

Adult Daughters' Reflections on Fathers and his Involvement in their Education, Career and Marriage

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ABSTRACT

The involvement of the father in his daughter's life is an emerging area of research associated with parenting. The present paper aims to understand and capture the significant role and involvement of fathers in their daughters' education, career, and marriage. The paper unfolds the perspectives of thirty educated and employed women from Vadodara city, Gujarat. A mixed method research design was used, where data was collected using a questionnaire to know the beliefs of fathers, extent of his involvement, followed by an interview to understand the nature of involvement, his approach to decisions and the nature of a father-daughter relationship. Descriptive statistics were used for questionnaire data, and thematic analysis was carried out to identify the patterns in the qualitative data. Results indicate that fathers fulfilled their role of being a supporter, nurturer, mentor and a provider. All engaged fathers actively supported their daughter's education, encouraged their participation in extracurricular activities, allowed them to pursue their choice of career, life partner and decide the right time for marriage. Daughters perceived their father's support as the most important part of their life for academic and professional success, conjugal relationship and personal growth.

1. Introduction

A gradual shift is observed in research related to parenting where the focus has shifted from studying only mothering, to the inclusion of fathering, as an equally important component of parenting (Atkinson & Blackwelder, 1993). The popular assumption is that mothers are caretakers while fathers are money banks for families (Narula, 2005; Parker 2005). Substantial evidence across the globe validates men's under-involvement in unpaid domestic and care work (Levtov, Vander Gaag, Greene, Kaufman, & Barker, 2015). A gradual shift is observed in the role of the father from a mere economic provider to that of a nurturer (Lawrence, Watson, & Watson, 2013; Marone, 1988; Ransaw, 2017). Research proves positive outcome in children with the involvement of fathers (Dick, 2004; Holmes, Adam, Yoshida, & Hawkins, 2010; Lamb, 2010; Nielsen, 2006; Seward & Richter, 2008).

When we delve deeper into the arena of father daughter relationships, three parallel discourses are visible. First, is about the position of daughters in family; second is the evidence from research, and third anecdotal writings and personal observations which are summarised here.

1.1 Position of daughters in family. In the context of India, as per the January 2018 economic survey, the preference for a son has increased, leading to 21 million unwanted or less preferred daughters (ET Bureau, 2018). In India, daughters are considered to be vulnerable and a liability to the family, bringing financial drain on account of the custom of dowry. They, being the 'izzat' (prestige), are expected to behave as per expectations of the society, thus protecting the family name. Contrarily, sons are considered to be the asset to the family. They perform all the important religious roles and exercise power in the family (Ram, Strohschein, & Gaur,

2014). Daughters are socialised as a temporary member of the family (Bhasin, 1993, 2014; Desai, D'Souza, & Shukla, 1999) and are taught to adjust to every situation after marriage (Narula, 2005). Fathers exhibit control over daughters by monitoring their movements and behaviours, and when necessary, restricting their mobility. Some of the proverbs used by the fathers for daughters in the Hindu wedding are '*Teri Doli jaayegi te arthi hi aayegi*'- meaning "I am sending you off as a bride and may you come out of your husband's house only on a pyre and not otherwise." Daughters are termed as '*baap no bhar*' in Gujarat, meaning burden on a father. In the western context, daughters are expected not to ignore or disobey fathers' decisions, as he dislikes it; daughters themselves try not to annoy their fathers (Nielsen, 2004, 2006). Even in Jordanian Arabic culture, fathers maintain an authoritarian role, and are disciplinarians and decision-makers in the family, (Ali & Daoud, 2016 ; Gilbert, Hanson, & Davis, 1982).

1.2 Research on fathering daughters. Snow, Jacklin, & Maccoby, (1983) found fathers' involvement and interaction to be directly related to the sex of their children. Fathers indulge in rough and tumble games with their sons but are gentle with their daughters. Many fathers encourage their daughters to pursue challenging careers and help overcome the stereotypes. The type of father-daughter relationship, helps daughters to develop their own perspectives for the worldly gendered ideas, make their own decisions by recognising the truths and falsities and as a basis to choose their life partner (Johnson, 2013; Nielsen, 2004). However, there are multiple perspectives to the ways fathers fulfil their parental roles for daughters. Similarly African American fathers also were highly involved in guiding and supporting daughters. Despite being strict, fathers expressed love for their daughters and desired daughter's personal growth (Ransaw, 2014,2017). Johnson (2013) also explains that daughters develop an attitude

towards the world based on the relationship with their fathers. Fathers being supportive, can help daughters make better choices, recognise the truth and falsities and take a stance for herself. The effects of the father-daughter relationship are bidirectional. Daughters who have supportive fathers, realise and recognise the father's contribution, in their growth as independent, self-confident women with a high self - esteem and self - image and also their role in their academic and career achievements, and in choosing their life partners (Johnson, 2013; Nielsen, 2014; Parker, 2005; Zia, Malik, & Ali, 2015). Daughters with non-supportive fathers had no facilitation or guidance from their fathers. Research on fathering, highlights the importance of fathers in their children's lives, just like their mothers and to include fathers as an important component in family therapies (Dick, 2004; Dollahite, Hawkins, & Brotherson, 1997; Ransaw, 2014, 2017). Not many studies are available to discuss about the father's role to guide or talk with daughters about intimate relationships, because of lack of encouragement and discomfort to discuss about it (Parker, 2005), though fathers may act as role models in daughters choice of spouse (Neilson, 2014).

