"On Down the Road" an Intergenerational Fathering Experience

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“ON DOWN THE ROAD”

AN INTERGENERATIONAL FATHERING EXPERIENCE

by

Jeffery G. Chapman

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Family Life

(Family and Human Development)
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ABSTRACT

“On Down the Road”
An Intergenerational Fathering Experience

by

Jeffery G. Chapman, Doctor of Philosophy
Utah State University, 2002

Fathering has been studied with renewed interest by scholars seeking to understand the unique effects and contributions fathers have in the lives of children. Father involvement has been measured by tracking fathers’ engagement with, accessibility to, and responsibility for their children during childhood and adolescence. Generative fathering theorists have proposed that fathering and fatherhood are better understood by expansion of the dimensions of father involvement. Generative fathering research has found that father-child relationships are imbued with meaning across the life cycle. The meaning of generative fathering was explored in this study across four generations of fathers, all from one extended family tree. By applying a phenomenological method of inquiry through long interviews, the participants themselves have offered a unique description of the essence of generative fathering for their family. The similarities and differences in the qualitative nature of the fathering experience were
expressed by the participants both between and within the generations. The influence of the spouses of the participants on both the conception and practice of fathering was explored along with other familial and nonfamilial influences. The results of the study provide evidence of the transmission of the meaning of fathering generativity over the generations in a unique extension of the definition beyond that of other theorists. There is support as well for key elements of the generative fathering conceptual framework and the model of responsible fathering.

(151 pages)
DEDICATION

To the fathers in my life:
O. Glenn Chapman, grandfather
Stanford A. Burnham, grandfather
Edward J. Fraughton, father-in-law

To my parents who have taught and continue to teach me
of family, fatherhood, and love:
Terrance O. Chapman and Linda B. Chapman

To she who is mother to our children, my wife, my friend
and who has inspired me in my own fathering:
Kristi

and

To the children who call me Dad:
Adele, Jacob, Camilla, Laura, and Anna

This book is lovingly and thankfully dedicated
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation paper and the research that it is based upon are very dependent on the support of so many good people. My thanks first and foremost to my faculty adviser, mentor, and friend, Dr. Kathleen W. Piercey, who guided me into my initial discovery of qualitative family research, and has collaborated, tutored, modeled, critiqued, and simply taught me ever since. Her greatest gift to this student has been her willingness to let me find my voice in research and to encourage me to let it be heard. Thank you Kathy.

My thanks to the patience, long-suffering, and gracious nature of my committee, Dr. Scot M. Allgood, Dr. Byron R. Burnham, Dr. Shelley Knudsen Lindauer, and Dr. Brent W. Miller. They have exhibited nothing but the finest qualities of dedicated scholars and have provided insights that have strengthened the research and the paper.

My heart is full of gratitude to the faculty, staff, and fellow graduate students of the Family and Human Development Department. I have come to believe that no education at any university could have matched my experiences here in the department.

I am indebted to Dr. Lisa Newland, my USU "cohort of one," and the courage she shared with me to conquer comps. Additionally, I pledge undying allegiance to my role model for life and dear friend, Dr. Mark Ogletree. I'll follow you anywhere, Mark.

Finally, eternal gratitude to my transcriber, my proofreader, my companion, and dearest friend, Kristi Chapman.

Jeffery G. Chapman
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Overview

The meaning of fathering is often debated in academia with both father absence (Blankenhorn, 1995; Popenoe, 1996) and father presence (Silverstein & Auerbach, 1999) identified as a source for much of society’s ills. All the while, fathers from every cultural backdrop, as well as social and economic strata, engage their children in a phenomenon called fathering across a wide variety of contexts using uniquely developed styles.

