, I can just make decisions and know ah yeah I've talked like my dad, you know (laughing). It just happens. Even my sister now who is in St. Christopher's, she came back home and she told me "you know what, I was in school and then somebody was talking like this and I replied that way. I just figured out that I was talking like dad anyway." And so its like sometimes its happen a lot, you react to things and then you remember "oh gosh I've just acted like dad there."

79: EM: But then you're not ashamed of it. You're happy about acting like dad.

80: R: Yeah I'm not ashamed of it because even at that time I'm talking, when I come back I said, "ok fine I've talked like dad" you know. I come home and talk to my sisters or brother you now and tell them "you know that time I acted exactly like daddy," you know. So I'm like in fact I'm (*tape ends*)

81: EM: You were just saying that eh, you find yourself making decisions just the way he does.

82: R: Yeah sure 'cause when I'm out there you know, it just comes automatically that this the way you're supposed to do it. So sometimes I'm just deciding "ok, fine, I have to go this direction." Or sometimes when I'm talking to my friends, and they've done something wrong, I tell them "oh, oh no. You have to do one, two, three, four." But when I come back home I realized what I've made is just exactly what my daddy was telling me. And it wasn't just happening to me alone, even my sister who's in St. Christopher's yeah. When

she comes back home she's like "you know what the other time I was acting like daddy imagine." You know, so it's just kind of surprising kumbe we can just act sometimes yeah. (laughing)

83: EM: Yeah, you know we are very much a part of the environment around us. But what I'm sensing you're saying is you are not unhappy about it; you're quite happy about what you're doing.

84: R: Exactly, I'm very happy of what I'm doing. At least finally I can just turn at myself and say this is what I want, I can make decisions you know without somebody just pushing me or forcing me. But I can just decide for myself with the advices which I have been given, you know. That's what I like.

85: EM: As you look at the future and you think of your relationship with your father, what kind of a future do you think is ahead of you?

86: R: Well what I look about the future now I can say my daddy is more telling us about you have to look at God's plan not your plans. So sometimes we do plan and we talk about our plans but he's the one who's telling us no, you can't plan A, B, C, D and stick on it. And in fact to my future I leave it to God 'cause he's the one who is going to direct me, yeah. But what I can do is, I feel like everything God has planned for my life, I feel ok, I can just take it.

87: EM: But then at the same time you're feeling, you've the confidence to face the future. That's what I'm asking.

88: R: Yeah sure I have the confidence to face the future. Yeah I just believe on myself as I said and God yeah. I'm not afraid in ati this is what can happen. No. I just have confidence.

89: EM: Now, as we summarize, if you had to just very briefly describe your father's way style of parenting, how would you describe it? Just very, summarizing what you've said in a few words.

90: R: Um, well um, about my dad he's a listener and eh he's understanding. And uh, he's not forcing us and shouting at us "this is what you're supposed to do," but rather he discuss with us and we talk straight to him. And even sometimes when we feel like this what he, this is what he done for us is not good to us we just tell him "dad what you've done is not good to us." And he just say, "yes, I'm sorry for that." Yeah.

91: EM: Would you describe him as a warm or a cold kind of a person?

- 92: R:** Ah hmm, um (pauses) I think he's a cool ...
- 93: EM:** Cool?
- 94: R:** Yeah
- 95: EM:** What I mean is, is warm in the sense of his relationship, ah, is his relationship with you warm kind of a relation or a cold kind? Maybe cold in the sense of distant and ...
- 96: R:** (Interrupting) oh ok. I think it's warm now in that case. Because when you are open to somebody and when somebody is there for you, I think you feel yeah, it's just ok, he's available yeah.
- 97: EM:** So it's like he's warm but cool headed. Warm in his relationship with you but cool-headed?
- 98: R:** Yeah I can say so. He's warm and then, what I can say is that my daddy is not the talkative kind of person. Sometimes he's very cool but even that time when you approach him he's open. Yeah he can just listen to you.
- 99: EM:** Do you spend time with him? A lot of time with him?
- 100: R:** Exactly we do. 'Cause when we go out most of the cases he's the one who's taking us out. So when you go out in fact he's the one who's telling us "this is this, this is what, what is what." Yeah, he's the one. Everything he's just teaching us this is what you're supposed to do, this is um whatever. So even when we came here to Nairobi, he was the one who's taking us around and around. Every time we're just close to him. Yeah.
- 101: EM:** How long have you lived in Nairobi?
- 102: R:** Um, two years and a half, yeah. Two and a half years.
- 103: EM:** Before that you were in Tanzania?
- 104: R:** Yeah, we were in Tz (Tanzania).
- 105: EM:** Is there something you want to say as we finish off this?
- 106: R:** Um, well what I can say is I thank God for my dad and also I pray that all daddies out there should be kind of uh listeners to their kids and understand them. Sometimes us kids we do wrong to you and what we do is the exactly our choices what we make. As in sometimes we feel like to go out at night; sometimes we feel like to dress that kind of stuff dresses, which you don't like. But you have to understand it's age. When you talk to us straight and talk to us um at a very nice way, as in you, you accept the way we are and you

love us, in fact the best stuff you, is to tell your children is that you love them yeah straight. That “I do love you.” You know that’s when you feel confident when you go outside there. Because you know at least that my daddy told me that he loves me, yeah. So even if somebody quarrels me I feel ok. And it helps you even not to take drugs because sometimes when you go out there to take drugs is because you feel down at yourself. But now when you know that these friends of mine are influences me to go and take drugs, you know, but when you come back home you know your daddy will just be there talking to you nicely, you won’t take kind of drugs. But if you know you daddy is that kind of person who is always mad, doesn’t understand you know, so you can easily, I mean you can easily be influenced by your friends in a negative way. So I think daddies you should always come at your um your children’s level and understand them, and talk to them nicely and give them advice. Sometimes we do have a lot of stuff in our head. We want to have everything at one point but that is very impossible. So you have to tell us the exactly this is the way yeah. That you cannot at the same time buy a house have a car at the same time you know. You have to tell us “no everything goes by stage. Stages i.e. you go to school you do this.” Yeah.

107: EM: So what you’re saying is that you need the guidance but you need to be left alone to make the decisions?

108: R: Exactly. We need you to be there when we are in problems and even you not only waiting for us to approach you. Even you, you come to us and approach us and tell us “what do we feel?” I mean, “today you’re not looking well.” At that time we know exactly you are concerned, and even sometimes tell us that you’re praying for us. “You know we are concerned for you guys” yeah. That one can in fact help us to know that somebody’s praying for me.

109: EM: Those are the things that your father has done for you. Are they or there are things that you would want him to do?

110: R: Well, um what I can say is, I think I need him more and I need him to continue to direct me and also eh, what I can say anyway is all that.

111: EM: What I meant is the things you feel like the things you’re saying parents should do, are things that you have seen your own father do to you like the loving, telling you he loves you, telling you he’s concerned, knowing that he’s

praying for you. Those are things that you're saying, you want other parents to do or is a part of what you want your own father to do?

112: R: Oh, that's the thing I want other parents to do. My parents have been doing that thing to me, yeah sure. They've been telling me that "I'm concerned and uh I pray for you and uh I love you." Yeah they've been telling me those kind of words and it's really impressing me as in when I was in school even I just know my daddy is praying for me. You know I just feel like that so I'm not worrying. Even my sisters now my brother, they just know exactly my parents are praying for me. So they just feeling worry; when they come back home they ask for feedback, "by the way have you been praying for me?" and they are like "yes, we've been pray for you." So they want to know exactly. So I think it's very ok for other parents, even if you are praying for you children but let them know you are praying, just not just stop there praying for them without them knowing you are praying for them yeah.

113: EM: Thank you very much Rehema, this is very nice.

INTERVIEW WITH ERIC

3: EM: Today we meet Eric who has a sister called Rehema; we have already met her. I'll begin off by asking eh, Eric to tell us something about himself. How old he is, what he's doing then we can continue from there.

4: E: All right, my name is Eric. I'm 20 years old and I believe that we as children cooperate with parents and um parents raising up kids and kids under our parents and um how eh, eh authority is um is being used by parent and how kids take that eh into, into forming up and also how do they obey, how do they see their parents the way they the kind of bringing up process

5: EM: I think you... Eric said you're at university. Where are you at university? Which university are you attending?

6: E: Um, I'm now doing studies at um ...

7: EM: (Interrupting) yeah you're still a university student or you have graduated?

8: E: Uh no. I'm still a university student.

9: EM: Yeah which university?

- 10: E:** Um, USIU.
- 11: EM:** USIU. Ok. You said that we are here to talk about parenting, em families and fathers. Um since our main emphasis is on fathers um, I want to begin off by asking, how would you describe your relationship with you father?
- 12: E:** Well, um for at least 20 years eh now, I have been under my father's authority and um obeying and um listening to his the way he sees things and the way he judges things, I can tell that um I've been also analyzing eh things on the way he sees like things are supposed to be like; things have also seen how, how, how can if, if, if they're we can see on the other side, how are they going to be? Like so, lets say em, lets say my strong view of bringing up kids ...
- 13: EM:** (Interrupting) Now before you go to your strong view of bringing up kids, I want you to just tell me how would you just describe you relationship with your dad?
- 14: E:** Authoritative.
- 15: EM:** Authoritative is the way, the style... your dad's style for bringing up children isn't it?
- 16: E:** Yeah.
- 17: EM:** Ok. What makes you think it is authoritative?
- 18: E:** Um, in that if things are supposed to be done this way, they are supposed to be done that way, in that manner yeah. So if it is time for the family to gather up together and eat let's say um at night when we have dinners, the whole family has to sit together and eat at that particular time. Not each one to be scattered on their own like um... Ok in the past it also used be like you go to a um hotel, you have to sit together on the table, eat together as a family. Not like children on their own and parents on their own and all that kind of thing. So it's based on those principles
- 19: EM:** Now, during those times together do you talk or do you just listen to him talk?
- 20: E:** You talk you listen to him, talk but most of the time it's him talking yeah. And giving different stories here and there yeah, but kids they have uh very, very I can say short time talking; they don't talk a lot during that period.
- 21: EM:** Do you feel like you're listened to? Or, or even when he says lets do something this way, is he willing to discuss with you other opinions even though he may end up with the final decision, does he allow you to discuss things or is it a question of you will do so?
- 22: E:** I learnt to listen; we are allowed to, to, to discuss and talk but the final word has to come from him yeah. So you can maybe discuss it but you're also criticised in some

way. So you can talk. I can give an example of eh, the way maybe we are sitting together and, and eating together and maybe we're raising the issue of uh behaviour and we talk about maybe if we are sitting like this and eating like this is kind of weird all that. And eh maybe we don't enjoy it, ok you can bring the matter but he, he gives reasons as to why we are to sit like that and eat like that as a family. Even if you have different views ok, we as kids we can say we need to sit on the table and discuss our things, he can say, "no let u discuss those things together as a family." So kids are like forced to sit there and talk. So he becomes as an uh with him he becomes an authority. You discuss, he discusses but at the end of the day he comes with the final word.

23: EM: Are there any times he's ever taken your opinions and acted on them?

24: E: Sometimes, sometimes he takes.

25: EM: How do you feel when he takes your opinion and he acts on it?

26: E: Quite impressive. And eh, you feel like you're the part of, you did something yeah.

27: EM: So, even if it's not very often he actually does that?

28: E: Yeah, he does that.

29: EM: Ok, you see you started off by saying that eh he is authoritative and... that eh there's a slight difference between being authoritative and authoritarian. I don't know whether you know the differences. The authoritarian person is the one who says, "I have said this and you will do it." And the authoritative person even though he says eh...you know you will discuss you'll come to a point and then the person will tell you "as we've discussed I have heard what you said but I think we ought to go this way." So which of the two do you think dad is an authoritative or authoritarian father?

30: E: Authoritative.

31: EM: Authoritative?

32: E: Yes.

33: EM: Ok. You always feel even though you don't have a final say you're listened to, and when it is necessary what you're saying is acted upon?

34: E: Yes, acted upon when it is necessary.

35: EM: When it is necessary it is acted upon.

36: E: Yes.

37: EM: Ok. Now, with that in mind I want to come to the original question I asked you. You yourself, how, what do you think of your relationship, how would you describe your

relationship with your father? Do you think it's bad, good, you know what? How would you describe it?

38: E: To some extent it is good and to some it is not that much. Because if I were a father I would have um stayed eh in principles. Like, not like put them under much pressure. Because when you put them under much pressure they also know as kids that you re putting them under pressure. Give them freedom but let them, but guide them through this freedom. That's the kind of thing so I'd say to some extent our relationship has been good that eh, he has to send the final word after all he is the father. But to some extent let kids also have their own freedom you know, and eh, eh raise up their issues.

39: EM: What you're saying is ...

40: E: (Interrupting) let them have the final word.

41: EM: It's like you do not feel he gives you enough freedom ...

42: E: Yeah

43: EM: And that is what makes you feel like your relationship is not that good. What makes, what would you, what example can you give of the other aspect where you say your relationship is good?

44: E: Ok. First of all, when bringing up kids, our parents should realize...

45: EM: (Interrupting) no, no, what I'm asking is, what makes you think that dad, your relationship with dad is good? What has he done which makes you think your relationship with him is good? It's not so much your opinion of what parents ought to do but what is it that your father has done that makes you think 'my relationship with my father is good because....'

46: E: Ok um, hmm he takes uh hmm, that one is good when I give an example. Uh hmm lets say I give my opinion, um- may be I give an advice that I think this kind of thing should be done this way not that way, he will take it just like, just as an advice but he will add something on it, on top of it. Like um, um I'm trying to think of a good example that can suit up.

47: EM: Yes something that has happened between you that make you say, "because dad did this then it made our relationship with him good."

48: E: Um, lets say on career choices when you are for example I wanted to do um, I wanted to do something like relations, International Relations so that, that was the major I had thought of before. And um I discussed with him and um had a different opinion altogether because of the, he said that you won't become marketable because this is

no business but maybe something with economics because that will make you marketable. And um I, I didn't want to do business because I'm not good in that and um he thought that if I would do maybe uh sociology or community development or all those kinds of things to some extent but only if I mix it with business, with management, something to do with business because he's done business. So that kind of thing put me under pressure to think "is this the right channel that I want to take or this is the right channel." So it gave me doubt sometime when I think of it. Suppose if I take my uh my opinion and it doesn't workout, how will he think you know? How will he take me? Or suppose I take his opinion and it gives me stress how will I cope up with this kind of situation? So we, we, we had to think of it for quite sometime.

49: EM: You sat and discussed it with him?

50: E: Yeah yea and at the end of the day I came to do my opinion.

51: EM: International Relations?

52: E: Yes, so that's what made me eh think that it's good because he took my advice at the end of the day.

53: EM: He listened to you?

54: E: Yeah, he listened to me but he had his opinion, we discussed it and um at the end of the day he took my advice so I felt quite impressed yeah. So that's the kind of thing I say it's good.

55: EM: Your relationship with him is good?

56: E: Yeah.

57: EM: Now when you look at the way dad treats you and the way dad treats your sisters would you say there is a difference?

58: E: Yeah there is a difference altogether because we have different roles to play and like to my sisters he is not that much hard compared to me because um, there are certain kinds of things he wants to teach me as in because I can be called, he keeps on telling me I have to be responsible in eh at the end of the day I'll have a family to lead, I am a man and all that so um, he's, there's this lesson of responsibility that he has to teach me rather than not much on sisters.

59: EM: (Interrupting) He doesn't teach your sisters to be responsible?

60: E: He teaches them but not to that extent compared to me.

61: EM: What else, what else would you say is different in the way he treats you and the way

he treats them?

62: E: Um another thing is discipline of doing things. Um, let's say eh my sisters have their own way of doing certain kind of activities; I have mine too and they're all different from one another. So, if I'm supposed to maybe let's say uh wash a car or something like that, there's a there's a there's a manner in which or there's a time in which I'm supposed to do that kind of thing. If them they are supposed to clean the house or prepare food or all that, they also do it with a certain discipline and also and also within certain times. That's why I said they're more of a principles that if at 8pm we are supposed to eat, the food has to be on the table. If the car has to be washed in the morning before he goes to the office that means it has to be clean by that time. So eh the question of time that's the kind of, the discipline has to be, the discipline of time

63: EM: (Interrupting) the discipline of time?

64: E: Yes, the discipline of time.

65: EM: But that is not just for you, it is also for your sisters?

66: E: Yeah it is also both. Yeah, but um I was saying eh the, the difference I, I gave before was for responsibility yeah. He's kind of like hard on me than with them.

67: EM: He's harder on you?

68: E: Yeah.

69: EM: Than he is with them?

70: E: Yeah.

71: EM: Even with time he is harder on you that he is with them?

72: E: Yeah.

73: EM: Do you help in the house? Are you assigned any house duties or is that for the girls and you are doing the, the you're doing the, the car and other things?

74: E: No. I, I'm assigned too. Yeah.

75: EM: Things in the house?

76: E: Yeah things in the house so we, we, we, we do together but eh honestly most of the time it's them doing the sisters.

77: EM: The, the, the they're the ones who do things in the house?

78: E: Yeah.

79: EM: And you just the car?

80: E: No, not only the car environment, outside.

81: EM: The environment?

- 82: E:** Yeah.
- 83: EM:** The compound, you look after the compound.
- 84: E:** Yes.
- 85: EM:** Um, why do you think he assigns you the, the compound and the, the car and the girls the house?
- 86: E:** Um, well that that one has come up recently. But before that I used to do both; even them they used to do both. But eh, these days um it's more of um I'd say a cultural thing whereby kitchen is for girls and boys outside and all that yeah. It's a cultural thing.
- 87: EM:** So he, you're saying that um, he's being influenced by culture in doing... even assigning his duties to you, even in bringing you up?
- 88: E:** Yeah. Now, now before I used to do. I used to I used even to cook. So that's the kind of thing I know, as in I can cook and I can do all those. But eh recently we're we are 'cause he regards me these days as grown-ups. So when um, um he regards me that way, I do more of um outside things than inside things.
- 89: EM:** Which is the cultural thing?
- 90: E:** Which is yeah, which is the cultural thing.
- 91: EM:** When did he begin making you feel like he was treating you like an adult?
- 92: E:** Eh soon when I turned 18.
- 93: EM:** Ok. So you're among.... That's again is another very specific difference between you and your sisters. Does that assignment of duties bring about a conflict between you and your sisters?
- 94: E:** Um, not much. Not much. They saw or they heard that even, even, even mum tells them I used to do this kind of thing, so it does not eh bring that conflict. Because at, at times eh dad's finds balance 'cause if, if they finish on this time also you have to finish on this time. There has to be a balance also that to make that no one has been overloaded yeah.
- 95: EM:** Now are there special things that dad does with you that he doesn't do with the girls? Special places you go with him where he doesn't take the girls?
- 96: E:** Um, ...
- 97: EM:** (Interrupting) In other words, do you spend time with him alone, just as a son? I understand you are the only son in the family.
- 98: E:** Um, spending time...

- 99:** EM: (Interrupting) With him alone.
- 100:** E: Yeah, sometimes, sometimes when we go, we normally with him to exercises, I mean for we go to the...
- 101:** EM: (Interrupting) Gym?
- 102:** E: Yeah, not to the gym eh this eh...
- 103:** EM: Jogging?
- 104:** E: Jogging, um that's the kind of time I spend a lot with him and also sometimes um, um we're watching news, yeah that's also another time. But um I, I, I'd like to talk when we go for jogging because um that's the most of time I spend with him. My sisters go too but not, not, not a lot of time compared to me. So this uh this is the moment I, I, me I, I me with him yeah we, we are together and doing all these kind of activities and all that. So I can say that's the time I spend a lot with him yeah.
- 105:** EM: Do you value that time?
- 106:** E: Yeah, I value because I get to talk of my things yeah.
- 107:** EM: Ok. Your own things, when you talk about your personal things?
- 108:** E: Like studies yeah. What I think of the future yeah and um like um my ups and downs; friends the way I was treated badly all that kind of thing. So that's the time he I, I, allow him to give me his advice, his owns his, his, view.
- 109:** EM: So it's like those are your moments of consulting with daddy and they're valuable to you.
- 110:** E: Yeah.
- 111:** EM: They're important to you.
- 112:** E: Yeah they're important.
- 113:** EM: Do you miss them when you don't get them?
- 114:** E: Um (pause)
- 115:** EM: I understand dad travels a lot.
- 116:** E: Quite, quite a bit. Not that much because eh because I'm also in boarding. So I, I, I only get that time when I'm in holidays. When I'm in boarding and I come back home I do own stuff yeah.
- 117:** EM: Ok. So it's like there are, for you I mean, times when you feel like he's really impacting you?
- 118:** E: Yeah.
- 119:** EM: And you think it is a good thing. Now um ... what, what else would you like to say

eh about your father as you look at the way, I want you to, to centralize much more on what your father does or who your father is to you more than what you think should be done? Um you talked about him as an authoritative kind of a person. You also said he's, you have a good relationship with him and I wish you could describe a little more your relationship with your own father and what makes you think it's a good relationship. You've used this example that he listens and what else, what else can you say?

120: E: Ok um (long pause). He's also humble that's the point I'd like to raise. Because um to some not um not most of the parents are, are humble to their kids that um can really spend their time and um be criticized by their kids.

121: EM: He allows you to criticize him?

122: E: Yeah. Like eh like um another time we were reading this book on seven habits. Um I forgot the author seven habits on eh families. So we were talking on points of being proactive and um on synergizing and um there seven principles there. So when we when, when we analysed these principles according to the way the book puts them he, we really we really saw each and one another's weaknesses and we discussed on that on that on those weaknesses. So um like he, he allowed to listen and um he allows us to also to criticise him and to tell him that eh we think that this is not the right way he should operate...

123: EM: (Interrupting) So he was uh he was he was willing to allow you to discuss his weaknesses for you?

124: E: Yeah his weaknesses.

125: EM: Now was this just you as a person or the whole family?

126: E: The whole family, yes. So we discussed and um he really after that we, we saw changes and um it, it, it, it will be mine it, it actually told us that um he, he was really acting on our advises.

127: EM: So he was willing to change?

128: E: He was willing to change yes.

129: EM: How else would you describe him? You've described him as a humble person. You have also described him as a person who will also listen to you. How else would you describe him?

130: E: Another thing is um he wants us to become certain figures to fit in the society. Uh he's one thing is education he values education. So um, he regards as people who are

educated are most valuable to him. So and um he, he understands that people in life, the, the they, the people can win life, they can have all these riches and all that. But, on the fact that you are only educated. People who are not educated and are rich, he regards them differently. As in, as in maybe that's their kind of luck but he doesn't want us to take that kind of direction, as in to say, "me I stay like this and after all you wouldn't become rich even if you get an education."

131: EM: So he encourages education?

132: E: He encourages education. That's another thing, and he values it.

133: EM: He values it and he encourages it?

134: E: Yeah, he says that um he can he can do anything for us to get maybe the best education.

135: EM: Ok. So he's willing to go up to any cost. Now, if any of you was not doing very well in education, what is his attitude towards, if any of you was not doing very well?

136: E: That uh puts him off it upsets him.

137: EM: It upsets him?

138: E: Yeah because um he, he acts as if he doesn't understand the reason why you should...

139: EM: (Interrupting) Why you're not doing well.

140: E: Yeah, you're not doing well. So, he, he might understand but he doesn't want to show it off that he understands, that's why you're not very doing well. So he disguises it. But um on the other way he makes it, he makes it that you should do well.

141: EM: How? How does he help you to do well?

142: E: He actually um looks for other outside um let's say like tuitions and um any help, any help from outside even himself he devotes find some time to discuss the points you have gone wrong and all that. But most of the time he finds out what's the reason yeah, and he's so inquisitive. He asks a lot of questions yeah.

143: EM: He's inquisitive?

144: E: Yeah, he's inquisitive. Why? Why? Why? Why? Why? You know, so that, that in that approach, he actually finds out in the end of the day that this is the kind of thing that makes you fail. Yeah. Is it laziness, you know? And he likes complaining about laziness most of the time yeah.

145: EM: So there's no room for lazy people in the home?

146: E: There's no room for lazy people.

- 147:** EM: And he himself is not?
- 148:** E: He's not, he's not I can say that.
- 149:** EM: Now, when he finds out the reason, then you are saying then he goes ahead and helps you and all that?
- 150:** E: Yes.
- 151:** EM: Does that put pressure on you? Do you feel pressurised?
- 152:** E: Yeah. When he asks a lot of questions that makes you like um puts you in a cage.
- 153:** EM: You feel like you are in a cage?
- 154:** E: Yeah because um he really wants to find out. Maybe a reason can be simple. And another thing he doesn't want to believe that uh teachers can be all that bad to make you fail. While on the other hand he can also believe that. So he's quite a bit dynamic but he wants to wants to put clearly that you should play your role most of the time. You should do this; you should do this. So he puts it like, "no you have failed, you, you've failed but that's not that does not make you eh that does not make you lazy or that does not make you forget about put all the blame on teachers. No. You have failed because part is your responsibility and another part is...
- 155:** EM: (Interrupting) Part is his responsibility?
- 156:** E: Yeah, part is his responsibility. That's what, that's how he always puts it yes.
- 157:** EM: Now do you feel like um (pause) when all this is going on there is still acceptance? Or, or you know, whether you have failed or not there is still acceptance or in the family you are accepted or do you feel a rejection because of this pressure on ,pressure on you?
- 158:** E: There is acceptance to some extent but not fully acceptance. There's a difference there when a parent is satisfied uh from what you've done and when he's just there. He just eh he just hopes maybe next time you will do better so he gives you room for that.
- 159:** EM: He gives you room for improvement?
- 160:** E: Yeah, for improvement. But e, e, it does not mean that eh he's eh he's relaxed or he's uh he's um accepted that and he's satisfied with that kind of thing.
- 161:** EM: Has it, has the way that you have been brought up helped you make relationships outside? Make friends outside or has it been a hindrance?
- 162:** E: Um it has helped me to make friendships with certain kinds of people not all of them. But, I can say that um most of the time it has helped me to think twice before

involving in any relationship. It has moulded me to become more of a principled man.

163: EM: It has helped you become more principled?

164: E: Yeah. Uh, to some extent that sometimes people find me weird eh when I stress on my issue that is uh is not that is not all that big to them you know. So...

165: EM: (Interrupting) For example?

166: E: Uh for example I can, let's say I, I don't any good reason why I should um I should um maybe spend money in eh buying this kind of a luxurious thing which is not a big deal to them because um if, if, if, if, if, you need it why not you know, why not getting it. But uh I, I think twice. Is it appropriate at, at this time you know? Do I really badly want it you know? So, they find me weird in that. Thinking, more of uh thinking you know you, you, you think twice before doing things.

167: EM: Your thinking is very different from theirs?

168: E: Yeah. So uh, they, they, in the past the way they get they get it is weird. Yeah because if, if they take it very simple if you need it just get it. Why, why, why keep wasting time thinking about it. You know as...

169: EM: (Interrupting) As long as you have money get it?

170: E: Yeah, yeah as long as you have money. Yeah.

171: EM: But for you, you, you have to reason out whether it is the right thing or not?

172: E: Yeah. And appropriate time to get it, yes.

173: EM: Ok. Ok. And um when eh when you're looking at it like that, do you think that is an advantage to you? That way of thinking, is it an advantage to you as you grow up?

174: E: It is, it is an advantage when, when you are going into this world with mixed up things and a society which is quite a bit confused it is. So um you can end up getting things that um after three years you regret. And um on the other side it is um it is not very um advantageous because you might spend a lot of time thinking of it and you miss it, yeah.

175: EM: Ok. But at least when you when you need to, to apply the principles you know you can? You have them.

176: E: Yeah.

177: EM: Now, you said you only you the way you has been brought up has only helped make friends with certain kinds of peoples. Which kinds of people?

178: E: I'm talking of um uh boy to girl friendship uh it, it has helped me to some extent to, to

cope up with um good groups because I know at the end of the day it's me who will suffer because everyone has his own life. When you talk of uh boy-girl relationship it has helped me uh think twice is this kind of right girl I want at this particular time or is this uh a kind of relationship I need at this particular time. So there is a difference between the girl you want and the kind of a relationship you want from her. So when I think of that, it, it, it gives me steps to take before I get involved into it.

179: EM: What about when you come to people in authority. You know, is there any difference? Has this helped you the way dad has brought you up?

180: E: My own way of respect.

181: EM: To people in eh... in authority?

182: E: Yes. He has um he has um taught us to have respect to all people with authority also the elderly. But um most of the time it's, it's also a part of our culture that you have to respect an old person and um also people in authority but you have to also give your views. That does not hinder you from giving you know your views or ideas on certain issues but with kind of a certain respect or without eh moving out of the boundaries.

183: EM: Is there a difference between you and your age mates in the whole question of authority because of the way you have been brought up?

184: E: There's uh there's a slight difference uh because most of the time I meet with people whom uh we shares uh we have certain uh common goals. Uh, but um most of the time the people that eh my age mates eh we have different views because um the way that I spend a lot of time thinking before I do a lot of things is, is, is different in them. Because them they kind like rush into things or sometimes they'll think but um we, we differ. There's a very slight difference. So we find that when are maybe when are arguing of certain kinds of issues, uh we I, I, I find them that they, they put no big deal on some kind of issues where I see there's a very big deal on to that.

185: EM: What about in the area of authority in particular. You know these days people say oh young people don't respect others they do not care about those in authority. You have that in you, do you differ from your friends, in the area of authority and you know relating to other people in authority?

186: E: That is uh that is more in peer pressure and so...

187: EM: Interrupting) No what I'm thinking is because you already have that, do you find that you differ? Is that one of the areas where you differ from colleagues from people of

your age group?

188: E: Yeah some sometimes because I'm, I'm not perfect yeah. So sometimes I find myself I differ from them...

189: EM: (Interrupting) Because...

190: E: (Interrupting) I give to respect...

191: EM: (Interrupting) You, you respect and they don't respect?

192: E: Yeah, but it's not it's not most of the time because uh sometimes I also find myself not respecting um, um, um alternating when giving respect to authority people and also the elderly. What uh what I was saying is that uh when it's, it's quite a bit different from my friends. They, they sometimes give respect sometimes they don't. I do the same; sometimes I do give sometimes I don't. It depends on the kind of authority and eh and eh kind of old person I meet with. But I've tried to put a certain level on both the authority and the kind of old people that to give a kind of respect that will differentiate me as a teenager and them with the authority. So that's the kind of way I've been working out yeah but it's uh it's, it's more of our culture. Our culture insists on respect even in those times when parents like a child used to be a child of a community not a child of one person. So each and every parent can teach discipline to this child in that same kind of a community. So it's, it's coming from our cultural background.

193: EM: Yes but you've something you have caught from it your father's though from your parents.

194: E: My parents' have adapted it also.

195: EM: Yes, so they are the one's who are passing it to you. It's not something you have picked out there. It is something that you are being taught in the home.

196: E: Yeah in the home.

197: EM: The influence of the culture, they are the one who have passed it on to you?

198: E: Yes.

199: EM: Ok um have you ever had hard times between you and dad? Some conflicts some or difficult times?

200: E: Yeah. I've had quite a number of um conflicts on um dressing, on um eating habits, on um, um games so all these all these are ok like um on dressing he, he wants us, he wants me 'cause it's me and him, so he wants us to dress up in this kind of manner, like occasional kind of a dressing when I am like moving out with him. And um let's

say we are going to see his friends and all that, he wants us he wants me to wear maybe a shirt tuck in, you know trouser smart, and shoes you know well polished and all that so that he can move with a smart boy. And sometimes it brings out eh quite a bit it brings out conflict. Um maybe I feel like dressing like this and I'm pressurised to dress this way so it becomes uh it becomes argumentative.

201: EM: Uh how do you solve these conflicts?

202: E: Uh you, you, you have to submit to his yeah, to what his eh his eh to what he has said.

203: EM: So when there are conflicts even though you talk about them you have to submit at the end?

204: E: You still have to dress for as long as you are going with him you still have to dress the way he wants.

205: EM: But that's only dressing. What about the other the other conflicts you have had?

206: E: Um playing too much I play soccer and um he insists on to, I have time of playing and um time for reading. So, I'll, I, at first I, I thought it's supposed to be 50-50. The more I play soccer the more I read as in it's supposed to be on balance 50-50. But to him it's different it's not supposed to be 50-50 it's supposed to be 70-30. I'm supposed to play soccer 30% and read 70% of the time. But uh that one I was trying to discuss that it is supposed to be 50-50 in that the world we are going to, the society has changed these days. That um people make money even with soccer more than even eh people professors and I've we've seen (laughs) soccer players who are very rich in the world. Um so if you can move if you can put it on balance make it 50-50, you can become a well-rounded person. Uh so that has been, his advise has been no it's supposed to be like this because uh in fact you are basing your argument on a on a different environment. We are in Africa you can't make soccer in Africa; that you are supposed to make in Europe and all the other, those places. So in Africa you have to make books because uh...yes.

207: EM: (laughs) Ok. So how have you solved that or you are still talking?

208: E: Uh, um, the fact that you know he's been winning all these kind (he chuckles) of arguments.

209: EM: Is it right for me to say even when these arguments are there you seem to be people who talk a lot? You may not end up having your way but at least you are given an opportunity to air your views. So you know even though he ends up by winning all of them, you still have an opportunity to air your view and therefore you still feel you

express yourself?

210: E: Yeah.

211: EM: That's right?

212: E: Yeah that's right, yes.

213: EM: But then how does that leave you feeling that you don't seem to win in the conflict?
Now we are focusing on you does that make you feel like angry with him?

214: E: Um...

215: EM: Angry is just a one word that is coming to my mind but how, how does that make you feel?

216: E: Yeah sometimes it's quite a bit you feel angry but um these are the people who I have lived long and they know a lot of things but um...

217: EM: (Interrupting) Is that rationalizing? Is that a way of your rationalizing this or is that truly how you feel?

218: E: That, that that's the way of rationalizing.

219: EM: What do you truly feel about it?

220: E: Yeah that's um because um I feel that um why, 'cause' cause I, I have to express something and, and win it and, and feel that um at least I've done something you know. What I'm doing now is a part of me that I can I can approve I can approve and um, um I'm doing it now.

221: EM: So you feel like you're not winning?

222: E: I feel like um I am um when I am proactive when I think I, I think uh when I see the future may be my views have to have to be passed.

223: EM: Now you're thinking of seeing in the future do you ever, if you ever see yourself as a father and looking at the model that your father has set for you, do you want to be the same or do you want to be different?

224: E: I, obviously different because um because um of, of because the state I'm living now is not going to be the same as the one I'm going to live in the future. The society would have changed, everything the technology would have changed.

225: EM: That's true but I'm looking at, I'm thinking of this in the principles that you have been brought up with, are they the same principles you think you are going to adopt?

226: E: I will change them quite a bit.

227: EM: To what?

228: E: I will, I will not continue to them all together because I have also my role to play and

impact a lot of things. So I'll give more a role of freedom of choice as a father and, and uh and not pressurising a lot on my kids that um if they, they want o do this kind of thing let them do it.

229: EM: But you know we are told we are the product of the past and product of what we learn from others. And we learn and we do things the way we learn and the people we learn from most are our parents. Are you keeping that in mind when you're thinking or are you just talking about it now because you're seeing yourself as a young person now and thinking of what a young person would want to have?

230: E: Um I'm keeping that in mind because I, I know for a fact that there is no school for parents; there's no class for parents. Parents become parents when they have kids and all that so they get to learn these activities.

231: EM: They are influenced by their parents

232: E: Yeah, they, they are also influenced by their parents and um the principles that they are laying down in raising up their kids they can come up with mistakes. And also and also and also me when I'm trying to become different I will also make my own mistakes. So in all this kind of thing, you can't say this is the right way (emphatically) that people have.

233: EM: That is true. That is true. Now, what mistakes do you think your father has made?

234: E: Um (pause) they he is he is quite a bit um slow in making decisions. He is not very, very straightforward and fast. In fact he is not very straightforward. I can...

235: EM: Interrupting) What do you mean by straightforward?

236: E: Uh he has more of uh more of uh beating around the bush (both laugh) when he when he wants to get something, something clear. So he doesn't come out very transparent to his kids that maybe, maybe I want to do this and that and that. He will tell you that um he will have different kind of reasons. And another thing he can't keep promise not most of the time. He will say because of this and that, he has reasons to all that so that's why I'm saying he beats around the bush. He will tell you because he will tell you this and that because of these circumstances or those situations and you will see it. So, uh I really don't know you know what is what is in between there, but all, all I can say is that he is not very straightforward. He has reason to each and everything. Even if it seems right but he will tell you no because of this and that. So maybe I think it's the question of perception he views um things on different or you want to put everything on each side of the coin to see.

237: EM: He wants to see both sides before he can eh before he can express himself.

238: E: Yeah.

239: EM: But despite that you still think he is a good dad?

240: E: Yeah.

241: EM: Now, how has religion influenced who you are?

242: E: Religion it's um...

243: EM: (Interrupting) You know I assumed you are a Christian, you are born again

244: E: Yeah yes.

245: EM: You are.

246: E: Yes. I am a born again Christian and religion is a basic thing in our family. We have to eh we have these prayers before we sleep and all that. But um religion has been influencing our lives since, since then because um, um he puts everything um he links everything with God. As in without God nothing is, is possible in our lives even if everything seems right. So...

247: EM: (Interrupting) That something you embrace for yourself or you do it because dad says?

248: E: I do.

249: EM: You embrace it for yourself?

250: E: I do. I do.

251: EM: You see the value for yourself?

252: E: Yeah I see the value of it.

253: EM: But he has influenced you to develop that value.

254: E: Yes, yes. I, and the reason why I say I see the value is because God has done so many things in my life. And when I look back I see all these transformations I, I, I say yeah - there's nothing possible

255: EM: So dad has introduced you to it and I suppose your mother as well, but then you have come to embrace it yourself by seeing what God is doing in your own life.

256: E: Yes, that's right.

257: EM: So do you think if they were not religions people, if they didn't believe in God the way they did your life your hose would be different?

258: E: It would have been yeah, yeah very different very different because I'd have gone in the way the society goes and obviously the way the way even them the way they go so if um if um if they were smokers and drunkards I'd have been the same definitely.

259: EM: Would you want to be that way? Would you have wanted to be a smoker and a drunkard?

260: E: No but I was once a drunkard for two years.

261: EM: You were?

262: E: Yeah though they weren't but this was the time of uh trying and um you know trying things.

263: EM: How old were you?

264: E: I was about 15 yes, when I wanted to try to see how it is to be a drunk.

265: EM: And you came out of it? You made the choice yourself to stop?

266: E: Yeah when I got born again, yes.

267: EM: Now as we summarise this, I want again you to very briefly just summarise maybe in five words your dad. You say my dad is one two three four five. Without much explanation just five words that you think describe your dad is.

268: E: Ok, first of all just like I had said my dad is authoritative, eh he is also principled man, he's also um, um, um he's also (pause) um I, I can't get the word but

269: EM: (Interrupting) Describe it.

270: E: Not very straightforward apart from these principles and all that, but he does things the way he thinks that the it their right to his own perception and maybe from, from, from mum's view and all that. And um fourthly he's um he's um he's a religious parent that's very important and um fifthly

271: EM: You said he was humble.

272: E: Sorry?

273: EM: You said he was humble.

274: E: Yeah he was a humble man.

275: EM: Good. Finally how would you look at your relationship with him again a summary of your relationship with him?

276: E: I can say um quite a little bit good.

277: EM: Quite a little bit, not quite good? It's a little bit good?

278: E: Yeah just a little bit good. It's, it's uh it's, it's just satisfactory.

279: EM: It's a good relationship?

280: E: Yeah it's a good relationship.

281: EM: You feel happy? You are proud to talk of you dad; you are proud of your dad; you are proud he is your dad?

282: E: Yeah.

283: EM: Would you want to exchange him for another?

284: E: No. No.

285: EM: No. Then if you don't want to exchange him for another it's a good relationship, he's a good dad isn't it?

286: E: Yeah he's a good dad.

287: EM: Ok. Ok. Ok. Thank you very much Moses for sharing this much about your dad. I appreciate it.

288: E: The relationship has helped the, the interview has helped me to view the relationship in a different way. I had never looked at it in this way before and um it has helped me also to sit down and look at things and uh discuss at things I'd never thought of yea. Like the way you have put my dad as a figure and discuss him how my relationship with him has been for the last 20 years. So it has helped me to really come up with a very good observation of who is he what kind of a dad is this I'm dealing with and uh his values and also I'm I proud of him! And I have seen him in a very different way today. And uh another thing also this has been a very good interview I have never been to very many interviews. It has also built some character in how to sit down and discuss and, and yeah talk in the interviews. It has helped me.

289: EM: Thank you very much Eric I think that is very good.

290: E: Thank you very much.

291: EM: We will come back and will sit you and daddy at one point as soon as we can make that organized.

292: E: Any time.

293: EM: Ok. Bye.

Appendix A2 Goodwin's family consent forms

Dear Mr Goodwin Kimaro

This researcher is interested in finding out what parenting strategies fathers of African origin use and how these strategies affect the social relationships of their children.

To be able to do so this researcher intends to interview fathers who have children in the age group of 14-25 years. The researcher intends to interview one or two children in the mentioned age group of every father interviewed in order to find out what the young people think of the father's parenting strategies. She also intends to find out how these young people have formed social relationships and what difficulties they may have encountered during the process.

While interviewing the fathers the researcher is seeking not only to understand the strategies the fathers use but also what influenced the development of these strategies, that is, how culture, education and religion influence parenting strategies.

This letter is an invitation for you and one or two of your children aged 14-25 years to participate in this research. The research assures you that your identity will be protected as far as it is possible.

As you give information you will be contributing to the process of developing strong healthy relationships between fathers and their children and hence healthy relationships for young people in the community, nation and continent. You will also contribute information that will help those involved in counseling and reconciliation at the family level to develop appropriate counseling strategies.

The researcher is also seeking your permission to tape the conversation as a way of preserving all the useful information you will be sharing for the purpose of more accurate evaluation.

If you are willing to participate please sign in the space provided below:

I Godwin Kimaro agree to participate in this research. The researcher has explained the expectations, and I am comfortable with the explanations. I would like to contribute to the welfare of my community and nation.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

May 18th 2002

M. M. M. M.

Dear Rehema Kinoo

This researcher is interested in finding out what parenting strategies fathers of African origin use and how these strategies affect the social relationships of their children.

To be able to do so this researcher intends to interview fathers who have children in the age group of 14-25 years. The researcher intends to interview one or two children in the mentioned age group of every father interviewed in order to find out what the young people think of the father's parenting strategies. She also intends to find out how these young people have formed social relationships and what difficulties they may have encountered during the process.

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The researcher is also seeking your permission to tape the conversation as a way of preserving all the useful information you will be sharing for the purpose of more accurate evaluation.

If you are willing to participate please sign in the space provided below:

I Rehema agree to participate in this research. The researcher has explained the expectations, and I am comfortable with the explanations. I would like to contribute to the welfare of my community and nation.

Signed: Rehema Date: 17th May 2002

Dear Moses Kimaro

This researcher is interested in finding out what parenting strategies fathers of African origin use and how these strategies affect the social relationships of their children.

To be able to do so this researcher intends to interview fathers who have children in the age group of 14-25 years. The researcher intends to interview one or two children in the mentioned age group of every father interviewed in order to find out what the young people think of the father's parenting strategies. She also intends to find out how these young people have formed social relationships and what difficulties they may have encountered during the process.