1.3 Anecdotal evidence.. We know of many Indian women who have been empowered and successful in their lives, for instance, Durgabai Kamat - The First Female actress (1913), Indira Gandhi – The First Female Prime Minister (1966 to 1977), Mrs Pratibha Devisingh Patil – The First Female President (2007 to 2012), Homai Vyrawalla – The First Photojournalist (1913 – 2012), Kiran Bedi – The First IPS officer (1972) and Sarla Thakral – The First woman pilot (Vartak, 2018). These women and many other women writers, artists and social activists, in their essays in Marathi on fathers in the book *Bap Lekhi* (Phatak, Gowarikar & Vidhwans, 2006) and *Thank you papa* (Shah & Vaidya, 2006) have shared their personal experiences, highlighting the importance of fathers in various aspects of life, such as, the approval to study, choosing career paths and their mobility. Deepti Naval shares an incident in an essay, presented in the book *Thank You Papa* (Shah & Vaidya, 2006) wherein, she discusses her career path with her father, who is extremely supportive of her decision and is proud of her acting career, though the rest of her family strongly opposes it. Fathers consent for the life partners chosen by them has been an important support in a context where daughters selecting their life partners themselves, was considered a taboo. My personal experience of growing up in an urban middle class Sikh family also validates researches on fathers' contribution towards daughters' academic and career success and marriage.

"I feel my father opened the doors of opportunities and helped me navigate the challenges in academics, career and marriage, by moving beyond the societal stereotypes. His faith

in me, his support, encouragement, love, care, concern, trust in me, and his liberal thinking, form the core of my success. I explored the world with him. Today I am an independent woman but I acknowledge every bit of my father's contribution towards my academic and career achievements and acceptance of the life partner chosen by me. His kindness and generosity is incomparable."

In a context where stereotyped societal expectations shape fathering, many fathers are moving towards a personal non-stereotyped nurturant stance towards fathering. The purpose of this paper is to understand the contribution of the father in his daughter's education, career and marriage, through the lens of daughters. The paper covers the perceptions of daughters about the nature of their relationship with their fathers, with a focus on the following research questions:

RQ1- What is the nature and extent of the father's involvement in his daughter's education, career and marriage?

RQ2- What is the father's approach to decisions regarding his daughter's education, career and marriage?

RQ3- How do daughters perceive and describe the relationship with their fathers?

2. Method

The paper draws data from a descriptive study using a mixed method approach. A qualitative approach was used to gain insights of daughters' experiences with their fathers and a quantitative approach was used to measure the extent of fathers' involvement in daughters' education, career and marriage.

2.1 Participants and Procedure

Thirty college educated, and employed daughters, in the age range of 30-35 years were chosen from Vadodara city, as participants for the study, using a purposive sampling technique. Women working in the private and government sectors and those who were self- employed, were included to represent heterogeneity in the sample (Maxwell, 2005). Table 1 reflects a variety of occupations that women have now entered; the different and evolved nature of women's occupations and the ways women defeated the stereotyped jobs like being a teacher or jobs that revolved around nurturance (Vartak, 2018). The present sample included many first-generation career women, such as, journalists, high-grade government officers, engineers, security forces, army officers and entrepreneurs, which yielded variations in their experiences and their father's contribution.