Fathering research of the past has been characterized as being more concerned with “masculinity, boyhood, or gay life, rather than fatherhood. There is still not enough information to write a history of the father-son talk, the dynamics of the relationship between black middle-class fathers and their children, or the story of the modern Hispanic father” (Pleck & Pleck, 1997, p. 34). The decade of the 1990s saw a resurgent interest in father-related research, and scholarship done in this period has begun to rectify many such gaps in our knowledge (see for example, Fitzpatrick, Caldera, Pursley, & Wampler, 1999, which addresses Hispanic fathering). A decade review of fatherhood research (Marsiglio, Amato, Day, & Lamb, 2000) identified advances made in the 1990s in four key areas: (1) the influence of culture on fathering, (2) theoretical and empirical exploration into fathering forms and processes, (3) father-child connections and the outcomes for both children and fathers, and (4) how father identity is developed. The research done in these areas, particularly that relating to father absence, has heightened awareness among policymakers about the importance of promoting fatherhood.
"Although research agendas have been and will continue to be defined in large part by pressing social policy concerns, researchers should continue to study fathers' involvement with and influence on their children in healthy, stable families" (Marsiglio et al., 2000, p. 1186).

This research study is an effort to acquire, through a phenomenological method of inquiry, the meaning of fathering from several generations of a healthy, stable family. Drawing on the voices of the men and their children who have experienced fathering, this study tells these stories to add to the fathering knowledge base that is not fully developed, but is rapidly maturing. Recent efforts in the field of fathering research have resulted in theoretical models (Doherty, Kouneski, & Erickson, 1998; Dollahite & Hawkins, 1998; Palkovitz, 1997) that extend previous thought regarding fathering, which tended to focus on determinants and dimensions of father involvement (Lamb, 1986; Lamb, Pleck, Charnov, & Levine, 1987). Two of the recent models deserve special attention and will be discussed in greater detail.

Responsible Fathering

The model of responsible fathering as developed by Doherty et al., (1998) uses a contextual framework to explore influences and settings for responsible, ethically oriented fathering. The focus is on "factors that help create and maintain a father-child bond" (Doherty et al., 1998, p. 285). Primary emphasis in the model is given to the relationship between father and child, while also exploring contextual factors that effect the relationship such as government, social institutions, employment, race and ethnic
resources and challenges, and the nature of the father-mother relationship. One of the stated goals of the authors of this framework is that it should be able to “guide father-specific research, program development, and public policy...[and] to illuminate the distinctive influences on fathering” (Doherty et al., 1998, p. 285).

It has become increasingly clear to many family scholars that much of the previous parenting research has a “matricentric” emphasis (Phares, 1996), in which “mothers are considered the standard parent and fathers are either ignored or studied for how they differ from mothers or how they neglect and abandon children” (Doherty et al., 1998, p. 284). One study highlighted the gender gap in dissertation research (from the years 1986-1994), disclosing that of 1,982 dissertation abstracts on the parent-child relationship, 208 (10.5%) were based on research that was father only, 1,179 (59.5%) that was mother only, and 595 (30.0%) that was both father and mother oriented (Silverstein & Phares, 1996). The study authors recommend a revision of the guidelines for psychological research such that fathers “automatically be included in any study that examines maternal attitudes or behaviors” (Silverstein & Phares, p. 49). The recommendation can run both ways such that this study, while centered on the meaning of the fathering experience, also sought to understand contextual factors, among them maternal attitudes or behaviors and their influence on father-child relationships.
Generative Fathering

The second influential conceptual framework is rooted in the developmental theory of Erik Erikson (1950, 1968). Erikson posited that the construct of care for the next generation occurred in adult development as a positive resolution of the ego crisis between stagnation and generativity. Snarey (1993) rooted his study of fathers in Erikson's concept of generativity, using it "as a developmental aim or endpoint to illuminate the journey of fathers across the years from boyhood and early adulthood through late middle adulthood" (p. 14). Further, Snarey explored how fathers develop this sense of care for the next generation, concluding that good fathering really does matter over generations.

Snarey's (1993) How Fathers Care for the Next Generation should be regarded as the foundation work for generative fathering research, one that combines the highest standards of empirical data collection and analysis with the qualitative "voice" of men who care for children. The present study was designed to expand on the qualitative component of Snarey's research by interviewing individually each father and their sons and daughters in a single multiple-generation family.