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As you give information you will be contributing to the process of developing strong healthy relationships between fathers and their children and hence healthy relationships for young people in the community, nation and continent. You will also contribute information that will help those involved in counseling and reconciliation at the family level to develop appropriate counseling strategies.

The researcher is also seeking your permission to tape the conversation as a way of preserving all the useful information you will be sharing for the purpose of more accurate evaluation.

If you are willing to participate please sign in the space provided below:

I MOSES G. KIMARO agree to participate in this research. The researcher has explained the expectations, and I am comfortable with the explanations. I would like to contribute to the welfare of my community and nation.

Signed:  Date: 9th sept 2002

Appendix B1 Kiriva family interviews

INTERVIEW WITH MR. KIRIVA

- 4: EM: Today is 30th of November 2002 and I want to eh introduce Mr. Kiriva. I'm going to ask him to tell us something about himself and his family then we can move on from there. I will ask him a few questions and he will tell us about the way he has brought up his children. Yes, lovely children he'll tell us how he has brought them up to be like that.
- 5: K: Uh, I Kiriva was born in 1951, 3rd March. I'm a Catholic, and my wife wasn't a Catholic but now she's changed to a Catholic; she was a protestant. All the same, we have been blessed to have children. I have one boy, three girls and uh I've we have tended to bring up all of them in our religion, that is Catholic. And the way we are as a family, we work together in all aspects.
- 6: EM: Maybe just before you tell us about what is in the family, you can tell us what you do, how far how far have you gone in education and what do you do.
- 7: K: Pardon?
- 8: EM: How far have you gone with education and what do you do?
- 9: K: I've educated my children and...
- 10: EM: (Interrupting) you yourself.
- 11: K: My, I've gone up to form four. In particular, I've attended a teacher training college at Machakos; I'm a teacher. Right now I'm a deputy head teacher of a primary school. I've been a deputy head teacher for now say seven years, yeah.
- 12: EM: What, what subjects do you teach?
- 13: K: I teach English and GHC (geography, history and civics). Those are the subjects I teach yeah.
- 14: EM: Ok now, as we get into the area of you and your children, maybe you can tell us how you would describe your, the way you look after, you style of bringing up your children, both for your son and your daughter. Here we want to know much more about you more than your wife. How do you do it yourself as a person?
- 15: K: Me, I consider children as children. I don't eh don't separate them or I don't take them as boys and girls. I say they are both my children. They are all my children. So

the way we tend to to handle them is the way I have handled both boys and girls, as with an exception of special cases that is for boys. For example, for a boy I in most cases take trouble to educate him further on how he should handle eh various different people as he grows yeah.

16: EM: How do you do that? How do you educate him?

17: K: We normally, I normally sit together with him or invite him on a certain work and we talk. We work, I advice him on how to live fair and well with others yah. That is what in most cases I advice my boy as we work yeah.

18: EM: You work together?

19: K: We work together. Sometimes I invite him for a walk, we walk for a distance place like for example here we walk up to Rugangi. We come back, we might go walking then we come back on matatu (taxi). But my main purpose is to talk to him and advice him on various ways of how he should be living.

20: EM: So, your way of teaching him is you spend time with him?

21: K: Yeah, I spend time with him.

22: EM: While, whether you're working or walking or doing things together?

23: K: Yeah, whether we are working or walking yeah.

24: EM: Now you said...

25: K: (Interrupting) I just take it for, I just take him that way and we start talking. We start talking until I come to what I want to tell him indirectly yeah.

26: EM: You say this one you do this specially for your boy?

27: K: Yeah.

28: EM: Why specially for your boy and not your girls?

29: K: Uh, this is because in most of African traditional communities boys are used to their fathers than girls. Sometimes I may take trouble to talk to my girl that way if I find it so. But in most cases you find my girl is at home probably helping the mother and the boy is outside working with me so that's why in most cases I get time to talk to the boy (he laughs).

30: EM: So, do you... are there times you choose to make, to spend special times with your daughter to teach her some things?

31: K: Uh, with my daughter it comes as a coincidence probably she wants me to send her to school. When I'm sending her to a secondary school and the other time when I'm sending her to Nairobi, that is the time I have time to sit with her when we're waiting

for uh for the train. Eh, you know the train takes time to come. So that is the time we sit and talk and advice one another on what she should do as she's going to a new place. I advice her and so on yeah.

32: EM: Now, you said eh so it means that you... does that mean you don't really spend as much time, very much time with your daughter, you expect her to learn from her mother or how do you expect her to learn then?

33: K: In most cases, if I have things concerning her, I talk to the mother then the mother advises her yeah.

34: EM: So you you, actually it is like eh indirect teaching?

35: K: Yeah.

36: EM: Indirect influencing her through the mother.

37: K: Through the mother yeah.

38: EM: Teaching and influencing her through the mother?

39: K: Yeah. And I also advise the mother to behave the way she teaches her, because she should not teach her, behave this way then she does not do the right thing. For example, when I for example when I say arranging things she comes with shoes then she drops them outside there or anywhere, or she takes a knife, after using it she leaves it there. I can advise her to bring it back and I can advise her to work this way or that way but then at times I also tell the mother to stress on that and also she behaves the same way for her to get the right concept yeah.

40: EM: Now, when you think of it that way and you're looking at the way you're you're spending time with them, would you say that um you think you're close to them, to them or you think you are not? I mean, how would you describe that?

41: K: (Interrupting) Yeah, after talking to him?

42: EM: Are you close to them? Both her and the brother?

43: K: After talking to them there is at one time, we normally pray at night as a family. And before we pray that is the time we take to advise them. We advise them before we pray.

44: EM: Together?

45: K: Yeah. Now we sit together here on this table we sit here around just in the house. Then now we discuss we tell him, I tell, we tell her, the mother talks and I talk. We advise them after that we pray yeah.

46: EM: Are there times you allow them to what they have in their minds?

- 47: K: Yeah. We allow them to say whatever they feel. And most cases some of them I mean eh at one time or the other they may say something that they may need to say yeah.
- 48: EM: Ok. Now, what what influences you to use the style you use?
- 49: K: Pardon.
- 50: EM: What influences you to use the style of of fathering you use to do what you do? What has made you...
- 51: K: (Interrupting) Uh...
- 52: EM: Uh, bring them up the way you're...
- 53: K: (Interrupting) You know the way I was brought up is not the way I'd like them to grow up. It's not the way I'd like to live.
- 54: EM: How were you brought up?
- 55: K: Because we were brought up in a very funny way. Our father was very strict. There was no time we could talk to our father. Even at one time we witnessed our father beating our mother and in that respect we realized that our father is a strict man so we don't need to talk anything to him. We grew that way. If our father says, "don't do this; I've said you're not going here." Full stop. You couldn't....
- 56: EM: (Interrupting) you couldn't question?
- 57: K: Yeah. That's the way we were brought up. We were brought up in a way to fear the father yeah. But that's not the way I'd like my children to grow. I'd like them to be as free as possible with me yeah.
- 58: EM: So allowing that like you say sit around the table and you talk to them and you allow them to talk.
- 59: K: Yes.
- 60: EM: So, that is your way of allowing them...
- 61: K: (Interrupting) To express their, in fact it has, I've noticed or I've realized that of late, they have started telling me their problems directly instead of going through their mother. They're now more free to talk to me than what I hear from others.
- 62: EM: As they grow older, as they grow older they are getting freer?
- 63: K: As they grow older, they are getting more free to talk to me.
- 64: EM: So what you're saying is your father was very strict is like you're saying your father was a bad example...
- 65: K: (Interrupting) Yeah.

- 66: EM: Of a father to you?
- 67: K: Yeah.
- 68: EM: So you've chosen not to follow his ways?
- 69: K: Not to follow his ways.
- 70: EM: You're following something different because...
- 71: K: (Interrupting) something different.
- 72: EM: Because you know, why? Why you've chosen to do it differently?
- 73: K: I did not like the way our father was reacting towards us. You could find him saying, "may I have water to drink?" Then you bring water while you're your other finger is inside the cup.
- 74: EM: Is in the water?
- 75: K: This way. No, now instead of getting that water or telling you this is bad holding the cup this way, he slaps you and you fall down with the water; you fall down with the water.
- 76: EM: So now...
- 77: K: (Interrupting) that is when he'll tell you, "How did you bring the water I asked you to bring to me?"
- 78: EM: So when you're slapped you didn't know why you're being slapped?
- 79: K: Yeah. You're slapped without knowing why and you'll be told later on after being slapped. And it was very bad because I didn't know why he was behaving that way. I, I, I couldn't even imagine whether he did not love us but deeply I could see he loved us yeah.
- 80: EM: He loved you and...
- 81: K: (Interrupting) He really loved us.
- 82: EM: And yet he treated you very harshly?
- 83: K: Yeah, yeah very harshly but he really loved us. He would always beat you severely and at the same time love you. Anytime you misbehave, aaah, expect a severe punishment on the spot.
- 84: EM: How did he express his love to you?
- 85: K: Ah, sometimes we may be sitting outside chatting but sometimes he finds us playing, comes there and starts laughing and jokes to us. We feel we are loved.
- 86: EM: Did he ever tell you he loved you?
- 87: K: Ah, at times, sometimes he came and said, "Oh my boy my boy my boy, watoto

wangu watoto wangu.” Anakuinuinua hivi, anakuinua (My children, my children. He lifts you like this, he lifts you), and that’s it.

88: EM: That is his way of telling you he loves you.

89: K: That was his way of telling he loved us. But we knew after that we expect anything yeah. We don’t know whether he’s really telling us “I love you.” But then if he says so and he laughs and goes then we say our father really loves us yeah. There’s no way we could realize our love from our father ah, other than that.

90: EM: What about you? Do you find it easy to tell your children you love them using the words I love you?

91: K: They know I love them.

92: EM: How do they know?

93: K: When I talk to them and as I advise them they realize, most in fact, the boy and the girl have at one time told us told us, that what we advise them has really helped them.

94: EM: You know that’s true; I’m not denying that. But, just telling the children you love them, just telling them “children, I love you and I...

95: K: (Interrupting) I tell them. I always tell them, I tell them “I’m advising you because I love you.”

96: EM: Ok, yeah, because you see that’s what you’re saying your father never told you. He came and played with you and you knew he loved you from just playing with you.

97: K: But he never said anything like that.

98: EM: So part of wanting to do it differently is even going like telling you children “I love you.”

99: K: I love you.

100: EM: I correct you because I love you.

101: K: (Interrupting) That’s why I’m telling you...

102: EM: (Interrupting) I correct you because I love you and you listen to them when they talk. Now, that is one thing that is your father. What else has helped you bring your children up the way you do?

103: K: Aaah...

104: EM: (Interrupting) Earlier on you said something about you know culture. How has culture helped you to, to bring up your children?

105: K: Yeah, in African traditional culture, if you look at it deeply, you find most of the fathers used to educate boys only. That’s of no use today, totally, so that one was also

wrong because we realize....

106: EM: (Interrupting) That is formal education?

107: K: Yeah. We have realized that there are some mothers who are brighter than their husbands in those days. Even now, if you talk to a certain mother you find she has better ideas than the husband. And simply because she never went to school, she was considered as a fool; she could not advise anybody. She was not allowed to talk in front of people who are learned. So that is now, that is a bad way was a bad way and I did not want it, to bring it back to my children yeah. That one really influenced me to make a change.

108: EM: To change and to give equal opportunities for your children?

109: K: Yeah, equal opportunities for my children.

110: EM: Ok. Is that commonly done in your area or are you one of the few who have chosen to take your children, your daughters to school?

111: K: These days, these days it is really done, commonly done everywhere here with an exception of a certain area across there where I teach. That's the area I've realized they have a problem; they don't consider education as something very important.

112: EM: For children or for, for everyone or for girls?

113: K: For boys and particularly girls. Particularly girls. They feel their girls should get married early as early as they reach standard four or five so long as she can be able to write a letter. In the area I'm teaching, there's a problem. You teach a child, she passes and she's never sent to secondary school. She's only advised to look for a husband.

114: EM: To get married?

115: K: Um.

116: EM: Ok. Now, what about religion? You said you're Catholic? Are there things that you're taught there that have let you be the father you are?

117: K: Yeah, yeah because...

118: EM: (Interrupting) Tell me a little about that.

119: K: In Catholics you're told the first thing you should follow is the 10 commandments of God. The 10 commandments are very, very important to guide one on how to live on this earth. And that is what I normally stress to my children. If you're doing anything try to see what commandment is that you're breaking or you're following in religion. That is why I have tended to stress much as I as I advise them and after that

we pray. Because, I believe, without God, nothing can be of success, great success. So that's why I tended to advise my children that way uh as a result of what I've been taught from my religion yeah.

120: EM: Now, sometimes you find you go to areas where people believe a lot in tradition. The traditional things and things like that. Have those influenced you in any way?

121: K: Uh, not much.

122: EM: Not much?

123: K: They've not, let me say, generally, they haven't because they have, they found me brought up in a religious manner and I grew up that way. In fact, I remember there's a time I went to that area, the area the one I'm talking of, they have these traditional ceremonies, one called 'Mwari.' 'Mwari' is a ceremony where boys and girls are brought together and educated on I don't know how to live as they grow but it is done in a way, in an immoral way. So there was a time they said, they told, I, I was trying to ask a certain old man what they do. Then they said, "One day we shall pick you and send you there." I told them, "No. Don't think you'll manage." Then at one time, he told a certain friend of mine to come and persuade me so that we go there then they pick me and then that friend was a Catholic and I tried to advise him on how the religious facts tell us. I advised him and he agreed and he at the same time also changed, he never followed because he was he was convinced that he should go. Now he was telling me so that we go together but after advising him he decided not to go as well yeah.

124: EM: So what kinds of things are they taught when they go to these, you say they are brought up in an immoral way?

125: K: No, I've not known much, I've not known much because I'm not, they say it is confidential. They cannot deeply tell you unless you're one of the members there. Those who go there come out and remain silent.

126: EM: So is like there is there is a lot of secrecy on what they do?

127: K: Yeah.

128: EM: And the children? What they, the children don't talk about it themselves?

129: K: Nobody talks about is, it is strictly confidential. If you'd like to know about it, you go in there.

130: EM: You have to be a part of it?

131: K: Yeah.

- 132: EM: Ok, ok, ok. So umm what about your, you're a teacher. Has your teaching profession helped you in anyway as in the way you bring up children? You spend a lot of time with children.
- 133: K: Yeah it has really helped me because in the beginning (long pause) I, I could not; I was very harsh to children in the beginning.
- 134: EM: Yours or all of them?
- 135: K: No, at school.
- 136: EM: At school?
- 137: K: But later on I changed my style because now as I grew up and as children learned and went to secondary schools and changed and became big people, that's the time I realized a child should be taken, should be brought up very carefully because we do not know who he or she will be as when she grows up. Some of them really respect me the children.
- 138: EM: The children who have come through your school.
- 139: K: Most of them respect me despite of my harshness in those days and "We think this teacher is very harsh and we liked him." And I don't know what, what but then I feel pretence why? Does it mean it's because I've changed? These days I've really changed. I'm not the... I in fact I consider guidance and counselling as the most important way of teaching a child other than punishing. Those days I used to use a cane. Why? I never even bothered to ask why you're late if a child is late.
- 140: EM: You just used a cane?
- 141: K: I just punished straight away.
- 142: EM: So did you, were you doing the same with your own children?
- 143: K: Yeah, even to my house girl! Uh a child was a child to me.
- 144: EM: A child was a child.
- 145: K: Yeah.
- 146: EM: So you did it the same way?
- 147: K: I did it the same way.
- 148: EM: And...
- 149: K: (Interrupting) they know, but later on....
- 150: EM: As they grow older is when you stopped or you....
- 151: K: (Interrupting) yeah, I started changing; I don't know what made me and then I think it is experience, yeah which made me change.

152: EM: Experience as a teacher or experience as a father?

153: K: As a teacher.

154: EM: As a teacher?

155: K: As a teacher!

156: EM: Which now as you....

157: K: (Interrupting) Now because I'm meeting children outside as a father and as a teacher at the same time. Because I'm meeting children and teaching from different families then I come to mine. Then I see the difference. I try to weigh the ways I'm bringing up those many and these few here in my house, and how I should. Why should I consider these ones more politely than those ones? Why should I do that?

158: EM: So which helped you change bringing up your own or bringing up the others?

159: K: Both of them.

160: EM: Both of them?

161: K: Yeah.

162: EM: And the changes are for the better?

163: K: They have contributed to my change a great deal yeah.

164: EM: And you, you, are no longer harsh, you are softer, more gentle.

165: K: I'm no longer harsh. I'm softer and I have believed in guidance and counselling.

166: EM: You discuss thing....

167: K: (Interrupting) A lot.

168: EM: Just discuss?

169: K: And let me get the idea; I mean let me get...

170: EM: (Interrupting) You get their opinion?

171: K: The opinion of the child. "Why do you do this? Do you think this is right?"

172: EM: Are there times when you have taken the opinions of your children; or do you always have the final word?

173: K: Yeah sometimes...

174: EM: (Interrupting) you always have the final word?

175: K: Pardon?

176: EM: You always have the final word?

177: K: Me?

178: EM: Yes.

179: K: No.

- 180: EM: No, ok. Yeah because I was talking to another father and he said he always has the final word....
- 181: K: No, no, no.
- 182: EM: (Interrupting) because he is always right
- 183: K: To me, my children or the children there can tell me and if I feel it is the right thing that is what I do.
- 184: EM: That's what you do?
- 185: K: Yeah, it is what I do. A child can also have a final word. It's a human being.
- 186: EM: But then, when it comes to issues of discipline mmm, you may you may listen to a child. But when it is of serious, I don't know whether you have had big issues of discipline or conflict between you and your children, your own son and daughter. I don't know whether you have. If you have, how have you handled these?
- 187: K: Now with my own children I've never had big issues of discipline.
- 188: EM: Conflict, conflict?
- 189: K: Ah, no.
- 190: EM: No, but then discipline itself, how have you implemented discipline, for you to be able to get to a point where you don't have any conflicts with them?
- 191: K: With my children or at school?
- 192: EM: With your children, with your children.
- 193: K: With my children, I think I started this counselling early.
- 194: EM: Early?
- 195: K: Very early, as early as they started knowing, as early as they started helping me in the house.
- 196: EM: Now when you say counselling, maybe you can explain a little to me what you mean. What do you mean by counselling in this sense, guidance and counselling in this sense as far as your children are concerned?
- 197: K: If a child for example does something wrong, instead of punishing, I should sit and find out; I ask her or him, "Why have you done this? And do you think this is the right thing?" That is discussions let me say, discussion in a way to get conclusions. So I sit with them, I ask, if it is one I sit with her. If it a boy I sit with him. I ask questions, he answers and that's the only way I think.
- 198: EM: And as from there....
- 199: K: (Interrupts) And in the end I advise him.

200: EM: You talk about the right thing?

201: K: Yeah.

202: EM: So you don't punish them much?

203: K: No I don't do that.

204: EM: But you said you used to be, when you said you used to be harsh, were you punishing them a lot?

205: K: At school? Yeah it was at....

206: EM: (Interrupts) you said you were harsh more at school than here.

207: K: Yeah, yeah. I was punishing, in fact I kept a cane. There was a cane behind there, behind the door and another one behind there and they knew. There was a cane behind there, if you play, but then they were younger.

208: EM: How young? Can you remember when you last used a cane?

209: K: From five years five, six, seven, eight up to nine.

210: EM: So from the age of nine you have hardly....

211: K: (Interrupts) they were disciplined and I could see...

212: EM: (Interrupts) they were disciplined and then you used a lot of reasoning.

213: K: Yeah.

214: EM: You talked and you discussed issues.

215: K: I talk and discuss and then resolve yeah.

216: EM: Ok, ok, ok. Now if I ask you, how would you describe you relationship with your son and also your relationship with your daughter? How would you describe it?

217: K: Ah, it's good. The relationship is good, both of them. Very good in fact yeah.

218: EM: What makes it good or very good?

219: K: Eh, the way they behave, honestly, the way they respect me. They behave you know when I come in for example you know I sit here. You find everybody moving around, to find water to drink....

220: EM: (Interrupts) They don't run away....

221: K: (Interrupts) they bring water, they, some of them take my shoes.

222: EM: The way they met you on the way, carry your things....

223: K: Yeah. The way they met me, you find some of them running, everybody wanting to carry something at least from me even if it's a key yeah.

224: EM: They don't fear daddy?

225: K: Yeah, they don't fear.

- 226: EM: They don't fear daddy.
- 227: K: They like seeing me. In fact I know from this moment probably they were really expecting me yeah.
- 228: EM: So that's why when they saw you they came running?
- 229: K: Yeah.
- 230: EM: Ok. Now, it is good and they think it is good. And you contributed a lot to that. I don't know what you think about when they go outside there. You know, the way you've taught them, how does that influence their time outside there, do you think away from home? Ah, I know I'd get that from them that from them looking at that yourself.
- 231: K: Because I've not heard any... any... any issue, burning issue from them or from other people outside, I feel they are ok. Yeah, they've not, I've not heard any case, any serious case of the boy or the girl even when in secondary school. In fact, that is where children really misbehave. But when I went to school sometimes I used to sit with teachers and discuss about if it is Emanuel or if it is Christine, sit and discuss with teachers. And the only tell me you know you're children are ok. They're very very ok.
- 232: EM: So really you haven't heard any serious disciplinary issues at home or outside there?
- 233: K: I haven't had any I haven't had any here or outside there no, no. In fact I have I have a strong belief that they are disciplined children yeah. I normally tell them to stand on their principles because what makes one misbehave is lack, is to be unprincipled. When you don't have principles you are told by somebody, "let us do this," and you do. So they have principles; that's what I normally stress.
- 234: EM: So that is the way you have prepared them to meet the world out there?
- 235: K: Yeah, yeah, yeah.
- 236: EM: Maybe you can talk a little more about that; the preparing them for the world outside there. You know I mean they are big now like....
- 237: K: (Interrupts) Yeah I talk to them.
- 238: EM: Your daughter is 20 and your son is 18. You know, what kind of thing, how long have you prepared them for the life out there?
- 239: K: Me I just tell them. First of all they should look at the way I was brought up. I tell them the difference. They see how I was brought up and the way we live. I was brought up in a very poor way.

240: EM: Poor way....

241: K: Yeah, my father was, my father was poor.

242: EM: You were brought up in economic hardship.

243: K: Not earning much, yeah economically.

244: EM: Economic poverty.

245: K: So I normally tell them to be careful, so that I was striving to live a better life than the one I had in my father's home and this is what they're seeing. Though I'm not saying I'm well off, but am better, I'm better off compared to how we lived. And I'm telling them now, "I'm expecting you to be better than me."

246: EM: How will they be better?

247: K: By learning, by learning.

248: EM: What kind of things do you want them to do to be better than you are, or maybe....

249: K: To be serious in their studies. Being serious with their studies at school. Taking matters seriously, so that, at any time one day they'll become, we shall become old and they will be responsible for their own families. So they should not expect me at that time again to be caring for them yeah.

250: EM: So for you is like you are investing in their education because you're telling them your education is what....

251: K: (Interrupting) yeah, what...

252: EM: (Interrupting) what is going to help them to be better people?

253: K: Yeah, what is going to help them, yeah.

254: EM: What else? Do they work at home? Do you encourage them to work? Do they....

255: K: When working at home, you know here in my house, there is no boy, there is no girl. If it is the day for a boy to cook he will be cooking others will be in the 'shamba' (garden.)

256: EM: Do you go to the kitchen with them do you also cook?

257: K: Me I also cook.

258: EM: You also cook?

259: K: Yeah!

260: EM: You are actually teaching by example.

261: K: Me I cook, I wash clothes, I iron. I do everything. In fact we exchange. If you come here I think most of the people will be saying I'm overtaken by my wife. But that is not how I, I feel.

262: EM: Is that the African way of looking at these things?

263: K: It's more comfortably when we work that way but our children have seen.

264: EM: But that is not the African men's way of looking at things?

265: K: Yeah, yeah.

266: EM: As you say they'll tell you are you're ruled by your wife.

267: K: Yeah but we help one another.

268: EM: You're actually moving away from the culture aren't you?

269: K: Yeah, I'm moving away from the culture.

270: EM: And saying, I don't know whether in your tribe this is so but I know in many other places men don't cook.

271: K: Men don't cook yeah.

272: EM: Men will not wash clothes; will not even make a cup of tea for themselves. But you're saying you do all these things?

273: K: I do everything, we exchange. If she goes this way, I go this way. She goes that way I go until such time when it is time to go and rest. You know even there was a sister who came here a Nigerian sister. She was here for a mission. She came here at one time and found me ironing. She came on a Sunday and found me ironing the other Sunday again after sometime. She came on a Sunday again and she found me ironing. And she told me, "You don't look like Kenyan men." "Why?" "No, most Kenyan men don't help their families that way." Especially the Luhyas, the Kikuyus, they don't consider wives as people who should answer anything in front of them or tell them anything.

274: EM: Yeah, that's true, that's true.

275: K: So I, I am the opposite. If it is a question of working in the kitchen, I work. Even if it is washing clothes. I find my wife is, is, is, is, is caught up by time somewhere, I continue.

276: EM: So so, your children have heard not just what you've told them but they've seen the example.

277: K: They've seen by actions.

278: EM: They are seeing the examples, through your actions.

279: K: I believe in teaching by actions.

280: EM: Teaching by actions living your living your life for them as an example.

281: K: Yeah.

282: EM: And then that tends to make the children feel they can draw from your confidence and from you strength isn't it?

283: K: Yeah

284: EM: Because you see daddy does this and he still is a man. He still is a respected man who is, so it will be ok for me even a son to do that. And eh and I won't feel it's not going to be difficult for me to be a son because my father....

285: K: (interrupts) Also does.

286: EM: That's a very good thing. As you say not, I mean in the African setting as such sometimes this is not the kind of thing you see.

287: K: It's not.

288: EM: It's not the kind of thing you see. I was thinking maybe it's something that is done but you say it's not what everybody does. It's what you do yourself.

289: K: Ah me I do it.

290: EM: It's moving away from the usual.

291: K: From the, the, the cultural belief yeah. I normally take time to help my wife as much as possible and she's even used. There's at one time I was telling her, "wait for your tractor to come" (both laugh) "to finish your...."

292: EM: You're the tractor (laughter).

293: K: Yeah, I was telling her "I'm your tractor. If I come...."

294: EM: (interrupting) You come and do the heavy things.

295: K: "I clear whatever is left or whatever is impossible to you. I will clear it." Yeah as I joke.

296: EM: So you work in the 'shamba' and you work in the house.

297: K: We work yeah; there is no time you will find us quarrelling. We avoid that as much as possible in front of the children.

298: EM: I've just been observing since I came and I realized you know it's you look, you look and listen and I've noted that you know with the children, you seem to be very willing to help.

299: K: Yeah I am.

300: EM: Ok, no the children themselves seem to be very willing to help.

301: K: Yeah, yeah they are they are because and even our programmes are. I don't know, I don't know what word I shall use, but when they go as they come when one, we know for example in the morning when we wake up, you know there's waking up, there's

milk for milking.

302: EM: You have cows?

303: K: Yeah I have cows down there. I have those traditional heiffers. There are some which stay here and there are some which should be, those small ones we carry them we put them in a room down there so they will not be attacked by those wild animals. You know, when I wake my wife knows. Me I wake up, I brush my teeth, I go down there to open the gate for milking. I prepare, I clean all that area, here she's winding up. She's boiling the water; she will come to me. Immediately she comes there, she'll find me I have tied the cows; I have set the cows in a way to be milked I am now clearing that eh, eh

304: EM: The 'boma'

305: K: The 'boma'. When we finish, there I know, it's my duty to now go and get the dog and send it to the 'shamba.' She knows after me coming this way, she has picked the chickens, she has put them up down there, she's opening there. I am taking care of the tea. She has left water there I'm preparing tea now. When she comes back I have finished the tea and we now sit together and take tea in the morning.

306: EM: Before you go to school? So all this is done before you go to school?

307: K: We go, before we go to school and everything is done.

308: EM: Is she a teacher also?

309: K: She's also a teacher; she's also there.

310: EM: Ok. So you are you are all going; there's nobody being left behind?

311: K: We are all going; we are closing the door.

312: EM: You close the door and you come back....

313: K: Until the last one goes, and simply because they are provided with meals there at school. They don't come back for lunch. So we, we, we, we shut the door.

314: EM: You have breakfast together, then you come back in the evening?

315: K: Yeah.

316: EM: And then do all the evening work together?

317: K: All the evening work and then together. Though we have a man who looks after the cows. That's what makes her come back for lunch because we feel that man also should be fed; we feed him properly. We told him when come in the morning make sure you come here eat whatever you are eating. We sit with him in the morning. He eats with us and I hear at times theirs is no much food left to eat in the morning. "Let

us give this man because he's looking after the cows."

318: EM: Yeah. And then that shows the children how to respect even those who are not as privileged as they are?

319: K: Yeah, yeah, yeah.

320: EM: Which is something they're, which doesn't happen in many homes. I mean, the people who work and help in the homes will not be very well treated.

321: K: You see and that's what I told them even at a time I told them, "even if if you find a shirt or a jacket that you are not putting it on, take it to this man. You see the other time I gave him a shirt; I gave him a trouser." Yeah, so my boy another time my boy came with a jacket and says, "I was thinking, I give this jacket to this old man," you know. And this old man really loves the boy. He has asked me outside here, "did you see Mugaiva?" when we went there. I told him "yes." "What did he say?" "He was asking, he was also asking about you." Now he's very comfortable with us. We make sure we feed him properly and my wife says, "I can not stay there for lunch, while this man is hungry here. I must come and cook for him, eat something," then she goes back to school. Hata kama tunaona (even if we notice) there is not much food, but we shall make sure at least for him there is something.

322: EM: There is something yeah. And that is very good; to help is very good because it is helping the children...

323: K: (Interrupts) To learn how to respect.

324: EM: To learn to respect and fit and no wonder you don't have complaints in the community and in the school because they have learned to respect others.

325: K: Yeah.

326: EM: As you say, sometimes children don't have authority because they have no, I mean don't respect authority because they have never been shown how to respect authority. Or even they don't respect other people because they've not been shown how to respect other people in the family. You know many times our children are the product of what you, we do.

327: K: In fact, I've given them several examples. You know here in this village I'm the chairman of various groups. Wherever I go there, "this is our chairman," or our secretary, our chairman, secretary. I'm the secretary of the village Development Committee. I'm the Chairman of of eh the Road Construction Committee. I'm the Chairman of theses burial....

328: EM: (interrupts) Committee?

329: K: Issues. I'm also the Chairman of another sub branch of the Burial Committee, which is in charge of this wood for burial. Eh we buy pieces of wood and store.

330: EM: Firewood?

331: K: No, the, the, the, the planks of wood.

332: EM: Ok, the ones you use for lowering.

333: K: (interrupts) You use for lowering and for making the coffin. We buy them and keep them in a certain place so that if death occurs, we take them easily instead of going through difficulties.

334: EM: Or you can make a coffin easily.

335: K: Yeah, or you can make it easily. So I'm the Chairman of that group as well. There are some who there, some who have said they are not joining, but I'm seeing now the number is getting larger and larger. So when we go to church also, I'm the Secretary of the Church Council. When we go to school I was the delegate of the teachers' cooperative. Now to some extent, even there was a time the parents went there and said they wanted me to be the headmaster of the school but I refused. I told the AEO(I guessed Area Education Officer) no. It is too much. In the village there I'm needed and at the school I'm needed. So long as I'm the deputy, and the deputy is everything. I'm the discipline master, I'm the storekeeper, I'm the teacher, and what. I'm so many things, so I said, "I prefer to remain as the deputy rather than becoming a headmaster. Because if I become a headmaster, I shall not manage everything I am doing this time. I'm just, I'm glad that my people still allowed me if I say something they will come out and support me.

336: In fact there was a time somebody else, the Councillor here was saying that I was campaigning and yet I have no such intentions.

337: EM: You have no interest in politics?

338: K: Ah, not in, in fact I do not like being a Councillor or anybody. I just like....

339: EM: (interrupts) Serving the people.

340: K: Serving them, calling them "let us do this." Like this, with this bridge, it is me who has mobilized them to build it. This is the third one. We made the first one, it was swept away, and the second one was swept. The other time I told them, "let us make this one and see if it will," and now we're waiting for the rain. If it's swept again we'll make....

341: EM: (Interrupts) They make another one.

342: K: And wonderfully enough they wait for me to say let us come, let us do this, let us do this and then they come. And my children have seen how all these things are happening. And I at times tell them you also come up come up; when you see others coming, also come. So we are together then they see Mr. Kiriva's children were there.

343: EM: Oh, when you go for the meetings?

344: K: When I go for these for the work, communal work.

345: EM: Ok, you work with them?

346: K: Yeah.

347: EM: They come and work with you?

348: K: I tell them to come so that others also will be ashamed.

349: EM: The other children?

350: K: Yeah.

351: EM: Because there are the youth of this age some of them try to say no, that is not our work.

352: K: Not our work; our parents should be doing that. But if they are told my children were, are there of that age and I tell the parents now you see my children are there, what about yours? Why don't you tell them to come? The other time eh, the next time you see them coming

353: EM: And they learn to value the community as well.

354: K: Yeah, they learn to value the community. And I teach them now this is what we're doing. Tomorrow it is you who'll be doing it. So make sure you're learning from us. And I tell the parents' make sure you bring your children here so that they learn from what we're doing. Tomorrow it is them who will be doing this.

355: EM: You won't be there tomorrow?

356: K: And unfortunately for us, we were not allowed those days to go to such communal work.

357: EM: Only parents?

358: K: Only parents and someone under age was not allowed to go there even in burial issues, ceremonies you find we were not allowed. The youth were not allowed to go because there's

359: EM: (Interrupts) So how were you expected to learn about how to do these things then?

- 360: K: Ah, I came to learn how to do these things very late when I got married in fact in the eighties. That's when I, I started attending. They say you start going there immediately you are married. So that's when I started attending the funeral ceremonies. I learned that. But then these days it is changing, both of the committees we are the committee members. We educate them we tell, let us make our youth, the boys and girls participate in the activities particularly the boys who I normally stress, on the boys. Because they are the stakeholders of the community. The boys will grow and they are the ones who will remain here. Girls can get married elsewhere. Like you, you are in Uganda now (he laughs) traditionally.
- 361: EM: Yeah, that's true that's true.
- 362: K: So I stress to them that make the boys participate as much as possible now.
- 363: EM: But you know even training the girls they will go and participate where they go.
- 364: K: Yeah ah, we train. Yeah it is ok.
- 365: EM: Yeah, you you help them so that then they go where they go. They also realize yeah you can also participate where you go.
- 366: K: What I normally say is that if a boy doesn't come let the girl come. If a boy doesn't come let the girl come. But if possible let the boys come.
- 367: EM: The boys come or both of them come.
- 368: K: Yeah.
- 369: EM: Fine. So, I think this is good because it helps us really see not only you, I mean it's you, you looking at your father realizing he was never a good example and you want to be a good different example. But also, you've been influenced by our religion then also looking at your culture and realizing there are things that are not really probably the very best. So you're moving away from that, and bringing up your children to something different and yet helping them be to be good people all round.
- 370: K: Yes.
- 371: EM: You know disciplined, they've learned from what you've told them they've learned from examples you work with them. And eh and also on the area of disciplining them and eh probably that's why you find that they have not had problems because they've learned. They learned as you say they respect you so because they respect you then they'll learn to respect other people there.
- 372: K: Yeah.
- 373: EM: And they probably won't, they'll end up by not having any problems out there.

374: K: Yeah.

375: EM: Because they've learned.

376: K: You're right. That's what in fact I've realized. Yeah anytime and they have not brought any problems to me so far.

377: EM: Where did your daughter go to school?

378: K: She went to Mari.

379: EM: Mari, ok.

380: K: Mari Girls then after that I sent her to Dima College in Nairobi for these computer packages. She completed them. Now we are looking for a place because she has a certificate now in computerized secretarial. But I think it would have been better if she took a course in Information Technology, Diploma in Information Technology.

381: EM: Yeah and then you look for a job for her anywhere not necessarily around home?

382: K: No, anywhere.

383: EM: Where there is a job yeah.

384: K: And of course in such, in the profession she's taking we don't have computers here. Obviously she will have to stay in towns.

385: EM: But then again she's prepared for that.

386: K: Yeah she is.

387: EM: From the kind of bringing up you've brought her, she's prepared to be able to do that.

388: K: Yeah she's prepared, really prepared yeah.

389: EM: Ok, so this has been good. It's good to find out, I mean even, even though you've lived all your life in the rural areas.

390: K: I was born here; learned my primary school down there. Then I went to Machakos Teachers College. Then I came back here.

391: EM: So how long have you taught? How many years?

392: K: Ah I've taught for many years now.

393: EM: From when?

394: K: I've taught for, for now, I started teaching as a UT (untrained teacher) in 1973.

395: EM: Ok, that's 29 years.

396: K: Yeah 29 years. You are right.

397: EM: Yeah it's 29 years. I know because my daughter is 29 and was born in '73.

398: K: So 29 years.

399: EM: That's a long time.

- 400: K: I'm about to retire in four years time, God willing.
- 401: EM: You'll be 55 in four years?
- 402: K: Umm.
- 403: EM: Oh yeah, you said you were born in fifty....
- 404: K: (Interrupts) Fifty three, 51, 1951.
- 405: EM: Fifty one.
- 406: K: 1951, 3rd March. So 51 and '02, can't you see that is very little left?
- 407: EM: Yeah it is, it's not that long.
- 408: K: That's why I'm stressing they learn seriously in the remaining years so that as soon as I retire they should be working. God willing.
- 409: EM: Yeah God willing. So that is good. And I just say thank you so much for sharing that and wanting me to come all this way and allowing me to come and interview you and your family. Thank you. I appreciate this very much.
- 410: K: Thank you also very much.

INTERVIEW WITH MGHOI

- 3: EM: We, we have earlier today talked to Mr. Kiriva and I want to introduce his daughter uh Mghoi. She's going to tell us a little bit about herself. She'll tell us how, her age eh religious background and level of education, what she's doing and then she'll explain to us a little more about her relationship with her own father.
- 4: M: My name is Mghoi. I'm 21 years old um I'm a Catholic I'm a catholic Christian. I believe in Catholic and I've been studying since my childhood when I was six years old. In primary school I finished in 1996, I joined a secondary school, Mari Girls High School, and I finished in 2000 having a minimum grade of C+. Then (pause) I tried many applications trying to get a college in order to pursue my future career in which I was planning to become a lawyer but I was unable. So this year I managed to join a private college at Nairobi and did seven computer packages. That's what I am doing now and that's the only certificate I have up to now yeah.
- 5: EM: Now, Mghoi you have been through school up to that level and um before even you say something about um your relationship with you father or the way you think your father has brought you up, you've lived in the rural areas completely. Are there other

girls who have gone to school and gone on even as much as you have? There are, are there many?

6: M: Yeah, not many. It depends on their ability to perform during the primary level exams that is KCPE (Kenya certificate of primary education). But many of them don't do well so they do not join secondary schools as much. There are few of us an example of; of in my village we joined only three girls to the secondary school. That is the provincial and then others I don't know how many joined only the district level schools and the others were just left out.

7: EM: Ok. You are not too many?

8: M: Yes.

9: EM: Ok. Now tell us Mghoi, how would you describe the way your father has brought you up? What stands out clearly about the way your father has brought you up?

10: M: Only, to say that, to be sincere on how my father has brought me up I can describe him as very much caring 'cause when there is problem and I try to explain it to him, he just tries to sort out the problem in as much as his ability can allow him yeah.

11: EM: Now that is only in the area of solving problems. You know bringing up is more than just solving problems? What about in other ways? Can you tell us how you, how he has brought you up? What are some of the things that he has done for you, done to help you become the person you are now?

12: M: I'll say in behaving he is very much strict when how someone behaves. And if for example when I was young I happen to make a mistake, he'd actually punish me.

13: EM: How?

14: M: Beating and as I was growing up he stopped beating and started counselling me by talking to me face to face.

15: EM: You talk?

16: M: Yes.

17: EM: You talk a lot?

18: M: Yes.

19: EM: You discuss things with your father?

20: M: Yeah.

21: EM: Now when you talk to him, did your father give you the opportunity to say what you felt what you thought?

22: M: Yeah.

- 23: EM: Hmm so you discussed things with him? You talk about them?
- 24: M: Yeah I discuss.
- 25: EM: Hmm ok and um other than just discussing things with you, how else has your father taught you or, or helped you grow up without; we don't want to look at this as just teaching you and thinking of growing up to be the lady you are? How else?
- 26: M: Actually how because I can't understand it (pause). I've not know him to be a... (pause) I don't know how to put it but he is actually caring because since I was young he, he clothed me he gave me food. There's no day I can say that I slept without food. He gave me education and he's still giving me. He's very much concerned with what I'm doing. Actually in all areas; when I'm sick he's very much concerned he takes me to hospital yeah.
- 27: EM: He's concerned. He has talked to you. Um are there things you have learned from him in any other ways other than just what he has taught you?
- 28: M: Learned from him?
- 29: EM: Hmm.
- 30: M: Yeah like being courageous and talking what you feel like not hiding what is in your heart or how you feel. When you're not happy with something, which is going on, just say it whether you're talking to someone or someone has done something bad to you or that somebody is asking you to do something, which is not good. You just tell him straightforward not keeping anything in heart.
- 31: EM: You have learned...
- 32: M: (Interrupting) just be open.
- 33: EM: You have learned to do that from watching your father do that?
- 34: M: Yeah, yeah.
- 35: EM: He does that?
- 36: M: He does that.
- 37: EM: So you have learned from him from observation by watching what he's doing?
- 38: M: Yes.
- 39: EM: Ok, so any other way? Something else that you have learned, things he has not told you and yet you have learned from him? You learned to be courageous and say what is in your mind from watching him.
- 40: M: Yeah. Being hardworking and be ready to, to work hard especially, especially in studies by you know he gives me examples. He does not say, "I want you to be like

this, like this and that.” He just tells me, “you know like me I did this I did this when I was in school, I worked hard. There were times when things went down but I did not give up.” I don’t know what. That gives me courage on my own and I decided I want to study hard.

41: EM: He encourages you?

42: M: Yeah.

43: EM: Ok. By talking to you?

44: M: Yeah.

45: EM: Ok. So you observe him when he’s working hard, you are like you, you observe him? You’ve, you’ve learned from that? He has encouraged you. He has given you examples. He lives as an example to you also himself?

46: M: Yeah.

47: EM: Is it just in, in working hard and in being courageous or, is there any other way he has lived like as, as an example to you?

48: M: Also in religion. He goes to church every Sunday. Us here when we, we finish our duties for the day when we want to go to sleep, we have prayers small prayers. We pray together and that gives me courage and I’ve got that example from him so that even when I’m not around, even when he’s not around when I’m in another place I have to do what we do. I pray whether I am alone. When I go to people who don’t bother to pray at night, I have to pray (pause) in the morning. So I get that example from him.

49: EM: Like you and the rest of the family?

50: M: Hmm.

51: EM: Ok um any other things that you’ve learned from him?