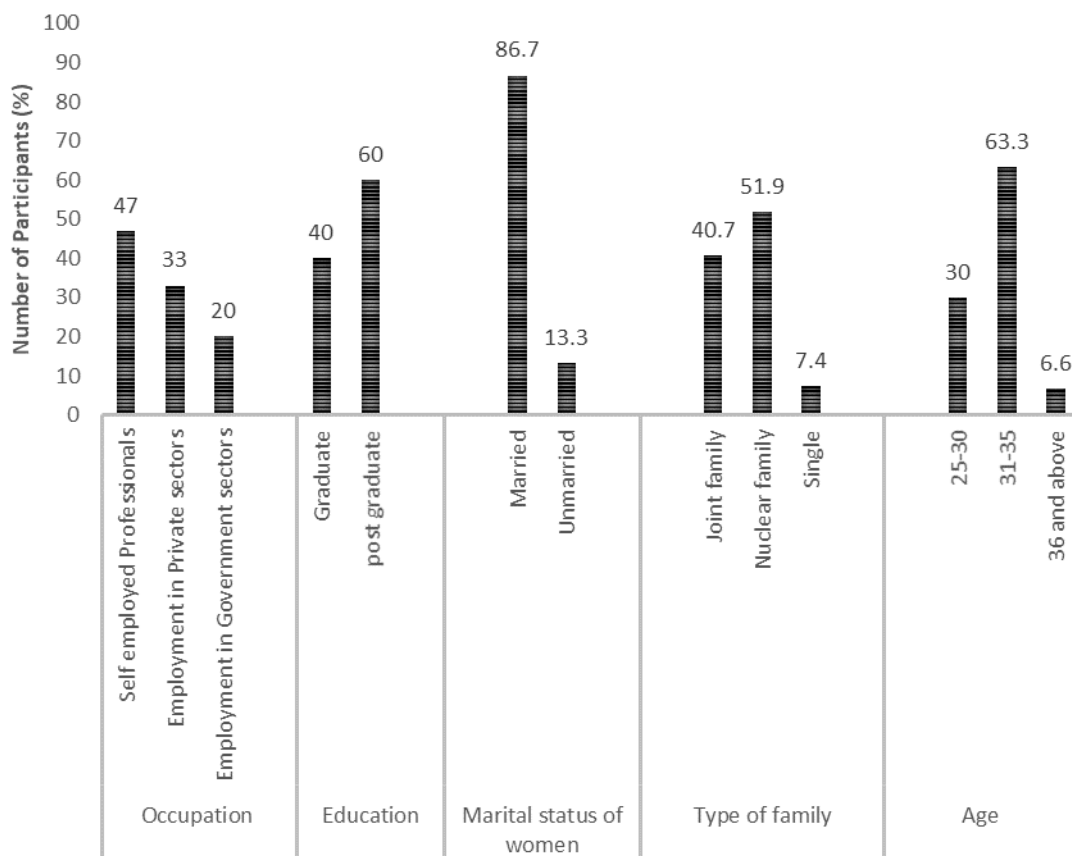
Table 1
Study Participants as per Occupation (N =30)

Self-employed = 13		Employed = 17	
<u>Professionals (7)</u>	<u>Entrepreneurs (6)</u>	<u>Private sector (11)</u>	<u>Government sector (6)</u>
Lawyer	Boutique	Human resource Manager	Insurance agent
Dentist	Beauty parlour	Executives	Supervisor in the post office
Social worker	Yoga centre	Engineer	Income tax officer
	Franchise school	IT professional	Indian customs services
Dancer	Hospital administrator	Tele caller - call center	Army officer
Singer	Tuition classes	Corporate Social Responsibility executive	Professor
Gynaecologist		Airlines Security force	
Architect		Hotel manager	
		Chartered accountant	
		Teacher	
		Journalist	

The participants were contacted through friends, office contacts, referrals, and were explained the purpose of the study, were assured of confidentiality, anonymity and the right

to withdraw. Those willing to share their experiences were included in the study after a written informed consent (Mantzorou & Fouka, 2011).

Figure 1
Demographic Profile of Participants (N=30)



From Figure 1, we see that maximum women are in the age group of 31-35 years. Most women (47%) were self-employed, compared to those employed in the private and government sectors i.e. 33% and 20% respectively. Sixty percent women were post graduates while 40% were graduates. Four women i.e. 13% were not married while 87% were married. Almost equal percentages of women stayed in nuclear and joint households. Two participants stayed single as they had transferrable jobs and preferred staying alone.

Five women contacted, dropped out, as they could not spare time from their busy schedules.

A questionnaire was used to understand daughters' experiences with their fathers, covering three aspects as mentioned in the research questions. The questionnaire was designed by the researcher and validated by two experts in the field, one father and one daughter, to get an objective and subjective view in terms of its clarity, time consumption and

comfort of participants. The questionnaire was pilot tested by the researcher to get familiar with the ways and means of administering, to obtain rich data (Mantzorou & Fouka, 2011).

2.2 Data Generation and Analysis

The questionnaire yielded the insights of daughters' relationship with their fathers based on their bonding with each other. Daughters were asked to first identify whether their fathers were doting and supportive, domineering, demanding or uninvolved, based on the descriptions of characteristics and their relationship and the moments of closeness and distance. They rated the involvement of their fathers as high, moderate, low or nil across their life stages of childhood, adolescence and adulthood, and the various ways in which they were involved. Further, they reported about the decision-making patterns in their education, career and marriage. All data that emerged through questionnaire, was critically read, for completeness in answering the research questions. Play back and validation happened through telephonic or personal interview. The responses were entered in SPSS for better data management and organization. Detailed thematic analysis was also done based on the research questions.