Others (Dollahite & Hawkins, 1998; Dollahite, Hawkins & Brotherson, 1997) have elaborated on Erikson's theory and Snarey's research by developing a model of generative fathering. They define their conception of generative fathering as, "fathering that meets the needs of children by working to create and maintain a developing ethical relationship with them" (Dollahite, Hawkins, & Brotherson, 1997, p. 18). The term
*fatherwork* serves as a synonym for generative fathering and also stands in contrast to other fathering concepts. For these theorists, *fatherhood* seems like a good term to describe a cultural or social construct concerned with what fathers are expected to do and be. *Fatherwork* is our term to describe the conduct of generative fathering. *Fatherwork* (like housework or home work) refers to an activity that involves a person in sustained effort. (Dollahite, Hawkins, & Brotherson, 1997, p. 21, italics in original)

The use of the framework is intended not only to serve as a template for research but also to be applied in father education and clinical settings (Dienhart & Dollahite, 1997; Palm, 1997). Research that implements the framework as a theoretical foundation is limited (Brotherson & Dollahite, 1997; Dollahite, Marks, & Olson, 1998; Rhoden & Robinson, 1997) but findings have been supportive of the model’s general premises. As an important component of postanalysis, the current study probed connections between the generative fathering model and data provided by study participants. To aid the reader, some key terms that appear repeatedly throughout the study are defined here.

**Operational Definitions of Key Terms and Concepts**

**Generativity**—the concept of care described in Erikson’s (1950, 1968) seventh stage of human development. The mature adult, after navigating issues of intimacy in relationships during young adulthood, encounters an ego crisis arising from a desire to share knowledge and experience with the next generation versus a self-absorbing interest that leads to stagnation in individual development. Generativity in its broadest form means “any
caring activity that contributes to the spirit of future generations” (Snarey, 1993, p. 19).

**Essential Generative Fathering**—the experience fathers have of caring for their children. It is defined by the fathers who give and the children who receive such caring, and not by outsiders.

**Fatherwork**—This is a term, coined by Dollahite, Hawkins, & Brotherson (1997), that defines the efforts fathers make in behalf of their children as work or, “an activity that involves a person in sustained effort” (p. 21).

**The Church**—All of the family members interviewed are members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and frequently reference both their activity in the LDS faith and the doctrines taught there as “the Church.”

**Rationale for the Study**

The purpose of this phenomenological study was to explore identity development based on the study participants’ descriptions of what fathering means to them and second, to explore social negotiation of how caring father-child interactions occurred and under what contexts. One unique feature of the study is that the “what” and the “how” of the essential generative fathering experience is expressed by a group of people who all belong to the same four-generation family.

This study’s methodology responds to a call issued by many researchers and theorists in the fathering field (Daly, 1993; Dollahite & Hawkins, 1998; Hawkins,
Christiansen, Sargent, & Hill, 1995; Marsiglio, 1993; Ogletree, 2000). The call is for “[m]ore qualitative research . . . to explore the kinds of identity development and social negotiation that constitute the experience of fathering” (Doherty et al., 1998, p. 289). Specific requests from the decade review (Marsiglio, Amato et al., 2000) that were made of the fathering research community are likewise responded to in this study. For example, the review identifies the need for research that “explores the wide range of formal and informal ways fathers actively contribute to their children’s moral, religious and spiritual development” (Marsiglio, Amato, et al., p. 1185). One of the findings of the present research is the omnipresent concept of “the Church.” The words of one father typified comments throughout all the interviews, “Our lives sure centered around the Church.” This point receives further elaboration in the findings section.

On another front, the decade reviewers are insistent that “advancing research on father involvement will require researchers to obtain data from more than one family member” (Marsiglio, Amato, et al., 2000, p. 1185). The phenomenological, multigenerational emphasis of this research provided a rich tap into the ambiance of the fathering experience of nine family members. The use of this approach goes beyond that of the conventional survey method that isolates on a father’s interaction with only one child at one time. As a result of adopting this unique method of research the essential generative fathering experience is defined from the inside out by the family members who have lived the experience from not only childhood, but throughout the life course of both the fathers and the children.
Research Questions

A review of fathering literature, especially that related to the generative model discussed earlier, contributed to the development of research questions for the proposed study. The central question this study answered asks, “From the perspective of both the father and the child, what is the essential generative fathering experience?” Additional questions provide a focus for exploring the generative fathering experience defined as essential by the study’s participants:

- In a single four-generation family, how does the generative fathering experience differ from one generation to the next?
- In a single four-generation family, how does the generative fathering experience remain the same from one generation to the next?
- Within one generation of a four-generation family, how is the generative fathering experience different or similar for the men who are fathers in that generation?
- In a single four-generation family, how is the generative fathering experience influenced by the father’s interaction with his spouse and/or mother of his children?