52: M: (Long pause) Having eh... what will I call it (long pause) clarity of vision I can say. Not to be thinking just around. You have to be thinking ahead. Like now I have to be thinking about my future. Ok I did those computer packages from March to August. In August I had got a nini a certificate. So I came here and told him, “dad I’ve don’t this and that now I have a certificate.” So he told me, “ok now what we are going to do now, nowadays you have to have someone ahead of you to help you in order to get a job because if you try to do applications, you try to post non refundable money in order to get chances of going there with good money. But when you have somebody to help you, then you can go ahead.” So he told me, “Ok now I have to talk to my

friends whom I know so that when I ask for an assistance. But now I'd like you to go back that is to Nairobi and join a typing course so that you can gain speed in dealing with that with that keyboard of the computer." I told him, "ok," then I went back. But as I went back and joined that class, I can actually say truly that I left that class without finishing 'cause I entered there. The, the voice of the teaching, I just analysed them and found out that they were nor training with a computer keyboard because I joined the manual typing. I did not join the Mavis Vehicle Packages of dealing with the keyboard. In order to improve typing speed.

53:M So I just made up my mind and started (clicks tchs this is how it is written in newspaper cartoons) asking for assistance from various people. Actually I did ask assistance from my lecturers in the college and they told me that I could join the same college but pursue a Diploma in Information Technology. That way I could learn much because I have got more interest in discovering what is more in this computer. So they told me what we' will feature you more to be a prospering person in discovering what is those computers you have to take this course. So I went to the reception asked for prospectus (pause) I decided with those lecturers but I decide now I have to go home and talked to my parents. They should know that I should not waste time here (pause) just trying to get a typing certificate, which I don't know when I will get because they say it depends on the speed of the student. It might take six months and that one would go up to next year.

54:M So I just made up mind and I thought it is better to start, to join for Diploma in Information Technology next year and continue for one year and get a diploma instead of saying that I will continue with that typing because I was told to get a typing speed until next year, and I'm not sure whether I will get that certificate after six months yeah.

55: EM: So that is something...

56: M: (Interrupting) That was another feature.

57: EM: That helped you?

58: M: Yeah.

59: EM: Which also helped you to...

60: M: (Interrupting) Think think.

61: EM: Think ahead and plan ahead for yourself?

62: M: To think ahead yeah, yeah.

63: EM: In other words, it has helped you to think for yourself?

64: M: Yeah, yeah.

65: EM: You don't have to wait for him to do the thinking for you?

66: M: Yes actually.

67: EM: Ok, ok. When you, when you look at the way dad has brought you up, would you say there is a difference between the way he talks to you, yourself and the way he helps out your brother?

68: M: No. I can say no completely say no because many a times when he's advising me he advises me with my brother.

69: EM: He sits you together?

70: M: Yeah.

71: EM: And he tell you to do things together?

72: M: Yeah.

73: EM: So he doesn't discriminate?

74: M: No.

75: EM: You don't feel like there are things he does for you he doesn't do for your brother or things he does for your brother he doesn't do for you or things he does with you that he doesn't do with your brother?

76: M: I can't say so.

77: EM: You can't say so?

78: M: Because actually, when I told him I want to pursue a Diploma in Information Technology, he told me that it was right. As well as he has told me my brother is pursuing a Diploma in Electronic Engineering. So he says that he doesn't want anyone of us to just finish or stays with those certificates. We should be competing for higher grades for better future yeah.

79: EM: You don't feel like he favours any of you, your brother is favoured because he's just the only boy?

80: M: No, no.

81: EM: No?

82: M: I can't say so.

83: EM: You can't say so.

84: M: Yeah.

- 85: EM: Ok, now when you look at your relationship with your father, how would you describe it?
- 86: M: (Long pause) A relationship with my father, it is certainly a child to parent relationship. I don't know how to describe.
- 87: EM: Yeah. How would you describe it? Do you say it is good, it is fair, it is bad, it is what?
- 88: M: It is very good.
- 89: EM: Very good? What makes you say that?
- 90: M: Because he doesn't favour me. I can't say he doesn't unfavour me; he does not unfavour me. He favours us equally.
- 91: EM: He favours you equally?
- 92: M: Yeah.
- 93: EM: What else, what else makes it a good relationship?
- 94: M: He values my education he values my future.
- 95: EM: What about you as a person? He's valuing your education and future. What about you as a person, does he value you as a person?
- 96: M: Yes, he values me as a person because he's very much troubled of how my future is going to be. So I can say that he's very much caring.
- 97: EM: What if you did not make it, would he value you? Do you think he would? I mean would he value you whether you have not done so well? Because the way you are putting it is like he only values you because you are doing something good?
- 98: M: I think he'd value me the same because I cannot say that when I was in school I used to do that much well (stammers) all the time. I had I was... there was a time when I used to drop; there was a time I used to go up. But when I used to go to drop, he used to advise me and say, "ok, pull up your socks next time, work hard so that you get good marks." He did not just become furious and leave me like that. He encouraged me.
- 99: EM: Do you think your dad loves you?
- 100: M: Yes.
- 101: EM: Does he tell you?
- 102: M: (Speaking softly) No, he's not; I can't say that he's told me that way but I see it through actions.
- 103: EM: The way he does things?

104: M: Yeah.

105: EM: Providing for you? Would you want him to tell you?

106: M: He doesn't have to tell me 'cause I've seen it.

107: EM: No, no, no, no, no (Mghoi laughs loudly) don't be shy about it. Don't be shy about this.

108: M: Yeah.

109: EM: You want him to tell you that, I mean just tell you. You know Mghoi...

110: (tape [side a] ends)

111:

112: EM: I, I had just asked you if you think your father loves you and you said yes. But I, and then I asked you has he ever told you that he loved you? Just using the words 'I love you.'

113: M: No.

114: EM: Those three words 'I love you.' Has he ever used them?

115: M: No.

116: EM: Would you want him, have you ever wished he just told you?

117: M: No, I've never thought of that.

118: EM: Really?

119: M: Yes.

120: EM: Because you have always felt, you have always felt that he loves you.

121: M: (Softly) Yeah.

122: EM: Ok, how else is his love to you been demonstrated? How has he demonstrated his love to you?

123: M: By being what can I say, he's responsible, he's caring yeah.

124: EM: Ok, ok. He's responsible and caring and you feel he's provided for you, so that makes you feel that. That demonstrates it?

125: M: Yes.

126: EM: How much time do you spend with your father?

127: M: I cannot say. I cannot be really sure how much time I spend with him because he leaves in the morning, goes to work. We meet in the evening. In the evening we have quite a lot of duties to do then we share our meal together and we go to sleep.

128: EM: You always share a meal together?

129: M: Yes.

130: EM: Are there times when he spends his time just you and him alone either working?

131: M: Throughout the day?

132: EM: No, no not necessarily. For any time when you are working or something just you and him alone? Whether you are talking or working on something or going to a place just the two of you?

133: M: Yes.

134: EM: What, what, what kind of things have you done with dad when you're doing that?

135: M: A journey together.

136: EM: To?

137: M: Nairobi from here to Nairobi.

138: EM: You were going to Nairobi and he took you?

139: M: Yes.

140: EM: Or he just wanted to take you to Nairobi.

141: M: No, he took me to Nairobi.

142: EM: When you were going to school?

143: M: Yes.

144: EM: Ok, what did you think of that?

145: M: Actually how because it was good.

146: EM: What made it good? What made it good that you went to Nairobi with him?

147: M: I was confident that there was much security and that I was not to Nairobi ever before. I had confidence that there was security.

148: EM: You had never gone before?

149: M: Yeah.

150: EM: How would you have felt if he told you to go your brother will meet you the other side?

151: M: Woi Ngai (oh God). I would be worried.

152: EM: Ati woi Ngai (they laugh) you learnt from the Kikuyus.

153: M: I would have been worried.

154: EM: You would have been worried?

155: M: Yeah.

156: EM: So you felt that he provided security for you?

157: M: Yes.

158: EM: And that to you is important?

159: M: Yes.

160: EM: Have you felt that same when he's around?

161: M: Yes. Actually when he's not around I miss him a lot.

162: EM: You do?

163: M: Yes yeah.

164: EM: Why?

165: M: Just because I was raised with that and that I used to see him. When he was around there was enough security.

166: EM: But he's not away? Is he away often?

167: M: No not much.

168: EM: So whenever he's away you really miss him. Do you feel insecure when he's not a... when he's not here?

169: M: Actually when I was not used to be outside without him I used to feel very much insecure.

170: EM: Ok, ok. I can see that you say you had a very good, you are very close, you're relationship with him is good. Is that because you're a first-born?

171: M: (Long pause) I don't think so.

172: EM: Does he treat you exactly the same as your, your other sisters?

173: M: Yeah I see I see...

174: EM: (Interrupting) Or does he expect much from you as a first born than the others?

175: M: (Long pause) I don't know and I can't tell.

176: EM: Why?

177: M: (Pause) Because they see him, if, if he take us equally.

178: EM: (Interrupting) Yeah but you see, sometimes as a first born, you've been eh the parents may expect, parents normally expect a lot a lot of things from you. The standards of a first-born are very high. Has he expected the same of you? And is it exactly the same eh standards the way they, they expect the others, from the others?

179: M: I think they expect much from me because when he advises me here he actually tells me that, "you know your younger sisters look at your example how you set your example. So you should work hard; you should be well behaved so that they may also be as you are. They are copying your example as a first born."

180: EM: Do you feel like there are times when that put a lot of pressure on you (pause) to work hard?

181: M: I used to feel that way when I was young then I used not to understand why he was doing so. But as I grew up and I got that (pause) that person which he wanted me to be, he has not been (long pause) that much strict on me on how to behave.

182: EM: Ok. You, you are quite comfortable with that?

183: M: Yeah.

184: EM: Ok, ok. Now if I asked you in five words to tell me what your father is, how would you describe him? In five words. Ok I know you have already said he's very caring so that is one. What else would you use? What other four words would you use on your father?

185: M: Caring, hardworking, loving (pause)

186: EM: Two more.

187: M: Determined.

188: EM: Determined ok.

189: M: Responsible.

190: EM: Responsible?

191: M: Yes.

192: EM: Are those good qualities?

193: M: Yeah.

194: EM: Would you want to be like him?

195: M: Yes.

196: EM: What makes you want to be like him?

197: M: Because I would like to be responsible, determined, caring, loving and hardworking too.

198: EM: Ok. Now, there's no family where there are no problems? And in particular when you are growing up. Have you had your own share of problems with dad? I mean, any problem. Any time when, when you've had, any time when you've had a problem with dad, whether it is a misunderstanding or something else like that?

199: M: Yeah I can say there was a misunderstanding when I was in class eight but it concerned my behaviour. I had joined the wrong group and it misled me. He got the news and was very cross with me so he had to caution me by counselling me.

200: EM: How, how, how did you solve the misunderstanding?

201: M: He just advised me and told me to leave the bad group by telling me the consequences I would have got when I continued to have that relationship with those friends.

202: EM: Did you find that you wanted that counsel or you wanted to have your own way?

203: M: Actually at that time I wanted to have it my own way but after having my time on my own on that day, I just made up my mind to leave that group and I find that counselling a very good one.

204: EM: Is that the only time he has had a problem with you?

205: M: Yeah.

206: EM: Has there been others?

207: M: No.

208: EM: Or even sometimes when you can say it may not have been a big problem but you felt unhappy?

209: M: No, actually that was the time when I had felt unhappy but I came to realise that I was the one who had a mistake, yeah.

210: EM: You came to realise that you are the one who had a mistake when he helped you when he just talked to you...

211: M: Yeah.

212: EM: Ok, ok, ok. So then you can say you have really... if you were asked you say that you had a good relationship with your dad?

213: M: Hmm.

214: EM: It's always been good?

215: M: Hmm.

216: EM: If I asked you to, if you had an opportunity to share with other young people on the things that have helped you growing up to be the person you are, a person who can say I have a good relationship with my father, because there are not very many and I'm sure if you know your friends, you know many of them do not have a good relationship with their fathers, what would you tell them?

217: M: Actually I, I'm used to telling my friends and my younger ones about my experience with my dad. And many at times even when I was in high school, I used to give out the same, same example which I have given you know when I was in class eight and joined a bad company and then he counselled me. And I usually give out that example as much as possible because it is an experience, which I got, and you know they say experience is the best teacher yeah.

218: EM: But then, I mean, if you want them to have a good relationship with their parents what would you tell the young people? What would you tell them to do so they can have a good relationship with their parents the way your dad particularly and you do?

219: M: I would actually advise them to be obedient to their parents especially their fathers. When they are advised, they should take those advises very seriously and they should be hardworking because they know parents like their children to be hardworking. And if you're hardworking your relationship will obviously be good with your parents.

220: EM: Do you think young people should give their opinions?

221: M: Yeah.

222: EM: And what happens if their opinions are not taken?

223: M: Actually what I can say is that when one gives out an opinion and it's not taken you should not give up, yeah.

224: EM: Ok.

225: M: You should be determined.

226: EM: Are there times when dad has taken your opinion? (Pause) You give your opinion about something and he takes it?

227: M: Yeah. (Pause) I've given out an opinion and he has taken it.

228: EM: What did you feel? What do you feel when he has taken your opinions?

229: M: I feel happy.

230: EM: You feel encouraged?

231: M: Yes.

232: EM: You feel confident?

233: M: Yes.

234: EM: Now tell me, as we finish off this tell me, how has this relationship helped you um in your relationships with other people outside the home? Your relationship with dad, how has it helped you in the other relationships you have made outside?

235: M: Actually as I said here that he gave, he showed me how to be courageous, determined. As I've grown up I've met different kinds of people some of whom I don't know but I have courage to talk to them; like now I'm talking to you. I just have that courage to talk to you. It's because I, I learnt that courage from him.

236: EM: You learnt to be courageous from him?

237: M: Yeah.

238: EM: And it's because you were encouraged to talk?

239: M: No.

240: EM: About what you wanted or you just watched the way he did things and did it like him?

241: M: I can say I watched how he did things and how he talked to me yeah.

242: EM: Ok. So you, have you had problems with relationships outside, whether in school, with girls, with boys, with everybody, with teachers, other people?

243: M: I cannot say that life was (pause) that easy outside. There are times when I have difficulties with people outside.

244: EM: What kind of difficulties?

245: M: Because we are we are human beings...

246: EM: (Interrupting) what caused the difficulties between you and other people?

247: M: Just as when one is young you have difficulties and misunderstandings with others when playing outside. Just in class someone steals your property, denies it and yet you have the witness yeah.

248: EM: So how've you solved this?

249: M: Actually there are times when I used to call my dad. When I finished class eight, I called my dad because my book was stolen and I had to call him so that; I knew the boy who stole it. He changed the numbers and took it back to the staff room. I explained to the teacher, he said no it can't be. So I had to call my dad. He came and checked it himself; he found out and talked to the teacher and saw that it was true. So that problem was solved that way.

250: EM: What about when you are on your own? When he's not there for you to lean on and you have to you have to solve the problem?

251: M: Like when I was in high school?

252: EM: When daddy is not there, how do you solve your problems? How did you solve them?

253: M: I solved it solved it with the teachers. Like I remember in form two I had a friend of mine we had a misunderstanding. We were just good friends and then one day she decided to change. I don't know what she wanted to do to me. So I had to report her to the deputy and we solved it by her being punished.

254: EM: Ok, so you talked about it? You reported it?

255: M: Yeah.

256: EM: And then it was solved?

- 257: M: Yes.
- 258: EM: Ok, ok. Is it easy for you to make friends? Do you find it easy to make friends or choose friends?
- 259: M: No, choosing friends is hard. According to me it's hard because when you meet someone, you can you cannot say for sure whether this person is good or this person is bad.
- 260: EM: What do you look for in a friend?
- 261: M: (Pause) I look for a friend who is hardworking yeah.
- 262: EM: Would you go for someone like that?
- 263: M: No. I cannot says that they'll be they'll be...
- 264: EM: (Interrupting) That's what you have learnt that's what you have learnt from here, someone who is hardworking?
- 265: M: Yeah. Because since my primary education level, secondary, college I have been meeting students. So my friends have been students and I usually go for the hardworking students so that we can discuss problems.
- 266: EM: Ok, so you, you are really, actually going for people who are like you?
- 267: M: Yeah.
- 268: EM: People who you know you have an advantage from who will who will help you positively not negatively?
- 269: M: Yeah.
- 270: EM: Is that why, you say, you're actually doing what you learnt from home? A choice you learnt to make those kinds of choices because of what your dad helped you to do, how to be?
- 271: M: Yeah because he's the one who advised me to do so. He told me, "when you're choosing friends, you should choose friends who are hardworking, who mind about what you're gone to do. Let's say studies you should choose friends who you can discuss your studies your studies where you have problems. Not choosing friends because they're rich. Not choosing friends because, because of what they have and that. You just choose friends whom you can discuss things, which can give you better future.
- 272: EM: But then at the same time he also lived that example for you?
- 273: M: Yeah.

- 274: EM: What would you want to tell us as we wind this, any special something you want to say as we finish off?
- 275: M: What I can say I can only advise young people (pause) to have confidence with their parents especially their fathers. They should not discriminate their father. Whether they are discriminated or not, they should obey them.
- 276: EM: But isn't it very difficult to do that though, if your father does not want to have any, is not close to you? Isn't it isn't that quite difficult? When you say that to your friends don't they tell you you're just lucky because your father who has been good to you?
- 277: M: (Long pause) I don't know (pause) you can advise someone to be courageous. When times are too difficult, you can pray and things can change.
- 278: EM: Now your religion is your own not because your parents have taken you into it? It's a decision you have made yourself?
- 279: M: Yes.
- 280: EM: But influence by the fact that your parents have lived their faith their faith for you would you say that? They have given you an example but you've made a decision for yourself would you say that?
- 281: M: Hmm. I can say that I made that decision myself.
- 282: EM: Thank you very much. Anything else you would like to say?
- 283: M: No.
- 284: (tape recording ends.)

INTERVIEW WITH TIMOTHY

- 3:** EM: This morning we are going to meet Mr. Kiriva's son and I'm going to ask him to introduce himself, he'll tell us his name and eh his age and what eh he does at this point and then we'll pick it up from there.
- 4:** T: Ok my name is Timothy and my religious background I'm a pure Catholic in a Catholic environment and up to now I can't just change a religion. And in the education background, I schooled to my primary level and then to secondary level and now I'm doing a Diploma course at the Kenya Institute of Mass Communication called "Electronic Engineering" and I will finish the course in three years time. Right

now I'm a first year.

5: EM: Tell me, how old are you?

6: T: I am 19 years old.

7: EM: Timothy tell us something about how your father has brought you up.

8: T: My father has brought me up in eh a very good eh relationship with him. Eh although we had some few quarrels sometimes but (pause) he brought me up in a strict (pause) yeah I can call it a strict, a strict relationship with him. 'Cause other friends in the village maybe on Saturdays or during weekdays in the evening, they would go out just to play and come very late at home, while me I just stayed home, just um helping him just do some work at home. This is to say he couldn't let me just go playing around with other boys my age and come home very late such like they did.

9: EM: So did he ever give you the reason he didn't want you to go just, just go outside and play with your friends?

10: T: He didn't, he didn't give me the reasons much. But he just told me to help him do work at home yeah.

11: EM: But then looking at yourself now, having been brought up by your father working and looking at your friends, is there any difference between you and your friends who just went and did what they wanted when they wanted?

12: T: There is a difference because some performed very poorly in the examinations and some had a very bad character in the village; some started drinking at a very tender age jus... some were just smoking. While in my situation, I didn't get that time to, to go around and smoke and drink, drink alcohol at a tender age. So I can see there, there was a difference between me and them; right now I'm schooling at maybe I can call it, my age is different with them because some of them are still in their secondary schools at this level and some in fact my best friend finished primary just the other year. The ones that were going out smoking, they had to repeat some classes while me I just, just going, going on like that. I can say it was a good decision he made.

13: EM: So even though he was very strict, you are still happy he made that decision?

14: T: Yeah, I'm happy she, he made that decision.

15: EM: Now, when you look at yourself and the way you relate with your father, how would you call that relationship with your father?

16: T: My relationship with my father I'd say it was authoritative in the way I see it. He was strict but somehow he would come and tell me why he did so, why, why he was that

strict yeah.

- 17: EM:** Would he allow you to tell him what you feel? Did you ever discuss and say, “daddy this is what I feel; this is what I’d like to do?”
- 18: T:** You know I, I grew up fearing my father very much you know his voice is he had a very big voice. In fact when he’s quarrelling with you, you just you just can’t dare to start opposing him.
- 19: EM:** You say you grew up fearing your father. Do you still fear him even now?
- 20: T:** No for now I do not fear him.
- 21: EM:** When did you stop fearing him?
- 22: T:** When I just got into maybe I’d say (pause) secondary school.
- 23: EM:** Secondary school? So that’s about five years ago?
- 24: T:** Five years ago.
- 25: EM:** What made you change your attitude towards him and stop fearing him?
- 26: T:** He himself changed the, the attitude he had before; that attitude of when he’s talking I cannot oppose him. He brought our relationship such that I can also give my views what I’m feeling about the issue if it was a quarrel I’d also give, I’ll also chip in and give my views yeah.
- 27: EM:** So he actually initiated the change here because he begun allowing you to (pause) to give your opinion even though he didn’t take your opinion? Or did he take your opinion most of the time?
- 28: T:** Yeah, he used to take most of my opinions most of the time but not all the time.
- 29: EM:** Not all the time?
- 30: T:** Yeah.
- 31: EM:** And, because he changed his attitude then you found it easier to also change your attitude towards him and stop fearing him.
- 32: T:** Yeah, yeah yes.
- 33: EM:** Now, when he did that, did that did that make you feel like you didn’t have a reason to even fear him earlier on?
- 34: T:** No (pause). It made me feel maybe, I had maybe a reason to just fear him in the beginning because he did not give me chance to actually to just give, give my, my feelings about what the problem was maybe it could maybe if it was a quarrel yeah.
- 35: EM:** Now you said eh he told you to help him at home. What are the things that you have learned from him? You, things you saw him do or ways you, you, you saw him

behave that you have learned?

- 36: T:** I have learned one of the things is being punctual (pause) in any work that I'd do and eh being careful when doing any type of work.
- 37: EM:** He himself was punctual and careful?
- 38: T:** Yeah he was punctual and he was careful and another thing I'd say was the cleanliness, in any work you are doing, you should you should you should take it careful and make the place where you are doing the work clean.
- 39: EM:** Now, are you saying that you're father showed you these things by example? He did them and...
- 40: T:** (Interrupting) Yeah.
- 41: EM:** Then you followed them?
- 42: T:** He showed me by example
- 43: EM:** He didn't just tell you do this?
- 44: T:** No, no he did not just tell me do that, he'd first do it and then do it again then the other day he leaves he leaves it now for me to do.
- 45: EM:** Now what are some of the things he actually showed you how to do?
- 46: T:** Some of the things uh you know at home we have a cowshed, a zero grazing place. So sometimes at the evening we have to wash the cowshed where the, the cows (stammers) er had been eating around we had to wash it. So the first day he comes and removes the, the cow dung and we wash. The second days he leaves it for me now just I just help him (stammers) maybe to wash. He removes the cow dung then I wash, yeah.
- 47: EM:** Ok So when you look at yourself then and compare yourself with the young people of your age, and you know some of the things you do, (pause) how do you feel about yourself?
- 48: T:** Ok I'd say I don't feel much, maybe I'd say much different than them though there is some, some, some different some difference.
- 49: EM:** You don't feel like you have advantages there are things you know they don't know or you feel you've moved on because you had someone who helped you move on while they, they did their own thing?
- 50: T:** Ok I'd say I, I progressed because I'd someone who showed me the, the, the good ways yeah I'd say there is a difference between me and my friends of my age.
- 51: EM:** Now you say that um you are a Catholic and you can never change.

- 52: T:** Yeah, yeah.
- 53: EM:** Now is that part of your father's influence or is that a, to be a Catholic was that a decision you made for yourself or is it a decision that was imposed on you by your father?
- 54: T:** It was I'd say my father has contributed a lot for me for the faith I have about Catholics.
- 55: EM:** How?
- 56: T:** You see when, when I was young I couldn't even miss any ser... (stammers) service during Sundays. In fact when, when I decided not to on not go to church on Sundays, my father would quarrel me a lot. He'd tell me just to give him a very good reason why I could not go to church. So, it was like any Sunday, I could not miss any service of the church and I had to take part maybe in the in the service in the church service, yeah. That's what made me actually follow in that way.
- 57: EM:** But then when you have had that kind of a pressure from your parents, many young people of your age decide that they don't want to have anything to do with the religion of their parents.
- 58: T:** Yeah you see many parents of children my age were not just going to church. In fact (stammers) sometimes at school they just quarrel me why every time every time I had to go to church on Sunday. You see (stammers) they were not going to church on Sundays; they're just staying home and they laugh at me very much because I just stay at the church every Sunday.
- 59: EM:** But then I was saying that those who have been made to go to church, when they grow up they decided they are not going to go to church. But you have decided you are saying, "I can never change." What is it now that makes you say you can never change? Is it your own decision now? You have embraced this faith that much that you are saying you can never change.
- 60: T:** It is just my own decision I've made that I'll never want to change my religion from that faith.
- 61: EM:** So what begun as your father influencing you has now become your own faith?
- 62: T:** Yeah.
- 63: EM:** I am I'm going to be a Catholic I can never change because I want to be a Catholic for myself.
- 64: T:** Yeah.

- 65: EM:** Not for your parents anymore?
- 66: T:** No, no.
- 67: EM:** Ok, ok. That's very interesting (both chuckle). It's very interesting because very often we tend to think that eh young people always want to do something very different from what their parents have told them to do and em you know they want to do their own thing they want to rebel; they want to rebel from everything that is seen, seen to be good for their parents. But you have said, "I want this now for myself but I'm doing, I'm holding it because my father helped me get into it."
- 68: T:** Yeah, yes.
- 69: EM:** Ok, ok. Are there other things you've decided you will do for yourself now because of the influence that your father has given you?
- 70: T:** Um there are other things maybe I'd say like smoking. Smoking I said I've come to realize that smoking has no meaning. Smoking is just wasting money wasting in fact it is building diseases dis... (stammers) diseases in the body because of just smoking and this had come from the influence my, my father had.
- 71: EM:** But now you've decided you will do it. You've seen the value.
- 72: T:** I've seen the real value why my father was initiating that I should not smoke. There was a time in fact ... I started smoking when I was in standard eight. I would just steal some time and buy a cigarette and smoke and feel how it feels when someone is smoking. Then my father one time realized and he cautioned me very much, yeah.
- 73: EM:** And eh you stopped on your own?
- 74: T:** Yeah I just stopped on my own.
- 75: EM:** Are there other things that you do now because it's like your father has built them as values in you and you hold them as your own personal or you've chosen them as your personal values because of the way you're brought up; any thing else?
- 76: T:** Er (pause) I can't tell now. Eh something like um or maybe I'll say, "I'll just follow my father as he comes home." You know my father sometimes takes alcohol but he takes alcohol during special occasions like Christmas, Easter or when there's any function home maybe a party. So, I've also decided that I'll not be taking alcohol any howly; maybe I'll say on Friday I'll go out take alcohol with my friends no. I'll just do it occasionally like my father have, how, how he just did it. When we're with friends maybe there's a party I'll just take alcohol but to some to an extent. And maybe in Christmas or Easter I can just take alcohol, yeah.

- 77: EM:** But you realize also alcohol is also dangerous for the body just like cigarettes?
- 78: T:** Yeah.
- 79: EM:** And you never know where the borderline of, of, of beginning to take excess is?
- 80: T:** Yeah.
- 81: EM:** So there's a danger there. Yes you have said to do it in moderation, but moderation may, may become something more than moderation without your knowledge. So that's something you really need to think about.
- 82: T:** Ok.
- 83: EM:** You really need to think about and, and if particularly you're wanting to begin taking alcohol at your age. Ok, what has helped you make relationships outside with other people? Has the way you were brought up helped you form relationships outside and if so how?
- 84: T:** I would not say that m... (stammers) my father has anything to do with my relationships outside. Uh I just, I just do it by my own when I just decide to make friends. I just choose my friends.
- 85: EM:** How do you choose friends?
- 86: T:** Ok, maybe I'm seeing it comes automatically from the, from the, from the brain. I'll just look on the characteristics of, of someone then I find them that they may incorporate with mine and then I, I and then I just decided to make an attempt.
- 87: EM:** But you see, that is not just automatic. You're saying you look at the characteristics of the person so you're doing something before you make a relationship.
- 88: T:** Yeah.
- 89: EM:** Is your, is the way you look at those characteristics in any way influenced by the way your father brought you up?
- 90: T:** Ok I'd say, look, somehow it has influenced.
- 91: EM:** How?
- 92: T:** You see I used to make friends when I was at primary level and some friends just had bad behaviours in the village. So, when I made that friendship and my father realized, he'd just come and, and, and quarrel maybe me and tell me that, "I don't want to see you with that boy again, I don't want to see you with boy again," such like things.
- 93: EM:** And give a reason why he didn't want to see you with that boy again?
- 94: T:** Yeah, he gives me a reason. He tells me maybe his behaviour in the village is very bad; everyone is talking ill about his behaviour or such like things.

- 95: EM:** So then you realized you couldn't you couldn't. So that also influenced you in making choices that were good choices?
- 96: T:** Yeah.
- 97: EM:** It was again building the positive things from one's character behaviour in the village?
- 98: T:** Yeah, yes.
- 99: EM:** Ok, now have you found it difficult to make friends because of the person you have become?
- 100: T:** No. I've not found...
- 101: EM:** (Interrupting) For example your values, you see...
- 102: T:** (Interrupting) My?
- 103: EM:** Your values. Like now you've chosen you're not to smoke, you've chosen not to drink anyhowly. You've chosen also to look at the characteristics of other people. Has that made it difficult for you to make friends outside?
- 104: T:** No it has not made it difficult to make friends. Because sometimes I just make friends who, who are also who also smoke and some who also just take alcohol but I don't indulge myself in those characters... (stammers) in those such like things because of the way because of the way I was brought up.
- 105: EM:** What about the pressure they put on you?
- 106: T:** Ok sometimes they put a lot of pressure on me but when I see that they are starting to put a lot of pressure on me I just get away from them.
- 107: EM:** You actually break the friendships?
- 108: T:** I actually break the friendships.
- 109: EM:** So what you're saying is, you make friendships with anybody but when the pressure begins to come on you and you realize you're going to succumb to the pressure you choose to drop those friendships and make new ones?
- 110: T:** Yeah.
- 111: EM:** Ok. Do you have many lasting friends, long-term friends?
- 112: T:** Ok I have, I don't, I can't say I have long term friends because on during primary level I had friends and those friends right now we are not friends again; everybody has taken his ways. Secondary level I had a lot of friends even during the form four level I had a lot of friends but right now I've not seen them so those were the students we used to learn together.

- 113:** EM: Is that just because you are doing different things and you are away from home or....
- 114:** T: (Interrupting) Yeah I'd say it's because I was away from home and I'm not going back home (pause) frequently or often so we, I can't get time to just continue with the friendships.
- 115:** EM: Even writing?
- 116:** T: Yeah.
- 117:** EM: Now, you are living away from home now. Were you living away from home when you were in high school?
- 118:** T: Yeah I was living away from home in fact...
- 119:** EM: (Interrupting) where were you in school?
- 120:** T: I, I, I (stammering) was at Voi Secondary School. Yeah it was away from home.
- 121:** EM: Boarding?
- 122:** T: Yeah, it was boarding.
- 123:** EM: And this time you're staying in school or you're staying with relatives?
- 124:** T: This time I'm staying in school; it's boarding
- 125:** EM: In school, so again it's a boarding place so you're away from home so that you're not able to maintain your relationships with the family?
- 126:** T: Yeah.
- 127:** EM: Now, (pause) um give me an example of one or two challenges or difficulties or conflicts you have had with your father.
- 128:** T: Ok...
- 129:** EM: (Interrupting) if you have had any.
- 130:** T: (Chuckles then pauses) Here I'd say I had a, a conflict with my father let me see when I came when I came when I finished the school and did form four. You see when I was in secondary school we had a lot of bullying during form one and there was a lot of stealing the property I had. And that contributed a lot to my property getting lost and I would say in the school there was a lot of theft. So my property was stolen a lot of it school shirts, my books, my... I'd say my, my trousers I had a pair of these in the school.
- 131:**T So when I return home when I finish my form four I did not have even the box I was taken with during the form one never. I just returned with my mattresses and a blanket and uh and uniforms. And then when I got home they were angry all of them my father and my mother that was the greatest conflict I ever had. They, they, they

were thinking that I had sold the property that is the box, combs and ev... (stammers) and everything I was using at secondary level. So he had to caution me a lot of questions; they were thinking that I had friendships with, with girls at school then they used all of my money or I sold the things I, I sold the things gave them the, the money such like things. And then I had to, to explain to them what exactly happened but they were not convinced actually. I think even up to now, they, they did not know exactly where those books went the box went and such like things.

132: EM: But your box was actually stolen?

133: T: My box was not it was broken stepped on and it and it was like yaani it was wreckage.

134: EM: When you were in form four?

135: T: When I was in, it was being stepped on in fact; when I was in form two, during the closing days we used to take all the belongings to one place. But during opening time people used to step on each other people's things just looking for their own.

136: EM: Looking for their own?

137: T: Looking for their own. So sometimes my box was stepped on and it was very bad; sometimes it was cut at the behind and people stole my money from the box so I couldn't just take it home because it was it was completely damaged. But my parents were not convinced that...

138: EM: (Interrupting) but you never, during the time you were in school you never told them this had happened?

139: T: Ok I used to tell them it was happening, sometimes, but they did not take it seriously so....

140: EM: What about, you never told them that your box was damaged?

141: T: Yeah I never told them my, my, my box was damaged.

142: EM: So do you think if you had told them that looking back if you had told them that, that would have helped you, the conflict?

143: T: Yeah I'd say it would it would have helped me a lot.

144: EM: Now how did you solve that eventually?

145: T: Ok, it was solved when I just I'd say I left home and came to Nairobi, to my cousin's here. They decided to take me there, from home and transfer me to, to, to my cousin's at Kariobangi

146: EM: While you were waiting to go to this school?

147: T: No. I had not even applied for this school yet. It was when I just finished my

secondary school and just told them about that incident of my things getting lost and then I stayed for a very short time and then decided they decided to transfer me.

148: EM: To bring you to your cousin's? Why did they bring you to your cousins?

149: T: In the village there, there were a lot of bad friends I had. I had a lot of bad friends. They thought they'd influence me even more.

150: EM: Ok, so they were worried of the influence of the of the of the friends and they thought the best thing is to bring you to Nairobi?

151: T: Yeah.

152: EM: So that you don't get the influence?

153: T: Yeah.

154: EM: How did you feel when they did that?

155: T: Ai, I did no feel any, any, any bad situation maybe I'd say. It was...

156: EM: (Interrupting) You were not angry or...

157: T: (Interrupting) I was not angry?

158: EM: Or upset?

159: T: No I was not upset.

160: EM: Were you actually involved with the bad friends? Were you doing bad things with the bad friends at that point?

161: T: Ah no I was not doing any bad things with my friends.

162: EM: And you didn't explain to your parents that you were not doing bad things with your friends?

163: T: I did not explain?

164: EM: Why? And at that point you say you were already talking to your father and em you had stopped fearing him. What, made you not explain what was going on?

165: T: Ok I'd say I did not explain the bad things I, I, I (stammers) was doing...

166: EM: (Interrupting) The bad things that, you didn't explain to them you were not doing bad things with your friends?

167: T: Ok you'd see I explained to them I was not doing the bad things with, with my friends but they, they were not convinced actually yeah. So they decided to take me to Nairobi

168: EM: To bring you to Nairobi. Now, what about when you were in Nairobi? Were you able to stay with your cousin's ok or...

169: T: Yeah ok, I stayed with my cousins very well. Infarct we had a very good time.

- 170:** EM: So are they the ones who found the school for you or who found the school for you? Yourself?
- 171:** T: Actually I found the school myself from the newspaper and then decided to apply to that school. And then I, when I was applying I used the home, home address so when the replies came I just brought the back home and then my father decided that (pause) he would take the reply back to KIM (Kenya institute of management) yeah.
- 172:** EM: He would take you there?
- 173:** T: Yeah.
- 174:** EM: You wanted to do Electronic Engineering yourself or is it something he wanted you to do? Who chose Electronic Engineering? Was it you or your father?
- 175:** T: It was myself it was my, it was my... 'star' I'd say. It was something I was yearning for, for a very long time. In fact from home I used sometimes to make my own circuits I just design my, my own circuits; I connect batteries here and there. When anything has broke down at home, maybe like a torch I just decide to, to just struggle until I make it light, which was nice.
- 176:** EM: So this is something, you are doing something you've actually wanted to do?
- 177:** T: Yeah I'm doing something, which I have actually wanted to do.
- 178:** EM: Ok, your father fully supported you in coming to do this?
- 179:** T: Yeah my father fully supported me because he saw what I was doing at home and then he said I just, I was fit for that course.
- 180:** EM: He said so, he said so because you were you were already doing that?
- 181:** T: Yeah.
- 182:** EM: Going back to this thing of the conflict and you being, being brought into Nairobi, would you really say that was a good way of solving that conflict; it was a conflict between you, you talked? From what you're saying it's like you didn't quite agree with your father and then he brought you to Nairobi.
- 183:** T: Ok I'd say it was a good thing they did to solve me with that situation, yeah.
- 184:** EM: So as far as you're concerned, that was solved between you?
- 185:** T: Yeah that was solved.
- 186:** EM: You don't have any ill feelings towards your father?
- 187:** T: What?
- 188:** EM: You don't have any ill feelings towards your father?
- 189:** T: I don't have any ill feelings but I have I have very good feelings about him.

- 190:** EM: Now let me ask you, if you used five words, if I asked you to use five words to describe your father, what are the five words that you'd use to describe him?
- 191:** T: (Pause) my father I'd say first of all he's determined.
- 192:** EM: Determined ok.
- 193:** T: Determined, ambitious
- 194:** EM: Ambitious.
- 195:** T: And I'd say also he's strict.
- 196:** EM: Strict those are three two more.
- 197:** T: Uh, he's loving.
- 198:** EM: He's loving
- 199:** T: And the last I'd say he's cautious.
- 200:** EM: He's cautious; that's interesting. He's determined, he's ambitious, he's strict, he's loving. Determination and caution (she chuckles) and ambition, how do those three fit together? (They laugh) How do those three fit together?
- 201:** T: Ok, determination, cautious and ambition ok to be determined is say is somebody who had who when he has decided to do something, will struggle until maybe he does it. And uh, being cautious is when maybe I'd say he's doing something, he's very careful about what he's doing.
- 202:** EM: What he's doing and how he does it.
- 203:** T: Yeah and I'd go to ambitious. My father is very ambitious because
- 204:** (end of tape one)
- 205:** EM: So go ahead and explain
- 206:** T: My father is ambitious 'cause even when, when, when my sister received her, her results her KCPE results...
- 207:** EM: (Interrupting) Now which one the older one or there's younger one?
- 208:** T: No, the younger one he had high hopes about her. He used to encourage, he used to congratulate her about what she did and he had high hopes that she'd get into a national school but maybe something happened she did not make. And even when I received my, my (stammers) KCPE results, I had the marks which could not take me I'd say a national school, but when he saw the marks he said I'd even make it to a national school. And you'd see him here bragging about each of the family members so I'd say he's, he's very ambitious.
- 209:** EM: And in the way he does his own things?

- 210: T:** In the way he does his own things, he has he always has ambition. Yeah, when, when he's doing something he has very high hopes about it, yeah.
- 211: EM:** What are his ambitions in his own life? What does he want to achieve in his own life?
- 212: T:** In his own life I heard him say that he wanted to make us learn until we have a very good future for the family.
- 213: EM:** Ok. So his ambition really is for you people to do well.
- 214: T:** Us to do well.
- 215: EM:** To do well. Are there times you feel that puts a lot of pressure on you?
- 216: T:** No, I would not say...
- 217: EM:** To achieve?
- 218: T:** I would not say it puts a lot of pressure now but somehow it used to put a lot of pressure.
- 219: EM:** It used to?
- 220: T:** It used to put a lot of pressure. In fact when I was in, in, in the in primary school we used to do a lot of work at school, when we come home he just pile another work at home.
- 221: EM:** Studying?
- 222: T:** Studying at home very hard.
- 223: EM:** Because he himself is a teacher?
- 224: T:** Because he himself was a teacher.
- 225: EM:** He still is a teacher?
- 226: T:** He still is a teacher.
- 227: EM:** Ok, so he, you went to school and then he came and gave you more work
- 228: T:** Yeah he gives us more work and we have to finish it before we sleep. So I'd see maybe it was somehow stressing but...?
- 229: EM:** It was stressful?
- 230: T:** Yes.
- 231: EM:** So he stressed you? Your father stressed you?
- 232: T:** Yeah he stressed us somehow
- 233: EM:** But, but would you say it was for your own good now or
- 234: T:** (Interrupting) Yes, it was.
- 235: EM:** Or would you say it has affected you negatively?
- 236: T:** I would say now, I would not say it has affected me negatively but I'd say it is for my

own good now because I, I have seen it bear fruits.

237: EM: In the sense that you have learned to work hard?

238: T: Yeah I've learned to work hard.

239: EM: Are you learning are you working hard now.

240: T: Yeah, yeah, I'm working very hard and this is, this has been brought about by, by that pressure that he used to, to give us when since we were at primary level and secondary level. And even when I go back home he just tells me to continue working hard

241: EM: And he himself works hard?

242: T: Yeah, he himself works hard.

243: EM: What are some of the things he is involved in?

244: T: Some of the things...

245: EM: (Interrupting) He does other than teaching? I know he teaches...

246: T: (Interrupting) Other than teaching (pause) I'd say after teaching in the evening he comes and try to, to, to look at the cows at home. And uh other times he's a pianist you know, he likes playing this piano this instrument called piano.

247: EM: Your father is a pianist?

248: T: He's a very good pianist.

249: EM: He also likes music?

250: T: Even, he likes a lot of music. And even in the church I (stammers) go, at home, he's the one who plays the, the piano in church, that Catholic Church at home; I don't know if you had a chance to see it. Yeah he's the one who plays piano. So during his free time he just decides to go and just play it yeah so that's some of the works he does.

251: EM: But what about in the community?

252: T: In the community?

253: EM: Is he involved in anything in the community since you say he's very....

254: T: (Interrupting) He's, he's involved a lot in the community because he's the chairman of, of the you see from where your, your (stammers) car stopped maybe you saw there is a road they are trying to, to construct from the main road up to our village and it has passed through the river...

255: EM: Yes.

256: T: So he's the chairman of that committee that development and even when we go back

to school he, he (stammers) was chosen I think the chairman of the school.

257: EM: The primary school where he is?

258: T: Yeah. He was chosen to, to just lead, lead, lead (stammers) the parents there because...

259: EM: (Interrupting) Chairman of the parents' association of the school, at the primary school?

260: T: Yeah, yeah because he also had my, my younger sister in the school

261: EM: Yes, ok, ok. So, for you, you have not lacked examples. Are you involved in the community also in any way?

262: T: I'd say I'm not involved very much in the community because I have no posts in the community (he chuckles).

263: EM: But do you feel like ... because your father is so involved in the community, he wanted you to live as an example for the younger people in the community? Do you feel like it was...was it ever expressed or was it something you think was always there?

264: T: It was I'd say it was something which was there yeah.

265: EM: Ever spoken out to you or you just knew?

266: T: I just knew.

267: EM: Now having grown up the way you have and having met the challenges like living in the village, going to school in the village, going to school in other places, what would you say to other young people? And particularly now you're saying your friends are very far behind you. What would you say to other young people like you?