Bivariate and multivariate tables were prepared to classify fathers based on the type of relationship and levels of involvement across life stages. A similar analysis was used to know the people involved in making decisions for various aspects of daughters' education, career and marriage. This resulted in frequencies for decisions by father, father-daughter, exclusively daughter or intervention from mother as well. The frequency of decision-making in each aspect was analyzed to know the modal decision-making patterns for daughters' education, career and marriage. For qualitative data, a conceptual clustered matrix was developed to reflect on the father-daughter relationship based on daughters' responses to the instances of closeness and distance with their fathers, the ways of involvement of fathers, the attitudes of fathers towards their daughters (Hammouda & Kamel, n.d). Explanations of relationship and involvement are illustrated using daughters'

verbatim and summarized in the form of profiles, for different types of father-daughter relationships .

3. Results

3.1 The Nature and Extent of Fathers' involvement

Daughters were asked to describe the relationship with their fathers, and the level of involvement. The results are presented in table 2 and figure 2. Fourteen daughters (46.7%) reported their fathers to be demanding yet supportive. Twelve daughters (40%) considered their fathers to be doting and supportive; three daughters (10%) had a domineering father and one daughter's (3.3%) reported that her father was neglectful. Table 2 shows that doting-supportive fathers and demanding- supportive fathers were involved to a high or moderate extent in their daughters' childhood, adolescence and adulthood. Figure 2 explains that among all the father types, demanding-supportive (29.26%) and doting-supportive fathers (26.21%) provided the maximum support and encouragement to their daughters; provided them the freedom of choice for their preferences compared to domineering and absent fathers. They also mentored them, helped them in their homework, extra-curricular activities and provided them the information they needed. They facilitated their daughters in the selection and approval of their life partners. The positive persona of fathers created a positive vibe in the relationship and made daughters feel loved, valued and supported. Four daughters felt that their fathers fitted both doting- supportive and demanding-supportive categories. Another daughter reported her father to be a demanding-supportive father and a domineering father.

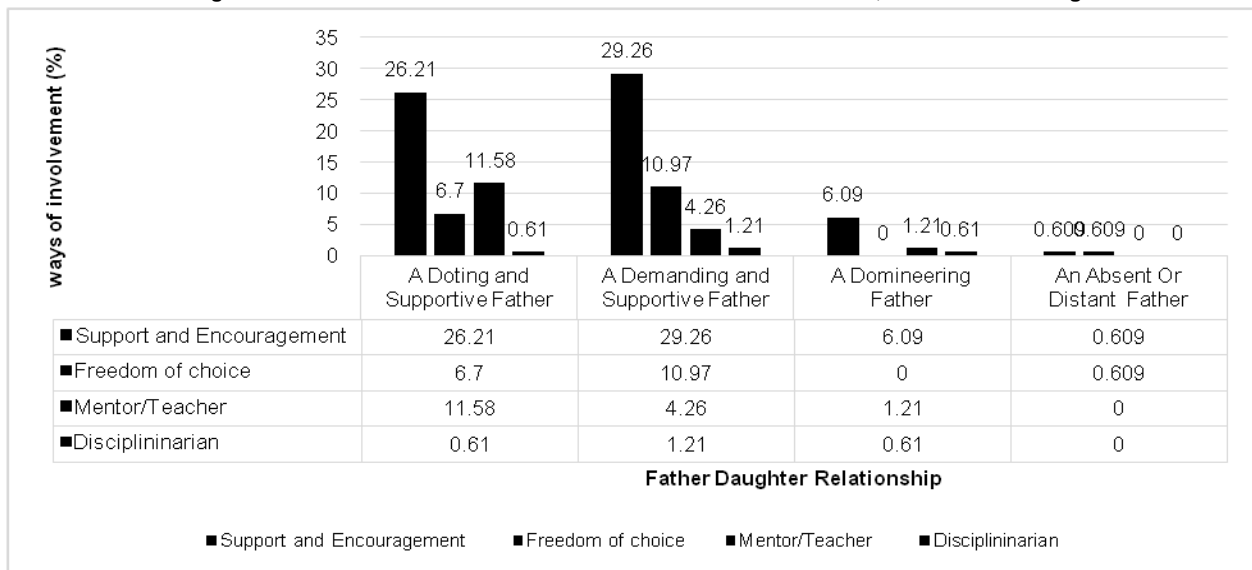
Only one in ten were domineering or an absent/ neglectful fathers, who did not provide them the scope to communicate and make decisions, were not available to daughters, most of the times, while the absent/ neglectful father was present in daughter's life only during her childhood. They felt that their fathers were autocratic or disciplinarians and would have liked them to be less stubborn, more flexible, more supportive and more involved.