268: T: I'd say that if the other young people have good fathers like, like my father was, they would just follow the example of their fathers how, how, how the they do their things, yeah.

269: EM: What about the whole question of being corrected and questioned you said you had very strict parents. You said your friends were always wondering why you were not there and you said it's because your father was very strict.

270: T: Ok, I would advice them when their parents are strict maybe the father is very strict, they just bear with the situation maybe he'd just change sometimes when they grow up.

271: EM: Is it just bearing or learning try and learn something from the situation also because despite the fact that I'm, I'm amazed that you say your father was that strict because

you also say you had a very good relationship with him and you actually termed him as a very loving father. Strict and yet loving. So what do you tell the other young people?

272: T: I'd tell the other young people that if their, their fathers are strict they just try to follow what, what their, their fathers are trying to tell them or trying to show them yeah.

273: EM: And then as we summarize this I just want to bring back thoughts that you've said you've spoken about and just see whether what, what I'm picking is what you're saying. I'm hearing you say that your father was very strict; he was very hard on you? Would you say that you're close to him? I know you said you really feared him until you went to high school.

274: T: Yeah. My father was strict but sometimes he would just show us some loving you see...

275: EM: (Interrupting) How would he show...

276: T: (Interrupting) Because he used to choose sometimes and just tell me just for example he chooses a day that we go out with him, just talk on the way...

277: EM: Go out where?

278: T: Ok I'd say would be for a journey a very small journey, maybe to a town to a very closer smaller town like for example from our home to Voi...

279: EM: (Interrupting) To Burra to Voi

280: T: Burra or to, to Wundanyi. Sometimes we would go to, to Wundanyi on foot because it's not very far. You just climb the hills then...

281: EM: Yeah just climb those hills and then down the other side.

282: T: Yes climb the hills and arrive the other side then to Wundanyi. Ok he used to....

283: EM: So you would go with him to a place like Wundanyi?

284: T: Ok we'd reach at Wundanyi and then he'd buy for us a lot of small, small things for, for the kids just to...

285: EM: Now like he'd just take you out with him? Not for anything but just going for a journey for him to spend time with you?

286: T: Yeah, yeah.

287: EM: Because I was going to ask you, if he's so busy in the community and school and church, did he ever spend any time with you?

288: T: Yeah! He used to spend some time with us.

- 289:** EM: He made time for you irrespective of being that busy.
- 290:** T: Yeah.
- 291:** EM: And also he worked a lot in the house?
- 292:** T: Yeah he worked a lot in the house.
- 293:** EM: Ok. You feel like he was not just good to you, he was good to your mother he was good to everybody?
- 294:** T: Ai he was good to...
- 295:** EM: He made time for you?
- 296:** T: He made time for us.
- 297:** EM: Were you happy that he made time with you, for you?
- 298:** T: Yeah, we were extremely happy we were very happy.
- 299:** EM: Why? What makes you happy?
- 300:** T: Sometimes you know he used to, to (stammers) buy for us some presents to keep in the house. Like when he go out he comes with a present m... m... (stammers) maybe some clothes for me, for, for my younger sisters such like things.
- 301:** EM: But you see why I'm asking is, because many times young people don't want to spend time with their parents? And you are saying you're very happy you spend time with your parents. What's the difference?
- 302:** T: I'm, I'm very happy I'd say I, I have some time to spend with my parents. You see...
- 303:** EM: (Interrupting) your father particularly.
- 304:** T: My father ok. Because I'd, du... (stammers) during daytime we do a lot with him considering that I'm the only boy in the house. He just takes me to do any work with him.
- 305:** EM: You work with him. You work together.
- 306:** T: We work together. We have a, we do a lot, a lot of the works we do at home we just do it together. In fact wh... wh... (stammers) when he sees me maybe idling, he'd just choose any piece of work s... s... (stammers) so that we may do it to... (stammers) together.
- 307:** EM: And you're happy about that?
- 308:** T: Ah yeah. Sometimes I'm sad about it b... b... (stammers) because I may say I had been doing some work during the day, a lot of work during the day, and it comes at the afternoon when I want just to go out and relax...
- 309:** EM: (Interrupting) and rest.

- 310: T:** And rest and chat maybe to my friends, and then he comes down and tell me let us go somewhere and do this. Yeah, I had no choice but just to go and do it.
- 311: EM:** So your closeness to your father is actually partly as a result of doing a lot of things together? You may not be spending a lot of time talking then but you do a lot of things together?
- 312: T:** Yeah, we don't actually sit and just start talking with him.
- 313: EM:** Not too much but you're a lot together and then he'll take you sometimes and take you for a walk or a journey- a journey just to be with you?
- 314: T:** Yes.
- 315: EM:** Ok, ok. Do many of your other friends have that kind of times with their father?
- 316: T:** Ah I'd say not many because a lot of my friends cannot just stay with their fathers just doing homework with them or sit down and chat. They're always out loitering.
- 317: EM:** They're out loitering. Is that a good thing that you can do all this with your father? Would you consider that a good thing that you spend that much time with your father?
- 318: T:** Yeah I'd say it's good thing...
- 319: EM:** (Interrupting) Working?
- 320: T:** I'd say it's a good thing but sometimes it's not that much good.
- 321: EM:** It's a good thing but you'd like to have some time off, ok. Not all the time doing it. Would you say that this is what has influenced you so much to become the person that you are? Part of the influence is being able to spend that time?
- 322: T:** Yeah. It is a, it is a great influence about what I am now.
- 323: EM:** Did your father ever tell you that he loved you? Using the words he loved you?
- 324: T:** Yeah.
- 325: EM:** He does?
- 326: T:** Yeah he does.
- 327: EM:** Often or occasionally?
- 328: T:** Not so often, not so occasionally.
- 329: EM:** But you know, I mean he has said at least and you know? Do you really feel that he loves you?
- 330: T:** Yeah I feel it.
- 331: EM:** Particularly because you're the only son or...
- 332: T:** (Interrupting) No, no not particularly.
- 333: EM:** Or he's, he's the same with your sisters as well?

334: T: He's the same...

335: EM: (Interrupting) With your sisters. He's told everybody that he loves them?

336: T: Yeah.

337: EM: I think that is demonstrated by the fact that you are very close to each other you know, you all seem to get on at least when I saw the family you were all getting on together very well.

338: T: Ok.

339: EM: Anything else you want to say as we finish?

340: T: Um, I think it's enough I've talked...

341: EM: (interrupting) you've talked enough (laughing) ok. Thank you very much Timothy for spending the time and giving me this information. It will be very helpful.

Appendix B2 Kiriva's family informed consent forms

Dear Mr Kiriva

This researcher is interested in finding out what parenting strategies fathers of African origin use and how these strategies affect the social relationships of their children.

To be able to do so this researcher intends to interview fathers who have children in the age group of 14-25 years. The researcher intends to interview one or two children in the mentioned age group of every father interviewed in order to find out what the young people think of the father's parenting strategies. She also intends to find out how these young people have formed social relationships and what difficulties they may have encountered during the process.


While interviewing the fathers the researcher is seeking not only to understand the strategies the fathers use but also what influenced the development of these strategies, that is, how culture, education and religion influence parenting strategies.

This letter is an invitation for you and one or two of your children aged 14-25 years to participate in this research. The research assures you that your identity will be protected as far as it is possible.

As you give information you will be contributing to the process of developing strong healthy relationships between fathers and their children and hence healthy relationships for young people in the community, nation and continent. You will also contribute information that will help those involved in counseling and reconciliation at the family level to develop appropriate counseling strategies.

The researcher is also seeking your permission to tape the conversation as a way of preserving all the useful information you will be sharing for the purpose of more accurate evaluation.

If you are willing to participate please sign in the space provided below:

I  KIRIVA agree to participate in this research. The researcher has explained the expectations, and I am comfortable with the explanations. I would like to contribute to the welfare of my community and nation.

Signed:  Date: 30/11/2002

Dear Mghoi Kiriva

This researcher is interested in finding out what parenting strategies fathers of African origin use and how these strategies affect the social relationships of their children.

To be able to do so this researcher intends to interview fathers who have children in the age group of 14-25 years. The researcher intends to interview one or two children in the mentioned age group of every father interviewed in order to find out what the young people think of the father's parenting strategies. She also intends to find out how these young people have formed social relationships and what difficulties they may have encountered during the process.

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The researcher is also seeking your permission to tape the conversation as a way of preserving all the useful information you will be sharing for the purpose of more accurate evaluation.

If you are willing to participate please sign in the space provided below:

I MGHOI agree to participate in this research. The researcher has explained the expectations, and I am comfortable with the explanations. I would like to contribute to the welfare of my community and nation.

Signed: Kirivanjima. Date: 13th-01-03.

Dear Timothy Kiriva

This researcher is interested in finding out what parenting strategies fathers of African origin use and how these strategies affect the social relationships of their children.

To be able to do so this researcher intends to interview fathers who have children in the age group of 14-25 years. The researcher intends to interview one or two children in the mentioned age group of every father interviewed in order to find out what the young people think of the father's parenting strategies. She also intends to find out how these young people have formed social relationships and what difficulties they may have encountered during the process.

While interviewing the fathers the researcher is seeking not only to understand the strategies the fathers use but also what influenced the development of these strategies, that is, how culture, education and religion influence parenting strategies.

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As you give information you will be contributing to the process of developing strong healthy relationships between fathers and their children and hence healthy relationships for young people in the community, nation and continent. You will also contribute information that will help those involved in counseling and reconciliation at the family level to develop appropriate counseling strategies.

The researcher is also seeking your permission to tape the conversation as a way of preserving all the useful information you will be sharing for the purpose of more accurate evaluation.

If you are willing to participate please sign in the space provided below:

I TIMOTHY agree to participate in this research. The researcher has explained the expectations, and I am comfortable with the explanations. I would like to contribute to the welfare of my community and nation.

Signed:  Date: 25/01/2003

Appendix C1 Munyao's family interviews

INTERVIEW WITH MR. MUNYAO

- 3: EM:** The next person the researcher is going to interview is Mr. Munyao. I am going to ask him to tell us how old he is, what...how far he has gone on with school, what work he does and we will continue from there. He is going to talk to us about how he has been able to bring up his children. Mr. Munyao, please tell us how old you are and where you have...how far you have been in school...
- 4: M:** Actually I was born in 1949,
- 5: EM:** '59
- 6: M:** '49
- 7: EM:** 1949
- 8: M:** Yes. So roughly I am just 54
- 9: EM:** 54
- 10: M:** Right now
- 11: EM:** We are very close in age, yes...yes. Ok, How far did you go in school? I know you have told me you have trained yourself
- 12: M:** Actually I went up to form four.
- 13: EM:** You went up to form four and then you have trained yourself.
- 14: M:** After form four, I joined ministry or health, where I was working as a clerical officer and then I started just training myself with KASNEB (a correspondence school). And eventually, I came and left ministry of health, I came and joined the cooperatives...I was working with cooperatives until I left cooperatives, I joined this union of teachers and at the moment I am with Kitui KNUT (Kenya national union of teachers). Yes.
- 15: EM:** You said you are an accountant...
- 16: M:** Yes, I am an accountant.
- 17: EM:** So you trained yourself from a cleric...a clerk to become an accountant?
- 18: M:** Yes.
- 19: EM:** So you have worked very hard in your life to improve your...yourself?
- 20: M:** Yeah. Through...through correspondence.

- 21: EM:** Oh, you...you studied through correspondence?
- 22: M:** Yeah
- 23: EM:** Ok, I am studying for my degree through correspondence also.
- 24: M:** Ok...ok.
- 25: EM:** This is...am studying through correspondence so we have something in common. Yes, yes. So you have worked with Kitui KNUT
- 26: M:** KNUT yes.
- 27: EM:** For how long?
- 28: M:** This is the tenth year
- 29: EM:** Ten years?
- 30: M:** Yes
- 31: EM:** And all together you have worked for how long?
- 32: M:** Eh...actually, since 1969 is when I started working as a clerical officer. So all that period
- 33: EM:** All that period
- 34: M:** Up to...
- 35: EM:** Up to now? Yes. Now, as I...as I mentioned to you earlier, am looking at the way fathers look after their children and what helps them make their children what they become. Umm... I want to ask you, when you look at yourself and your son...your children...you have...you have eh...just tell us how many children do you have?
- 36: M:** I have three...one boy and two girls.
- 37: EM:** One boy and two girls?
- 38: M:** Yeah
- 39: EM:** And you son is just going to university?
- 40: M:** If God wishes.
- 41: EM:** If God wishes and then the others are both in high school
- 42: M:** Yeah.
- 43: EM:** Now, there are three of them, and you have just mentioned to me that their mother is not alive.
- 44: M:** Yeah, she died in 1998.
- 45: EM:** 1998, so for about six years you have looked after them.
- 46: M:** Yeah,

- 47: EM:** Alone
- 48: M:** Yeah.
- 49: EM:** And these are the most important six years of their life because your son is how old now?
- 50: M:** He is born in 1984
- 51: EM:** 1984
- 52: M:** He must be around twenty
- 53: EM:** He is twenty?
- 54: M:** Yeah
- 55: EM:** So his mother died when he was fourteen?
- 56: M:** Fourteen somewhere
- 57: EM:** And the others are younger?
- 58: M:** They were younger
- 59: EM:** So this most important part of their life you have looked after them?
- 60: M:** Yeah
- 61: EM:** And this is the important part of their life am looking at, how...what do fathers do to help their children grow? How would you say you have looked after your children this well, for them to have done so well?
- 62: M:** Actually, what I did...where I normally come from originally, I come from Nzambani and within the area actually, the residents are not good. They like smoking, their children like smoking, drinking, doing whatever. So I decided to come and rent a house far from that place so that I can tame my children.
- 63: EM:** Tame them?
- 64: M:** Yeah, to catch up with their education.
- 65: EM:** How...how...how did you tame them? That is a very strong word of you saying that you want to tame them.
- 66: M:** Yes, yes, you see...by taming them, when you want to go somewhere as a visitor, it will take too long to come and understand the other people
- 67: EM:** What is going on?
- 68: M:** Yes, what is going on. So theirs was in the morning they wash, they go to school, from school they come back to the house. And then, I was watching their movements. Yes

- 69: EM:** You would watch their movements?
- 70: M:** Yeah.
- 71: EM:** But you...you went with them to school as you went to work?
- 72: M:** In the morning? Yeah we used to part and they go to school because they were not very, very young. They would walk for them selves
- 73: EM:** To school?
- 74: M:** To school, after which we come and meet in the evening, and then we prepare what to eat and then I start...
- 75: EM:** You would prepare what to eat?
- 76: M:** And then we prepared what to eat and I start
- 77: EM:** You prepared what to eat with them?
- 78: M:** Yeah, we eat
- 79: EM:** You worked...you cooked with them?
- 80: M:** Yeah
- 81: EM:** Or the girls are the ones who cooked?
- 82: M:** The girls are the ones who cooked and I...we were helping.
- 83: EM:** You helped them?
- 84: M:** Yeah
- 85: EM:** You helped them cook? So you worked with your children?
- 86: M:** Kab...everything
- 87: EM:** Everything? You did everything with them, you trained them to wash clothes or they already knew?
- 88: M:** No, no. I trained them on how to use whatever...if it was jik, whatever you need to do.
- 89: EM:** So you...you showed them everything, you worked with them? You are saying sometimes when one is in the kitchen cooking, you work with the other on their books?
- 90: M:** Yeah
- 91: EM:** Ok...ok and they have worked well, they have done well.
- 92: M:** Oh yes they have done well.
- 93: EM:** Yes, yes. You...you were saying something about what happened when their mother died...what you decided.
- 94: M:** I decided not to get married because I could get married to a woman who

would come and just start beating my children and after that she runs away or after all she comes and starts giving birth and I have no wealth. So I decided to stay with the three.

95: EM: With just the three of them?

96: M: Yeah.

97: EM: Ok...ok. So it hasn't been very easy you know, looking after them? I mean even being a father. It is not easy.

98: M: It is not easy...it is not easy.

99: EM: Now, when you look at the way you work with them, is it...do they learn from you by seeing what you do or you do and tell them? You correct them? Have you ever beaten them?

100: M: Not really, but you...you find that eh...eh if you don't...actually beat them a little bit.

101: EM: Yes

102: M: The child...they say you...you...you...you...do what with a stick and then you spoil the child?

103: EM: You sp...so you...you have done it a bit?

104: M: Yeah, a bit.

105: EM: But not much now that they are older?

106: M: Not much...not much because if I do it...if I do much it will also cos...

107: EM: You also spoil them?

108: M: It will also cost...cost me a lot of money taking them to hospital or they run away.

109: EM: Yeah, it will cost you more ...yeah. Ok, so you...you...you talk a lot? You...you correct them by taking.

110: M: By talking and eh...for example if I see a mistake I just advise their brother to deal with them or the elder sister. That is the middle one to deal with the younger.

111: EM: With the small...

112: M: Youngest...if there is a mistake now I just delegate. I don't...

113: EM: You delegate?

114: M: Mmmmh

115: EM: But what about when they need you like when he is the one who is...who is

having a problem? Who deals with him?

116: M: Oh, in case of any problems, we meet. We normally meet, they tell me their problems then

117: EM: Even the girls?

118: M: Even the girls.

119: EM: They are free to talk to you?

120: M: Yeah, they are very much free.

121: EM: They are free, they don't...they don't mind. They just talk today, they don't have a problem.

122: M: They don't have a problem when I have advised them whatever they need, let them write it down and they give me the note if they actually...I need a dress, I need whatever, I need whatever and write it down.

123: EM: Instead of coming to tell you "Daddy I need a dress," they write it down.

124: M: Yes, they write it down then I go struggle how, what to do so that I can satisfy them...their curiosity.

125: EM: Ok, how would you say your relationship with your children is like?

126: M: It is good.

127: EM: IT is good?

128: M: It is good. They obey me.

129: EM: They obey?

130: M: When I say go and do this, they do it as quicker...as quickly as possible.

131: EM: As quickly as possible?

132: M: Yes.

133: EM: How else would you describe that good? It is good because they obey you. They do things but just when you say, what else makes you think your relationship is good?

134: M: Because in actual fact, outside I...I don't hear that they have done something contrary to what I tell them. Whatever I tell them...if I send somebody please do go and buy this and this and this and this, she goes or he goes straight and bring whatever I have sent. So I feel my kids are obeying me. That is why am happy with them.

135: EM: Ok and they listen to you?

136: M: Yeah

- 137:** EM: They obey you?
- 138:** M: Very much
- 139:** EM: I know it is...sometimes it is very difficult for us to say...to talk about our children being friends, but would you call your children your friends?
- 140:** M: Yeah. Yes because I...I love them.
- 141:** EM: You love them?
- 142:** M: Yes. Without seeing one I feel I am missing something.
- 143:** EM: When you don't see them you miss them?
- 144:** M: Yeah. Like for example those who are in boarding school now, I am missing them. It is only that we are not allowed to go and see them. I would be visiting them all the time.
- 145:** EM: You would be always there to see your girls?
- 146:** M: Yes.
- 147:** EM: How often are you allowed to visit them?
- 148:** M: Once per term.
- 149:** EM: Once only?
- 150:** M: Once only.
- 151:** EM: Aii...so even when I go today you cannot go?
- 152:** M: I can't
- 153:** EM: You can't?
- 154:** M: You are the only one who will be allowed
- 155:** EM: I will be allowed to see them but you can't see them?
- 156:** M: No.
- 157:** EM: Once a term only?
- 158:** M: Once a term only.
- 159:** EM: And they are so near?
- 160:** M: Yeah. So near but you cannot frequently be going there. Even...according to the...when the school's close, there are circulars saying don't be ashamed if you are turned down going to see your child. But when...when one is sick you are contacted.
- 161:** EM: So you say you miss them. Do you ever tell them that you love them?
- 162:** M: They know.
- 163:** EM: I know they know but I have asked you, do you ever tell them using those

words? You told me you love your children.

164: M: Yes.

165: EM: Do you ever tell them?

166: M: I tell them my children you see am the only father. I am the father and mother.

167: EM: Yes, but you know...

168: M: So you should feel quite at home with me.

169: EM: You know they can be your children and they do not know you love them but you have just told them you love them and you miss them.

170: M: Yes.

171: EM: Do you ever tell them you miss them? You love them and you miss them then do they know you do?

172: M: I have...I have...I have not told them but according to how they see it they...

173: EM: I know...I know it is hard for us...it is hard for us to say some of these things. It is very hard for...for particularly a father to tell the girls...even boys. I mean that is not our language.

174: M: But in our native language you can tell children that eh...nininwendete (I love you).

175: EM: But have you ever told them?

176: M: Yeah.

177: EM: Ok, so they know?

178: M: They know.

179: EM: When you tell them nininwendete it is the same thing as telling them I love you. That's fine.

180: M: But even if it may sound something different.

181: EM: Now, tell me, you have done these things and you have brought them up that way. What helps you bring them that way? Is it the way you were brought up or what? Tell me something about how you grew up yourself. How did you grow up yourself?

182: M: Actually, I ...myself...I ...I ... grew up from a very poor family and I am the only one who put effort. I tried to further my education, otherwise my brothers used to come to standard four then they start smoking, drinking

then they...they become...they leave school.

183: EM: Did you grow up with your father?

184: M: Yes, yes. I grew up with my father. He died when I was working, actually, even my mother.

185: EM: Ok. How did our father treat you when you were young?

186: M: He mistreated me

187: EM: He mistreated you?

188: M: Yeah...and my mother.

189: EM Tell me...what do you mean by he mistreated you? What did he do?

190: M: You see, my father as a drunkard and he used to come and beat my wife...ah...beat his wife.

191: EM: Your mother?

192: M: My mother and when...see I was young by then, when I try to intervene he was also beating me but my mother gave me the morality.

193: EM: OK, your mother is the one who stood with you?

194: M: Yeah, told me, "You just go to school whether you are swollen...don't worry, you just go to school. God will help us."

195: EM: So are you saying you are what you are much more because of what your mother did not what your father did?

196: M: Yeah, yeah.

197: EM: Did you ever sit down to talk to your father the way you sit down to talk with your children?

198: M: No.

199: EM: All your life, even when you grew up?

200: M: He was very wild!

201: EM: He was very wild. Was your mother the only mother in the home?

202: M: Yeah, the only mother. I am the oldest.

203: EM: He didn't...he didn't have another wife?

204: M: No.

205: EM: And then you say he was very wild?

206: M: mmmm

207: EM: That is a very strong word to use for a father.

208: M: Because we never sat down one day because after all when he turned up

from where he had gone to drink we used to run and...to...to the beds.

209: EM: You run and hide?

210: M: Yes, because...

211: EM: It was that serious?

212: M: Mmm...that's why I am saying he was wild.

213: EM: How do you feel when you talk about your father like that? I mean, saying you used to run when he came...I mean...

214: M: A...a...actually, it is because up to his death I was not happy myself.

215: EM: You were not happy? You have never been happy?

216: M: No, no.

217: EM: Did that make you decide to choose to be a different kind of a father?

218: M: Yes. I decided to love my children

219: EM: You decided to love your children?

220: M: Not to show them the...the...the way I was shown by my father.

221: EM: You chose not to be like your father at all?

222: M: Yeah. To make them feel happy...yes

223: EM: And be there for them?

224: M: Yes.

225: EM: Was your father working?

226: M: He used to work.

227: EM: Where?

228: M: I don't know...he was...actually by the time I was born he was a constable.

229: EM: He was a policeman?

230: M: Yes, then from the police he joined...he was this headman; let's say now they are called assistant chiefs.

231: EM: Assistant chief, yes

232: M: Yes, from there now he became just a peasant and is when I was born. I had forgotten actually he had a first wife and then when that first wife died he got married to another and when this one died he got married to my mother.

233: EM: And those other wives did not have children?

234: M: The...the...the first one did not have any. The second one had four girls and a boy and now those ones...he had built a house far from where my mother was.

235: EM: So you did not know...it is like you did not know them very much.

236: M: No.

237: EM: Are they still alive?

238: M: No...only one woman...woman is alive.

239: EM: And when you meet her do you talk?

240: M: I just greet her.

241: EM: You just greet her? You don't talk to her like a step sister?

242: M: No, because the way we were brought up is not a lovely...

243: EM: You did not really learn...to... appreciate each other?

244: M: No.

245: EM: It must be very painful for you to be able to talk like that about your father.

246: M: Even today...even today there are some of my brothers who are trying to behave...

247: EM: like your father?

248: M: Yeah, coming, beating the children, when I just intervene he tells me you know your...your children.

249: EM: You have your own?

250: M: Yes...go and make them the queens and the kings, let me make mine the satans.

251: EM: He tells you he wants to make his children satans?

252: M: Yeah, he tells me. When I tell him...

253: EM: And this is your brother?

254: M: Yeah. My real brother from the same mother.

255: EM: He behaves like the way your father used to behave?

256: M: Yes.

257: EM: And that...does that increase the pain you used to feel with you father or...

258: M: Seriously and that is why I shifted from the place and came this way and I never go to visit there.

259: EM: You don't go to visit them?

260: M: No.

261: EM: So your children do not know their uncles and...

262: M: They know...they know.

263: EM: They know them but they have never been there?

264: M: Yes. They...I feel not actually...

265: EM: Not...not to take them. You don't want to take them there.

266: M: Yeah, to inherit that behaviour. I don't feel ok.

267: EM: You don't feel ok.

268: M: That is why I am here.

269: EM: So what else influences...if you look at the people...I am particularly...am looking particularly at men. Who else has influenced you to be the father you are? Since you did not have your father to influence you to be the father you are, is there another man who has influenced you to be a father or...

270: M: Yeah. There is a...there is a...say we can say he is a brother...we can call him an uncle.

271: EM: An uncle

272: M: But paternal uncle, clan wise.

273: EM: Clan?

274: M: Yes.

275: EM: He is not a blood uncle but he is from the clan.

276: M: From the clan

277: EM: On your father's side?

278: M: On my father's side

279: EM: On your father's side.

280: M: Yeah, he loves me, he always visits me...

281: EM: Even now?

282: M: Even now

283: EM: Here?

284: M: Yeah and his children are friendly to mine.

285: EM: OK.

286: M: Now that one we are matching.

287: EM: You match together?

288: M: Yes.

289: EM: So that is the one who has given you an example of what a father should be?

290: M: Yes, yeah.

- 291:** EM: Is he much older than you?
- 292:** M: Yeah, but not very much. Actually, it is say something to do with five years.
- 293:** EM: Five years older than you. So he is really not quite a father but at least he has been there. He has stood with you.
- 294:** M: Yeah but he but...but...but...but...
- 295:** EM: It is like more of a brother to you more than a father to you.
- 296:** M: Yes, actually he is an uncle.
- 297:** EM: He is an uncle. Yeah he is an uncle but you are about age mates.
- 298:** M: Yeah.
- 299:** EM: So he doesn't take the position of a father?
- 300:** M: No.
- 301:** EM: He is an uncle who is more or less the position of a big brother.
- 302:** M: Yes.
- 303:** EM: A big brother more than anything else.
- 304:** M: Yes.
- 305:** EM: Anyone else? Anyone else who is in...
- 306:** M: Only... only that one.
- 307:** EM: Only that one? Now what about your work, the work you do? I know you are an accountant. Does any... being an accountant help you in any way to look after your children?
- 308:** M: Oh yes, it is where I get my daily bread.
- 309:** EM: Other than the money, just the work... the work... you know... I know that's where you get your money but you see, there are people like... if someone is a manager they say, I am so used to managing the office so I will take some of the ways of managing the office and manage my own family using some of the examples like some of the things I do...
- 310:** M: Oh, yeah... yeah... yeah... yeah... yeah, you see... you see... we are working... we are working... we are working, many we are working with others. Sometimes during lunch hours, we sit and we start talking, this one says this and this, the other says this and this, then there you get something which when if you find it is good you can come and tell the children.
- 311:** EM: What about being an accountant. Has that helped you probably help them

grow up maybe doing maths?

312: M: Oh yeah... yeah... yeah...

313: E: ...doing maths or being able to manage money, you now, you manage money. Does managing money have anything...anything to do with your being a father?

314: M: No. No.

315: EM: You have never trained them on how to manage money?

316: M: No. No.

317: EM: ...their own money which they have the little money you give them?

318: M: You see... as I... I... I...have told you there before, they write whatever they want then when I go to the shops I just do the window shopping. I know the money whatever they just bring... if it is her, I bring her the amount, I tell her, this one costs this, this one costs this, then here is the money, go and buy. That's how...

319: EM: Oh, you go and do the shopping...window-shopping?

320: M: Yeah

321: EM: Then you come and tell, then you give her the money to go and buy?

322: M: to go buy

323: EM: When she knows the exact... so you give her the exact amount of money because you have already done the window-shopping?

324: M: If it is... if it is something to buy with four hundred and something shillings I give her five hundred to go and do...

325: EM: And does she bring you back the change or the change is hers?

326: M: No. I never... I never... I never...need...

327: EM: You don't ask for the change?

328: M: No.

329: EM: In that way you are training them to be good at using money, isn't it?

330: M: Yeah.

331: EM: Yeah and in that way you are using your profession

332: M: Yeah

333: E: At least you know and being able to be careful with the money because... I mean, you also don't have so much; you are struggling to help them to go to school and whatever so you don't have so much.

- 334: M:** Mmmmmh
- 335: EM:** Do they appreciate that?
- 336: M:** Oh yeah, they are happy with me.
- 337: EM:** Now are there times when you have had problems? You know...
- 338: M:** Myself?
- 339: EM:** You know... with them? You know there is no family that doesn't have problems like fights, when you have disagreements? Do you ever have disagreements with your children?
- 340: M:** No. I have never had but what I happened to have is sometimes they became almost all of them sick and myself also sick. Then you see, by then I had no money and then the general hospital here you have to queue and you take quite a long time to see the clinical officer. So it forced me to be... actually, to feel that I am not sick so that I could go round looking for money to come and pay for their medical treatment.
- 341: EM:** Yes, but I was thinking... you know like... I mean, there is not family where every now and again, children don't just... just become a little difficult you know? I mean... even me, mine are big, mine are much bigger than yours... they are all married actually, but you know there are times when children will come and just become difficult and they don't want to do this they want to do that or they say this, they say that? When those kinds of... those kinds of things have never happened with you?
- 342: M:** Well, to them, I have heard some few... some few reports of this one saying this one is doing this to me, this one did this... this one to me...
- 343: EM:** But I am talking about they and you.
- 344: M:** Oh
- 345: EM:** Them and you as their father. They have never...
- 346: M:** Well...
- 347: EM:** Well, you have never had some difficult times with them and you as a father?
- 348: M:** There... there... sometimes I give instructions...
- 349: EM:** And they are not followed?
- 350: M:** When I turn, I found that eh... I find that eh, they have not done what I told them.

- 351:** EM: Yes, what happens? How do you solve?
- 352:** M: When I ask them why, they keep quiet. Then it is what I was telling you. If it is... this... the youngest girl, I tell the middle one to tell her I am the father and am the mother. If it is this one... the middle one, I tell the older brother.
- 353:** EM: To tell her?
- 354:** M: To tell her, I am the father and I am the mother.
- 355:** EM: So, because you are the father and the mother, what do you want? How do you solve that? Telling her you are the father and mother, how does that help?
- 356:** M: Yeah...yeah, she... she should obey me.
- 357:** EM: She should obey?
- 358:** M: She should obey me. If I give instructions she should obey me.
- 359:** EM: Do they question? Are they allowed to question you?
- 360:** M: No. When... when you see for example, you see... if I tell you do this or that one and I go, when... there is no time to ask me questions. Then when I just come I ask her... Were you told what I said? Oh yes I was told. Ok, you should obey me. If you know that I was struggling to bring you up in a better way, please try to obey me.
- 361:** EM: So you use the others to solve the problem?
- 362:** M: Yes. And if it is the boy, I call that... that uncle
- 363:** EM: This is where you delegate...
- 364:** M: Yeah
- 365:** EM: This is where you delegate the responsibility of solving the problems to the others and when you have a problem with the boy, you call this other man you call your uncle?
- 366:** M: My uncle yes.
- 367:** EM: To come and talk to him?
- 368:** M: To come and talk to him.
- 369:** EM: And he listens?
- 370:** M: Yeah, he listens but they...they... actually they are obedient.
- 371:** EM: They are... they are not... they are obedient. Now... what was I going to... I was going to ask you, when those kinds of things happen, and they listen

or... or when you want to do something, do you ever sit with them and ask them their opinion?

372: M: Yeah, I... I told you that I normally call them, all of them, and ask them...

373: EM: Yes... yes

374: M: ...to tell me my mistakes if I have any.

375: EM: And they are free to do that?

376: M: Yeah, I ask them

377: EM: ...and when...

378: M: If you feel that...

379: EM: (Interrupting) I have made a mistake

380: M: I have made a mistake, tell me so that I can correct but the only mistake with you is that when I give instructions sometimes you do not follow them.

381: EM: Sometimes you don't follow them

382: M: So, if I have any mistakes, tell me

383: EM: And if they tell you, daddy you do this, and you do this and we don't like it?

384: M: And if I feel that I do it, I say sorry.

385: EM: You say sorry? So...so you are able to say sorry to them?

386: M: Yeah, I say sorry and I tell them I... I... won't repeat.

387: EM: Ok...ok.

388: M: Because I want to keep them happy, I don't want...

389: EM: (Interrupting) You don't want a lot

390: M: (Interrupting)... them to be as miserable as I were

391: EM: As you were?

392: M: During my times?

393: EM: So you are trying your best not to make... to make their lives different.

394: M: Yes as different as I can

395: EM: Now, let's say you want to buy property, do you discuss it with them before you buy?

396: M: They are the ones who buy it.

397: EM: Property... property...

398: M: You mean eh...

399: EM: Like if you wanted to buy a piece of land somewhere

400: M: Oh, that one...

401: EM: Do you discuss it with them before you buy?

402: M: I discuss it with my... my... my son.

403: EM: Not the girls?

404: M: No. No

405: EM: Why no... why not the girls?

406: M: I just take my son, we go, I just call him out, we go talking, talking, talking, talking.

407: EM: You go with him?

408: M: Yeah, with him.

409: EM: You...you take a walk or you go to see the land?

410: M: Telling him, he gives me his feelings after that... after the conclusion, I tell him you can, you can discuss it with your sisters.

411: EM: But you listen to them, if they tell you daddy don't buy this land but buy this or this is not the time or... or something

412: M: Yeah...yeah if he

413: EM: You listen to them and you take their opinions.

414: M: If he... if he refuses I forget about it.

415: EM: If he says no you forget about it

416: M: I forget about it

417: EM: you don't...

418: M: (interrupting) I don't...

419: EM: Ok, this is a good way of helping them; it is good for them to know when... when... when they say something they are listened to...

420: M: Yeah

421: EM: ... and it helps. Now, as they go out there and they meet with other... other people, do you feel that they are well prepared to meet the challenges outside the home?

422: M: Who?

423: EM: By you?

424: M: You see, there I don't know. You see there... I normally... you see there are.. they are almost converted.

- 425:** EM: What do you mean by almost converted?
- 426:** M: They have converted to Christianity. You see I can't be 100% sure because when they say that they have gone to morning glory they come back and they say they have gone to church, I don't follow them. So I am not 100% sure... that... that's why am saying they are almost converted, because they always...
- 427:** EM: You are not sure that they are converted but you are almost sure because they go to morning glory.
- 428:** M: Glory and they go to church and the...the... the visitors who come here, they come carrying bibles, yes... so.
- 429:** EM: Do you go to church?
- 430:** M: And the Pastor is very happy with them so I find that there must be...
- 431:** EM: Something good. But then when they go there and they find difficulties, like when they want... they are outside there, even your son, when he goes outside there and he finds problems and things, does he... does he talk to you
- 432:** M: No
- 433:** EM: Does he tell you what is going on?
- 434:** M: He tells me
- 435:** EM: He tells you what's going on (mmmh) Ehe, ok and he will come and say, "This is what I am having, I am having this problem with these people?"
- 436:** M: Yeah.
- 437:** EM: What are some of the things he has told you from outside there?
- 438:** M: Well, you see, there are some boys here, they were schooling together before... before he went to Mwingi where he completed form four. When he told me what they were telling him and the way they were behaving, it is another school called Kyangili, I decided to transfer him to another school.
- 439:** EM: What were they telling him, what were they telling him?
- 440:** M: You see, the... these are things of coming home late, passing here and there and there. You see, these things, which I was telling you made me leave home.
- 441:** EM: Well, you told me you left home because like your brothers were drinking and you did not want that kind of influence.

442: M: Yes, yes.

443: EM: So these are the kind of things his friends at school were telling him?

444: M: Yeah, yeah... were telling him.

445: EM: To get involved in?

446: M: Yeah.

447: EM: And he would come and say, "Daddy my friends are telling me to do this and this and this and this?"

448: M: Yeah they are telling me this and this and this, that is why you actually see me coming home late because they tell me wait for me there, then they start doing things of which I don't want.

449: EM: Mmmh, ok

450: M: So I transferred him from Kitui district to Mwingi district

451: EM: To Mwingi district... yes and he...

452: M: To be away from that.

453: EM: And he is free enough with you to do that?

454: M: Yeah.

455: EM: That is good.

456: M: Yeah.

457: EM: That is very good. You see normally when... sometimes when you are bringing children alone, just the struggle of bringing them up... makes... becomes very difficult and it is not easy for children to be that free with you, so I think you are doing very well.

458: M: Mmmh. Yeah

459: EM: You are doing very well.

460: M: You find that my concentration, is on them

461: EM: On them

462: M: Because I do not have another wife, I do not have... only them

463: EM: Only them

464: M: Whatever I get is theirs

465: EM: Is theirs?

466: M: Yes

467: EM: And it is them?

468: M: Yes. Is why I am concentrating seriously on them

469: EM: Now you said they go to church and they bring people, what about you?

470: M: Eh?

471: EM: Do you go to church yourself?

472: M: Yeah, I go to church, if I get that time. I go...

473: EM: Where do you go?

474: M: AIC (African Inland Church).

475: EM: AIC.

476: M: Town

477: EM: Town AIC.

478: M: Only church and that's all.

479: EM: And you are not in a Bible study you are not in something else like that?

480: M: No.

481: EM: And you, since the others have all gone through the drinking and the smoking and everything, what about you?

482: M: Me I don't smoke but sometimes over the weekend I join friends go to the parties, I sip

483: EM: Mmmh?

484: M: I sip

485: EM: You si... you sip?

486: M: I mean... yeah when we go... For example over the weekend or like now when I am on leave, if a friend comes and tells me we go out...

487: EM: You take a few?

488: M: Yeah, yeah.

489: EM: But those are the same things you are saying you are running away from your brother and you are doing them.

490: M: Which brother?

491: EM: I mean from your own brothers... or theirs is too much?

492: M: No... you see those ones... those ones are showing the children to drink, but mine you see now it is just passing time.

493: EM: And when you come home they don't know you have drunk?

494: M: I just enter in my room and sleep.

495: EM: When you are drunk?

496: M: I hope they know that I drink.

497: EM: They now that you drink but not too much like their uncles

498: M: No, no.

499: EM: Now, sometimes our people like our people out here go to be treated outside there

500: M: Cheated?

501: EM: Treated, treated. Have you ever been to any of those places?

502: M: No!

503: EM: To... what do you call them? Witchdoctors, people like that?

504: M: Witchcraft?

505: EM: Eh.

506: M: No, I don't believe in witchcraft.

507: EM: You don't believe in witchcraft?

508: M: No.

509: EM: But it is there!

510: M: I understand it is there, but I don't believe in it.

511: EM: You don't believe in it. So you have never been to any of those places?

512: M: Witchdoctor? Even if you tell me...

513: EM: Or watu wa mitishamba?

514: M: Miti shamba... I... normally... yes. Mitishamba... this one you get herbs... herbalists? I have gone to them

515: EM: The herbalists?

516: M: Yeah... but not witchdoctors.

517: EM: So when you go... why do you go to the herbalists?

518: M: Because they...they are... they treat actually they treat

519: EM: They treat

520: M: They treat and they can cure.

521: EM: Like this time when the children are very sick, you go and get medicine from them?

522: M: No... first...

523: EM: Or for yourself

524: M: First of... yeah... for example you see, someone when he is becoming very old he can start feeling backache which will never be cured, he can go to the hospital but you are not cured, then he can go to the herbalist. He will

give you something

525: EM: He will give you those and they are fine

526: M: Yes, but not these... these... witchdoctors. No... I don't believe... even if...

527: EM: Have you ever been to one?

528: M: Em?

529: EM: Have you ever been to one to know what they do?

530: M: No!

531: EM: Ok. But herbalists and people like that?

532: M: Em?

533: EM: So tell...

534: M: Herbalists yes.

535: EM: You said you go to church? Has going to church helped you as a father?

536: M: Well yes.

537: EM: How?

538: M: Because, you see, when whatever it is taught in the church, when my children were younger than they are now, I used to come and also teach them and tell them that Jesus did. Jesus did, Jesus did. Now, they become some how, they are learning, they... they start learning.

539: EM: What about now when they are big? You discuss many things, do you still discuss those ones about going to church?

540: M: No, no. That one no. They... they are aware I don't need to. On Sunday they know what someone is supposed to do.

541: EM: Ok, but know even when they are aware there is still need to hear daddy telling them it is good to learn this and that and the other. Now, what are the challenges you have really faced? Some of the challenges you have in your relationship with them particularly when you have girls and you don't have a wife. Are there any challenges of bringing up girls when you are alone?

542: M: My...my...myself

543: EM: Or problems, are there any yeah... have you faced any problems with bringing up girls when you are alone?

544: M: No...no. I respect them, even if I feel such... such feelings, I tell them I

have gone on safari.

545: EM: No. I am not talking about you messing about with your girls but some of the problems of Sorry that is not what I meant. You know, it is difficult for some people to even know what to tell girls when they are growing. For example, they are growing to be women, how have you prepared them to be women? Their mother... you see normally if their mother was there you would tell them you know this and this, this is the way girls are prepared to be women. But now their mother is not there. And this is the time. Have you found that difficult to be able to prepare them to become women?

546: M: No. You see, that... that... that uncle of mine, his wife actually has got bigger girls and then I sometimes invite them,

547: EM: The girls?

548: M: The girls and the mother. I invite them here, and after inviting them here, now I just leave them here, we go with my uncle

549: EM: And your son?

550: M: And my son, we go until such a time we come back

551: EM: You go to do men's things?

552: M: Yeah

553: EM: And you leave them to do women's things

554: M: Yeah, until such a time we come for lunch, after that in the afternoon we escort them.

555: EM: So, the things you feel that they need to know as they grow up as women, they have been taught, not by you

556: M: Not by me

557: EM: Ummm... do... If they ask you questions about relationships with boys, would you talk to them about that?

558: M: I won't feel happy.

559: EM: But they are your children.

560: M: Yeah, but I won't feel happy.

561: EM: I know my daughters would go and talk... ask their father some questions even when I am there, there are questions they will ask their father.

562: M: But what I normally tell them is first of all, stick on your education after education...

563: EM: But you see, as they grow, education and friendships begin; I mean they are beginning to get aware. Like the girl in form four even this one in form one, they are beginning to notice boys.

564: M: Yes... but eh... but eh... that one... that one I gave it to my...should I call her my aunty... she... she

565: EM: You aunt, your uncle's wife? He is... he is the one who is responsible for that?

566: M: She is the one who is responsible for that.

567: EM: But you have trained...what about your son?