Table 2
Extent of Father Involvement in different life stages of daughters

Extent of involvement	High (%)			Moderate (%)			low (%)			No involvement (%)		
	Child	Adolescence	Adult	Child	Adolescence	Adult	Child	Adolescence	Adult	Child	Adolescence	Adult
Type of father-daughter relationship												
Doting-Supportive Father (14)	66.7	83.3	66.7	33.3	16.7	25	-	-	-	-	-	8.3
Demanding-Supportive Father (12)	50	42.9	64.3	42.9	57.1	21.4	7.1	-	-	-	-	-
Domineering Father (3)	66.7	33.3	-	-	33.3	-	-	33.3	-	33.3	-	-

Note: Frequencies are based on the number of respondents *

Figure 2.
Daughters' Views about the Involvement of Fathers in their Education, Career and Marriage



3.2 The Father as a Power Center

Fathers play an important role in daughters' education, career and marriage, either on their own or provide their daughters the freedom to decide for themselves. Table 3 explains the patterns in decision-making for daughters' education, career and marriage. Education-related aspects were largely decided by father-daughter, father alone, daughter alone, mother-father, mother-daughter and very few by mother-daughter-father. With young and immature daughters, the final word was of the father for the school's medium of instruction (30%), co-education (26.7%) and school of admission (43.3%). Payment of fee was the sole decision of fathers (83.3%). Daughters took decisions for the aspects that enhanced their education like participation in extra-curricular activities (36.7%), extra-classes/tuitions if required (33.3%), the desirable level of their study (46.7%) and the institution for higher studies (33.3%), which show that daughters have the freedom to make decisions about their interests or well-being. Father and daughter decided the place of study (30%) together because fathers were worried about the daughter's safety. In contrast to this, all the decisions related to career and marriage were initiated by the daughter, except the financial aspect (43.3%) in

the wedding and the ceremonies to be performed in the wedding (23.3%), which were initiated by the father.

Mostly all daughters were comfortable with the way decisions were made with their fathers, except nine, who reported conflicts with their fathers. Conflicts occurred mainly due to non-acceptance of each other's thoughts and beliefs. Four daughters reported conflicts with their father for various educational and career aspects and five daughters reported conflicts for the aspects related to marriage (Refer to Table 4). In most cases, daughters went against their father's wishes and chose their own way in education, career and marriage, which exhibits the locus of power in the realm of daughters. However, there were daughters who accepted their father's dominance and decisions, to avoid conflicts. Fathers still possess an important role in the acceptance or denial of daughters' marriage choice, especially, the selection and approval of life partner, the place of study, expenditure for education, career and marriage. However, they provide the power and control of decisions to daughters, with the exception of domineering and absent fathers.

Table 3
Decision Making Pattern for Daughters' Education, career and marriage (N=30)

Decisions for Education	f (%)						
	Father	Daughter	Father Daughter	Mother	Mother Daughter father	Mother Father	Mother Daughter
School for admission	43.3	3.3	6.7	13.3	3.3	30	0
Institution for higher studies	16.7	33.3	26.7	0	13.3	6.7	3.3
Place of study	20	16.7	30	0	6.7	10	10
Coeducation v/s exclusively girls' institutions	26.7	13.3	13.3	6.7	6.7	23.3	0
Medium of instruction	30	6.7	16.7	6.7	10	20	3.3
Participation in extracurricular activities	3.3	36.7	16.7	6.7	6.7	13.3	16.7
Arrangements for tuition or extra classes	20	33.3	23.3	6.7	0	0	6.7
Payment of fees	83.3	3.3	0	0	0	10	0
Desirable level of study- Bachelors, masters etc	13.3	46.7	16.7	0	16.7	0	6.7

Decisions for Career

Profession or career to be chosen	6.7	56.7	23.3	0	6.7	0	6.7
To work during studies to be financially independent	6.7	36.7	6.7	0	0	0	0
Work and pursue a career after marriage	3.3	63.3			6.7	3.3	3.3
Place of work	6.7	63.3	6.7		3.3	2	3.3
Decisions for Marriage							
To get married or not	6.7	60	13.3		10	3.3	
Place of marriage	13.3	33.3	16.7		13.3	3.3	
Method of partner selection–Self-selection, arranged marriage	6.7	33.3	20		20	3.3	6.7
Expenditure for marriage	43.3	10	13.3		13.3	13.3	
Marriage ceremonies to be performed	23.3	6.7	6.7	3.3	20	13.3	10

Note- Frequencies based on the number of Respondents

Table 4
Aspects of Conflict for Daughter’s Education Career and Marriage, Reasons and its Resolving Strategies

Aspect of conflict	f	Reason of Conflicts		Resolution			
		<u>Father’s beliefs and thoughts</u>	<u>Daughter’s beliefs and thoughts</u>	<u>Acceptance of father’s decision</u>	<u>Rebel father’s decision</u>	<u>No resolution</u>	<u>Other ways</u>
Place of study	2	To study in the same city	Move out of the city to study	Chose the same city to study	Chose place of her choice		
Choice of institution	1	Study in the institution of his choice	Has own preference	-	Chose her desired institution		
Expenditure of education and career	1	Choose the course of his choice	Has own preference and considered father’s choice to be expensive	-	Chose the subject of her choice with less expenditure		
The desired level of study	2	Marriage as a priority	Studies as a priority	Left studies to get married as per father’s wish	Continued studying		
Financial independence	1	Men’s role to earn	Both men and women can earn		Started working for financial independence		
Subject of specialisation	2	Choose the subject of his interest	Has own preference		Both daughters chose the subject of their own interest		
To work after marriage.	1	Women should not work after marriage, rather prioritise family over workplace	It’s up to women to decide			Not resolved as daughter is not married so could not comment	
Marriage ceremonies	1	Spend more	Keep it minimal with simplicity		Kept it simple		
Idea of marriage	5	Marriage as an important societal custom and daughters are compelled to marry. Non-acceptance of inter-caste and self-selection marriage	Its personal decision or preference and not a compulsion One can marry - caste no bar. Nothing wrong with self-selected partners			Not resolved (2)	Convinced father for his consent and then married (2) Discussed/communicated with fathers (3)
Expenditure on marriage	2	Wants to spend more for big fat wedding	Keep it minimal		Did it her way keeping things minimalistic (2)		
Dowry in marriage	1	A custom to be followed by daughter’s families	Against dowry			Not resolved	
Partner selection	7	Arranged marriage - Life partner chosen by father or family, as selection of partner by daughter could bring shame to his image and family.	Preference for self-selection marriage		Married partner of her choice and resolved with time (1)		Convinced and discussed and negotiated, sorted (6)

3.3 Bonding with father and its Impact: Insights from Daughters' experiences

Daughters define father-daughter relationship as a combination of their closeness and distance with their fathers and the ups and downs in their relationship. Daughters accord utmost value to their fathers' unconditional love and contribution to their education, career and marriage.

Almost all daughters of doting-supportive fathers and demanding-supportive fathers felt close to their fathers due to their fathers' supportive thoughts and value accorded to them and their choices. His positive persona, love, care and support for them, the scope to communicate their concerns and the understanding attitude of fathers brought them close. However, daughters disliked their fathers' stubbornness, non-supportive, orthodox thoughts, dominance over decisions and non-acceptance of their decisions as it distanced them from their fathers. Three-fourth of the daughters felt that their fathers were actively involved in their lives, As an outcome, all daughters of doting-supportive and demanding-supportive fathers, express, moderate to high satisfaction in the relationship. Only one daughter of a domineering father, expressed high satisfaction in the relationship as she empathises with him and had accepted her father's personality. All daughters report that the contribution of their fathers has helped them to achieve education and career success, develop self-confidence to make decisions and overcome challenges and develop positive personality traits that include humility, balance, perseverance, compassion and foresight.

Every daughter shared a unique relationship with her father, which is exemplified through synopses of four distinct types of father-daughter relationship.

Doting and Supportive Father

These fathers treat their daughters as princesses. They spare time to love and care for them and listen to their concerns and worries, without any bias or ego. A daughter expresses-

"My father always treats me like a princess. He has always been supportive of my choices and gave weightage, as well as, priority to my ideas. Reason being that he always loves girl child. He thinks that to have a girl child is god's grace."

Binta shares - *"He is quite a family man and even though he may have little clue about my crazy interests - he has always been willing to know more and has invested enough time in me."*

These daughters are influenced by fathers' positive persona. Talking about her father's love for her, a daughter says -

"I feel very close to my father because I am his soul. He always thinks about my happiness and, therefore, fulfils all my wishes and needs. I consider him to be an ideal father, and no one can take his place".

Another shares - *"As such all the moments with my father are precious but a special moment that I remember, just two days before my wedding was when he filled our front yard with hundreds of flower pots, as I love flowers."*

They were involved and gave their daughters the freedom to decide about their education, career and marriage; mentored them; provided emotional support and took joint decisions, when needed. A daughter says -

"He supported and guided me, gave me the freedom to take decisions and helped me in my studies. He also attended meetings in school and helped me in projects and co-curricular activities".

Another states the satisfaction in the relationship -

"As you know dear, I am the only IRS lady officer from Gujarat, so you can well imagine the efforts made by my parents (including father) made in shaping my career. Even after marriage, my parents are taking care of me as well as my husband."