568: M: Aaa, that one... I ... I ...

569: EM: You talk to him about how to be a responsible man?

570: M: Yeah

571: EM: Ok... ok. So that he doesn't get to that stage and get his...

572: M: Yes...home

573: EM: If he came home and told you he wants to get married today, would you think he is well prepared?

574: M: No. I would refuse that.

575: EM: Why?

576: M: Because not yet. He has not yet gone up to the stage of getting married. Let him go to university, if he gets married... if he wants to get married there it is well and good. Or he goes to a training and then after he comes let him try to get a job. If he gets a job he can get married.

577: EM: Ok

578: M: But not to add another...

579: EM: So, his not being prepared now is because he doesn't have something to do? Is that what it is?

580: M: Mmm

581: EM: Not that he doesn't have a job to sustain a wife but the things he needs to know to get married he knows, you have prepared him?

582: M: Oh yes he knows.

583: EM: Ok. Now do you... do you treat him differently particularly because he is the first-born? Or you only treat him differently because he is a man?

584: M: Because he is a man.

585: EM: Why the difference?

586: M: Not because he is a... you see the way I treat him I cannot treat the sisters

587: EM: Why?

588: M: Now,

589: EM: Where is the difference?

590: M: You see, I know I can go out with him talking about eh, you see you should get ready, you should be aware of these girls, when you come across a girl and then you put me in another task that your sisters will miss now education, so just refrain now from these people, stick to education, it will come a time when you will be free to do whatever you want.

591: EM: Ok, those are the kind of things you discuss with him?

592: M: So you see I can't tell my daughters, don't go with a man...ayaya...

593: EM: Why not?

594: M: I just call that...

595: EM: But you are the father?

596: M: I just call that one to come and

597: EM: But you know, there is a... there are things girls need to hear from a father. Because sometimes when they hear things from women they may think the women are being jealous. But when they hear them from you as a father, it will mean much more to them. When you tell them, my girls, this is the way men are, these are the things men do to girls, and I am telling you this as your father as a man so that you don't get in the trap of bad men, they will listen to you more than they listen to another woman, because they feel another woman is being jealous. You have a man why are you refusing me. But when they hear it from you telling them these are the things men do to trap girls they will listen to you, they will take it and they will always remember it.

598: M: Ok

599: EM: Yes, so if you have never done it please do it, for them.

600: M: Yeah, but I have never done it.

601: EM Try it and they will really appreciate daddy telling them, telling them, men can do this, they can do that, they can do the other, listen and make sure you don't fall in these traps of men, (mmmmh) because you are speaking

with authority over them as their father but you are also speaking as a man.

602: M: That's right

603: EM: Yes, I know these are things that we don't do, you see in the olden times, your grandmother would have told them those things. She is not there; your mother is not there. Ok, this aunty is there, but you see we are also getting out of that society and getting to a society where you sit down and discuss, and you know the way you are saying that you sit and discuss with all of them, that's when you talk about those things just like that in the family discussions with the other one. Not that you sit one and... just talk about it when they are all together.

604: M: Ok

605: EM: Yes

606: M: That one I will try.

607: EM: Yes.

608: M: I have never tried it but I will try.

609: EM: Yes, and they will be very happy to know that daddy cares for us all round. (mmmh). He is worried about... he is concerned that we don't get into the wrong hands of men.

610: M: Ok.

611: EM: It is a good thing to be able to tell them. I know my girls appreciate their father having talked... talked to them like that.

612: M: That's good.

613: EM: Yeah, yes, yes. So is there anything you would like to tell me about you growing up or helping them grow up?

614: M: Myself growing?

615: EM: Yeah, you growing up? Some of the things.. the pains... the things you went through when growing up? Some of the things you feel you want to tell me about you and your children as they grow up? Anything else.

616: M: Actually it is just their betterment. Because For example to see your children completing education and working, you see you feel quite ok, seeing them working after completing their education. That is the only thing I can...

617: EM: Do many girls in this area get pregnant before they finish school?

- 618: M:** Yeah... but not this area here, especially my place.
- 619: EM:** Where you came from?
- 620: M:** Yeah, but they are... most of them are standard eight drop outs, form two, just like that.
- 621: EM:** Ok... how do the children feel about the death of their mother?
- 622: M:** They forgot.
- 623: EM:** They forgot?
- 624: M:** Mmmmh.
- 625: EM:** They don't... do you ever mention? Do you ever talk about her to them?
- 626: M:** No.
- 627: EM:** You don't.
- 628: M:** Even they don't talk about it
- 629: EM:** They know their mother died?
- 630: M:** Oh very well.
- 631: EM:** They know their mother died. Ok...ok... Fine then, if you don't have anything else, I want to say thank you. That is the kind of thing I wanted to talk about; just you and seeing you and how you have brought up your children how you were brought up and how the way you were brought up has helped you bring up your children. And as you said very clearly, there was nothing you learned from your father and you don't want to be like him.
- 632: M:** Yeah, yeah, kweli (true). And then you picked the word wild.
- 633: EM:** The other thing I learned is that your way of being a father is through delegation, and that is delegating the difficult things. The things that are difficult to deal with you delegate them to...
- 634: M:** To somebody to deal with them...
- 635: EM:** You delegate them to the son to deal with the... with the sisters or to the older sister to deal with the younger sister.
- 636: M:** Yes.
- 637: EM:** Ok. Thank you very much, thank you, thank you.

INTERVIEW WITH DAVID.

3: EM: I want to introduce David. We just talked to his father a little earlier. His father is Mr. Munyao and David is going to tell us his names, how far he has gone in school, what he is planning to do in life and then he will tell us a little more about how he looks at his father... his relationship with this father.

4: D: Ok... my... my names are David... David Munyao, I was born in 1983. I was schooling at Mwingi Secondary School and I finished last year. I am now...

5: EM: You finished last year in what class?

6: D: Form 4.

7: EM: Form four... ok

8: D: Yeah. I am planning to go to university after the results are out although I am not sure whether I will make it to university... not because I will fail in the results but... my father sometimes... my relationship... my relationship with my father is not so... that good. Sometimes we do have problems... you know my father... my mother left us in 1998, we were left with our father... my father and my two sisters. I am the old... old... am older than them and...

9: EM: You are the first born?

10: D: I am the first-born.

11: EM: Yes. Did you say that you were born in 1983?

12: D: 1983

13: EM: '83... . So you are about... 20?

14: D: About 20... 20 years.

15: EM: 20 now... 20 years, ok.

16: D: Ok my... my sisters are still schooling. One is in form 4, the other one form 1. She joined this year and eh... we do have problems. You know when my mother left us, my father took another wife. There is a wife with whom... with whom they live together and not when he gets his salary he takes almost all of it to that lady. Now here we stay with problems. My schooling was a miracle from God... because since I went to form 1... eh... he has

not been paying fees for me. Actually, I talked to the principal of that school and he decided to help me.

17: EM: At eh... Mwingi?

18: D: No in form 1 I went to Kyanguithia Secondary School and that principal was there. So I explained my problems to him and he decided to take care of me. When I went to form 2 he was transferred to Mwingi but because he knew my problems and he is a born again Christian, he decided to help me, he came for me from Kyanguithia and took me to Mwingi. So he has been helping me. Concerning the shopping and whatever fare to go to school and come back, the church has been catering for that... my pastor....

19: EM: The church where you go?

20: D: Yeah. My pastor has been helping me and eh... actually, my pastor does not work. His wife does and now the little they get he has been helping me from that.

21: EM: But he is a pastor so he is working as a pastor.

22: D: Yeah he is working as a pastor...

23: EM: Or he doesn't work outside.

24: D: Yeah, he doesn't work outside. And even my sister... the one who is in form 4... my pastor has been also providing for her... the shopping, whatever and he talked to the principal from that school and she agreed not to be chasing her away when there is no fees. So we have been living that way. Sometimes we even lack food in the house. Our neighbour here gives us food. Even some church members... they bring some food to us and that is the way we have been living. Now that woman takes... in fact she frustrates us so much...

25: EM: Do you know her?

26: D: Yeah I know her... she is just a neighbour.

27: EM: Does she have children?

28: D: Yeah she has children... yeah.

29: EM: How far away is she from here?

30: D: Not... not so far... just near.

31: EM: Does your father know you know her?

32: D: Yeah, he knows that I know her. They even come to the house together

sometimes.

33: EM: Mmmh

34: D: Yeah

35: EM: Ok

36: D: Yeah and now when I try to solve these problems... you know my father sometimes... sometimes he doesn't... he doesn't even want even to hear any voice tell him anything... so I tell him he just sometimes beats me... some other times he chases me away but after... after some time I come back. So...

37: E M: He chases you away? To go where?

38: D: He just tells me to go and that is all.

39: EM: And when you go, where do you go?

40: D: I just hang around and after sometime I come back. Yeah... and sometimes he denies us from going to the church. He doesn't ... when we say that we are saved he doesn't want to hear that. He doesn't want to hear us mention the name of our pastor. He actually hates him... he just pretends when the pastor is there... he pretends that he loves him but when he is far, he just talks against him bad things... mmh.

41: EM: Um... so... how would you... how would you describe your relationship with your own father?

42: D: Ok. My relationship with my own father... I can say that it's somehow a bad relationship because now... in fact when I think now the way the he has been treating us since our mother left... actually not... not so good and I hate it. I hate the way he treats us. I don't like it. It is just that he is my father, I cannot abandon him and I cannot call another person my father. If I could have done that then sometimes I do wish that I was not born in this family but you see there is nothing I can do.

43: EM: Your relationship is that bad?

44: D: Yeah.

45: EM: Mmmmh

46: D: Yeah.

47: EM: How do you feel about that?

48: D: I feel bad and yeah it is just as I had told you that sometimes I wish that I

were not born here.

49: EM: Does Pastor Kyalo know this?

50: D: He knows everything. I explained all to him and that's why... that's why he has been helping us.

51: EM: Pastor Kyalo is the one who helps you?

52: D: Yeah.

53: EM: He is your pastor?

54: D: He is my pastor.

55: EM: Ok... ok. And does he know that your..., your... your... your father has another wife?

56: D: He knows everything. Sometimes he tries to talk to him but you see he can't control him. First thing that's why my father hates him because he sees now Pastor Kyalo is getting so much in his family, so he hates him because of that.

57: EM: Now... what other... your father... does your father go to church?

58: D: No. No he doesn't

59: EM: He doesn't go to church any time?

60: D: No.

61: EM: Never?

62: D: no.

63: EM: What kind of things does he do?

64: D: Ok. The thing that he does when he is at home is just drinking. That's all. Yeah. After he comes from work he just goes drinking and sometimes he doesn't come home... he just goes to that woman when we ask for food... he just... don't give us.

65: EM: So you stay here alone?

66: D: Yeah. I stay alone but now for... for this time... sometimes he comes and sleeps here, yeah.

67: EM: So you know... otherwise you are basically staying here and then when your sisters come for holiday... you stay... they come here?

68: D: Yeah. They come here.

69: EM: You stay with them?

70: D: Yes

- 71: EM:** Uh and who pays the rent for you?
- 72: D:** The rent he pays.
- 73: EM:** He pays the rent?
- 74: D:** Yeah, because the owner of the house goes to him himself and tells him that I want the rent and then he gives him.
- 75: EM:** Ok... ok. Wow. That's a hard one. Now... do you... again this is just really describing this relationship... you say your relationship with your father is bad...
- 76: D:** Yes
- 77: EM:** When you have had a conflict or when you have had problems... how do you solve those problems? When you have a problem with your father?
- 78: D:** Ok...
- 79: EM:** Like something goes wrong and you have had a row, you have quarreled... how do you put things right between yourself and your father?
- 80: D:** Ok... As I had told you, my father despises me because he thinks that I am young and I cannot make decisions. What I do after we have had a quarrel or after he has beaten us, I go and explain it to my pastor...
- 81: EM:** He beats all of you?
- 82: D:** Yeah but...
- 83: EM:** Even your sisters?
- 84: D:** Oh, my sisters... he beats them more than he does me because now they are young than me so he beats them.
- 85: EM:** Why does he beat you?
- 86: D:** Ok... Pardon?
- 87: EM:** Why does he beat you?
- 88: D:** OK, just... I can say that he beat us out of nothing because now... like for example, you see these papers here... the nation there... if he meets that nation there he will start saying, "Why didn't you take this paper out of this place?" then before answering, he starts ... he beats you... in fact...
- 89: EM:** Much or just a little?
- 90: D:** Much. Much. He does not even use a stick. He beats us as if he is fighting with us and even sometimes he tells me "You know... stand up and we fight because you think you are big" you just sit down and keep quiet.

Sometime I cry but you see the crying does not help me. Now, I explain it to my neighbours or my pastor. Like my neighbour here helps us a lot. She comes and talks to him. Sometimes he cools down, other times he does not hear. He just walks away and that is the way we do solve our problems, because now we can't talk to him.

91: EM: So you don't really solve your problem between you and him?

92: D: Yeah. We don't really solve them.

93: EM: Between you and him there is no way of solving them?

94: D: Yeah.

95: EM: Ok. Now... this is a relation... this has always been there or ...is it something that is more recent now?

96: D: It has always been there since my mother left us in 1998. In fact it started almost... about 1999. When I was in standard 8 is when he started living with that woman because it started immediately.

97: EM: So the one year... one year when your... after your mother died and before he started living with this woman, how was your relationship with him like or even before your mother died?

98: D: You know, before my mother died, they were not living together. In fact, they divorced in 1989... in 1989... so my mother was living with my two sisters and I was living with my father for that long. Now, after my mother left, he took both sisters of mine and we started staying together but for that one year the relationship was not as it is now. It was somehow good... not so good but somehow good. I could not recommend it... I could like that one but this one is a little bit... it is not good.

99: EM: So he is... so you say he is not even the one who pays fees for you to go to school?

100: D: No.

101: EM: Mmmmh

102: D: No... but now he tries. When my... my...my sister, the last born, when she was going to school, he tried to pay for her for the first term but I just thanked God because he did so because he had refused to take her to school last year. So I was deciding to...to tell my pastor and then there is another woman friend of ours... came and talked to him telling him that this is not

good so he decided to take her but I don't know whether he will continue paying the fees or I don't know what will happen.

103: EM: How old are the children of the other woman?

104: D: Some are married and others are still schooling. There are two boys who are in form 2 now and 1 boy is in standard 8.

105: EM: Was she there before your mother or he married her after your mother?

106: D: After my mother.

107: EM: So he married her with children?

108: D: Yeah... but not marrying. They just stay together in concubation.

109: EM: Ok, it is eemmm... ok...ok. She is like a concubine?

110: D: Yeah.

111: EM: They cohabit?

112: D: Yeah.

113: EM: Now tell me, when you look at this situation, how do you think this is helping you make relationships outside here? Your relationship with your father... when you go outside there, how has this relationship influenced you? Even before... you have always lived with your father yourself from when you were small, how has your relationship with him helped you in relationships out there?

114: D: Ok...ok. I can say that it has a negative and positive effect to my relationships with other people because some...it...

115: EM: Let's talk about the positive first.

116: D: Ok... the positive one is that... if it were not the way he is behaving, then I would have not have got so much close to pastor. Actually...actually because of these problems I have become so close to my pastor and we have become friends. He is there for us every time. When I need help, my pastor is there and I have liked him so much. I also have come to like his family because of the way he has been doing for us just because of the problems we have now. Amen. But now to the side of negative. Actually the... I can say that the people who are neighbouring us in this area they... they despise us so much because of him. Even when we are passing you can hear them gossiping about us because of the way my father has been behaving and it has come to...to...to...to a degree that I don't even want to

walk with my father going to the town or going somewhere I just like walking alone or with my sisters.

117: EM: You don't go anywhere with him?

118: D: Yeah. I don't like... he sometimes tells us that we take a walk but I refuse. I tell him that I have something to do even... because I don't like it.

119: EM: You take a walk to go where?

120: D: Sometimes he can tell me to...to take him to the market there and... mmmh... he wants me to take him to the drinking place and take him back. Then...I...I...don't refuse because he is telling me to go to the drinking place with him but I refuse because his relationship with other people has made them despise us so much and now I don't like walking with him in the town.

121: EM: And then, what about your own relationship with other people?

122: D: Ok...other people... the other people in the area, they respect us so much they... I mean, not respecting but they see that I and my sisters are good children because.... In fact, now we take a look of the other children in the area, most of them have resorted to bad behaviours like drinking, smoking and they don't respect people but I and my sisters do respect people. They say that we are good people. Our relationship with them is not so bad but it is just because they despise us because of our father that...not...

123: EM: Now...ok... when you go out there and you want to make relationships or when you think of making friends and you see the way your relationship with your father is, what kind of friends do you want to make and what influences you to want to make the kind of friends you do as you look at your own relationship with your father?

124: D: Ok... I like to make friends... those who understand me and friends who understand my problems. The friends who does not despise me when they know the way I am. You know sometimes you make friends... other friends... they want to be your friend because maybe you have a certain achievement or maybe you have... yeah such things. But I want to make those friends who are true friends. Friends who understand me and friends who are there because they... they need to be my friend not because of any other thing, not because I have such a thing or whatever. Just friends who

understand me... true friends.

125: EM: But then, does that... do you find eh... that limits you because you only want to go with those who know your problem? Is that limiting to you in the way...in the way you make friends.

126: D: Yeah. It actually...it...it limits me because to find such friends actually is not easy. They are few...they are few true friends and friends who understand your problems and understand you. They are few. Now sometimes I make friends but when they come to know my problems some you know run away from me because I have such problems. That's why I am saying that I...I...I like so much making friends, those who are true friends and those who understand my problems.

127: EM: Ok. But then...eh...what about... what about you yourself? Ummmm, you go to church?

128: D: Yes.

129: EM: Are you born again?

130: D: Yes I am born again.

131: EM: How has your own faith, I mean, religion helped you?

132: D: Ok. First thing the... I have known how to forgive. Sometimes I still think...I think... what would I do with my father? But another thing tells me, "You are saved. You know very well that you need to forgive as Jesus forgave you. You need to forgive so as to be forgiven by Jesus." And then now I do forgive even when people mock at me or they do bad things to me, I just forgive them because now I know that I am saved and as a Christian I should forgive. The other thing is that it has helped me to accept the problems which am passing through because now the bible tells me that the problems which am passing through...the ...those people who are before us...the prophets who were there...those people...even Jesus himself, passed such problems and then he came to be a winner at last. So I know one day that God will do...will help me to be a victor despite the problems that am...am facing.

133: EM: Ok...ok. So your faith...your faith...would you say that your faith is your own or it...it's something you have learned from your father or your mother.

- 134: D:** Ok. My faith is...is...I can say that it is my own because when...when...when...now I was born...I told you my father and mother divorced in 1989. First thing, I never lived with my both parents and I have even never has someone called a mum because I just know her when I grew up and we were not staying together. So...and now my father, I told you that he doesn't go to any church so I will just...it is my own...I can say that it is my own...my faith.
- 135: EM:** Where does your father go for...if he needs any spiritual nourishment?
- 136: D:** Ok...I can't tell because I have never seen him in the church and...I don't know where he goes. I don't know. I can't tell.
- 137: EM:** Ok. Now...so what basically you are saying is...your relationship with your father has not been good.
- 138: D:** Yeah it hasn't.
- 139: EM:** If I ask you what kind of a parenting style...parenting style is the way he brings you up...a father brings you up. How would you describe his manner of bringing you up? Because you have lived with him...
- 140: D:** Yeah
- 141: EM:** ...all along...what kind of manner would you say?
- 142: D:** Ok...could you...could you expound that so that I can understand...so that I can understand more?
- 143: EM:** You see...there is a kind of person who will sit down and talk with you and you talk together. You discuss things, he will tell you this is what I want to be done for this reason but you also say this is what I feel and you discuss things like that and you come to an agreement. There is another person who will come and say this is what I want to be done this way and you have to do it because I've said it. There is a person who doesn't really bother, whatever you do it doesn't matter but they will come and say, I am still your father so I want to be respected. Which of these three do you think is like your father?
- 144: D:** Ok. My father even he doesn't fit in any of those because whatever he...now...we...we never sit down and discuss anything. What he does is that when he comes in our house and he will knock... (Muffled). He just starts quarrelling and beating up and he walks away...walks away. He does

not tell you that you are supposed to do this or you are supposed to do this. Even the way we are coming up he does not give us any guidance, any counselling that as children it is good, children you should do this...you should not...you know? Like my sisters...he has never told them that you should not run after boys or such things. Now...

145: EM: What about you... as a son?

146: D: Me...me? He doesn't tell me anything. Now...

147: EM: He's never told you this is what a young man...he has...this is how a young man is supposed to behave.

148: D: He hasn't and even sometimes I do ask him...Ok now dad, look now, you know...you don't know...you don't know God's plans. You are the only person with whom we are looking at. Would you please start showing me your belongings and eh...because now he can...you know...we don't know he...he can be fired; you know God can decide to take him today. Now and if he takes him we don't know where to go because it is just me and my sisters. We don't have a mother. He told me that his brothers do not work, they depend on him and sometimes even they...you know he came from our home place because they quarrelled and they chased him away...they chased him away from that home so we...we stay here because of that.

149: EM: Why did they chase him away from their place?

150: D: Because...you know he takes them as...sometimes he tells me that they are monkeys. He doesn't take them as people because they don't work. Because now he is working now he feels that he is the only one and that he should be big. That is why they chased him because he was mistreating them so they chased him away. That is why we stay here and there is an uncle of mine who told me that it is better if my father is dead. It would be better. I told my father that but you know I don't know what happened to his mind and I am sorry to say that but if you tell him something now, he...he behaves as if he has taken it seriously but sometime to come he will...even...even if you ask him what did I tell you he won't tell you.

151: EM: He forgets?

152: D: Yeah, he forgets. And sometimes he comes here and beats us so much and when he goes after coming back now if you ask him, why did you beat me?

He can't tell you. He doesn't know even if he beats you. Now, that is the way it is. Yeah.

153: EM: so it has not been very easy for you?

154: D: Actually it has not been easy.

155: EM: So...does that make you take responsibility over your sisters as you are the oldest?

156: D: Yeah, yeah. I, I take responsibility. There...there ...if I remembered there...there is a time I was called from school by my pastor because my sister...he had chased my sister away, the last born, because they had ...(unclear)... secondary school. Now when he chased her it was about 6 pm so she went to pastor's home at town, she told my pastor and they started staying there with my pastor. My father was not concerned he did not know...look where my sister was. So my pastor called me from home...from school and I came because he wanted me to talk to him but he was telling me to go and stay with that pastor, he didn't need anybody in this house. I said, "Now give me fare I go back to school." He said, "No. let your pastor give you and go back to school. So...but I succeeded. I talked to him and my sister came back. They stayed together.

157: EM: So, some...sometimes he will actually listen and take your advise?

158: D: Yeah, sometimes

159: EM: Sometimes but not always?

160: D: Not always, but it hasn't been easy for me and my sisters.

161: EM: So what responsibility have you had to take over your sisters?

162: D: Ok, sometimes when we lack food in the house I am the one who goes to talk to the neighbours for food. Such responsibility and even clothes. He doesn't buy clothes for us. Just friends...friends from church, neighbours...

163: EM: He doesn't give you money for shopping?

164: D: No, he doesn't.

165:EM: (Long pause). What is going on in your mind now that you have to take the responsibility of your sisters when you are this young?

166: D: I...I...I...after I finished my form four course, I decided that I would go to university then after I take my course, after I am through, I get a good job, I start working, I take my sisters and live with them and take good care of

them. So that is all what is in my mind but now, the...the problem is that even I...I pass to go to university, I don't know now whether my father will really help me to get there...yeah.

167: EM: But your ambition now is to take care of your sisters?

168: D: Yes, take care of my sisters.

169: EM: Ok, now, is there anything else you would want to...what do you know about your grandparents?

170: D: Ok, the little I know is that...

171: EM: What was your grandfather like?

172: D: No...I have never seen them. The little I know is that...I do hear that my grandfather was...was a chief and that is what I know about him. My grandmother... I don't know about her.

173: EM: What kind of person was he? Was he a good person? Was he...

174: D: No! I...I do hear that he wasn't a good person. Infact, my father told me that there is an area calledunclear.... this side. He told me that if I go to that area and say that I am or I mention the name of that grandfather of mine, I will be beaten by people.

175: EM: This is the...

176: D: Kivevelo

177: EM: Kivevelo... if you go and say you are the grandson of Kivevelo the people will beat you?

178: D: Yeah, the people will beat you. That is all I know about him.

179: EM: He was such a bad person?

180: D: Yeah. He was such a bad person.

181: EM: Ok. I hope you are asking the Lord to help you not to...to be a third generation of bad people.

182: D: Yeah, actually, I...I...I have been praying so much for the Lord to help me to make a difference and yeah...in this family and my family.

183: EM: Yeah...because from what you are saying, it is like then your father and grandfather were just about...were...were similar.

184: D: Yeah

185: EM: Now, looking at the way your father has brought you up, if you had to be a father, would you want to be a father like him?

- 186: D:** No! I hate it. I...I won't want to be a father like him and sometimes I say that...sometimes I do thank the Lord for what he is doing for us because it is a kind of training. Now when I get my family and my children, I won't be treating them the way he is treating us because I will be thinking and saying, "Hey my father was treating us this way so I won't want my kids to be treated this way and treat them well.
- 187: EM:** Ok... so basically according to you, your father does not have any religious background. He doesn't do anything. There is nothing...like you...you are saying you are praying to God that you will not be like that. You are saying your father doesn't go to church, he doesn't like...there is nothing he is involved in...any...is he involved in any of these traditional things?
- 188: D:** Ok, concerning the traditional things, there...I cannot tell. It is just one day I heard eh...that woman, the one whom they stay with, she was saying she wanted to take him to a witchdoctor to be helped to stop drinking. Yeah, so that is all I know.
- 189: EM:** That's all you know?
- 190: D:** Yeah.
- 191: EM:** Anything else you would like to say?
- 192: D:** I...
- 193: EM:** I was asking...it' like...you said...when you have problems and conflicts you don't solve them with him. You don't know how to solve conflicts with him...you go to your...to your uncle?
- 194: D:** Yeah.
- 195: EM:** Your uncle is the one who comes to talk to him on your behalf or your pastor?
- 196: D:** Not even my uncle...my pastor or a neighbour of ours.
- 197: EM:** Your pastor or your neighbour?
- 198: D:** Yeah
- 199: EM:** Is the one who talks to him...is the one who goes in between
- 200: D:** Yes.
- 201: EM:** When that happens, are the problems solved? Do you sit and talk about them? What exactly happens?
- 202: D:** Ok, we don't sit and talk about them.

- 203:** EM: But does...does he change?
- 204:** D: He changes at the moment but the next minute he will behave the way he was behaving.
- 205:** EM: So it is like you are saying that when you have problems with your father those problems are never solved?
- 206:** D: Yes, they are never solved.
- 207:** EM: So, how do you deal with them? How do you deal with the pain of the conflicts then?
- 208:** D: You know...
- 209:** EM: You as a person now
- 210:** D: I as a person...and I will also talk on behalf of my sisters. You know we have grown with it so we have known to be patient and how to...you know...how to live with him. We just...when the problems are not solved we just live with them that way because we have grown with them and we have been patient all that time.
- 211:** EM: But does patience really deal with what is in your heart?
- 212:** D: No, it doesn't.
- 213:** EM: So that's... what I am wondering about is, how do you deal with what's in your heart? For example, am I wrong to say that you...you are...you feel angry with your father?
- 214:** D: No, you won't be wrong. In fact I do.
- 215:** EM: So then, how are you dealing with that anger that has risen out of a conflict that has not been resolved?
- 216:** D: Ok...the anger...you know, I...I told you that my faith actually has been playing a great role in that. Sometimes I say that he is my father and I can't do anything to make him not my father so I just forgive him and I say that I have forgiven him but the anger in me still remains there. Sometimes I ask God...God why can't you help me to...to you know this anger to be out of me. But now I can't make it the anger is just in me. Sometimes I...I force myself to just live with and pretend that there is nothing in me. But it is still there and I don't know how I can take it out of me.
- 217:** EM: What about your own relationship with God because you see when...sometimes when these things are going on, you go to God and you

feel like God also is not hearing you.

218: D: Yeah. Sometimes I do, but...because you know I know that God is always there for us and I know sometimes that we can...

219: EM: For us or for you?

220: D: Yeah...for me. Now let me use for me. I know he is there for me. Sometimes because I have been having...I have been hearing teachings from the church that sometimes God can let you go in a certain problem to mould you to be a good person in future, so that one in fact helps me so much. Sometimes I think oh...God may be letting me undergo this problem so that I may be another person in future and then sometimes I say thank you Lord even in the book of James, tells me that sometimes I count it all joy when I pass through problems. But sometimes I ask God, "Now God, this is too much for me. You can't take it out of me?" That is the way it has been.

221: EM: Would you say that you know that in moments like those you can turn to God and call him (clicks) really your father?

222: D: Yeah, I know that.

223: EM: You do?

224: D: Yeah.

225: EM: Ok... I was just asking...you know...when you think of all this and as you realize there are many unresolved things, you have this anger towards your father; your relationship with him is not good. You...you bear the responsibility for your sisters, you want to see the very best for them! Anything you want to say in relationship to this just as we wind up?

226: D: Ok I think...can you come again?

227: EM: What I am saying is, you said you know your relationship with your father isn't good, you bear the responsibility of your sisters and you want to, even though at this point you are not really able to, look after them...is there anything you want to say in this area just as a conclusion of this?

228: D: Ok, as a conclusion, now...as I had told you that I am planning to go to university and my ambition is after I am through with university I get a good job and then take care of my sisters...then the...what I can say is that if I get...get...I get a good job then I would be happy and I would thank the

Lord for that. That is all what I can say.

229: EM: If I ask you to describe your father in three words, what are the three words that you would use to describe him?

230: D Ok...now maybe if I start describing him in three words...

231: EM: Just...just give him three words...three words, maybe three adjectives that you think are...describe your father.

232: D: Ok...he is...ok...now I...I...I don't know the three adjectives to use but he is a hating father.

233: EM: He is a hating father, ok.

234: D: Mmmmh...he is a...he is not a caring father. I don't know which adjective you use for that one.

235: EM: Uncaring?

236: D: Yeah, Uncaring, and also he is not responsible, he is irresponsible.

237: EM: Hating, uncaring, irresponsible.

238: D: Irresponsible.

239: EM: And that makes you feel?

240: D: Bad, anger, I...I...I...I don't feel like I hate him but sometimes I do have that feeling.

241: EM: It makes you feel bad...it is bad. It makes you feel angry, can you add a third adjective here? Bad, angry and what?

242: D: Bad, angry and frustrated.

243: EM: Frustrated?

244: D: Yeah.

245: EM: But with all this you do not hate him?

246: D: I don't hate him

247: EM: You love your father?

248: D: I love him but sometimes a feeling comes in me but it doesn't take me out of my love for him.

249: EM: Ok, you long to get to know your father better?

250: D: Yeah.

251: EM: You long to do that. Would you ever call your father your friend?

252: D: Yeah, for the sake...you know he is my father.

253: EM: Yes, but a father and a friend are different things.

- 254: D:** Yeah, they are two different things I know that but I have to call him my friend because he is my father but...
- 255: EM:** Not,...not really.
- 256: D:** Ok...
- 257: EM:** A father who is a friend is different from a person who is just a father.
- 258: D:** Ok, he is not a friend.
- 259: EM:** He is not a friend.
- 260: D:** No
- 261: EM:** But you would want him to be a friend?
- 262: D:** I would want him to be a friend.
- 263: EM:** Ok...ok. Thank you David. You have said some very hard things about your father but I suppose you also seem to be so genuine, you seem to say it from the depth of your heart and you seem to hurt because of what you feel. I...I again...I just say thank you for allowing me to hear that.

INTERVIEW WITH WAVATA

- 3: EM:** I want to introduce you to Wavata Munyao. We have already met her father and brother earlier this day. She is in high school. She will tell us about herself, how old she is, what class she is in, what she is planning to do. She will talk a little more about her relationship with her father, how her father has brought her up and a few other things related to that. Please tell us.
- 4: W:** I am Wavata. I am in form... Kyulu girl's high school and I am in 4th form. I am 17 years old and what I have been asked to talk about that is my relationship...how we have been relating with our dad. I'd like to just...
- 5: EM:** Just before you go there, you are 17 years old, you are in 4th form... what would you like...what would you like to do after you finish 4th form? Are you finishing 4th form this year?
- 6: W:** When I finish 4th form as I wait for my results, I'd like to go for catering training so that I can be taught how to cook some of the things, which are needed in our society. Then when the results are out, if I qualify, I would

like to go to university and take...in the university...that is, the languages.

Yes, I like English.

7: EM: So you would like to get a degree in English and English Literature or just in English?

8: W: Literature that is.

9: EM: Literature?

10: W: yes.

11: EM: English literature...ok...ok. That is a good...that is a good field to go into. You are working hard to make that?

12: W: Yes. I am really working hard.

13: EM: You are working hard.

14: W: Yes

15: EM: Ok...ok. Yes. So tell us a little more about your...your family. How many are you as children.

16: W: Ok, in my family we are only three. My brother is the oldest, then I follow then my little sister who is in form 1.

17: EM: Ok. Tell us about your relationship with your father. How does your father...what does...how has your father brought you up?

18: W: Ok, I don't know...I center on myself or on the whole family? The whole family or myself?

19: EM: Yourself...you are talking about yourself.

20: W: Myself. Ok...I'll start with the beginning because when I was brought up I was brought up by my mother and I never used to know my dad until 1998 when my mother died. When she died...it was...

21: EM: You got to know your dad in 1998?

22: W: Yeah, in 1998...that is before the burial of my mother. Then when I knew him, at the first sight, I can say that...I can say that I felt as if there is something which is going to be wrong in my life when I live with him but...because I was just a little kid by then.

23: EM: How old were you when your mother died?

24: W: My mum? She died in 1998...that is 6 years back so I was about...

25: EM: About 12?

26: W: 11...12 there

27: EM: 11...12...and you are saying you had not seen your father.

28: W: I had not seen my father...because they...

29: EM: All your life? From the time you were born until you were 11?

30: W: Yes

31: EM: You had never met him?

32: W: From the stories that I get...it is that they divorced when we were still young. Like my little sister, she was just a small baby and we went to stay with my grandparents.

33: EM: You went to stay with your grandparents?

34: W: Yes...the three of us that is my brother, my sister and I.

35: EM: And where was your mother?

36: W: We stayed with her for a...for a short while then she went to work in Nairobi. So we were taken care of by my auntie back at home when my grandmother died so...

37: EM: So, let me...let me get this right. Your parents divorced when you were very young...

38: W: Yeah

39: EM: Then your mother took you to your grandmother...

40: W: Yeah.

41: EM: to look...for your grandmother to bring you up.

42: W: Yes.

43: EM: Yes, then after a short time your grandmother died...

44: W: Yeah,

45: EM: So then you were looked after by your auntie while your mother was in Nairobi working.

46: W: Yes.

47: EM: So you didn't know your mother either.

48: W: I knew her. I used to know her...

49: EM: She used to come and see you?

50: W: Yes, but most...

51: EM: But you never stayed with her?

52: W: Yeah. We never stayed with her but most of the time...like when it is at the end of the month, although I was very young, I used to go to Nairobi and I

could collect whatever she has worked for so I could take it home and use it for our needs.

53: EM: Go to Nairobi with who?

54: W: I used to go alone. She had told me the vehicles which I would be using.

55: EM: And she would meet you the other side?

56: W: No...I would just go to the house.

57: EM: At what age?

58: W: She used to stay at...near the town.

59: EM: At what age would you go to Nairobi on your own.

60: W: That is '97 and '98 before she died.

61: EM: Oh, you were 10?

62: W: Yes.

63: EM: From the age of 10 you could travel to Nairobi on the bus alone?

64: W: Yeah

65: EM: And get to town and move from one place to the other?

66: W: Yeah

67: EM: On your own?

68: W: Yeah...yeah

69: EM: She used to stay near the Akamba bus stop?

70: W: No. I used to go with Eastern bus that time, then when I reach Nairobi, I could take a vehicle which would take me to Githurai.

71: EM: You would go, get off Eastern bus and get to another vehicle...what number? 41?

72: W: I don't know but it was called Manila at that time. So it would take me to Githurai there town then just there I could walk for about 5 minutes and I reach h...where she used to stay.

73: EM: Nairobi is 250 kilometres from here...

74: W: Yes and I used to come from just farther...

75: EM: At the age of 10 you could do that?

76: W: Yes.

77: EM: And the age of 11?

78: W: Yes.

79: EM: So your aunt looked after you until your mother died?

- 80: W:** Yes. So when my mother died...
- 81: EM:** Did you know what happened to your mother?
- 82: W:** By that time I was in Nairobi and I was with her and then she used to work. She was working in a bar then she could come home at 10 pm. Then that day I could wait for her and when she comes is when I could sleep because I am the one who used to open the gate when she came. She was being brought by a vehicle. So that day I heard the vehicle come, then after 5 minutes I heard a lot of noise there outside, then I heard someone saying Tuteremkie hapa...tuteremkie hapa (let us go down through here). Then you know I was very young. I did not sense what was happening but something inside me told me that something must be wrong so I just waited there. I waited...I waited...I waited until...I ...I slept. The following morning I was woken up...woken up by the neighbours and they asked me, "Did your mother come home?" I told them, "No. I just heard the vehicle and I don't know what happened." So they started the search. They reported to the police and started searching now. And she was found on...on the road, that is the road which goes to Ruiru, on the road together with the driver. They all had been killed. And then the reports which I got later was that, when they reached there, there were 2 women that is my mother and another woman and it was a pickup. So the driver was sitting on his place then my mother at the centre and the other woman on the other side. When they reached the gate, the woman stepped down to excuse my mother to pass. So when she stepped down, she was...I mean...I mean the gang...the gangs now they came and they took hold of her. So my mother was left in the vehicle and then one with a gun entered the vehicle and commanded the driver to follow a route that was just down. It was dropping to a forest which was near the village where we used to stay.
- 83: EM:** So that is what you were hearing them talking?
- 84: W:** Yes. That is where I was hearing them talking. So the woman had been...I don't know what happened but they say that woman...she ran away. She left the gang...the gang going and she ran away so she is the one who reported what had happened. But when they got her, they said my mother had been killed in a brutal way. It was as if she was retreating and she did

not want to be killed so they...they removed her eyes. They also, I don't know...they cut her. I don't know what happened but at last they killed her. Then the driver who was with her, they just...they cut his head...the head was alone and the body was alone. That was the report that I got later. Then that is 1998, now it was April. When my mum was buried, we were told that we will be staying with my father and according to me, my life...I was not used to staying with a man. I was very much friendly to my mother but you know my... since my father and mother had divorced and I used to stay most of my time... because every end of the month I could go to my mother for a whole week then come back. But my brother didn't used to go and my sister didn't used to go so...and my father...I know he used to know that I used to stay most of the time with my mother because even when we closed school I could go. And then according to my father, my mother had gone to Nairobi to do prostitution. So when I came to start staying with my father, the saying went on. He used to call me...he started calling me a prostitute and he said my mother had trained me to be a prostitute.

85: EM: Which was not true?

86: W: It was not true

87: EM: How did you feel when your father called you a prostitute?

88: W: I used to feel so bitter and sometimes I could cry, sometimes I could ask him why he called me so but he didn't want to hear me talk. So I just kept quiet and I could wish that my mother had not died. But as time now went on I now went on becoming mature...even now, he has not stopped. He normally even calls me a prostitute but now I ...I ...I ... have learnt to stay with it because now I know there is nothing I can do about it and....

89: EM: But you know it is not true?

90: W: It is not true.

91: EM: It is not true.

92: W: It is not true but I just take it because I know forever I will not stay with him and a day will come when I will be living alone. So I just...when he calls me so, I just...I just decide to keep quiet. Sometimes I normally ask him because sometimes he calls me even before people. He says I am a prostitute. He goes telling people in the village that I am a prostitute and

even sometimes like when I go to church and my brother...he normally tells me that my brother is selling me to men so that he can be given the money. That is the kind of life I have been living with my father and when I was in primary school, he used...he used to go to an extent of beating me and he could beat me very badly, and he could kick me...

93: EM: Before he divorced your mother?

94: W: No! that was after mother...mother...

95: EM: Oh, when you came back?

96: W: Yeah.

97: EM: When you came back home...because you were still in primary school.

98: W: Yeah...now he used to beat me...like he could kick me and he could do so many bad things because sometimes he could beat me until I am bleeding and when he saw that I am bleeding he could say he is...that blood does not...does not kutisha (frighten) him.

99: EM: He is not afraid of blood?

100: W: Yeah...because I remember one day he was beating my sister then I asked him why he is beating her. He gave me a big blow and I started bleeding.

101: EM: Where? Nose bleeding?

102: W: Yeah. I started nose bleeding and then when I bled for a long time...when he saw the blood he told me that...that one cannot make him be afraid so I had just to...to...to just stay like that. There is nothing I did. Then most of the times he could...he normally goes, even around the village, and talks about me and even about my sister. Sometimes about our brother but not so much about my brother. Every time he talks I see that he hates me because of my mother and every times he normally tells me that I am like my mother. He tells me that my mother used to look at him badly. What does he want me to look at? How does he want me to look at him? Then he tells me I am looking at him with the eyes my mother used to look at him. He doesn't see me he doesn't want to own me. Then he tells me even I get married he will not care. He wants me to get married and come out of the family because I am giving him trouble. Like even with my school I can remember last year when I had to stay at home for one full month when he refused to pay my school fees and he said that he wants me

to get married. He normally keeps on telling me I find someone to get married to so that I can get out of the family that I will stop giving him trouble...because he says he doesn't like me and my sister because we are girls. He wants my brother...he is the only one who will help him.

103: EM: But does he get on well with your brother?

104: W: Yeah, they get on well but they normally collide a lot because of us, because my brother normally tells him he is not doing good things to us so my father feels like my brother is on the wrong path so he wants my brother to be like him...but my brother normally tells him he is not doing good things to us so they keep colliding. Even sometimes they normally quarrel. Even sometimes he tells my brother to go away and he starts cursing him because he has started siding with us.

105: EM: He sends your brother away and curses him because he has sided with you?

106: W: Yeah...yeah. The... especially when I was in class 8, there were several nights he used to chase me away and I could sleep outside.

107: EM: Why was he chasing you away?

108: W: Just because of petty...petty things. You know for example, when he takes water and places the cup on the table, now I don't know whether he has finished using the cup or what but he could use that one to quarrel me. It is as if there is something else he had...then he will start quarreling me, "What kind of woman are you? You can't even take this cup to the kitchen?" then I ask him, I don't know whether you have finished using it...it...it. He say, "You are a woman you should know." Sometimes when he places there and you take it to the kitchen he asks me why have I taken and he has not used it? Has he told me to take it? So it is as if every time he finds something to quarrel me.

109: EM: So why and then when you don't do it he quarrels you? So it is like he is not consistent in what he does?

110: W: Yeah. Then...there is a stepmother and normally...I mean another...another woman there whose husband died, he normally stays with her...together...they...

111: EM: Where? In the village?

112: W: Yeah, in the village.