Demanding and Supportive Father

The demanding father and his daughter often do things that the father enjoys doing. He encourages his daughter to try new things, even if it is predominantly a male activity. Pratika shares -

"Since childhood he has never hesitated in helping me or supporting me, to enter any of the so-called male fields. He has encouraged me to learn about all types of things and procedures required in a business." Amala adds

"He gave me the privilege of making my own choices and freedom to grow, though he is authoritative and overpowering at times". Another daughter expresses - *"He has always been a pillar of support for everything I ever wanted to do, but only if he felt that it is the right thing."*

Father's availability, understanding attitude, support in various life situations and the motto to stand up for self and strive for what they want, brings daughters close to their fathers. Surabhi shared -

"I have never felt my daddy far from me any day, though, we are not living together. My father is very close to me; even if I don't speak a word in front of him, he knows what I want and can also understand if I am in some trouble"

Daughters dislike fathers' non-supportive personality traits. A daughter talks about her father's inability to understand her -

"When I was a typical teenager, I was in a relationship at the wrong time with a wrong person. I felt that it's a generation gap that makes it difficult for him to

understand me, but the fact was, it was I who distanced him from myself."

While they expected their daughters to obey them, most daughters decided their own priorities. One says -

"My father convinced me to study further, but discontinued my education, midway, when I got engaged". Another states, "I have managed to be a success both in my private as well as professional life, only because I was able to choose what's best for me."

Their levels of satisfaction are a bit lower than the first type. However, they feel it is their fathers' strict and stubborn nature that provided them the scope and freedom to decide for self. Father's approval and acceptance of their choice of life partner made daughters satisfied with their marriage. A daughter stated-

"He didn't want me to marry in Muslim community and low caste, but time resolved everything. My strong determination is no caste bar."

A few daughters report a lack of satisfaction in the relationship because of the dominance of fathers' choices over them, with limited scope to share their concerns.

"I am at a very respectable stage of my career. But this has not been my passion." Another daughter - "If he would communicate verbally more, then it would have been 100%."

Domineering fathers

The domineering father (only 10 %) is an authority figure in the home and does not spend much time with his daughter. He assumes himself to be the provider and protector. He occasionally spends time talking about his daughters' concerns, but the conversation is often dominated by the father's interests. Daughters view their dad as loving but rigid. A daughter says -

"Basically, he never knew till 10th what grade we are studying in. He was usually very strict. We were not allowed to do anything except studies and had to stay at home. But I never blame him; it used to be a big joint family, so he had to follow his parents' rule." Another adds "My father is very strict and an authority figure at home. For all major decisions, his consent was very important. During our childhood, we were very scared of him and found him harsh and rude. Over a period of time, he has mellowed down but his consent is still, required for major issues".

They were highly involved in daughters' childhood and adolescence with regard to their academics to steer daughters' career but in later life, their involvement reduced, because daughters made their own decisions. Daughters did not experience close bonds, as expressed

"I feel less close to my father, than my mother as I am afraid of his anger and domineering characteristics and his wanting everything to be as he wishes it to be."

"He was dead against our marriage. His negative attitude towards my inter-caste marriage was obvious, as he was more concerned about the status he holds in society and also my well-being. He was apprehensive that I was not able to judge people."

Decisions were solely made by father, either in selection and approval of life partners for daughters, or their education and career, however they also acknowledge that their success was an outcome of their fathers' stringent decisions.

Absent father

This daughter felt that her father was nearly always, absent from her life, except in childhood, when he doted on her, as she was his first child. He was too busy with his work, creating a distance in the relationship. She says -

"There is hardly any interaction with my father, as he does not get time from work"

"As my father is the head of the family, some kind of distance, barrier or limitation is always there. For certain type of talks or feminine matter I have to talk to my mom."

She remembers just one moment of her life, where she felt close to her father

"When my father was hospitalized, he had shared that he feels guilty about not spending time with me. I know my father loves me a lot, but he never feels the need to share his feelings with me."

His gendered, orthodox and non-supportive ideas and thoughts were not acceptable to his daughter. He possessed a bias towards her, as she was a girl, and so, placed restrictions on her mobility and expected her to follow the traditional norms. She is against the dowry system in marriage, and values her financial independence, which is contrary to her father's beliefs, leading to conflicts between them. Since she was dependent on him, he took the financial decisions regarding her education, leaving the rest to her. This lack of involvement, further distanced her from her father, leaving her less satisfied in the relationship. She wishes that her father was actively involved in her education and career choices. It still annoys her and makes her feel deprived of her father's love.

Thus, all four father types depict a peculiar father-daughter relationship, with its own limitations and outcomes.

4. Discussion and Conclusion

The paper brings out the role of fathers in the lives of daughters who have attempted to break the stereotype and succeeded in their education and career. It addresses the extent and nature of fathers' involvement, modal decision-

making patterns in daughters' education, career and marriage and highlights the insights of a father-daughter relationship.

The findings of the paper reveal the evolving role of fathers in their daughters' lives, which moves beyond the economic provider and protector as seen in figure 3. Fourteen daughters (46.7%) reported their fathers to be demanding and supportive, twelve daughters (40%) reported a doting and supportive father; Such style of fathering is reported by Atkinson and Blackwelder, (1993), Lawrence, Watson, & Watson, (2013) and Sriram and Navalkar, (2012). In contrast to this, three daughters (10%) had a domineering father and only one daughter (3.3%) had an absent father reinforcing the fact that some fathers continue to maintain an authoritarian role, and are disciplinarians and decision-makers in the family.

All fathers were highly involved in their daughters' childhood and supported them throughout in their education, career and marriage. Doting - Demanding-supportive fathers, exhibited their involvement by communicating with daughters, helping them to make decisions, providing freedom and mentoring them, while, only 13% dominated their daughters' preferences, and did not provide the scope to communicate or make decisions freely. Nielsen (2014) also corroborates this by stating that communication, father's understanding and consideration of daughters as an adult is an important tool to bring fathers and daughters close to each other.

This research showed that nurturant fathers can positively influence child's educational outcome. These fathers helped their daughters to move out of their comfort zones and explore new things and look at things from a different and new perspective, and achieve their desired education, career and life partner. It is similar to findings of Ransaw, (2014, 2017) on African American fathers who exhibit their involvement by being a good role model to their daughters. They model behaviours like self-sufficiency and confidence in life and in school; behaviours that motivate the daughters and helps them to overcome their fears and anxieties, They helped daughters with their homework and continued to guide them even in college, as they believe that they need to be consistent and strict with their child's homework. Despite some fathers being strict, they expressed love for their daughters and desired her personal growth.

This study shows that the fathers take joint decisions in their daughters' education, career and marriage along with the involvement of both - mother and daughter. Fathers and daughters in most cases, decided education-related aspects mutually; while daughters decided career and marriage related aspects, on their own. About 30% had conflicts with their fathers due to contradicting beliefs and thoughts, mainly for the approval of life partner chosen by them against their father's wishes, and in career-related aspects. Daughters' rejection of their father's unacceptable behaviour brings a realization in fathers to alter their unacceptable habits to get close to daughters as also endorsed by Nielsen (2014). On the other hand, daughters feared the loss of love and trust of their fathers, so were careful in making decisions, but were clear of their own stance in a situation. They waited for several years to

convince their father, who was worried about societal stigma but, eventually, gave his consent.

It was seen that, while the father's supportive thoughts and approach, positive personality traits and active involvement created a close bond with his daughter, his stubbornness, lack of cooperation, freedom and a scary figure, distanced him from her. His active involvement, motivation and encouragement in daughter's education from childhood itself, lead daughters to better and challenging jobs, which are otherwise, commonly held by men. Findings of Zia, Malik, & Ali (2015) and Ali & Daoud (2016) explain that the father-daughter relationship is directly and positively related to the self-esteem of the daughter and their academic success, as also reported by Navalkar and Sriram (2019), through their analysis of essays written by daughter on fathers. Johnson (2013) also explains that daughters develop an attitude towards the world based on the relationship with their fathers. Fathers being supportive, can help daughters make better choices, recognise the truth and falsities and take a stance for herself.

Fathers supported their daughters emotionally and practically by choosing a life partner for them, guiding them or providing freedom to choose on their own. However, there was no evidence for father as a role model in choosing a spouse, which was found in research by Nielsen (2014) but daughters career was a priority in this and Nielsen's sample. The study also throws light on the qualitative aspect of a secure relationship between fathers and daughters. Daughters express satisfaction in the relationship with their fathers based on the closeness with them and the ways in which the fathers were involved, except 10 percent of domineering and an absent father, as also evident in research conducted in Wisconsin USA (Katorski, 2003).

All involved fathers in this sample contributed towards their daughters' academic success and career growth and development of positive personality traits. Daughters of domineering father or neglectful father regret the lack of support and involvement from their fathers and express that it could have helped them to achieve higher work positions and career.

Therefore, to say that fathers are authoritarians and disciplinarians does not hold true in the present paper because fathers provided the freedom to their daughters to decide their life choices. The paper explains that fathering has moved beyond the deficit perspective and fathers are ready to help their children overcome hurdles if any. His role as a nurturer, guide, mentor get unmasked when we look beyond the traditional lens of his role as an economic provider, both in India (Bhasin, 1993;) and in western cultures also highlighting that father can be an efficient parent provided he receives recognition and appreciation from the immediate resource family and the larger community (Marone, 1988; Nielsen, 2004; Parker, 2005; Seward & Richter, 2008). It also highlights the extent and the ways in which fathers oil the wheels of their daughters' lives that forms the basis of a father-daughter relationship.

5. Limitations

Findings of the current study are limited to daughters of urban, upper-middle-class Indian families. The results may vary with other sub cultures perceptions of fathering daughters, fathers' perceptions of daughters and daughters' perceptions of their fathers and their relationship.

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