- 113: EM:** You said she has what? Or he has married her or they are just...
- 114: W:** They are just staying...so he consi...I mean he values going to educate those children more than us because he says we cannot help him, that is me and my sister cannot help him. For example, when he gets his pay, he normally takes it there and even here at home he fails to buy food for us. Sometimes we...we are fed by the villagers, sometimes the pastor...
- 115: EM:** Sometimes the villagers pay...buy food for you?
- 116: W:** Yeah, that is food.
- 117: EM:** Or the pastor buys food for you?
- 118: W:** Yeah and then even things like...material things that we want, he is...since standard 8, like us, he has never bought clothes for us.
- 119: EM:** Since your mother died?
- 120: W:** When she died, he bought for us I think twice and then he stopped buying for us. And when you ask him...we tell him that we want clothes he normally tells us that he will pay the...he is...he is going to pay the school fees so he doesn't have money for...for clothes. The money he has is for school fees. When the school has been opened...I ...when we ask him where is the fees, he normally tells us that he doesn't have money. He tells us I will give money...I will give money and every time he is complaining...he is saying that we are using a lot of money. He is just buying us food...he is not buying clothes...he is not paying the school fees but he is saying ati he is using a lot of money for us. Like here in school, I am not chased because the principal understands my problem. She told me she is not going to be sending me home so I have huge balances her in the school and my father claims that the money he gets he is paying school fees while the fees is not being paid. He is not buying the food, he is not buying us clothes or buying the things which we want there at home. So most of the time we depend on ourselves or the...let's say for example if we go to the church and the pastor gives us money, because he takes care of us, and we go and buy s...
- 121: EM:** Pastor Kyalo is the one who takes care of you?
- 122: W:** Yeah. He buys like soap and the things that we need, then when we come to school, most of the times the church normally does shopping for me so I

come and utilize the shopping and I make sure I remain some for using when at...on vacation. So that is how we live/

123: EM: Now, do your friends know about your problems?

124: W: Friends here at school or at home?

125: EM: Here at school, at home or in the church.

126: W: Yeah in the church they know, here at school maybe 2...and they don't...

127: EM: Two...how does it make you feel that your friends know the problems you have with your father?

128: W: Sometimes I don't feel good because...

129: EM: Can you explain?

130: W: Because for example, when I see them, they have everything they want, parents who are taking care of them and when they come to school they have pocket money then when they come to me now, they come and tell me, "Dorcas I am sorry because of what is happening in your life." But the way I take it myself...they are telling me am sorry...but they...let's say for example just the other day, I was talking to another girl and she was telling me that when she came to...we opened school, she was given 700 shillings pocket money, during visiting, that is last Saturday her parents brought 1500 shillings to her, then she is telling me I am sorry for what is happening in your life. I thought she was laughing at me because if she was sorry she could give me like 100 and tell me, "Dorcas, use this one." So sometimes I don't feel good when people know and also there is a time when some went spreading rumors that my father had refused to educate me and he chased...I ran away from home...that time I was not in school. They said I have ran away from home of which was not true but according to the way they take it now because I have problems at home I ran away. So I don't feel good when they know I have a problem with my father.

131: EM: Do you feel like there is ever anything good that you have learnt from your father?

132: W: Anything good?

133: EM: Mmmmh

134: W: Yeah. Now...now that I am undergoing these...all these problems, I know I have learnt because even if I get which kind of problem, I normally know

how to solve it my own way or the way that which...which when I solve it I will be satisfied with it and people who will see me... they will not see it as a problem to me. The problems that he has been giving...giving me they have made me more mature now because right now I come through any kind of problem, I don't show that I have a problem or I don't go repeating myself. I have learnt to stay with problems and there is also...

135: EM: To stay with them not to really deal with them but to stay with them?

136: W: Mmmmh. Let me just say that to deal with them because now if for example I am here and I don't have shopping and I don't have anything, I don't go on showing and I don't keep on pitying myself or what. I just wake up in the morning and if I have toothpaste of 20 shillings I brush my teeth and if I don't have soap...I mean if I don't have oil to apply on myself, I just wear my clothes and I go to class and no one will know and if I come and tell someone I have this problem, I have this problem they tell me, "Dorcas you are great because you don't even show us. No one can know you have this kind of a problem."

137: EM: So you...as you are saying, you have learned to be mature

138: W: Yes

139: EM: To be responsible

140: W: Yes

141: EM: And to utilize whatever you have carefully

142: W: Yes

143: EM: So that whatever little you have you learn like to stretch...

144: W: Yes

145: EM: The little that you have...

146: W: And it has also taught me because...every time I get something for example, I get...I have a...to...to...to the ones which are small, I don't use all of them, I give one to somebody because I know this person maybe she is undergoing a worse problem than mine, so I give her also to use. It helped...helped me even the thing which are surrounding me and it has helped me completely because even the school...

147: EM: So out of this you have also learned to share with those who have worse problems than you have.

148: W: Yes. Yes. And on the side of responsibility, when...like now when we are at home and we don't have food at home, then my father is refusing to buy it for us, I normally take it because I am the big sister. My brother is...is...is a man so I normally take it as my responsibility. If I can...I can...I can, I go to the pastor and tell him we don't have 1,2,3. So I normally take it as my problem. I normally try to...to solve it. I even...here at the school, if there is a problem...even the...with the school...now...now that I am...I am the deputy head girl here...

149: EM: You are?

150: W: Yeah. I am the deputy head girl. I can see...everything. This problem has trained me to be a different person. I don't have a negative attitude but I have a positive attitude. I don't hate him, I really love him and even the villagers know because most of the times he normally goes on drinking and when he comes he doesn't even know himself so I am the one who takes care of him like a child. Sometimes he goes on messing up on himself because of drinking. I normally take his clothes and wash. I don't have any negative attitude towards it but I know that it is going to make me to be a better person.

151: EM: What has helped you develop this positive attitude?

152: W: Ok. At first when these problems used to come I had a lot of bitterness in my heart and I could go on crying every time and go on hating my father every time. But now as I have continued learning and that I told you I like literature, I have read so many literature books. I like learning about the African countries, then I...I...can see...I could see the problems that the women get. Like now when we learn the past, the women, the...the African women, they used to get a lot of problems. Yes, she could do a lot but people could not understand her. So that as I continued on reading and I sat back and interviewed my problem and then I asked myself, "What can I do to get out of these problems?" Then I got this...like when I went to my father and did bad things to him, this one will not help me because it might affect me even in the...in the future.

153: EM: Yes.

154: W: So I decided to pay his bad with good because...and when I tried it, it gave

me peace and if I tried to do something bad to him, I kept on remembering and it gave me bitterness and it made me hate him the more. That is, for example if we are cooking, yes, I cook for him. Yes I will cook well but I refuse to give him the food or I tell my brother to give him or my sister. I tell them to give him the food. I could refuse myself or when he gives me clothes to wash I tell my sister I won't refuse. I tell him I will wash but I tell my sister to do it for him. Then this one could...because when I tell them to do it for me, you know maybe when he comes he will know I did not wash the clothes when it keeps me to keep remembering my problems and I say when he comes and asks me I will answer him this way...I will do 1,2,3, to him, tell him 1,2,3...so it will not give me...

155: EM: So you rehearse...you spend the time rehearsing

156: W: Yes, but when I now started paying him good for bad, I mean...

157: EM: Good for bad?

158: W: Yeah, good for bad, when he does something wrong to me I do something good.

159: EM: You don't have to rehearse anything?

160: W: Yeah...yeah. It...it gave me now peace in my heart and now when I do good things to him, I normally feel like...like to have conquered him now and...

161: EM: But it is true to a certain extent you have...you have and that is what is helping you grow. Ok, now you mentioned... ok ...that is one thing...you read books, you read a lot about the suffering of the African woman and you want to see ways of doing it and this is one of the ways. You...you too...also said you help people in the church.

162: W: Yeah.

163: EM: You go to church that is?

164: W: Yes.

165: EM: You just go to church or what? How does that fit in...in this problem?

166: W: In this problem? Yeah, I go to church and I really believe in God

167: EM: You believe in God? For yourself?

168: W: Yeah, for myself. And I ...when...I got saved, I was prayed for, I got con...I got converted and then that one...because now...these problems

that as I had said earlier...they have given me to have a sense of responsibility. Even in church I used to feel that I have a burden for the other people so I started with the small children now. I could teach them Sunday school, I could teach them don't do this, don't do this, do this which is the good one. Now as I continued growing, I have...I have also, have also acquired some posts in the church.

169: EM: But what I was looking at is for yourself, personally, this...

170: W: I'm...sorry, sorry, sorry.

171: EM: It is because you believe in God?

172: W: Yeah.

173: EM: And it is a personal belief?

174: W: Yeah

175: EM: It has nothing to do with anyone else, it is your own personal faith added to what you know and that is what is helping you to be what you are?

176: W: Yeah, yeah. Ok. Now when I got saved, I took my problem with all that surrounds me because of who it matters most and then I learnt how to go to God. If I get a problem like I feel that I am bitter in my heart, I go to God and I make sure those tears I shed them before God and tell God to give me comfort. Then I pray that God will add me the love I have for...for my parents and for these people. I think that is all what has kept me.

177: EM: So when you go to God, you go to God like you are going to your father in a more personal way?

178: W: Yes, yes.

179: EM: Not just...you know there are many of us who are saved but they...when you ask them who is God to them, they can't tell you. They say he is God up there but you know him as who? God is who to you?

180: W: Ok, to me God is everything that I have because...

181: EM: What is the most important thing that God is to you as a person?

182: W: To me...he takes care of my needs. For example, if I collide with my father, I ...let me centre on that point...if I collide with my father, I normally go to God and...

183: EM: As a father or as just someone else to go to?

184: W: As a father...as a father, and I go to him because her is my father and my

father in heaven and also I get problems and he takes care of them. I go to him and I tell him, “My God, this area and this area is hurting me. Yes I might be wrong in one way or another but help me to...to give me comfort and help me to love those who are doing bad things to me. And then I tell God, next time...if for example I was wrong, “you know sometimes I get tempted to answer my father. Although I will not answer him with bad things, but he feels that I should not answer him and not speak. So what I am supposed to do is keep quiet when he is quarrelling me and all that and talk to him...talk to him when he is cool. But sometimes I normally...if I answer him my tempers will go...will go up and I end up answering him in a bad way. So when I when I go to God I go to God for him to solve my problems. I tell him, “Help me with time to not to answer this way. I tell him help me even in my future through this, help me that I will learn something which will help me in the future. So I go to God as my father and the...the...the...the one who takes care of all my needs.

185:EM: Ok...ok. So basically what you are telling me is that you do not really have a relationship with your earthly father as such. From the time you grew up you don't know him (yes). You got to know him after your mother died and he has mistreated you and you have not been able to build a relationship with him at all. Basically your life was...you were helped to be who you are now by...by your mother and then since your mother died you have chosen a lifestyle for yourself because of what you have gone through with your father, you have decided to change it to positive for yourself.

186: W: Yes, yes.

187: EM: And then you have come and you have been given a lot of responsibilities in school?

188: W: You know in the... in the... in the Christian Union I lead...

189: EM: You lead in the Christian Union?

190: W: Yeah, in...in clubs we have...I also am the leader I...I...belong to the wildlife club, yes I...

191: EM: Are these things making your academics suffer?

192: W: No...no.

193: EM: You are doing well academically?

- 194: W:** Yeah. What...what...what came at the first place and started making my academic life suffer is my relationship with my father. When I was in form 1 and 2, because I remember when I came to form 1, I was position 9, then I dropped from...that is second term, I dropped from position 9 to 50.
- 195: EM:** To position?
- 196: W:** 50
- 197: EM:** From 9?
- 198: W:** Yes and I went on like that...like that but when I said that I...I should accept what is happening to me and accept it is a problem and then work to make it better in future, then I got another attitude towards my...my life. So I started working and improved. When I worked hard I became position 30, I went to 22 to 21 and now I am improving. I am just approaching the grade that I want.
- 199: EM:** Which one is that you want?
- 200: W:** I want to get A- or B+.
- 201: EM:** What...what is your average now?
- 202: W:** My average now? Ummm...ummm, B-...C...C+.
- 203: EM:** C+, B-...it is not bad. You can make it. By the time you do mocks this year, you should at least come to a B...at least...at least B.
- 204: W:** Yeah, Yeah, Yeah.
- 205: EM:** If not a B+ or A-...you can...you can. Ok. So despite all this you have found yourself able to make good relationships with people outside.
- 206: W:** Yeah, Yeah
- 207: EM:** And again out of your own personal determination, “because I have gone through this I am not going to let it spoil my life. I will let the negative turn to positive.” And you are able to make relationships with others.
- 208: W:** Yes.
- 209: EM:** You have also learned to help other people.
- 210: W:** Yes.
- 211: EM:** If I asked you to describe your father, you...you do literature, in three words, how would you describe him? Give me three adjectives that you think adequately describe your father.
- 212: W:** (**long silence**) Well according to the way...

- 213:** EM: To what he is... To what he is.
- 214:** W: You know, he might be different to the way I take him.
- 215:** EM: To what you see in him...to what you see in him, because you are talking about your own experience with him out of your own experience with him... three adjectives that describe him. Just be honest...it is being honest and saying what you know...because those three will actually describe your view of his parenting style. What kind of a parent is he? Three adjectives...three words.
- 216:** W: Ok, I can say he is not caring
- 217:** EM: Not caring
- 218:** W: Easily influenced by the...
- 219:** EM: Easily influenced by others?
- 220:** W: Ok. (**Long silence**) ok, I can say also there is some sense of fear in him.
- 221:** EM: He has some sense of fear in him?
- 222:** W: Yeah
- 223:** EM: Well, would you say we could call him insecure?
- 224:** W: Yeah.
- 225:** EM: Insecurity...do you find that he is demanding in the sense that irrespective of what is happening he demands you to obey, you to do things the way he wants?
- 226:** W: Yes, yes.
- 227:** EM: When he tells you to do things, does he expect you to do them without any explanation at all?
- 228:** W: Yes
- 229:** EM: He doesn't allow you to ask why or he doesn't explain to you. It is like, do this because I am your father, I have said you do it...it is done.
- 230:** W: He says I have commanded and it should be done.
- 231:** EM: I am commanding...that is what he says? I am commanding and it should be done. That is what we call an authoritarian kind of a father. You see, there is the different...there is what we call the authoritative father, the one who says I want this to be done because of 1,2,3,4. These are the reasons I want it to be done and that kind of a father or mother will let you give your opinion, you discuss things with him even if he does...even if he has the

final word. Which of those is your father? Is it the first or the second?

232: W: He never allows us to discuss anything.

233: EM: You don't discuss anything with him?

234: W: When he has said, he has said.

235: EM: It is this is done, I commanded it to be done because I have said?

236: W: Yeah.

237: EM: Ok...ok. And that doesn't help you, so you never discuss things with your father?

238: W: No, no.

239: EM: You don't talk about anything?

240: W: No.

241: EM: You never sit as a family to discuss anything?

242: W: No. when we sit, it is...it is rarely but when we sit he is the one to talk. He talks and when there is something to be said, my brother he will say just a word and for example if he goes to an extent of telling him you should not do what he has said we should do this, then he started...his temper...normally he starts now...

243: EM: He has a temper?

244: W: Yeah and abusive.

245: EM: So, he is authoritarian, he has a bad temper, he is abusive, he is insecure?

246: W: Yeah.

247: EM: What does that make you feel when you know this is the father I have?

248: W: (Pause) you know I have to accept that he is my father.

249: EM: Yeah, it is true but you can't deny. Your father is your father, you can't deny him, you accept him but...

250: W: But sometimes I normally feel like if I had a different father things couldn't be the way they are. Sometimes like I normally...like when I see families when they are seated together, even people who are talking with their parents and they are laughing in a friendly...I mean the...the...the mood now which is created is a friendly one...I wish I say I wish this could be my parents.

251: EM: You long that you had a better relationship with them?

252: W: Yes

- 253: EM:** Because parents come and you see people sitting...has he ever come to see you?
- 254: W:** No, since he brought me to form 1 he has never come. It is only this year he came when he was bringing my sister and then sometimes I had sent my brother to tell him we want some money so he came. He gave me 300 but he did not talk. He just gave me and he went.
- 255: EM:** So...ok, how often are you supposed to be visited here?
- 256: W:** ok, it is supposed to be only once per term, but now parents when they...they stay for a long time before they come on the weekend just to see whether their children are faring well, just for some...some few minutes but...
- 257: EM:** He can be allowed to if he came for a few minutes?
- 258: W:** Yeah, he can be allowed but he doesn't come, although I never tell him to come and I never expect him.
- 259: EM:** To you as we wind up, whom...whom...what kind...what kind of a father would you say is the ideal father?
- 260: W:** ok, I...my...my idea of an ideal father is one who is caring and one who will take his children as people who he can sit down together and they can share ideas. Not somebody who is self centred and who feels like what I have said is the best one because now with the changing society, now things are changing and now the relationship of a...of a child to the parent is not the same way it was in the past. So I think that a good father should always create time for his children and if they are relating they should relate in a friendly way.
- 261: EM:** Should it be someone who can discipline?
- 262: W:** Yeah, that I know is...
- 263: EM:** You don't mind the discipline as long as you are sitting, talking and sharing...
- 264: W:** Yes and now the beating should also come in the right way.
- 265: EM:** The discipline should come in the...what do you think is the right way to discipline?
- 266: W:** ok, the first time if a child has done something wrong, I...I think that the parent should call the child and tell...try to explain why she has...she has

or he has gone wrong. For the second time, if this child is not changing should ...make it clear to her or him that this what she is doing is not good and you are not pleased with it. Then if the child isn't changing he should take other measures like if she...

267: EM: Spanking...spanking? Do you believe in spanking if necessary.

268: W: Yeah, if necessary.

269: EM: And if not...not too much.

270: W: Yeah...not too much.

271: EM: Ok...ok. Thank you so much for sharing these things. They are deep and I am sure it is not easy to have that kind of a...of a history particularly when you talk about your mother. You were there...I mean it is like you were the last one who was there when she died and this has happened. I cannot be easy... it can't be easy. It must be very difficult and I appreciate that. I happen to come from a background where I also had problems with my father. Maybe to a certain extent not so severe but I mean I really never thought I had a relationship with my father. Not that you know, we didn't talk at times he didn't pay my school fees but my mother was alive and we were very good friends and that is how I survived...that is how I survived through those difficult high school years particularly. So to a certain extent I can feel what you feel. Of course the only difference is my mother was alive and we were very close with my mother also but there were some very hard years and actually that is what made me want to continue to learn about what I am doing and just see um...we need to raise some voices; something in parenting in Africa. We don't have very much written in Africa and that is why I am doing what I am doing. It is wanting to begin to rise up African voices both children and adults. You see I know a lot of people have a problem like you but I decided that for every man I interview I would interview their own children because that is the best assessment of the relationship. It is being able to say is this really true and I am just very grateful that you have been able to share with us and your brother shared you know and he gave me his own side of the story. Your father shared and he gave me his own side of the story, but I am very grateful.

Appendix C2 Munyao's family consent forms

Dear Mr. Jim Munyao

This researcher is interested in finding out what parenting strategies fathers of African origin use and how these strategies affect the social relationships of their children.

To be able to do so this researcher intends to interview fathers who have children in the age group of 14-25 years. The researcher intends to interview one or two children in the mentioned age group of every father interviewed in order to find out what the young people think of the father's parenting strategies. She also intends to find out how these young people have formed social relationships and what difficulties they may have encountered during the process.

While interviewing the fathers the researcher is seeking not only to understand the strategies the fathers use but also what influenced the development of these strategies, that is, how culture, education and religion influence parenting strategies.

This letter is an invitation for you and one or two of your children aged 14-25 years to participate in this research. The research assures you that your identity will be protected as far as it is possible.

As you give information you will be contributing to the process of developing strong healthy relationships between fathers and their children and hence healthy relationships for young people in the community, nation and continent. You will also contribute information that will help those involved in counseling and reconciliation at the family level to develop appropriate counseling strategies.

The researcher is also seeking your permission to tape the conversation as a way of preserving all the useful information you will be sharing for the purpose of more accurate evaluation.

If you are willing to participate please sign in the space provided below:

I JIMMY MUNYAO KIVEIENO agree to participate in this research. The researcher has explained the expectations, and I am comfortable with the explanations. I would like to contribute to the welfare of my community and nation.

Signed: [Signature] Date: 24-2-04

Dear David Muryao

This researcher is interested in finding out what parenting strategies fathers of African origin use and how these strategies affect the social relationships of their children.

To be able to do so this researcher intends to interview fathers who have children in the age group of 14-25 years. The researcher intends to interview one or two children in the mentioned age group of every father interviewed in order to find out what the young people think of the father's parenting strategies. She also intends to find out how these young people have formed social relationships and what difficulties they may have encountered during the process.

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The researcher is also seeking your permission to tape the conversation as a way of preserving all the useful information you will be sharing for the purpose of more accurate evaluation.

If you are willing to participate please sign in the space provided below:

I DAVID MURYAO agree to participate in this research. The researcher has explained the expectations, and I am comfortable with the explanations. I would like to contribute to the welfare of my community and nation.

Signed: ZRM Date: 24-2-04

Dear Wavata Munyao

This researcher is interested in finding out what parenting strategies fathers of African origin use and how these strategies affect the social relationships of their children.

To be able to do so this researcher intends to interview fathers who have children in the age group of 14-25 years. The researcher intends to interview one or two children in the mentioned age group of every father interviewed in order to find out what the young people think of the father's parenting strategies. She also intends to find out how these young people have formed social relationships and what difficulties they may have encountered during the process.

While interviewing the fathers the researcher is seeking not only to understand the strategies the fathers use but also what influenced the development of these strategies, that is, how culture, education and religion influence parenting strategies.

This letter is an invitation for you and one or two of your children aged 14-25 years to participate in this research. The research assures you that your identity will be protected as far as it is possible.

As you give information you will be contributing to the process of developing strong healthy relationships between fathers and their children and hence healthy relationships for young people in the community, nation and continent. You will also contribute information that will help those involved in counseling and reconciliation at the family level to develop appropriate counseling strategies.

The researcher is also seeking your permission to tape the conversation as a way of preserving all the useful information you will be sharing for the purpose of more accurate evaluation.

If you are willing to participate please sign in the space provided below:

I KIAVATA MUNYAO agree to participate in this research. The researcher has explained the expectations, and I am comfortable with the explanations. I would like to contribute to the welfare of my community and nation.

Signed: Wavata Date: 24th Feb 2004

Appendix D1 Idriss' family interviews

INTERVIEW WITH IDRIS

- 3: EM:** Today is the 14th of March 2004 and before us is Mr. Idriss Abdalla...Idriss Abdalla. I am going to ask ...him to tell us something about himself um his...his educational level, his profession, his religious background, his age and we begin there and then we will continue the interview for him to tell us a little more about him and his children. Mr. Idriss...please.
- 4: I:** I am Idriss Abdalla. I was born in Garissa. In fact I was born in 1962 (42 years now). I joined the military in 1982 and I am married with 5 children, 2 girls and 3 boys and they are all schooling.
- 5: EM:** They are all in school?
- 6: I:** They are all in school. I am a Muslim, my...in fact even my wife is a Muslim.
- 7: EM:** Have you always been a Muslim or you became a Muslim later in life?
- 8: I:** I was born a Muslim.
- 9: EM:** You were born a Muslim? Ok, ok. Yes. Now you said...you tell...told us when you joined the military. So that is your profession?
- 10: I:** Sure.
- 11: EM:** But you haven't said anything about your education.
- 12: I:** Yeah. In fact I completed in Garissa Secondary School, that was in 1980.
- 13: EM:** What school?
- 14: I:** Garissa Secondary School.
- 15: EM:** Gaza?
- 16: I:** Form four.
- 17: EM:** Gaza?
- 18: I:** Garissa Secondary School. Garissa High School that is in Garissa town.
- 19: EM:** Garissa town.
- 20: I:** That was in 1980 and I joined the military after my O' levels.
- 21: EM:** What kind of training have you had in the military? What kind of training

do you get when you get in? Are there many levels of training?

22: I: Yeah. In fact when I joined the military I was taken to communication section I have gone to even KTTC Postal School, military school in Kahawa, I have done a diploma in communication in Embakasi again another diploma in communication. So in fact that is the line I am doing, communication technology.

23: EM: Ok, you are basically in the communication line?

24: I: A communicator.

25: EM: A communicator, now communication includes what?

26: I: Communication deals with telephones, dealing with radio communication, talking to the airports. We are dealing with aircrafts, making the pilots and the ground crew to communicate well when pilots are in any part of Kenya. We know where they are, when they are landing, all this.

27: EM: You know where they are?

28: I: We coordinate with our bosses.

29: EM: That is...that is so that is...that is your major line.

30: I: Yeah.

31: EM: So if I say you are a communicator in the military, that is...that is a good description of you?

32: I: Sure.

33: EM: Ok, now as I said aha, just when I was telling you what we are doing, I told you am interested in knowing what the relationship between fathers and their children and how fathers have...how fathers have brought up their children. Maybe before I ask...ask you to tell us how you brought up your children, I can ask you what influences you to bring up your children the way we do?

34: I: In fact as a Muslim first, it is my responsibility to bring up my children it is not my wife's.

35: EM: It is not your wife's?

36: I: No. That is basically mine.

37: EM: That is interesting. You know that is very interesting because of the other tribes; the African tribes I have met, and have always felt that the responsibility of children is the wife's. Yes it is.

- 38: I:** The clan I came from says that the father is responsible. My religion also says that.
- 39: EM:** The father is responsible?
- 40: I:** The father is responsible for the children. Even if today I leave my wife and divorce, the children are going to be with me.
- 41: EM:** You will take the children?
- 42: I:** They are not going to go with their mother.
- 43: EM:** She can't go with them?
- 44: I:** She can't go with them.
- 45: EM:** And what happens to...
- 46: I:** Not unless there is one who is below 2 years.
- 47: EM:** Very small?
- 48: I:** Yean and then...
- 49: EM:** Below 2 years?
- 50: I:** Yeah. No less than 2 years. If he below 2 years, she will go with him by the time he reaches 2 years that child...
- 51: EM:** Will have to come back?
- 52: I:** Yes.
- 53: EM:** Ok. Now how does...how does your religion then help you to bring up your children? What are the things that religion does to help you bring up your children because it seems here like it takes a forefront in how you bring them up?
- 54: I:** Yes. In fact with a boy, he is always to be with the father as...the reason why this is... ladies...if any problem comes with a lady, with my daughter, that is the responsibility of the mother is the whole problem of the lady. When the lady...the lady brings any problem to that house. Say now my daughter gets pregnant, so her mother is going to be blamed.
- 55: EM:** Blamed?
- 56: I:** Yeah.
- 57: EM:** Yes?
- 58: I:** For a daughter, the whole problem comes with her mother. That is what we say. If my...if any boy of mine brings a problem they will say he is just like his father.

- 59: EM:** But then you said you are responsible for bringing up the children.
- 60: I:** We are responsible. Yeah.
- 61: EM:** So how do you go and blame the mother when your daughter gets pregnant?
- 62: I:** That is something I met in my clan and my tribe though it is judgement.
- 63: EM:** And in your religion?
- 64: I:** Yeah.
- 65: EM:** Yes.
- 66: I:** If my daughter gets pregnant today don't blame me. Even my people won't blame me. They will say the mother is bad.
- 67: EM:** The mother is bad?
- 68: I:** Yeah. She doesn't look after her children...daughters in fact. If the sons bring problems I am to blame.
- 69: EM:** That is interesting. Now is there anything very specific in the Koran to...to tell you this is the way you look after your son or children?
- 70: I:** In fact, yes. My religion says children...you have to look after your children always first ...unclear... clothing them. In fact looking after everything basically all you need in this world. It is basically for the father. My religion says that the mother even cannot...even is not a must that she must go for a work. She can stay at home but basically it is me who is to feed and clothe these children.
- 71: EM:** What about disciplining them? Who disciplines them?
- 72: I:** Disciplining them infact solely is the responsibility of the father to discipline his children. Sometimes when a daughter reaches the age of...like this one of mine, 14, now sh...sometimes, basically she comes in...under her mother's care because there are many things I cannot talk to her but her mother can talk to her. Yeah. So my tribe encourages that there are some things I cannot talk to my daughter but the mother can, but...and my...then the boys when they reach the age of 15 or 14, they come under my care now. That is I will talk to them when we are at home. We discuss so many things but with my daughters, no. They go to sit with their mother.
- 73: EM:** But then when they make mistakes?
- 74: I:** Yeah?

75: EM: Then you come in?

76: I: Am...am...am going to come in there and discipline them now and...

77: EM: How do you...

78: I: And in my clan we beat them.

79: EM: You beat?

80: I: Yes.

81: EM: And that is allowed?

82: I: Yes. It is allowed.

83: EM: Even you today you still beat them?

84: I: In my house there is always a...there is a stick.

85: EM: There is a stick?

86: I: Basically to discipline them.

87: EM: Do you beat them often?

88: I: In fact, whenever they make a...I give them a chance. 1st mistake, 2nd mistake, the 3rd one I'll discipline ...unclear...

89: EM: If they make the same mistake for the 3rd time

90: I: Yeees.

91: EM: That is when you beat?

92: I: Am going to discipline now.

93: EM: Ok, so canning...canning, both your...your canning in both your culture and religion is allowed

94: I: Allows

95: EM: Is allowed?

96: I: Sure.

97: EM: Yes. I ...I once heard that for boys to be really...to become the men they are supposed to be, they are supposed to be really beaten a lot.

98: I: Yes

99: EM: Is that true?

100: I: It is true. In fact as a father in my tribe, you have to beat your children to discipline them and show them the way they are going to behave also when they become big people.

101: EM: So you are telling them...you are letting your son...

- 102: I:** Yeah at least you have to beat.
- 103: EM:** You are telling me that your son when he is big he is also going to beat?
- 104: I:** Yeah. Even in my culture what they say is even your wife, if you do not beat your wife and a year-ends that means you are not a man. (laughter). So the same happens with my children.
- 105: EM:** What??
- 106: I:** You have to beat at least...
- 107: EM:** To prove you are...to prove you are...
- 108: I:** To prove you are responsible.
- 109: EM:** To prove you are a man you have to beat...to prove that you are responsible?
- 110: I:** That you are responsible for this house, nobody is questioning you.
- 111: EM:** So what kind of things make you beat your wife?
- 112: I:** Uh. There are some mistakes in fact which comes up when the children become...sometimes they...let's say I have beaten my or disciplined my child for a long time the same...same mistake. Now, sometime I say that the mother is responsible. There are some things, in fact I have...I...I as I said earlier, like in my daughter's...my daughter's, if they do a mistake 3 to 4 times the same, same mistake so I will blame it on the mum.
- 113: EM:** So then you go and beat her instead of beating the girls?
- 114: I:** Because she has to help me raise up these children, take them especially the girls. With the boys, I can sit with them and talk anything but with my culture, me...it does not allow me to talk with my daughters somethings.
- 115: EM:** Your culture?
- 116: I:** Yeah, does not allow.
- 117: EM:** And you are...
- 118: I:** Me and my daughter, we sit and we talk this one about how to lice and how she should behave? Ah no! we cannot talk that.
- 119: EM:** What about your religion?
- 120: I:** Even my religion.
- 121: EM:** So both your culture and your religion does not allow you to...
- 122: I:** Yeah.
- 123: EM:** ...to actually sit and discuss...

- 124: I:** (Interrupting) My daughter
- 125: EM:** ...discus anything?
- 126: I:** Especially when she becomes a big lady.
- 127: EM:** 14 years?
- 128: I:** 14 years and above, yeah.
- 129: EM:** So like now your work with your daughter is finished?
- 130: I:** Yeah. We talk of her schooling when she comes at home, her homework we do together but anything...
- 131: EM:** Of how to behave?
- 132: I:** ...of how to behave in this world! No we don't talk that.
- 133: EM:** But who prepares her for the...like eh on how to deal with men at a latter day?
- 134: I:** No, no that one she is going to talk with her mother not me.
- 135: EM:** But there are things only a father can tell.
- 136: I:** Yeah.
- 137: EM:** Because...because the father is the one who is a father and there are things he can say about men.
- 138: I:** Sometimes I tell her to behave because you know this world has its...but I cannot go deeply.
- 139: EM:** You can't go deeply? Ok, so both your culture and your...your religion are very...very influential in the way you bring up your children?
- 140: I:** In fact, they go together very much. As a Muslim first you are supposed to live the way the Koran says you have to bring...bring up your children in a certain way.
- 141: EM:** Yes, that is you have to bring them up to be Muslim.
- 142: I:** A Muslim eh, they have to be, in fact have to know that there is God and eh, you have to in fact take them to school before school first madrassa, these Islamic schools...schools.
- 143: EM:** What are they taught in the madrassa?
- 144: I:** They are taught the Arabic. You know the Koran is written in Arabic?
- 145: EM:** Yes.
- 146: I:** So it becomes easy for them to read.
- 147: EM:** Ok.

- 148: I:** So like these ones of mine now, they...they...they are going to school. At the same time when they come in the evening or sometimes the weekend, they go to madrassa.
- 149: EM:** Ok so, they are still going...they are still going for madrassa? Also what about eh the influence of your own father and the influence of your own family? How has your relationship with your father helped you become the father you are or not helped you for that matter?
- 150: I:** In fact eh, to my people, my father is very important and my mum though my parents are dead both.
- 151: EM:** When...did they die early when you were young?
- 152: I:** My father in fact...3 years ago.
- 153: EM:** Oh ok, quite recently.
- 154: I:** My mum when I was young, in fact in primary.
- 155: EM:** Yeah
- 156: I:** Very young in fact they really...they really helped me to bring me where I am now and eh... my father in fact sometimes brought some problems with my family when I was married. He said he doesn't want. You know that is normal in my culture? Sometimes our...our old man, mum and dad say, "no we don't want this wife." We got some problems in fact.
- 157: EM:** Because she was the wife of your choice?
- 158: I:** Yeah.
- 159: EM:** Not their choice?
- 160: I:** Yeah. This lady of mine...we divorced in fact because of problems with my parents and that is my father. He was of that because we have come from different clans. You know in Somalis we have problems with the clans?
- 161: EM:** You...you need...are you supposed to marry within your clan?
- 162: I:** From...from my clan so my father was against where I married.
- 163: EM:** Oh, because like for...for...for...for us and most other tribes you do not marry in your clan.
- 164: I:** Ok.
- 165: EM:** No.
- 166: I:** In our...in our tribe
- 167: EM:** No. you don't marry in your clan because of the fear of getting married to

someone who is your relative in the...in the long line.

168: I: Ok

169: EM: So you don't marry in your clan.

170: I: So then my

171: EM: For you...you marry in your clan?

172: I: My father wanted me to marry in fact eh the daughter of his sister.

173: EM: Ok...

174: I: Imagine

175: EM: So you marry that close?

176: I: We marry that close.

177: EM: It is that close among you?

178: I: Yeah but me I was...

179: EM: Among the Somalis?

180: I: I was against that

181: EM: Ok

182: I: I was against it because it was very close.

183: EM: Yeah

184: I: Very close but he ...unclear... until I divorced the lady. We stayed a year; she stayed a year at home. I talked to him, I talked to another...some other old men to go and talk to him then he became cool.

185: EM: Then you called her?

186: I: Then she came back.

187: EM: You remarried?

188: I: Yeah, I remarried again.

189: EM: You...you are allowed to remarry the same person?

190: I: Yeah, I remarried again. Some go in divorce, you give the dowry then you remarry again.

191: EM: When you remarry you pay dowry again?

192: I: No. When you divorce if the first time, you give your complete dowry. Then when I remarry again if I divorce again I will pay ...unclear...

193: EM: So you pay the dowry when you divorce?

194: I: When you divorce.

195: EM: Not when you are marrying

- 196: I:** No.
- 197: EM:** That is interesting. This is very different and very interesting.
- 198: I:** Very different, very different.
- 199: EM:** Yeah, so when you divorced her you paid full dowry?
- 200: I:** Yeah, full dowry.
- 201: EM:** Then you remarried her again after a year.
- 202: I:** After a year.
- 203: EM:** And that is when you had the other children?
- 204: I:** Yeah.
- 205: EM:** Ok.
- 206: I:** That time is when my 2nd born that is my son was born.
- 207: EM:** Yeah.
- 208: I:** In fact I tried to bring my late dad and my wife so close and I thought they were friends when...
- 209: EM:** By the time he died? Yes.
- 210: I:** When my father passed away. So my dad really helped me. My mother was...I was very young but I don't know much of my mother.
- 211: EM:** But then the way father brought you up you know...well, I know...I know you will probably tell me it is very normal in the Islamic way in the...in the cultural way but the way he brought you up, other than just the...the emphasis on the culture and the religion. Are there things he did that have made you the father you are, have made you not want to be the father like him, to make you be a different kind of a father?
- 212: I:** In fact eh, I can say he really helped me because one, he was in town; he was not from reserve area. The problem is he was not much for schooling. I remember when I was in form two he did not pay my school fees. He stopped, he said eh, "Go and look after the cows." Then me I went to my uncle, another man who...that one is educated.
- 213: EM:** How did that make you feel when he said go and...
- 214: I:** (Interrupting) It felt very bad...very bad.
- 215: EM:** ...go and look after cows
- 216: I:** I feel very bad. I have gone to the cows; in fact I stayed for I think four months.

217: EM: Looking after cows?

218: I: I...I said no. This is not life then I came back.

219: EM: Now that was way back in Garissa.

220: I: Yeah. Garissa. Now I talked to my uncle, told him some things, my uncle was an educated man then he understood. He paid for my school fees but that is form 3 and form 4. So I really appreciate also my uncle. Then my father, when he has seen that I have finished schooling to understand there is good to pay school fees at least. In fact the children who are...the ones who are following me back, they are educated even the nini...

221: EM: And he is the one who educated them?

222: I: Yeah.

223: EM: Ok and yet...

224: I: Even...even himself he paid for the fees but I was supporting him and give him ideas.

225: EM: Yes. Are you...are you the firstborn?

226: I: Yeah, but of my mum.

227: EM: Of your mum?

228: I: You know he married three other women?

229: EM: Ok.

230: I: So there is almost...I think he has 16 children in total.

231: EM: You are 16 but you are the first one?

232: I: Firstborn of my mum.

233: EM: Of your mum?

234: I: There was another woman before my mum.

235: EM: But then you are firstborn of how many? How many are you in the family?

236: I: My mum of the complete?

237: EM: Yeah, your mum.

238: I: My mum? I am the firstborn; there are other two boys and a lady now.

239: EM: So there are four of you but then your father has 16 in all?

240: I: 16.

241: EM: From...from...from 4 women?

242: I: From 4 women

243: EM: From 4 mothers.

- 244: I:** Yes
- 245: EM:** Ok. So that is again the...the cultural religious thing?
- 246: I:** Yes.
- 247: EM:** That you marry four wives? You can marry...
- 248: I:** It is allowed, it is allowed four...
- 249: EM:** You can marry up to four.
- 250: I:** As long as you can look after them. There are conditions.
- 251: EM:** Ok, just four, no more?
- 252: I:** Yeah, you can marry four but with conditions
- 253: EM:** With conditions?
- 254: I:** As long as you can look after these people equally you are able in fact.
- 255: EM:** You look...you are supposed to look after the four wives
- 256: I:** The four wives
- 257: EM:** Equally?
- 258: I:** Equally, without looking at this, buying this one new thing not buying the other ones you know. You have to look after everyone, yeah.
- 259: EM:** Now let me, before we continue with your father, let me just digress a bit and ask you how has being a firstborn made a difference in your life because you know we...we are told that firstborns have many problems and...
- 260: I:** Eh, firstborns...in fact with my people back at home or with my religions, what it says is, first of all you have a very big burden. In fact, especially when your dad leaves this world. Like me now when my father passed away, all the problems, which comes now after the other children.
- 261: EM:** Your followers...your immediate followers...
- 262: I:** The ones who follow me. I have to be called now I am yaani, I am there where the old man is now.
- 263: EM:** You take his responsibilities?
- 264: I:** So if anything happens now at home with my brothers or sisters at home, I am called.
- 265: EM:** But what about when you were growing up? During the years of growing up as a firstborn, was there...is there a problem with that?
- 266: I:** In fact they really liked me. I...because I was a firstborn, you know you are

liked much.

267: EM: You are favoured?

268: I: I am favoured.

269: EM: By your father?

270: I: Yes. When I was young I remember even my aunties sisters all these they used to carry me, they liked me.

271: EM: Spoilt you?

272: I: Yeah, being the firstborn. Again, in my people you know we like boys?

273: EM: And you are a firstborn son.

274: I: The firstborn became a boy

275: EM: Yes...yes.

276: I: Me now, they were very happy but I...I in fact I thank my father.

277: EM: They like boys...boys more than girls?

278: I: They like boys, yeah...yeah.

279: EM: Why?

280: I: That is the culture. in fact I am told my people they are that way. Even they don't educate children, educate...

281: EM: They don't edu...educate the girls?

282: I: Yeah. If...if you go to Garissa now, you will see in school you will see 10 boys, 1 girl. No. eh 1 girl, 100 boys in school.

283: EM: Even today?

284: I: Even today, even today.

285: EM: Goodness. Ok, so you are quite unique when you are educating all your children now.

286: I: Sure.

287: EM: This is very different.

288: I: You know I have to educate my children. You know we are...you have to be different because people...they follow cultures of long time ago. We have to go with this world. This modern world the way it is going, we have to educate the children equally.

289: EM: Yeah, culture is changing.

290: I: I don't want them to blame me that "You have educated this one better."

291: EM: Yeah, later on...yes.

- 292: I:** I don't want those blames. No...no.
- 293: EM:** You don't want them to blame you? So what about from your own followers? Did you have a problem being a firstborn? How has your relationship with them been ? Did you find like they expected a lot from you?
- 294: I:** The one who...who followed me in fact who is a boy, also happens...happens to hate me, I don't know why.
- 295: EM:** To hate you?
- 296: I:** In fact when we were young, even now, he does not want my ideas, he is always against but the others support me.
- 297: EM:** The girls?
- 298: I:** The other ones who...there is another boy and another girl.
- 299: EM:** Another boy and a girl?
- 300: I:** They...they...they support me but this one who...who there, the one who is...
- 301: EM:** Your immediate follower?
- 302: I:** That is always against me I don't know why.
- 303: EM:** What happened when you were young? Are you close in age?
- 304: I:** Yeah in fact
- 305: EM:** How old?
- 306: I:** I was born in '62 and he was born in '63.
- 307: EM:** But normally when you are that close there...you...you grow up as very close friends so...
- 308: I:** it is just the same as my children here. My lady and my...this daughter of mine and my son always they are shouting at home, I have to...
- 309: EM:** They are always fighting?
- 310: I:** Yes, they are always fighting and especially the problem comes from the lady.
- 311: EM:** Yes.
- 312: I:** I don't know, in fact she is always shouting at the boy I don't know why. We are always cooling her.
- 313: EM:** So there was a problem here because between the two of you, your brother who followed you but not the others. Do they look up to you? Did they look

up to you even when you were younger?

314: I: Yeah, in fact... in fact...

315: EM: So what did that make to feel as you were growing up with your younger brothers and sister looking up to you? How does that make you feel?

316: I: In fact right now am the father of those who are there as long as my father is dead now, am the father of all these even my brothers and the daughters. In fact they respect me right now even the one who is against me sometimes when we...even if he does something bad today, am the one who is going to come there as an old man.

317: EM: You are...you are the one who is going to correct...

318: I: So the respect must be...it is there

319: EM: Yes

320: I: It is just because he has...he has other tempers which are different from mine.

321: EM: Ok, but what about when they were...they were younger, did they look up to you like wanting to get ideas from you, wanting help from you?

322: I: Sure...sure.

323: EM: Ok.

324: I: ...and my culture in fact it said that you have to respect your elder even if they are small boys so...

325: EM: Even if it is a

326: I: Yeah

327: EM: Ok

328: I: So it encourages in fact my culture really encourages that and my culture really goes with my religion. It says that you have to respect even if someone is elder than you by 1 year. We...our...our people, they go with years. If somebody has...was born a year...

329: EM: Before you?

330: I: Before you...you have to respect him.

331: EM: So...so then you have...you have...you have enjoyed that respect from them and...

332: I: Yeah, I...I have really enjoyed.

333: EM: Ok...ok. That is good. So then, going back to the father. You said there was

these problems when he...when he did not send you to school and he made you feel very bad did that really affect your relationship with him or it was just for a short while?

334: I: It was a short time that was two years in fact a part of the 3rd form and 4th form. After I finished schooling in fact, I really, I asked him that why, after I finished my O' levels, I asked him why didn't he...why didn't he pay my fees? Now, by the time we had so many cows. You know our people deal with cows, camels...

335: EM: By the time you were in school?

336: I: Yeah, by the time I was in schooling he had, in fact he had so many cows and there was nobody to look after them so what he told me that is after I had completed my O' levels and I confronted him and asked him why he has done this to me. "I had so many camels even I could have given to you." That was what he said in fact.

337: EM: He had so many he could have...

338: I: Even I could have given you a woman so many camels and I wanted you to settle.

339: EM: He wanted you to actually get married?

340: I: Yeah. That is what he said so I have seen that he had no...he had no intention...bad intentions.

341: EM: No bad intentions?

342: I: He had no bad intentions.

343: EM: He just wanted you to get married and settle.

344: I: He just wanted me to get married and look after his cows only that and he is not to blame because he was not educated.

345: EM: Yeah. That is true...that is true. You said he wasn't educated.

346: I: I have considered so many factors.

347: EM: Now, how has your profession helped you look after your children if at all?

348: I: I can say in fact eh, my profession... am paid so am looking after my children.

349: EM: Yeah other than...other than the pay...other than the pay...

350: I: There is no problem.

351: EM: Other than the pay, what...how does being a soldier help you? I mean...you

know you are very disciplined kind of people. How...how has that, the discipline you have learnt as a soldier, has it in any way helped you bring up your children?

352: I: In fact eh, as a soldier first, we are all disciplined and the same discipline in fact from work from the office up to my home that discipline should be there.

353: EM: What kind of discipline?

354: I: The children must be disciplined; my wife must be disciplined the way I am.

355: EM: Now, how do you...

356: I: We don't shout at home. We don't shout at all. You know it is like sometimes the way I see civilians doing.

357: EM: That is?

358: I: Somebody shouting with his wife...arguing.

359: EM: That is how they discipline yeah...

360: I: Till the neighbours hear what you are talking about. We don't do that.

361: EM: So as a part of the discipline you don't shout at home?

362: I: Yeah, you have to take that discipline to...to our children and you talk slowly.

363: EM: So you have taught...

364: I: Yeah, not to shout to solve your things in the house not outside. It is not good to shout at your wife outside or the children. Why did you do this and other people are hearing...that is...

365: EM: You stay in a neighbourhood and everyone knows what is going on.

366: I: Yeah. When I want...when I want to talk with my daughter or my son, I call them inside the house, I close the door and I talk.

367: EM: Ok.

368: I: I don't think even the neighbours hear what we are doing.

369: EM: Ok...ok

370: I: Or disturb the other neighbours even my children, in fact I tell them they are entering the house. I...I don't want to...I don't want them to bang the door. I don't...I don't want them to disturb my neighbours ...unclear... discipline. That is what we all do.

- 371:** EM: Ok...ok. Any other aspects of disciplining? What about their work? When they are not...their schoolwork.
- 372:** I: The children? When they are not in school in fact...
- 373:** EM: No even with their schoolwork, how have you helped them?
- 374:** I: Yeah sure.
- 375:** EM: How has your profession, disciplined profession helped them in areas like that?
- 376:** I: In fact they really like what am doing, am supporting them, in fact very much and I want them to complete their education even to the highest. That is what I want and as a soldier in fact even my firstborn son says he is going to be a soldier.
- 377:** EM: This one?
- 378:** I: This one ...unclear...
- 379:** EM: But then I was thinking like you see when they come home you see many children are not disciplined like in the area of doing work or homework and things like that. Do they do homework? Do you supervise them?
- 380:** I: In fact yes.
- 381:** EM: Do you force...do you force them or do you talk them...them into doing their homework.
- 382:** I: In fact it depends because I have eh, I told you I have five children, in fact four of them. It's one who when he comes from school I have to tell him to do his homework. Lakini (but) the others, straight they change their uniform, they take their books and do their homework.
- 383:** EM: Immediately?
- 384:** I: Yeah but this I have to tell him.
- 385:** EM: So immediately school is over you come home you do your homework immediately before you do other things?
- 386:** I: That is what they do
- 387:** EM: Then?
- 388:** I: Even I told...even I told their mother in fact the firstborn daughter, their mother always wants her to help to cook, wash dishes or...I told...I told her not to do that long time ago. If not she has to go and look for a maid and she will take care of it.

- 389:** EM: And then...
- 390:** I: I don't want my daughter to wash and she has homework to do?
- 391:** EM: But then?
- 392:** I: In fact I have seen in fact I have seen, one day she...she was washing dishes and I ask her, "Do you have homework?" She said yes so I told the mother it is not good.
- 393:** EM: But then when she does not have homework, she helps? Over the weekend?
- 394:** I: Yes, she helps you especially.
- 395:** EM: She...she does things in the house?
- 396:** I: In fact eh, even eh...even eh now after she completes her homework she helps her mother?
- 397:** EM: Ok, but not before?
- 398:** I: No.
- 399:** EM: Not before she finishes her homework?
- 400:** I: Yeah. Not before because in fact I don't like that. Me I always want the children after school, they relax, take their tea, so their homework...
- 401:** EM: And then they can go...do something else
- 402:** I: And then I see
- 403:** EM: You...you check it
- 404:** I: I check. I see the homework. There is a guide, the teacher write homework page, I sign for it that page, I see the children have completed that homework, that is the time my daughter can help her mum.
- 405:** EM: OK, ok. Now does...she help with the cooking? Does your...do your boys go to the kitchen?
- 406:** I: Boys? Yeah.
- 407:** EM: They do?
- 408:** I: They do.
- 409:** EM: They do. Do they cook?
- 410:** I: No they don't cook but they help the mother. I have seen them washing dishes.
- 411:** EM: Why don't they cook?
- 412:** I: I...I...I don't know but the...the...the...my daughter knows how to cook.
- 413:** EM: Or is it again a cultural thing that...

- 414: I:** In fact in my culture they do not allow men to enter the kitchen.
- 415: EM:** So they are...even though you are in town, it is still there so they will not...they will not
- 416: I:** Lakini what they are doing is just going to the kitchen, take a cup of tea but not to go and stay there.
- 417: EM:** Cook? Wash dishes?
- 418: I:** You know, in what...in my culture they say that the kitchen is for women.
- 419: EM:** Is for women? What if they grow up and they have...they have...they have to cook for themselves? What happens then? You don't have a...
- 420: I:** ...unclear... they are going to be abused. They are going to be taken to have a...
- 421: EM:** You...you just said that if...if they go to the kitchen and if they go to cook they are...they are abused. By who?
- 422: I:** Yeah exactly. In my culture they don't allow that.
- 423: EM:** Who abuses them the other men?
- 424: I:** Yeah, the other men if they come to the kitchen aiii!
- 425: EM:** They tell you, you are afraid of your wife?
- 426: I:** Yeah, that is going...that is going to be the talk of our people at home.
- 427: EM:** They will say you are afraid of your wife?
- 428: I:** Yeah, afraid of your wife, this guy cooks, he washes even the nose of his wife...such things.
- 429: EM:** But then, what happens if your wife is sick?
- 430: I:** We go and call a relative to help.
- 431: EM:** To come and help then what?
- 432: I:** Not me to enter the kitchen. (Laughing)
- 433: EM:** What about here in Nairobi where you may not have relatives?
- 434: I:** Here...here I can do it because my people are not here. You get.
- 435: EM:** But at home you wouldn't?
- 436: I:** Yeah, yeah. No...no, never, even my wife knows.
- 437: EM:** I was talking about here, I was talking about here. Yeah, not at home
- 438: I:** But here I can do it.
- 439: EM:** You can do it, yeah.
- 440: I:** Because there is nobody who could help here. Here it is my children and

my wife.

441: EM: Yes.

442: I: And my neighbours who know that they are educated and they know what they are doing.

443: EM: Yeah, they know what they are doing. Now how would you describe your...your relationship with your son and also with your daughter?

444: I: It is good

445: EM: It is good.

446: I: And oh...am the one who is encouraging to bring in fact closer especially with my sons. I want them to be always with me, discuss so many things but as I...I told you earlier, there are sometimes, some things I cannot discuss...I cannot talk with my daughter.

447: EM: Yes.

448: I: Though I...I talk, in fact briefly but I don't go deeply.

449: EM: Yes. That is good. Yeah, yeah. That is true, there are things...

450: I: But with my boys I can talk anything...can talk anything.

451: EM: You can talk anything?

452: I: And I encourage them to ask me questions.

453: EM: Ok, so you...you spend time with them, you talk to them

454: I: Yeah sure.

455: EM: You have already mentioned that you...that you check their homework. You know...you are actually the one, that for you is not something...it is something that is put on you by both your religion and your...and your culture so it...it is something that is like a part of you?

456: I: Even there are some...it is a part of me. In fact there are TV...some TV programmes my daughter cannot sit there when I am checking it. In fact like the Bold and the Beautiful...me and my daughter can't.

457: EM: You cant?

458: I: We can't sit there. My culture does not allow that but I can sit with my boys...I can sit with my boys.

459: EM: It...so this is...would you say then that the children just accept some things because they know that is what the culture says?

460: I: Sure.

- 461:** EM: So they don't eh...
- 462:** I: In fact...in fact the way I said is that my culture and religion goes together. All what we do in fact goes with my religion Islam and...and...and in fact there is no much difference between my culture back at home and my religion.
- 463:** EM: Ok.
- 464:** I: They go together
- 465:** EM: They go together
- 466:** I: Yeah.
- 467:** EM: Ok, now, when things...do you ever have times when...things are not good between you and them?
- 468:** I: And my children?
- 469:** EM: Mmh.
- 470:** I: Yes, I told you I...I...in fact to them if something had happened or the boy had done this or the girl has done this, we sit down and we talk eh, if it is the daughter who is doing this I...I will call in the mum to help me.
- 471:** EM: But what are some of the things that you...you can say have been problems...like with the girl?
- 472:** I: With the girl? With the girl?
- 473:** EM: Conflicts, what kind of things would you say is the problem?
- 474:** I: Dress.
- 475:** EM: Dress?
- 476:** I: You know as a Muslim this lady has to dress completely with the hijab.
- 477:** EM: Yes, yes like the way she is dressed?
- 478:** I: Yeah, the way she is dressed now. Whenever I see her wearing a t-shirt outside again the house...she is outside my house...
- 479:** EM: Yes, yes?
- 480:** I: I feel bad.
- 481:** EM: So d...that is been your major...
- 482:** I: So I will...I will call her, "Why... are you dressed this way?" Now that is the time I will call the mum, "You are encouraging this lady to wear...it is not good." My culture does not allow, my religion does not allow that.
- 483:** EM: Yes and how do you solve those kinds of...of conflicts because...I mean

when they are this age they want to be like their age mates...

484: I: Yeah...yeah but eh...

485: EM: ...and they want to have their way. How do you solve that?

486: I: But now it will depend on me now. It will depend on me. I have to bring them...I have to make her understand.

487: EM: You talk to her?

488: I: I will talk to her.

489: EM: Is that when you bring the...

490: I: In fact she wear it even at school...when she is even in school she wears hijab. I have taught her.

491: EM: Yes, is that when you bring the stick if she does not behave (Laughs).

492: I: So though she wants to wear like her...

493: EM: Like the others?

494: I: ...like the others, but the way I talk to her...in fact I talk to her smoothly and soft not to...I don't shout at her...she understands.

495: EM: But you have to...you talk firmly?

496: I: Sure.

497: EM: And help her realise there are things...

498: I: I have to show her why I am doing it.

499: EM: Yes, yes, it is done eh, why you are doing that. What about with the boy? What are some of the areas of conflict?

500: I: The boys...the boys...what I can say is eh, in fact when they are not doing their homework.

501: EM: It is homework.

502: I: Mmh

503: EM: They are the ones who do not like homework?

504: I: Yeah. Homework...boys...

505: EM: Like this one...this one in particular?

506: I: Like this one, the one I told you.

507: EM: He is the one who doesn't...he is the one who doesn't like homework?

508: I: He is the one who doesn't do his homework.

509: EM: So you are always fighting about that?

510: I: Always.

511: EM: What explanation does he have for not doing homework?

512: I: In fact he really plays.

513: EM: He enjoys playing?

514: I: Yeah, he enjoys playing. Whenever he comes at home from school, he just goes out, he has a ball...a...a football, so he just goes out and go and play. I have to bring him in the house, tell him to do his homework.

515: EM: And then go and play afterwards?

516: I: Mmh...in fact I am always head on collision with him.

517: EM: You are always having a head on collision with him.

518: I: Yeah with him.

519: EM: So how do you...how do you avoid your head on collision?

520: I: In fact I told him, I let him come home do the homework like the others, take bath when he comes home straight, take his tea, do his homework, we are not going to have that collision. But that is in fact he always...he likes playing. In fact I have talked to his teachers, he is...he is...he is always playing.

521: EM: You are not too strict with him? You are not too strict with him?

522: I: In fact I...in fact I always...I don't like beating my children.

523: EM: No, but you may not beat but you may be very strict...

524: I: In fact...

525: EM: ...very and you when you

526: I: ...unclear...

527: EM: When you are very strict they are...they...they tend to rebel. You know they do that?

528: I: But I have tried...I have tried...I have tried.

529: EM: You have tried

530: I: But this one even if I beat him, he is a big man

531: EM: Yeah. Now you don't beat him, he is a big man.

532: I: But I have to talk to him and make him understand that way I...I decide to go now.

533: EM: So you beat until when they are what age?

534: I: In fact eh, you can beat even my father, now if he could, my father can beat me because I am his son.

535: EM: Nooo...

536: I: Yes that is what we do in my culture.

537: EM: A big man like you?

538: I: A big man, a woman who is married...my daughter, I can beat her...

539: EM: Your daughter when she is married?

540: I: Yes.

541: EM: How can you go and beat your daughter?

542: I: If she misbehaves at her...at her home there and her husband comes to me, I will go to her home and eh...

543: EM: If your daughter is married and she goes and misbehaves and come home...

544: I: Yes, I go and discipline her.

545: EM: You go and discipline her with a cane?

546: I: Yes (laughing). This is something which is with my culture and will not end.

547: EM: It will not end?

548: I: As long as you have a father and a mother even if you are old, 70 years there, and you have a father you are his son or his daughter, so you have to come under his feet.

549: EM: He will...he will...under his authority?

550: I: Yes...authority.

551: EM: So you use the cane a lot then? Culturally you use the cane a lot?

552: I: Yeah, culturally yeah. My father in fact I remember my late father slapped me when I am a big man but didn't say anything that is with my culture it is ok. No problem.

553: EM: You take it?

554: I: Yeah I allow it. That is my father who has beaten me, there is nothing wrong.

555: EM: You wouldn't hit him?

556: I: Aii...even won't even...

557: EM: You wouldn't hit him back?

558: I: I talk to him back? No.

559: EM: You can't?

560: I: It is something normal in my culture.

561: EM: So you...even for your children they never...they never talk

562: I: Even my kids they don't

563: EM: They never reply you?

564: I: For sure.

565: EM: They don't argue with you?

566: I: They know their father has beaten them or their mother so they don't take it that way.

567: EM: Do they argue?

568: I: It is just take easy...

569: EM: Do they argue? Do they argue with you?

570: I: In fact no.

571: EM: No?

572: I: No.

573: EM: So then I am wondering, you see like...

574: I: There is sometimes they ask when I beat one of them, they can ask me "Why are you beating me?"

575: EM: Yeah, that is ok but do you have arguments like you see, normally they say when you have teenagers you have a lot of problems because you are always arguing, they are very rebellious. Are you saying that in your culture and in your religion there is no room for rebellion for children?

576: I: In fact it is there but there is no room for that. We don't encourage that but it happens.

577: EM: So what happens when...when...when they rebel? Like I mean, part of what you are saying with your son is a bit of rebellion.

578: I: Eh...now we call in...call in our in laws. Now we call in my parents or other people to talk. There are sometimes when my child becomes thick to me I can go and call my parent and the parents of my family...my wife

579: EM: To come and talk to him

580: I: And I will bring him there now to talk. At least you know sometimes...I can say this boy has become thick just because he is come from his mother's blood where...

581: EM: What do you mean by thick?

582: I: You know...you know...you know, our culture in fact we say...

583: EM: The bad child belongs to the mother?

584: I: This boy is bad because oh the father comes from a good background...

585: EM: (Interrupting) But the mother?

586: I: ...the mother...

587: EM: But maybe the father who can be bad?

588: I: Yeah...ok...all right.

589: EM: But you always want to blame the mother?

590: I: Yeah, I always want to blame the mother.

591: EM: What do you mean by saying he becomes thick?

592: I: Thick means now arguing with me

593: EM: Arguing with you?

594: I: Yeah, tell me something which yaani...When if I can tell my boy "now do your homework." "You are becoming too much dad," and I have seen...

595: EM: He can't say that?

596: I: Hey, he can't say that to me.

597: EM: He can't say, "You have become too much to me?"

598: I: Yeah. Lakini I have seen my neighbours child telling his father that way.

599: EM: But he can't?

600: I: But mine? No.

601: EM: So you are saying you really don't have conflicts then? I mean, ok you have these disagreements but do...

602: I: That conflict is there with all my children. In fact you know all the children cannot be the same?

603: EM: Yes.

604: I: There is one who is argumentative sometimes he argues with me like this one now.

605: EM: This one?

606: I: In fact, there is one I have...I have this one even can tell you that we always tell him not to play, "you want me to stay in this house when I am from school? The whole night I am here again." He talks, he asks me, sometimes I don't want to sit with him and talk much with him but...but I make him understand schooling is good for his future, it depends on his future all this but in fact he argues with me.

607: EM: He argues with you?

608: I: He argues with me even with his mum.

609: EM: So then the solution here for you is either canning or...you...you talk with them?

610: I: Yes, we talk with them.

611: EM: But if they don't you cane?

612: I: You cane...you cane if you see that there is no change.

613: EM: And then if there is not change you call in...

614: I: You bring all these people together now

615: EM: But you have never brought them?

616: I: No never...never

617: EM: You have never but if it gets to that point it is very unfortunate

618: I: If it gets...gets that extent now we call them

619: EM: Then you ca...you would call your...your parents or your in laws?

620: I: Yeah

621: EM: So again, it is stressed very much that the problem is very contained in the family?

622: I: In the family

623: EM: It doesn't go out and you can't say?

624: I: If it goes even beyond this house then we can say the family then can decide this boy should stay with the father of my wife. You know when all these people come in and they see that this boy is becoming...he doesn't get my word then they can take him away from me.

625: EM: And take him to?

626: I: I...been taken to his mother in law, that is my mother in law, he can stay with her, I can pay for his school while he staying with my mother.

627: EM: And then?

628: I: When he is comfortable, in fact where the...those people who are seated there where they see that this child will become comfortable

629: EM: And they will be...and they will be able to discipline him?

630: I: Yeah

631: EM: So he knows he is going away on a discipline

632: I: Sure.

- 633:** EM: And he will be disciplined there also?
- 634:** I: No, they will see where he can stay well. You know he...he can to say my children are...he likes this small boy of mine, he likes staying with my father in law. He always likes talking about my father in law. Even there is a time he told me "Dad you don't take me to the father of my mother, why? Why? I want to stay there at home and stay with him. I like him." Even there is a time I decided to take him there.
- 635:** EM: For how long?
- 636:** I: In fact for life, let him complete his school there because he likes there. He likes playing with the...the children of that...of my father in law.
- 637:** EM: But is there a special reason? Is it...it is part of that...it is part of that get away from your discipline?
- 638:** I: That is what I have seen. If I take him there he is eh...
- 639:** EM: He will...he will...
- 640:** I: The discipline will go down.
- 641:** EM: Yeah, the discipline...the discipline that you have enforced on him.
- 642:** I: He will change. In fact he will change
- 643:** EM: I mean, you see...
- 644:** I: That is the way I consider...
- 645:** EM: You are consistently telling him to do your homework but he wants to be there because no one is going to tell him to do that.
- 646:** I: You are right.
- 647:** EM: He will do what he wants.
- 648:** I: That is what I consider too, that is what I considered. The discipline will go down. He has to be near me and I have to see...to see...
- 649:** EM: So then you told him he has to stay here?
- 650:** I: I told him only on holidays I will take him home. In fact always I take them home every holiday whenever they close the school.
- 651:** EM: They go home?
- 652:** I: I take them to ushago (the village). They go to my home there.
- 653:** EM: You just pick them up when they are coming back to school? Ok. So then basically what you are saying is...you really haven't had a lot of problems with them?

- 654: I:** Sure.
- 655: EM:** Yes, neither have you...
- 656: I:** In fact, my religion does allow if you have problems with children and their parents, it does allow...I like to obey my parents.
- 657: EM:** Your culture?
- 658: I:** Culture and also my religion. I have to obey my parents even if they are bad. I have to obey.
- 659: EM:** Ok and that doesn't bring any ill feelings?
- 660: I:** It doesn't bring anything. It doesn't bring any complaint. You know my daughter what she says? If you want to go to heaven, obey your parents.
- 661: EM:** That is what she says?
- 662: I:** Yes, I think it is there in religion lakini with mine...with mine they emphasise in that
- 663: EM:** Ok, so also this thing like when...when she makes you angry about not dressing properly...
- 664: I:** Yeah
- 665: EM:** She still knows she has to obey and she still has to dress properly?
- 666: I:** Sure, whenever she sees me and she is wearing a t-shirt sh...
- 667: EM:** (Interrupting) She runs?
- 668: I:** And I see her outside she runs
- 669: EM:** But when you are not there she wears?
- 670: I:** Ah when I am not there...
- 671: EM:** She gets away with it?
- 672: I:** Oh she can wear a t-shirt when she is in the house
- 673: EM:** You don't mind?
- 674: I:** I tell her that when you are in the house, do anything but when...as long as you are going outside there you have to wear your hijab.
- 675: EM:** What is the major reason for wearing a hijab? Why do you want your ladies to wear a hijab?
- 676: I:** It is something which has been imposed by my religion and they should be there as long as...
- 677: EM:** Is it for the reason of just being decent or...
- 678: I:** Yeah, decent again the ways religion says we...we want to follow the way

Islam says the woman should wear this, I have to follow Islam because

679: EM: Ok...ok then I...it is like we have...we have almost exhausted everything...everything unless there is something you want to say even about your religion or what else? If I am...what I am getting from you is that you didn't have other than these incidents when your father did not pay school fees for you, your relationship with him was good?

680: I: Was good yeah.

681: EM: And eh, in a way even though you are putting an emphasis, you put a lot of emphasis on the way religion and culture teaches you.

682: I: Sure it goes together

683: EM: About parenting...about parenting, you didn't really say very much about your father has influenced you in any particular way in the way you...you...you bring up your children.

684: I: Yeah, there is...there is a big difference because my father the way I see it they were...they were not educated

685: EM: Yes, but the way he brought you up...

686: I: Yeah

687: EM: Would you say the way he has brought you up is really the way you are just bringing your children up?

688: I: Yeah, in fact there is no much difference.

689: EM: There is no much difference whether you are educated or not.

690: I: Or not because we go with our culture

691: EM: You go with culture and religion?

692: I: It is the same.

693: EM: It is the same?

694: I: Even my children now goes to university then they go and marry their life is going to be the same.

695: EM: It is the same?

696: I: The way I brought them up is the way they are going to bring up their children. My son, now his daughter if he can get his daughter, his own to daughter, she will wear a hijab.

697: EM: Yes.

698: I: Yes

699: EM: Yes, but you...you know there was a point...point you mentioned also that culture changed a bit when eh, you were talking about how has then the change of culture influenced you differently, has it?

700: I: In fact.

701: EM: Has it influenced you differently because you said culture has influenced you a bit

702: I: It has changed because when...when we are at home, now reserve, and you are here you know like life becomes...it is different

703: EM: Life is different?

704: I: It is different basically what I have changed is eh the Muslim world. In fact there are changes you know when you are...in fact these children depend on the immediate neighbours. You see like now, I am staying with my immediate neighbours, people who are educated, their children are educated and they come from a different cultural background that mine you see now?

705: EM: Yeah.

706: I: My children interact with them

707: EM: Yes.

708: I: So sometimes I leave my children to interact with my neighbours children but I don't allow them to go far sometimes like my daughter now not wearing that hijab. They...they can play with my little children, neighbours children but I want her to wear decently the way ...unclear... says let her interact with my neighbours here so that is what I have changed. Now there is a change.

709: EM: So you think by the time they are...they are big themselves, the...the situation maybe a little bit different but not very. Just like you said there are a few differences for you like while you are in Nairobi you can cook, you can go to the kitchen.

710: I: Yes.

711: EM: But you will not go to the kitchen at home. So irrespective of this, there are things you will do here because the culture is different.

712: I: Yes.

713: EM: The environment is different, the neighbourhoods are different but not at home.

- 714: I:** Yes
- 715: EM:** Ok...ok, that is good...that is good. I think it is...this is quite exhaustive. I am...I am learning things I have never heard, maybe I should actually get to read a little about the Koran and see what it says.
- 716: I:** Ok, in fact eh
- 717: EM:** You say it is written...it is written in Arabic so I mean...
- 718: I:** In fact...in fact Somali custom, when you...when people talk of Somalis, the...the way of living of the Somalis, culturally, in fact background of the Somalis really goes with Islam. What Islam reads is what is in there in the Somali custom. In fact they really go together.
- 719: EM:** How come though? Because I mean the religion of a people is not...it kind of eh enriches the culture but not so intertwined like you know here it is so intertwined.
- 720: I:** Like this one of the Somali, in fact it has even...it...the way me I get it has come from even Islam. I asked some old guy.
- 721: EM:** Your culture has come from Islam?
- 722: I:** My culture came from Islam.
- 723: EM:** Ok
- 724: I:** In fact...in fact what we are all doing is in the Koran
- 725: EM:** Have you...has it...has eh Somalia been an Islamic country for many, many years?
- 726: I:** Many years in fact many years, 99% of Somalis are Muslims
- 727: EM:** 99% are Muslims?
- 728: I:** Yeah...yeah they are. Even I read from another book, the Somali about the former Somali government, the one which collapsed, in fact 99.9% are all Muslims.
- 729: EM:** Ok, but there...are there some who are...who belong to...
- 730: I:** Yeah?
- 731: EM:** ...like traditionally, I mean, you know people who follow traditional religions.
- 732: I:** Yeah, in fact there are... there are none, you can't get.
- 733: EM:** You can't get?
- 734: I:** All Somalis are Muslims.

- 735:** EM: It is Muslims? There is no traditional religion?
- 736:** I: There is no traditional religion.
- 737:** EM: The rest of our...the rest of our...the many other tribes in Africa...
- 738:** I: Yeah, they have
- 739:** EM: ...are either traditional religion or Christianity or Islam because that is the way it is divided so you find where you find Islam. It is Islam and nothing more.
- 740:** I: With Somali we don't have that.
- 741:** EM: With...among the Somalis it is...it is just
- 742:** I: There is only one religion that is Islam.
- 743:** EM: Yeah, it is just Islam and Islam is culture?
- 744:** I: That is all
- 745:** EM: That is interesting it is very interesting. So the culture and religion are the same and then everything is done that way...
- 746:** I: In fact.
- 747:** EM: ...and influences basically influences your life very strongly?
- 748:** I: Sure.
- 749:** EM: Ok, this is very...we learn everyday. I am learning something new. Ok Idriss, thank you very much, I think that is...that is probably enough for the day.
- 750:** I: Ok.
- 751:** EM: If I find anything, I am sure I can always get back to you
- 752:** I: Thank you.
- 753:** EM: I hope I can, would that be ok?
- 754:** I: Thank you, you can in fact you can get me through Mutai.

INTERVIEW WITH KADIJA.

- 3:** EM: I am going to introduce you to Kadija Abdullah. We have interviewed her father and I am going to interview her today the 14th of March 2004. Kadija, please tell us your name again, tell us about the number of brothers and sisters you have and what class you are in.

- 5: K:** Kadija Abdullah. I am...I am in class 8, I have two...two, I have three brothers and one sister and the...my first brother is called Amin and the other one is called Yasim and the other one is (unclear) and my sister is called Aisha. I am in class 8 in Moi Airbase Primary School.
- 6: EM:** So you are sitting for your exams?
- 7: K:** Yes
- 8: EM:** This year?
- 9: K:** Yes
- 10: EM:** What would you want to become later in life when you finish school?
- 11: K:** I would like to be a doctor...a doctor or a nurse.
- 12: EM:** A doctor or a nurse?
- 13: K:** Yes
- 14: EM:** So that means that you are going to have to do science in school?
- 15: K:** Yes...yes.
- 16: EM:** Are you good in science?
- 17: K:** Yes. I am good in science.
- 18: EM:** You are good in science? You get...you get good marks in science?
- 19: K:** Yes
- 20: EM:** So you already...you already know which way you want to follow?
- 21: K:** Yes
- 22: EM:** Um. How many are you in your class?
- 23: K:** We are 34 and...no...we are not 34, one has transferred now we are 33.
- 24: EM:** Ok, and then eh...tell us where...what religion are you?
- 25: K:** I am a Muslim.
- 26: EM:** What does it mean to be a Muslim to you? As a young lady (long pause). Do you choose to be a Muslim or are...how do you become a Muslim?
- 27: K:** If you want to be a Muslim, the first thing you should do is, you are supposed to learn about the Muslim religion, you are supposed to know how to...how to pray, you are supposed to know how...how the things do...how we do how the go...
- 28: EM:** So you have learned all that?
- 29: K:** Yes

- 30: EM:** So you don't...you have to learn to become a Muslim even you, as you are small. Even though you were born in a Muslim family?
- 31: K:** Yes
- 32: EM:** You still have to be taught what it means to be a Muslim?
- 33: K:** Yes
- 34: EM:** Who teaches you?
- 35: K:** Mainly in madrassa or at school...a teacher...a teacher by our RE (religious education) teacher.
- 36: EM:** OK, you go to madrassa and then you also...you also learn in school?
- 37: K:** Yes
- 38: EM:** What about at home?
- 39: K:** At home, I...I just go to madrassa. This one which is here...I just go and learn there.
- 40: EM:** But then what ab...when you are at home? Do you...do you discuss things of religion at all with your parents?
- 41: K:** Yes, yes we discuss it.
- 42: EM:** Now tell me, how would you describe your father?
- 43: K:** My father is a...a, he is good, he is nice, I like him because he...he nini... he...he teaches us so many things about...about Muslims and even for school just like him like that.
- 44: EM:** What do you mean for school? School...school...school...schoolwork.
- 45: K:** Yes
- 46: EM:** Like when you come home with homework?
- 47: K:** Yes...he
- 48: EM:** He teaches you or he helps you do the homework or he just guides you or checks it or what do you mean by teaches you?
- 49: K:** He guides me or and he teaches me.
- 50: EM:** He teaches you?
- 51: K:** When I...
- 52: EM:** When you have a...when you have difficult problems from school? He can sit and explain that to you?
- 53: K:** Yes
- 54: EM:** What else? You like him you said, what else...what else can you say about

your father?

55: K: I like him because sometimes he...he takes us to some places and we enjoy ourselves then we come at home. Even sometimes we play with him at home.

56: EM: You play with him?

57: K: Yes

58: EM: You enjoy playing with him?

59: K: Yes. We play with him in the house, even sometimes we go to the gym together.

60: EM: He takes you to the gym?

61: K: Yes

62: EM: You have a gym at...near where you stay?

63: K: No...at Eastleigh. We go with my mother and my brothers. Yes we go together and then he takes us in, we do some exercise together and then we come back.

64: EM: What does that make you feel?

65: K: Uh?

66: EM: How does that make you feel going to the gym with daddy?

67: K: It makes me (mumbles) very happy.

68: EM: It makes you happy?

69: K: Yes

70: EM: Ok, what else? Now you are the first born among...among eh...how many? Five?

71: K: Five.

72: EM: Now what does it feel to be a first born?

73: K: I feel nice because am nini...my...am the fir...am the fir...am the fir...if anything comes, am the first one to take and if something happens um...even am the...am the one who takes cares of the small children.

74: EM: You take care of the small children?

75: K: Yes, my small...

76: EM: Do you like that?

77: K: Yes I like it.

78: EM: You like taking care of your small children?

- 79: K:** Yes
- 80: EM:** But then you said when anything comes you take first?
- 81: K:** Yes
- 82: EM:** What do you mean like...anything like what?
- 83: K:** Like when...when my father brings anything I am the first one to be given and then if it is a...if it is a dress or something else I am the first one to be given. Just like that.
- 84: EM:** So you are treated well?
- 85: K:** Yes, I am treated well.
- 86: EM:** You are treated well as a first born?
- 87: K:** Yes
- 88: EM:** And what about taking responsibilities, things to do at home? As a firstborn, are you expected to do a lot more because you re a firstborn or...or not?
- 89: K:** Am expected to do because there is nobody else to help me and so I enjoy doing it.
- 90: EM:** So you take a lot of responsibilities as a firstborn?
- 91: K:** Mmh.
- 92: EM:** But do you also have a lot of privileges like what you said, when things come you are the first one to get.
- 93: K:** Mmh.
- 94: EM:** Ok, ok. What about when you are with your...with your brothers and sister and you are the firstborn, how do they treat you?
- 95: K:** They like...they like cheating me.
- 96: EM:** Teasing you?
- 97: K:** They like playing...playing with me all the time. When I do my work, they like disturbing me. Like the one who is here, he likes...he likes disturbing me all the time. When I do my homework he comes and beats me and then he goes, just like that. Even the small ones, my sisters, they just like to tease me...tease me all the time.
- 98: EM:** They like teasing you all the time?
- 99: K:** Mmh.
- 100: EM:** Why...why do they tease you?

101: K: Because of how my body looks.

102: EM: You are small?

103: K: Yeah and my brother is tall, the other one who is here.

104: EM: He is taller than you?

105: K: Yes and then they like saying that I a not the firstborn.

106: EM: Oh, because he is taller than you?

107: K: Yes

108: EM: He says...he tells you you are not the first born?

109: K: Yes. He is the firstborn and then when I say I am the firstborn they like naning...they like teasing me all the time.

110: EM: How does that make you feel when they tease you?

111: K: I feel like beating them all the time.

112: EM: You want to beat them?

113: K: Yes

114: EM: It makes you angry?

115: K: Eh.

116: EM: You want to beat them up?

117: K: Mmh.

118: EM: Do you quarrel with them?

119: K: Yes I quarrel with them.

120: EM: You quarrel with them?

121: K: Eh...but sometimes I just...I just laugh and then I ...I continue with my work.

122: EM: Now what happens when you quarrel with them?

123: K: When I quarrel with them my mother...my mother just tell...my mother tells me not to quarrel with them...to just leave them alone because they are small children. They can do whatever they want... just like that.

124: EM: And they don't tell them not to tease you?

125: K: Yes

126: EM: Your parents don't tell them not to tease you?

127: K: No, they tell them but they don't hear. Sometimes if you tell them they...they start nining...they start...if you...my mother...when my mother and my father tell them, they...they stop it and then they start it again.

- 128:** EM: So you are saying you are really not happy as a firstborn as far as your brothers and sister are concerned.
- 129:** K: Am happy.
- 130:** EM: They don't make you very happy because they tease you
- 131:** K: Yes
- 132:** E: They are not nice to you? Do they feel like your parents favour you because you said anytime anything comes you are the first one who is given?
- 133:** K: Yes
- 134:** EM: Is that why they...they want to tease you and bully you?
- 135:** K: Yes. Sometimes they do like that but sometimes they tease me because I am...I am small.
- 136:** EM: You are small?
- 137:** K: I have a fat body. That's why they like...
- 138:** EM: Oh...they think you are fat?
- 139:** K: Yes. That's why they like...
- 140:** EM: I don't think that...I don't think that you are fat.
- 141:** K: That is why they like smiling...teasing me.
- 142:** EM: Or do they call you names?
- 143:** K: No.
- 144:** EM: So they just tell you, you are fat?
- 145:** K: Yes
- 146:** EM: And that...
- 147:** K: And when wrestling...when wrestling comes they...they start...they...when Big Show comes, they start say that I am...that one is me. Something like that.
- 148:** EM: But you are not that big. Are you uncomfortable with your body?
- 149:** K: Yes, I am uncomfortable.
- 150:** EM: Because of them or...or other people...other children tease you ?
- 151:** K: Because of them.
- 152:** EM: Because of them? What would you want to be? Smaller than you are?
- 153:** K: No. I want to be big.
- 154:** EM: You want to be big? But then you are uncomfortable because they tease you?

- 155: K:** Mmh.
- 156: EM:** So what do you want? What do you want? To be big or to be slim or to be a bit slimmer so that they stop teasing you?
- 157: K:** I want to be a bit slimmer.
- 158: EM:** A bit slim? What does your mother say about your body?
- 159: K:** Oh...my mother does not say anything, we just go to the gym together. I don't know... we do some exercises and come back.
- 160: EM:** Is your going...are you going to gym because you want to lose weight or why are you going to gym?
- 161: K:** I...yes am going to gym because I want to lose weight.
- 162: EM:** So that your brother stop teasing you?
- 163: K:** No. I just want to be nani...I just want to be slim.
- 164: EM:** You...you...do other children at school...um, tease you also?
- 165: K:** No, but sometimes they tease me. It is not only me, even some girls they like teasing them.
- 166: EM:** Other girls?
- 167: K:** Yes
- 168: EM:** Anybody who is a little bit big?
- 169: K:** Yes
- 170: EM:** They tease them, but you know, this is a part of your growing up? You are only 4 and this is the time you get...sometimes you get big and then later on you lose some of the weight, isn't it?
- 171: K:** Yes, yes.
- 172: EM:** So that makes you what, unhappy or uncomfortable or what?
- 173: K:** It makes me happy.
- 174: EM:** That you are what you are?
- 175: K:** Yes
- 176: EM:** But when you want to lose weight? How are you happy when you want to be a little slimmer? Mmh? So you said eh...you said your relationship with your father is good. How does he bring you up? (Pause). What are some of the things that he has done to help you grow?
- 177: K:** To help me grow?
- 178: EM:** Mmh.

- 179: K:** Mmh. Now like what?
- 180: EM:** Well, talking to you, the way he has treated you (Pause). What are some of the things he has taught you about growing up? What has...what has your father taught you about life?
- 181: K:** He has told me not to...not to play with...with boys. He has told me not to...not to fight with some girls at school. Something like that.
- 182: EM:** Did he tell you why you should not do that?
- 183: K:** He...he told me not to do that because sometimes I can...I can bring shame.
- 184: EM:** To who?
- 185: K:** Eh?
- 186: EM:** You bring shame to who?
- 187: K:** To them...to them.
- 188: EM:** To your parents?
- 189: K:** That's if he...he does not like me to play with girls who like to play...play with boys all the time.
- 190: EM:** Ok. Now the way your father has brought you up, you said he has been...he is very good to you, you spend time together, you do things together. How has that helped you to make friends outside home? The way he has brought you...has it helped you to make friends outside home?
- 191: K:** Yes it has.
- 192: EM:** Tell me something about that.
- 193: K:** Me...I have so many friends eh...sometimes even we go to the gym together.
- 194: EM:** With your friends?
- 195: K:** Yes, the ones who I am with them in **(Unclear)**. Sometimes we go to the gym, we go...we go to their houses, we watch television with them and then we go at home. Sometimes we revise together, we do some things, we play...we play and then we do at home, like that.
- 196: EM:** But eh... how has your relationship...how are the things or your relationship with your father helped you choose those friends? Or how has the...you know you said he has told you like not to keep company with some girls. How has what he has told you influenced or helped you choose

the friends that you have? (Pause). Is it...has it been your choice or has it been a choice because of...have you chosen your friends just what you feel or have you chosen your friends because of what your father has taught you?

197: K: No, I have just chosen my friends because of how I feel just like that.

198: EM: You have not considered what your father has told you?

199: K: Sometimes I consider sometimes I don't.

200: EM: Why?

201: K: Sometimes I feel like my father does not want me to have friends that is why I just do...but I choose friends who are good, who help me. I don't choose friends who are...who don't help me at all.

202: EM: Mmh...mmh. Now, when eh...when...when your father talks to you, and the things he has taught you, would you say that they make you feel like you are strong when you go out from home?

203: K: Yes, they make me feel like I am strong.

204: EM: Can you explain that a bit? Tell me about how they...how they make you feel strong? Strong in what way?

205: K: That they don't think I can do anything stupid.

206: EM: Who?

207: K: My parents. They don't think like that. They just think that I am just going to...to my friends, hang out then I come back. They just don't...

208: EM: So in other words, it is like you feel your parents trust you?

209: K: Yes

210: EM: They...they don't think that you can do something stupid?

211: K: Yes

212: EM: So because they trust you, you go and do things that will be stupid? Because you don't want them to...to break their trust? Is that what you are saying?

213: K: Yes

214: EM: Yes. It is nice to be trusted?

215: K: Yes it is.

216: EM: Why?

217: K: If someone does not trust you and he...if you...if you wanted to go out he

can't give you...he can't give you...he or she can't give you all permission.

That is why you need to be trusted.

218: EM: And because they trust you, you...then when you go outside you do the right thing?

219: K: Yes

220: EM: You choose the right friends because you know they are trusting you?

221: K: Yes

222: EM: What else do they do other than trust you? There is trust. What else would...what else helps you make good friends? The trust the parents have for you...what else?

223: (Long pause).

224: EM: You don't know? You are shaking your head. What does shaking your head mean? What does shaking your head mean? There is nothing else?

225: K: Yes

226: (Pause).

227: EM: Have you ever had a quarrel with your father?

228: K: Mmh?

229: EM: Have you ever had some misunderstandings?

230: K: With my father?

231: EM: Mmh.

232: K: Mmh mmh.

233: EM: Nothing?

234: K: Maybe sometimes when I...sometimes when he wants me to get 360's and above in school.

235: EM: To get what?

236: K: In school. When he wants me to pass and then he goes and take my report form and then he finds that I have 350's and then he comes and he then starts quarrelling with me.

237: EM: And then? What happens when he starts quarrelling you? How do you solve that problem? That is a quarrel between you and your father because you are not doing well. How do you solve that problem?

238: K: I just...I just go and tell my mother. Sometimes I go and tell my mother, sometimes I...I just go and tell my father that I did it...sometimes I go and

tell him that I am sorry. Sometimes I go and tell my father to go and tell him those are times he...his temperature goes up.

239: EM: His temperature goes up?

240: K: Yes

241: EM: A lot?

242: K: Yes and then sometimes to talk with my...to talk with me...talk with him or quarrel with him.

243: EM: What do you mean by his temperature goes up?

244: K: He...he comes very bad...he becomes very bad and he...

245: EM: Bad in what...what sense? He gets...he gets angry?

246: K: Yes. He is angry and when I come in front of him, he...he just feel like beating me.

247: EM: When he is angry?

248: K: Yes

249: EM: When he is angry he wants to be...beat you?

250: K: Yes

251: EM: Has he ever beaten you?

252: K: Not...not when I am...not when I am big like this.

253: EM: When did he last beat you?

254: K: When I was small. In class...maybe it was in class...in class two. I am not sure but he has never beaten me when I am in class three and above (9 + years).

255: EM: But if he...if he felt like beating you not, he would? He still can?

256: K: I don't know but he just quarrel with me but not beating me.

257: EM: He quarrels you?

258: K: Yes

259: EM: Does he quarrel you a lot?

260: K: No. Sometimes I ...

261: EM: So, the only time he quarrels you is when you haven't done your homework?

262: K: Yes. When...sometimes when the teacher nani...sometimes when the teacher...the teacher tells him that I have not done the homework, he...he...he...he just...he just come home and then he start quarrelling

with me...just like that.

263: EM: Then you just keep quiet?

264: K: It's true...sometimes I just keep quiet.

265: EM: But sometimes you say you are sorry?

266: K: Yes. Sometimes I say that...I just...I just give a reason.

267: EM: Like what?

268: K: If I have not finished my homework, I say I was sick yesterday. I was not feeling well, just like that.

269: EM: Does your religion allow you to quarrel with your parents?

270: K: Our religion? No, it doesn't allow.

271: EM: Is that why you don't quarrel?

272: K: Yes. I don't quarrel with my dad.

273: EM: You don't quarrel with him. So you always say you are sorry?

274: K: Yes. I just say that I am sorry.

275: EM: Or you keep quiet, but when he quarrels you, what do you feel inside you?

276: K: I just feel...I just feel...I just feel like getting out of that house.

277: EM: And go where?

278: K: I don't know.

279: EM: Why...why do you feel like getting out of the house?

280: K: Because heh...if he quarrels with you, he just quarrels the whole day. If he wants to talk with you he just say the thing I had done but sometimes he comes and tell me sorry because sometimes he...

281: EM: He...he...it is like he keeps on repeating what you have done?

282: K: Yes

283: EM: All the time?

284: K: Yes

285: EM: So that's why you want to get out of the house but are you...can you get out of the house?

286: K: Mmh...no.

287: EM: You can't?

288: K: I can't

289: EM: Why?

290: K: Where can I go?

- 291:** EM: Where can you go? Ok. You have to stay there?
- 292:** K: Yes
- 293:** EM: But you said sometimes he comes and says sorry?
- 294:** K: Yes. Sometimes he...he comes...when he...his temperature has gone, has gone up he just come and...
- 295:** EM: When it is gone down?
- 296:** K: Yes. He...he just come and say he is sorry but am just in my room and then my mother...my mother come and tell me that it...it was not his fault that he had to quarrel with me. But sometimes when he comes from work, he just come and start quarrelling with me but when sometimes if my...my...when I want to teach my sister and then she starts crying, my father just come and start quarrelling with me just like that.
- 297:** EM: Have you ever quarrelled about the way you dress?
- 298:** K: No.
- 299:** EM: Are there times when you don't want to wear the...this thing, the headgear you are wearing?
- 300:** K: Oh. Yes. He has quarrelled once. It was on Monday when I got home from school. I had my headscarf and thenunclear..... and then I just...he just started quarrel...quarrel with me. He told me to wear if and I didn't know it has gone out then he started quarrelling.
- 301:** EM: You...is it something you have to wear all the time?
- 302:** K: Yes it is but something in the house I don't wear. But if...when I get out from the house I am supposed to wear it.
- 303:** EM: So he only quarrels you when you...when you are out of the house? Inside the house you can remove your headgear and stay without? Ok...ok. So those are just the two areas, when you have not done your homework and when you have not worn your head...headgear because as a Muslim girl you are supposed to wear it all the time.
- 304:** K: Yes
- 305:** EM: Is there anytime you are allowed to remove it?
- 306:** K: No.
- 307:** EM: No, only when you are in the house. But what about if you went upcountry, would you...would you be allowed to remove it even in the house?

- 308: K:** Upcountry? Yes. I am allowed because I am in the house so...
- 309: EM:** As long as you are in the house you can remove it but you can't get outside the house?
- 310: K:** Yes
- 311: EM:** Without it? Ok...ok. How would you...how would you say you would call your relationship with your father? Good? How would you describe the way he...he...he...he...he talks to you? If you...or he has been a father to you? How would you describe that how would you describe that? Would you say it is a good way? Would you say...did you talk about things or does he just come and say this is what I want you to do, you must do it? Sometimes giving you a reason sometime not giving you a reason or is he the kind of father who would come and you discuss things with him? Which one? Where he comes and says, you can do this or you must do this and you can't do this or you come and discuss with him?
- 312: K:** Yes. Sometimes he come and discuss with me or sometimes he...he force me to do something.
- 313: EM:** He forces you?
- 314: K:** Yes
- 315: EM:** Which is...which is more often, the forcing or the discussing?
- 316: K:** The discussing.
- 317: EM:** You most of the time discuss things?
- 318: K:** Yes, when my...
- 319: EM:** Everything
- 320: K:** No, somethings. So...sometimes when my mother is not there we just discuss with him.
- 321: EM:** Everything in every area of your life? Like let say, discuss...you discuss about how to make friends, when things go wrong you discuss?
- 322: K:** Yes
- 323: EM:** Although you say he quarrels a lot, do you...does he quarrel or does he discuss things?
- 324: K:** He discuss.
- 325: EM:** He discusses?
- 326: K:** Yes

- 327:** EM: You talk about it...you talk about it? Do you ever give him your opinion about things? Tell him what you think?
- 328:** K: Yes
- 329:** EM: Do you ever tell him what you think about things? (Pause) (Shakes head). You don't?
- 330:** K: I don't.
- 331:** EM: Why? Even when you are dis...when you are talking about things together? You don't give your opinion at all?
- 332:** K: I give...when am discussing am...I give out.
- 333:** EM: When you are talking about things together you give your opinion?
- 334:** K: Yes, yes.
- 335:** EM: Does he ever take your opinion?
- 336:** K: Yes he takes.
- 337:** EM: Like if...if he said he wanted to buy something today and you say, "Daddy I think you should buy this instead of this."
- 338:** K: If Iunclear..... just like that.
- 339:** EM: Like what
- 340:** K: When yesterday...yesterday he told me that I want a bag. He told me that he will buy me a bag then I told him that I don't want a bag I want him to buy me five textbooks and then he said that he will buy me those ones.
- 341:** EM: So, you have just said that you discuss thins with your father like when he wants to buy you something, you can discuss and say I don't want this, buy me this and he listens. What about other issues, things at home? Like when you are...you said your...your brothers and sister disturbs you a lot. Do you ever discuss those things with him?
- 342:** K: No. I discuss it with my mother.
- 343:** EM: With your mother? You...you wouldn't discuss them with your father?
- 344:** K: Yes, because if my...my...I tell my father...my father just tell me that those are small children. If you tell them they don't want to listen and if you beat them they...they...they just start...they won't even talk to you.
- 345:** EM: So you would rather discuss that with your mother?
- 346:** K: Yes
- 347:** EM: Ok...ok...ok. Now is there something else you want to tell me about

yourself and your father? What would you want to tell which is about yourself and your family?

348: K: I like my family.

349: EM: You like them?

350: K: Yes. I like everyone even my brothers. I just like them for no reason because they...they love me not because they just like playing with me.

351: EM: Even though they tease you they also love you?

352: K: Yes

353: EM: So you like them? Do you like them or do you love them?

354: K: I love them and I like them.

355: EM: You love them and you like them? Both?

356: K: Yes

357: EM: You know you can like someone and not love them? Have you ever known that? You can like someone and not particularly love them. Ok...um...and your father?

358: K: I like my daddy very much. I like my dad.

359: E: Even when he quarrels you?

360: K: Yes

361: EM: What makes you like him? You just like him or you love him?

362: K: I love him.

363: EM: What makes you love him most?

364: K: Because he is a very good daddy.

365: EM: He is a very good daddy?

366: K: Yes

367: EM: What makes him good?

368: K: Because he like...he helps me

369: EM: He helps you?

370: K: Yes

371: EM: He is a...you said he is a very good daddy?

372: K: Yes

373: EM: Ok...ok. That is a nice thing to say about a daddy. Has he ever told you he loves you?

374: K: Yes

- 375:** EM: It is not difficult for him as a Muslim father to tell you that he loves you?
- 376:** K: It is not difficult.
- 377:** EM: When you are talking about things just in general, he just tells you he loves you...he loves you all?
- 378:** K: Yes. When...when he has taken our report forms, when he comes from school. Maybe he has...he...his face has changed, he is happy...he has a big smile. He just tells us to sit there then we start talking. He start...he start saying that he loves us all.
- 379:** EM: And he will tell you he loves you all of you?
- 380:** K: Yes
- 381:** EM: Because you do well in school and also because of other things? So do you want... you also want to please them do you?
- 382:** K: Yes I want.
- 383:** EM: What are the things that you do to please them?
- 384:** K: I want to pass my KCPE (Kenya certificate of primary education). I want to get a good job. I want to help my mother and my father.
- 385:** EM: Yeah, but even now when in the house, what are the things that you do to make them really know that you love them and appreciate them?
- 386:** K: Oh.
- 387:** EM: Do you help your mother in the kitchen?
- 388:** K: Yes I help her.
- 389:** EM: Do you cook?
- 390:** K: Yes. I sometimes when I come from school I don't have any homework. I just come and start coo...I take some nani...I take some...some potatoes, tomatoes and then I start
- 391:** EM: You prepare...you begin preparing the supper?
- 392:** K: Yes. I prepare...I prepare them then I start cooking and then...that's the thing I do for my mum and my dad.
- 393:** EM: It is nice to hear a young lady saying, "I like everyone in my family." Do you have friends who don't have...who don't like their family?
- 394:** K: Yes I have. I have so many friends who are like that and sometimes I usually advise them not to...not to say bad things about their parents.
- 395:** EM: They say bad things about their parents?

- 396: K:** Yes. I just tell them but they...they don't listen.
- 397: EM:** What makes them not like their parents?
- 398: K:** Because they don't treat them very well.
- 399: EM:** Their parents don't treat them very well.
- 400: K:** Yeah...they like telling me that when they fail at school their father beats them. They quarrel and then when they are told something they...they just. They just talk badly about their parents.
- 401: EM:** So they...when their parents quarrel them they just quarrel back?
- 402: K:** Yes
- 403: EM:** And they talk badly about their parents and you don't think that is nice?
- 404: K:** Yes. I don't think it is nice.
- 405: EM:** What do you think children should do?
- 406: K:** They should respect our parents...their parents, obey them and do things...good things about...do good things to them.
- 407: EM:** Even when parents are bad?
- 408: K:** Even when they are bad.
- 409: EM:** Where did you learn that from?
- 410: K:** I learned that from my class teacher.
- 411: EM:** That you should always respect your parents?
- 412: K:** Yes
- 413: EM:** Ok. And at home, you have learned it at home also?
- 414: K:** Yes...I
- 415: EM:** From your father?
- 416: K:** Yes, from my dad and my mum.
- 417: EM:** It is a good think to learn. Ok, anything else you want to say?
- 418: K:** Shakes head
- 419: EM:** Ok them. Thank you very much Kadija. I appreciate you talking me this morning. I think we are through unless you have something else. It is go to really know you. You are...you seem to be very proud of your family. You talk about them and you are happy. Your...your face shows that you are very happy about your parents. You talk about them very happily. It is good.

INTERVIEW WITH ADAM

- 3: EM:** I would like you to meet Adam Abdalla this morning. We have met the sister and the father and I would like Adam to tell us something about himself, how old he is, how many they are in the family, where he goes to school, as a way of introducing himself. Just talk Adam. Please tell us about yourself, your name, how many sisters you have, how many brothers you have, where you go to school, how old are you...
- 4: A:** My name is Adam Abdalla. I am 13 years old. We are five in our house.
- 5: EM:** Five including your parents or five children?
- 6: A:** Five children.
- 7: EM:** Five children. How many brothers do you have?
- 8: A:** Three.
- 9: EM:** And sisters?
- 10: A:** Two.
- 11: EM:** So you are one of the brothers?
- 12: A:** Yes.
- 13: EM:** So you have two brothers and then two sisters?
- 14: A:** Yes.
- 15: EM:** Ok.
- 16: A:** I am in Moi Airbase Primary School (**long pause**).
- 17: EM:** How old are you?
- 18: A:** I am thirteen years old.
- 19: EM:** When is your birthday?
- 20: A:** Eh... October Mmmmh) October
- 21: EM:** What...what date?
- 22: A:** 8th
- 23: EM:** 8th?
- 24: A:** Yes
- 25: EM:** 8th of October. Ok...so you were thirteen last October? This October you will be fourteen? Ok...ok and tell us what religion you are.
- 26: A:** Muslim
- 27: EM:** You are Muslim. What do you enjoy most in life?

- 28: A:** I like...I like swimming, I like playing football, that's all.
- 29: EM:** That is all?
- 30: A:** Yes.
- 31: EM:** Are you in the football team?
- 32: A:** Yes.
- 33: EM:** You play football for the school?
- 34: A:** Yes.
- 35: EM:** And swimming?
- 36: A:** Yes.
- 37: EM:** You swim for the school also?
- 38: A:** No...for the...I swim the...
- 39: EM:** Where? Where do you go swimming?
- 40: A:** The swimming pool...it is there...
- 41: EM:** At the school?
- 42: A:** No.
- 43: EM:** At...at...at the base?
- 44: A:** Yes.
- 45: EM:** So you...do you spend a lot of time swimming?
- 46: A:** Yes.
- 47: EM:** Ok. And what are your favourite subjects?
- 48: A:** English and science
- 49: EM:** English and science? You are good in science? What do you want to do in the future? What do you want to become when you grow up?
- 50: A:** A pilot.
- 51: EM:** You want to be a pilot?
- 52: A:** Yes.
- 53: EM:** Ok, and your father will be communicating with you when you are in the air? Mmmh? Your father communicates...communicates with the... with the planes...with the pilots doesn't he? Wouldn't that be nice?
- 54: A:** Yes.
- 55: EM:** To hear your father communicating with you when you are flying?
- 56: A:** Yes.
- 57: EM:** Ok, so tell me, do you... do you spend time with your father?

- 58: A:** Mmmh?
- 59: EM:** Do you spend time with your father?
- 60: A:** Yes.
- 61: EM:** Doing what? What do you do together?
- 62: A:** Sometimes he give me work to do.
- 63: EM:** Work like what?
- 64: A:** Like English. I do then he told me...he told me to go and play when I finish playing, I come home, I star...I start...I start doing...I start doing some work... he gave me some work.
- 65: EM:** School work again?
- 66: A:** Yes. When I finish doing I waited for lunch, when I waited...when I finished I waited for lunch. When I finished eating, I sat in a chair and I started looking at the TV.
- 67: EM:** Do you watch TV with him? With daddy?
- 68: A:** Yes.
- 69: EM:** Does he help you with homework everyday?
- 70: A:** Yes.
- 71: EM:** So, what other things do you do other than school work? Do you do other things together?
- 72: A:** With him?
- 73: EM:** Mmmh
- 74: A:** Yes. I do with him other things, I do on my own.
- 75: EM:** Like what? What other things do you do with him?
- 76: A:** Like maths.
- 77: EM:** Mmmh
- 78: A:** Maths
- 79: EM:** Yeah, yes. Maths is a part of schoolwork (Mmmh) Math, English all that is a part of schoolwork. Other than schoolwork, do you do other things together? Does your father have a car?
- 80: A:** No.
- 81: EM:** Mmmh. Ok, what about around the house? Do you...do you help with...with any work around the house?
- 82: A:** No.

- 83: EM:** Mmmh. Like cleaning the house, helping with washing dishes and things like that? Do you help with...
- 84: A:** sometimes I wash dishes. (Mmmmh) Sometimes I...
- 85: EM:** With him? With your dad?
- 86: A:** No. On my own.
- 87: EM:** Does he come to the kitchen to help you?
- 88: A:** No.
- 89: EM:** Why doesn't he? (Mmmmh). Why doesn't he come to the kitchen to help you, or men don't go...don't go to the kitchen?
- 90: A:** Yes.
- 91: EM:** Why...why don't men go to the kitchen? Who says men...
- 92: A:** Because...
- 93: EM:** Who says men don't go to the kitchen
- 94: A:** (long pause) My mother.
- 95: EM:** Your mother says men should not go to the kitchen.
- 96: A:** Yes. (Mmmmh). When I finish washing the dishes I go to bed and I sleep.
- 97: EM:** Ok. After you go to bed and sleep! Now you have learned some things about your religion have you?
- 98: A:** Yes.
- 99: EM:** What...what does your religion say about...about children growing up?
- 100: A:** Children must grow up and know what they are doing...(Mmmmmh) Children must know their God, (Mmmmmh), when they grow up and children when they grow up they...they grow up they must respect their father. Children
- 101: EM:** Only their father or...or their mother also?
- 102: A:** All of them.
- 103: EM:** All of them but more the father? Ok. What does that mean? What does it mean to respect your father?
- 104: A:** To...to show him how respectful you are.
- 105: EM:** Like when...when he talks to you, do you answer him back?
- 106: A:** No.
- 107: EM:** Because...because you have been told not to answer him back?
- 108: A:** Yes.

109: EM: And what happens when you yourself feel that you want to answer him back? What happens when he has said something and you really want to talk to him? What do you do? You just keep quiet or there are...are there times you have talked back to him?

110: A: No

111: EM: Mmmmmh. You have never answered father back?

112: A: I have ever.

113: EM: You have ever? You have? What happened when you answered back?

114: A: I...I took my father eh shoes and then I wear and then I lost them. Then he told me where is...where is my shoes? I told him they are lost. He told me, "I will b..."

115: EM: You took his shoes?

116: A: Yes.

117: EM: And you wore them and then you hid them? Ok.

118: A: Then he told me he will beat me then I answered him...

119: EM: He told you he would beat you because you don't know...because you don't know where his shoes were?

120: A: Yes.

121: EM: Did he know you took them?

122: A: Yes.

123: EM: Mmmmmh

124: A: Then he told me he will beat me then I answered him/

125: EM: And told him what?

126: A: It's not me who has taken that shoes. He told me "It's you who have taken that shoes." Then I went out and look for it. I found it at the...at the ground where I left it.

127: E: You wore them; you went outside with them and left them outside?

128: A: Mmmmmh.

129: EM: Ok.

130: A: Then I found it and then I went with it and then I gave my father.

131: EM: So what did he say?

132: A: He said. "You are a liar. It is you who are took my shoes and you told me that it is not you who have take...who have take my..."

- 133: E:** Who had take them?
- 134: A:** "...Have take my shoes. I will beat you now."
- 135: E:** Did he beat you?
- 136: A:** Mmmmh.
- 137: E:** He did.
- 138: A:** He did not beat me. He told me "If you repeat, I gonna b...I gonna beat you, I gonna beat you." (Mmmmh) Then he told me "Go, go now where you are going." Then I went to play.
- 139: EM:** Has he ever beaten you? (Mmmmh?) Has he ever beaten you?
- 140: A:** Yes.
- 141: EM:** Why did he beat you?
- 142: A:** Why? I...
- 143: EM:** Does he beat you often?
- 144: A:** No. When I refused...when I refused to...to wash the dishes then he beat me a slap.
- 145: EM:** He just slapped you?
- 146: A:** Yes.
- 147: EM:** Does he...does he beat you often?
- 148: A:** No.
- 149: EM:** No. Does he...does he...does he punish you often?
- 150: A:** No.
- 151: EM:** Mmmmmh. What other punishment does he use other than beating?
- 152: A:** He told me wash all the clothes and wash the house.
- 153: EM:** What...what did you do for him to tell you to do that?
- 154: A:** I started playing with my friend then I took a stone. I...when I wanted to throw that side, I throw and...and I hit my friend here (points) and he was bleeding. Then my friend went to our house and told my father that I have beaten him with a stone. Then my father told me yesterday I beat you, now...now you have...you have beaten your friend. He come and he gave me some punishment.
- 155: EM:** Why had he beaten you the...the day before? The...the day before you had...is when you had...you had refused to wash the dishes and the following day you hit your friend with a stone?

- 156: A:** Yes.
- 157: EM:** So the punishment this time was not a second beating but you were to clean the house, the whole house, and wash your clothes?
- 158: A:** Mmmmmh
- 159: EM:** Mmmmmh
- 160: A:** Mmmmmh
- 161: EM:** Only your clothes? Ok. You seem like you get in trouble with your father quite often. (laughs). Adam, you seem like you get into...get into...get into a lot of mischief and get into a lot of trouble with your father often. Do you?
- 162: A:** Yes.
- 163: EM:** Eeh? Why...why do you get in mischief often? What happens?
- 164: A:** Because of...everyday I start...everyday I start going and bringing some problems to them in the home.
- 165: EM:** Why do you bring problems home? Where do you get the problems from to bring them home?
- 166: A:** Where? I start...I start playing with my friends (Mmmmmh) then I hit my friend with a leg then he fall down. (Mmmmmh). Then my friend I...I then I tell...I tell my friend sorry. My friend refuse and go...go to say...
- 167: EM:** They go to report you?
- 168: A:** Yes.
- 169: E:** So you...you are always in trouble?
- 170: A:** Yes. Then...
- 171: EM:** You are in trouble a lot?
- 172: A:** Yes. Then my father told me (Mmmmmh), if I get you with a problem again you will never go outside.
- 173: EM:** So he uses different kinds of punishment. Sometimes he beats you, sometimes he gives you things to do, sometimes he...he grounds you? He tells you...you are not going out. Have you always brought problems home?
- 174: A:** No...(Unclear)
- 175: EM:** When did this begin? When you started having all these problems? How many years ago is it since you started having all these problems?

- 176: A:** When I was...10 years.
- 177: EM:** From the time you were 10? (Mmmmmh). What happened...what happened from when you were 10?
- 178: A:** When I was 10?
- 179: EM:** But what made you begin bringing all these problems home the way you said you did? Mmmmmh? What happened to the...the good 10 year old boy?
- 180: A:** When I reached 10 years...now I was having...I was doing what I... what I am doing now. I was not bringing any problems in home.
- 181: EM:** Before then you were not brining any problems home?
- 182: A:** Before?
- 183: EM:** Before you were 10...you did not bring any problems home?
- 184: A:** I brought.
- 185: EM:** You brought?
- 186: A:** When I reached 10 years I was...I was knowing what am doing. I did not bring any problems at home.
- 187: EM:** You didn't except a few? Not as many?
- 188: A:** Yes.
- 189: EM:** Mmmmh...Mmmmh, but before then you used to bring a lot of problems? Now...w...w...when eh...you said...you said the Quran says that eh...your religion says you respect your parents. What does it say about boys who bring problems home?
- 190: A:** They should be beaten.
- 191: EM:** They should be beaten?
- 192: A:** Mmmmh and they...
- 193: EM:** That is what...that is what your religion says?
- 194: A:** Yes. When they bring problems they should not repeat it again and when they repeat, they should be given a punishment. Yeah.
- 195: EM:** So that is what your parents have done?
- 196: A:** Yes.
- 197: EM:** When you have repeated they have given you punishment? Many punishments? Mmmmh? Many...many types of punishment?
- 198: A:** Yes.

- 199:** EM: So what are you doing about that because you are being punished all the time? What are you doing about that to stop being punished all the time?
- 200:** A: One word is I stopped doing all those problems. When I stopped...when I stopped doing all those problems...
- 201:** EM: You have stopped now?
- 202:** A: Yes. When I stopped doing all those problems I...I went to my father and told him I will not do any problem from now. Then he told me "Good boy." Then he told me to go and play. Then I went to play. I told my...my friend "I will not beat you again because I have stopped that behaviour." Then my friend told me...then my friend told me...the other day when you beat me did your father beat you? I told my friend that no he did not beat me he had given me a punishment. My friend told me, "what punishment did he give you? I answered him "washing the clothes and washing the house. My friend told me, "Never again beat somebody with a stone or with your leg. You can hurt him me very bad. Then we went with my friend to play football. When we finished playing football we went...it was lunchtime. We went home and eat. When we finished eat...eating I told my friend, "Let's go to swim." We went to swim making some fun...swimming. When we finished swimming...swimming, we went home and starting...starting...starting some stories. When we finished telling stories we all went at home.
- 203:** EM: Ok...so you said eh...you do somethings with your father and you also say that eh...when he is giving you these punishments is he angry with you? (Mmmmh) When he is giving you these punishments, is he angry with you? Does you daddy get angry?
- 204:** A: No.
- 205:** EM: He does not get angry? Never? He never gets angry? And do you get angry yourself?
- 206:** A: Yeah...yeah.
- 207:** EM: What do you do? What do you do when you get angry?
- 208:** A: Me?
- 209:** EM: What do you get? Do you fight with your sisters?
- 210:** A: Me? No, I never fight.

- 211:** EM: Or do you quarrel? Or do you tease them?
- 212:** A: When I quarrel that I have e...ever quarrel with my brother.
- 213:** EM: You quarrel with your brother?
- 214:** A: Yes.
- 215:** EM: The one who follows you?
- 216:** A: Eh?
- 217:** EM: The brother who follows you?
- 218:** A: Yes.
- 219:** EM: What about your sister? You don't quarrel with your sister?
- 220:** A: Yes.
- 221:** EM: You quarrel or you don't?
- 222:** A: I don't. (Mmmmmh). Yes, I quarrel with my brother. He started...he started beating me with his leg and hand then I told him why are you beating me...why are you beating me? I am going to say you. Then my brother told me to go and say then I went and said to my mother. My mother told...she...I ...she told me to go and call him. I went and called him and come with him. My mother told him, "have you beat him?" he said "Yes. I have beat him." "If you repeat again I will beat you."
- 223:** EM: Ok. Now you said eh...your father has disciplined you and he has told you many things when you...the things that your father has taught you have they helped you when you are choosing your friends outside?
- 224:** A: No.
- 225:** EM: They have not?
- 226:** A: Yes.
- 227:** EM: How do you choose your friends?
- 228:** A: Me?
- 229:** EM: How do you choose your friends?
- 230:** A: I choose my...my...a good friend.
- 231:** EM: How do you know who is a good friend?
- 232:** A: One who his behaviour is...whose behaviour is good. Yes whether in school even where else I choose that friend of mine.
- 233:** EM: Who has taught you how to choose good friends?
- 234:** A: My...my mother.

235: EM: Not your father?

236: A: Yes.

237: EM: Your father hasn't taught you how to choose good friends?

238: A: No, my mother.

239: EM: What has your father taught you?

240: A: My father tells me not to play with bad friends, you play with good ones.
You play with bad you will be in big problems.

241: EM: What problems?

242: A: Like going outside without permission, hurt your friend with...with...with
a stone and...and those friends...if you choose bad friends...if you choose
bad friends you will not be a good one.

243: EM: You yourself will now be a good friend?

244: A: Yes.

245: EM: But then if he has told you that...has that helped when you are
choosing friends because you are saying your father told you how to...

246: A: (Interrupting) Yes.

247: EM: ...how not to make bad friends.

248: A: Yes. I ...I ...

249: EM: Has that helped you?

250: A: Yes.

251: EM: How? With...

252: A: (Interrupting) With my mother.

253: EM: So it is both your father and your mother. It is not just your mother?

254: A: They...they told me to choose a good friend.

255: EM: Choose a good friend?

256: A: Yes.

257: EM: Now, are you like your father? (Mmmmh?) Are you like your father?

258: A: Yes.

259: EM: In what way? How would you say you are like your father? (Long pause)
how are you like your father? In his character or just the way you look?

260: A: In what he is doing. (Mmmmmh?). What he is doing.

261: EM: In what he is doing?

262: A: Yes...when he...

- 263:** EM: What do you mean? Tell me. You do things the way he does them? Like what? Give me an example.
- 264:** A: Like he is...is going for a job (Mmmmmh). When he is going for a job and he is...and he comes home and...and when my father come home, I started...I started telling him, "Where have you come from?" My father told me, "I have come from a job."
- 265:** EM: So, how does...how does that make you like him?
- 266:** A: He told me good things.
- 267:** EM: You want to be like him or you are like him? Which one? You want to be like him or you are like him?
- 268:** A: I want to be like him.
- 269:** EM: What is it you want to be like him? What is it that you see in your father that is good you want to be like? What do you want to be like? The way he does things or...
- 270:** A: The way he does some things. I like...I like (pause) when he does some things.
- 271:** EM: Things like what? Give me an example of the things he does which you want to do like him.
- 272:** A: Like going to buy aaa...aaa bicycle or a...or a video.
- 273:** EM: You want to be like him so you want to buy a bicycle and a video because he has bought a bicycle and a video?
- 274:** A: Yes and I like what he is doing.
- 275:** EM: What is he doing?
- 276:** A: He is doing to make the aerial of our TV. He...he sometimes...he told me climb up and make it.
- 277:** EM: He repairs things?
- 278:** A: Yes.
- 279:** EM: So you like...you like to repair things like him
- 280:** A: Mmmmmh
- 281:** EM: And he is teaching you how to repair things like him?
- 282:** A: Yes. He is...he is...he is teaching me.
- 283:** EM: Now would you...what would you...would you say your relationship with your father is like? (Mmmmmh?). Would you say he is a good father or a

bad father or a kind father or an unkind father?

284: A: He is a good father.

285: EM: How would you describe him? Good father? Why?

286: A: Some...sometimes he...he gives me some...some pocket money and sometimes...

287: EM: You say sometimes he give you some pocket money and sometimes he buys you what?

288: A: Sometimes he buys for me some eh...video game.

289: EM: Some?

290: A: Video game.

291: EM: Ok...

292: A: I play and he buys for me...he buys for me some cassette for a radio which he bought for me the other day.

293: EM: Do you ever go to do...do you do things together other than repairing things in the house? Do you ever go to places with your father just you and him? (Mmmmmh?) Do you go places together?

294: A: Places?

295: EM: Do you go anywhere with your father?

296: A: Yes.

297: EM: Where?

298: A: We go with my father, town there, village market and we go home.

299: E: So you spend time together? (Mmmmmh). Do you talk a lot? Do you talk to your father?

300: A: Yeah.

301: EM: About what? What does he...? When you are talking what does he advice you about?

302: A: He advises me to...to prepare for lunch. My mother was not there, he told me to prepare for lunch.

303: EM: He told you what to prepare?

304: A: He told me to prepare lunch then I went in the kitchen...I started preparing lunch.

305: EM: And he came and... did he help you? Did he help you?

306: A: No.

- 307:** EM: He didn't help you?
- 308:** A: Yes. I started preparing (Mmmmmh), when I finished preparing I...he told me, "Give me a...he told me give me a lunch. I... I give him and he ate (Mmmmmh) and he went to sleep.
- 309:** EM: He was happy?
- 310:** A: Yes.
- 311:** EM: He was happy with the lunch?
- 312:** A: Yes.
- 313:** EM: So you said he is...you said he is a good father. What else can you say about your father? Good is one word. What other word can you say to...can you use to describe your father? He is good, would you say your father is your friend? Is he your friend?
- 314:** A: My father?
- 315:** EM: Can you call him your friend? (Shakes head). No?
- 316:** A: Yes.
- 317:** YM: Why not? Why not?
- 318:** A: He is my father so he is not my...my friend.
- 319:** E: Your father can be your friend. He can be your father and your friend at the same time. Mmmmmh. Mmmmmh? He is only your father he is not your friend? Do yo think your father loves you?
- 320:** A: Yes.
- 321:** EM: How do you know he loves you?
- 322:** A: When I do some good things like preparing lunch he send me, I take money and go and buy and he told me sometimes to go play with my friends and he told me...he told me...he told me...and sometimes when we go...we go with him at town...
- 323:** EM: Those things you do together makes you think he...he loves you? The things you do together?
- 324:** A: Yes.
- 325:** EM: Is he good to the other children?
- 326:** A: Yes.
- 327:** EM: Now you said when you have problems...you have a lot of problems with him. Or you have b...well...challenges like when you have...these many

times you have been very troublesome...when you had a lot of trouble isn't it? When you said he has...he has and eh...he punished you, he has beaten you, he has given you work to do, he has grounded you isn't it? Those are the days...those are the ways he has helped you get out of your problems and you said you have never ***...you only challenged him once. You only talked back to him once. So every time there is a mistake you don't challenge him, you don't discuss it with him, you just leave him to give you the punishment he want or correct you? Are there times he has corrected you without beating you?

328: A: Yes.

329: EM: Or without punishing you?

330: A: He corrected me...

331: EM: Ok, so sometimes he will just correct you, discuss, talk to you without...without having to punish you? Is there...you said you...this time when you talked back to him, what happened, what happened?

332: A: When I talked back to him, he...he beaten me and he told me to go and sleep.

333: EM: Because you are not supposed to talk back?

334: A: Yes.

335: EM: So you never, never talk back with him?

336: A: Yes.

337: EM: I mean, from then on, you don't talk back to him? You said that is because your religion has taught you that children are not supposed to talk back when...have you ever been angry with him?

338: A: No

339: EM: When he does...has he ever done anything that you thought was wrong?

340: A: My father?

341: EM: He has never done anything which you think is wrong or anything to upset you?

342: A: **Mumbles**

343: EM: You are interesting that you have never been upset with him.

344: A: It is only my brother and my sister.

345: EM: Who have made you upset?

- 346:** A: Yes.
- 347:** EM: What have they done to make you upset?
- 348:** A: They started me...
- 349:** EM: No, what did they do to you? What did they do to make you upset?
- 350:** A: They started playing with me (...***mumbles) they started beating me.
- 351:** EM: Which is it? The big one or the little one?
- 352:** A: The little one. He started beating me and the brother he started beating me. When I went and told my father....my father was not there he was...I ...I...I told my...I told my sister, "Where is father?" my sister told me they have gone with mother at village market. Then they, my sister and brother, started beating me with the leg, beating me.
- 353:** EM: Kicking you?
- 354:** A: Yes and...and I...I caught them and I started beating them.
- 355:** EM: So when they make you angry you beat them?
- 356:** A: Yes. I beaten them then they come, my brother come with a stone and me I run away. Then I close the door. They told me "You will not come here again. If you come I will beat you with this stone." When I went, I started playing with my friends then we finished playing, I went home. I...I ...opened the door, my brother thought it was my father. I opened the door and go...go to eat. When I finished I went to sleep.
- 357:** EM: During the day?
- 358:** A: Yes.
- 359:** EM: Ok, you went to sleep until your parents came?
- 360:** A: Yes.
- 361:** EM: And helped...they sorted out the problem between you when they came?
- 362:** A: When they came, my sister told...he woke me up and then he told me...my father has, my father has come and mother. I wake up and go and told my father that my brother and sister were beating me.
- 363:** EM: Was this your big sister who was telling you to go and tell your father?
- 364:** A: Yes. Then I told my father. My father told me, "Go and call them." Then I went and call them. My father told them, "Come here." And my father told me to beat them once, a kick. Then I beat them there.
- 365:** EM: You kicked them?

366: A: Yes.

367: EM: One kick each?

368: A: Then they went crying, they went and sleep.

369: EM: And how did you feel when you kicked them? How did you feel when you kicked them?

370: A: Bad.

371: EM: Bad?

372: A: Then I went to tell my brother sorry and my sister.

373: EM: You went and told them sorry?

374: A: Yes... they refused.

375: EM: They refused to listen?

376: A: Yes and they beaten me with...he removed his shoes and beaten me with it then I ran away and I went to sleep.

377: EM: Ok...ok. So you...you don't like punishing your sister even when your father punishes you?

378: A: Yes.

379: EM: Ok...ok. So if your...if I asked you what would you say about your whole family, what would you say?

380: A: My own family?

381: EM: Your parents and your brothers and sisters. What do you think of them?

382: A: I told them...

383: EM: What do you think of them? What do you think of them? What do you think of your family?

384: A: I think of my family that I have done some wrong things in the house. Even I have never...I have never beaten my big sister and I have ever beaten my brother and my sister.

385: EM: You have never beaten your big sister but you have beaten the others?

386: A: I have beaten my brother and sister

387: EM: The younger ones?

388: A: Yes and I have done wrong things to my father.

389: EM: Like hiding his shoes? Wearing his shoes and hiding them?

390: A: Yes, yes.

391: EM: What else have you done wrong to him?

392: A: Like hiding, like beating the children, that I have...I have done some wrong things to my father and my mother. I have not helped I have not even abused him...

393: EM: You have not?

394: A: Even abused him

395: EM: Him or her?

396: A: Her.

397: EM: You have not abused your mother?

398: A: Yes.

399: EM: But you do not need to abuse your mother. You don't need to abuse her, do you?

400: A: No. and my sister I have not even beat him.

401: EM: Would you say...

402: A: Then...I told all my family I am sorry. Them they told me we have...we have...we have...we have not...my mother told me we have not ah...I told all my family that I am sorry then they told me th...

403: EM: They have forgiven you?

404: A: Then they told me they have forgiven me. Then my father told us, "Have you eaten?" we told him "yes we have eaten." "Go and sleep" and we went and sleep.

405: EM: Would you say that you have a good family?

406: A: Yes.

407: EM: Do you think they love you?

408: A: Nods

409: EM: All of them?

410: A: Yes.

411: EM: Even the ones you fight with?

412: A: Yes.

413: EM: Eh...do you...you also fight with your big sister? You quarrel with your big sister sometimes?

414: A: No.

415: EM:No? you do not quarrel with her? Does she quarrel with you

416: A: Shakes head

- 417:** EM: She doesn't? so it is only the small ones that you fight with?
- 418:** A: Yes.
- 419:** EM: So you said that you have a good family. You said that eh...your father has grow...
- 420:** A: He helps me.
- 421:** EM: He is helping you grow and you would like to be like him? Be able to repair things like him. You said he is a good father because of...because of the things you have learned from him.
- 422:** A: Yes.
- 423:** EM: Would you say he is a kind father? No? You are shaking your head Mmmmh? You don't think he is kind? Well what makes him not kind? You say he is good but he is not kind.
- 424:** A: He is kind.
- 425:** EM: Mmmmh?
- 426:** A: He is kind.
- 427:** EM: You said he is not kind. You think he is kind? What does he do for you to say he is not kind? You are shaking your head.
- 428:** A: Every time my father...every time me and my father we start...when my father...when my mother has gone with the children and we have left only me and my father then when my father...when my father tells me I am going outside then I told my father let me go with you, he tells me, who will...who will...
- 429:** EM: Remain in the house?
- 430:** A: Who will remain in the house? Then I told my father ok am now remaining. Then my father went...went and then my father went and came at night. When he came at night, he...he...he came and...and I have done everything in the house. I have washed dishes and I have prepared the food and the food was On the table. He ate and we slept all.
- 431:** EM: But you did not like him leaving you in the house alone.
- 432:** A: Yes.
- 433:** EM: That is what made you think he is not kind, because he left you in the house alone? Has that happened many times when your mother is not there?
- 434:** A: No, that only.

435: EM: How else would you describe your father? So you said he is a good father but he is not kind. He is not your friend. You said he is not your friend, he is just your father. Anything else you would like to say about your family. Do you have friends who do not have good fathers?

436: A: No.

437: EM: All your friends have good fathers? You are very lucky then to have very good friends with good fathers like your father. That is why you want to become a pilot because your father works with the air force? You want to be like him? That is a good thing. Ok...anything else you want to say? Ok...how did you find the interview?

438: A: Mmmmh?

439: EM: How did you find the interview?

440: A: Not bad.

441: EM: Not bad, you learned anything?

442: A: Yes.

443: EM: ok...ok. Thank you very much and that is what we have for today.

Appendix D2 Idriss' family consent forms

Dear Mr. Idriss Abdalla,

This researcher is interested in finding out what parenting strategies fathers of African origin use and how these strategies affect the social relationships of their children.

To be able to do this researcher intends to interview fathers who have children in the age group of 14-25 years. The researcher intends to interview one or two children in the mentioned age group of every father interviewed in order to find out what the young people think of the father's parenting strategies. She also intends to find out how these young people have formed social relationships and what difficulties they may have encountered during the process.

While interviewing the fathers the researcher is seeking not only to understand the strategies the fathers use but also what influenced the development of these strategies, that is, how culture, education and religion influence parenting strategies.

This letter is an invitation for you and one or two of your children aged 14-25 years to participate in this research. The research assures you that your identity will be protected as far as possible.

As you give information you will be contributing to the process of developing strong healthy relationships between fathers and their children and hence healthy relationships for young people in the community, nation and continent. You will also contribute information that will help those involved in counseling and reconciliation at the family level to develop appropriate counseling strategies.

The researcher is also seeking your permission to tape the conversation as a way of preserving all the useful information you will be sharing for the purpose of more accurate evaluation.

If you are willing to participate please sign in the space provided below:

I IDRISS ABDALLA agree to participate in this research.
The researcher has explained the expectations, and I am comfortable with the explanations. I would like to contribute to the welfare of my community and nation.

Signed: Idriss Abdalla Date: 14-3-2004

Dear Kadiya Abdallah

This researcher is interested in finding out what parenting strategies fathers of African origin use and how these strategies affect the social relationships of their children.

To be able to do this researcher intends to interview fathers who have children in the age group of 14-25 years. The researcher intends to interview one or two children in the mentioned age group of every father interviewed in order to find out what the young people think of the father's parenting strategies. She also intends to find out how these young people have formed social relationships and what difficulties they may have encountered during the process.

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As you give information you will be contributing to the process of developing strong healthy relationships between fathers and their children and hence healthy relationships for young people in the community, nation and continent. You will also contribute information that will help those involved in counseling and reconciliation at the family level to develop appropriate counseling strategies.

The researcher is also seeking your permission to tape the conversation as a way of preserving all the useful information you will be sharing for the purpose of more accurate evaluation.

If you are willing to participate please sign in the space provided below:

I Kadiya Abdallah agree to participate in this research. The researcher has explained the expectations, and I am comfortable with the explanations. I would like to contribute to the welfare of my community and nation.

Signed: Kadiya Date: 14-03-04

Dear Adam Abdallah,

This researcher is interested in finding out what parenting strategies fathers of African origin use and how these strategies affect the social relationships of their children.

To be able to do so this researcher intends to interview fathers who have children in the age group of 14-25 years. The researcher intends to interview one or two children in the mentioned age group of every father interviewed in order to find out what the young people think of the father's parenting strategies. She also intends to find out how these young people have formed social relationships and what difficulties they may have encountered during the process.

While interviewing the fathers the researcher is seeking not only to understand the strategies the fathers use but also what influenced the development of these strategies, that is, how culture, education and religion influence parenting strategies.

This letter is an invitation for you and one or two of your children aged 14-25 years to participate in this research. The research assures you that your identity will be protected as far as it is possible.

As you give information you will be contributing to the process of developing strong healthy relationships between fathers and their children and hence healthy relationships for young people in the community, nation and continent. You will also contribute information that will help those involved in counseling and reconciliation at the family level to develop appropriate counseling strategies.

The researcher is also seeking your permission to tape the conversation as a way of preserving all the useful information you will be sharing for the purpose of more accurate evaluation.

If you are willing to participate please sign in the space provided below:

I Adam Abdallah agree to participate in this research. The researcher has explained the expectations, and I am comfortable with the explanations. I would like to contribute to the welfare of my community and nation.

Signed: Am Date: 14/3/2004