These questions were studied from the qualitative tradition of inquiry known as phenomenology, which is defined as an approach for describing “the meaning of the lived experiences for several individuals about a concept or the phenomenon” (Creswell, 1998, p. 51). In this instance, the phenomenon studied was essential generative fathering but
within certain contexts, for example, the children in this study shared the same man as father, though the phenomenon of fathering may differ for each based on the "social negotiation" (Doherty et al., 1998) in which father-child interactions are embedded. Both group (sociological phenomenology) and individual (psychological phenomenology) perceptions were studied to arrive at a meaning of the fathering experience for members of the same multigenerational family and how that meaning has been transmitted from one generation to the next.
CHAPTER 2
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Overview

Literature that is reviewed here will undergird the study design and serve one of two roles. First, substantive findings taken from fathering research that has emphasized father involvement receive attention and identify where we have effectively been in our study of fathering. These studies will serve as counterpoint to philosophical concepts drawn from the writings of Buber (1970) and Marcel (1951; 1984). The Buber and Marcel paradigms have aided research in sociological and medical fields and will be used to interject new ways of thinking about father-child relationships. Second, findings from the growing body of intergenerational, generative fathering research will be considered. Among these Snarey’s (1993) use of Erikson’s human development theory, specifically the concept of generativity, has played a central role in recent fathering research (Brotherson & Dollahite, 1997; Dollahite, 1998; Dollahite, Marks, & Olson, 1998) and theory development (Doherty et al., 1998; Dollahite & Hawkins, 1998; Hawkins et al., 1995).

Philosophical Foundations

Part of the challenge in studying family as “a unity of interacting personalities” (Burgess, 1926) is the tendency to reduce those interactions to their strictest and barest elements. Exploring these barest of elements has reaped a tremendously fruitful harvest
of information about father involvement with children. Fathering research from the mid-1980s forward has relied on a model that seeks to describe father-child involvement across dimensions of paternal engagement, accessibility of the father to his child, and the responsibility of the father for the child (Lamb, Pleck, & Charnov, 1985). Father responsibility was deemed more difficult to operationalize than the other two dimensions and thus measures have not developed for responsibility the way they have for engagement and accessibility. Lamb et al. (1987) reviewed studies of father/child interaction done from the 1960s to the 1980s, some of which used time diary recordings by fathers and other studies that used father or mother estimates of the daily amount of face-to-face engagement. The findings from these studies of 20-30 years ago report that father's face-to-face time with children ranged from 15 minutes a day to 2.5 hours day. The number of hours rose slightly (ranging from 1.75 to 4 hours a day) when the studies measured father accessibility or time during which a father was available to his children.

Ten years later, father interaction studies done during the 1980s through the 1990s were reviewed (Pleck, 1997) and both father engagement figures (2.0 to 2.8 hours per day) and father accessibility figures (2.8 to 4.9 hours per day) had risen. It has been noted that “these well-documented amounts of time are markedly different than the figure of 12 minutes per day that is often cited in the media” (Doherty et al., 1998, p. 284).

The Family and Work Institute (FWI), in their recent report on the changing workforce in the United States, found that fathers reported spending 2.3 hours a day involved in some type of caring or other activity with their children (Bond, Galinsky, & Swanberg, 1998), an increase of 30 minutes from a baseline study 20 years earlier (Quinn
& Staines, 1977). An interesting side note considers where fathers may have come up with this extra time devoted to interaction with their children. The finding from the same report on fathers’ free-time activities reveals 1.2 hours a day are devoted to personal time, which is down 54 minutes from 20 years ago (Bond et al., 1998). Perhaps some channeling of time has headed down to the child end of the row.

One study (Cooksey & Fondell, 1996) targeted father involvement based upon father-child interactions at meal times, in leisure activities away from home, play and work projects at home, having private talks, and engagement in reading or homework activities. Fathers from all types of family structures (intact families, single mother/non-residential father, single father, step-father) on average were eating 7-8 meals a week with their children out of a possible 14 breakfast and dinner meals and were involved in the other previously described types of activities only 2-3 times a month.

A more encouraging and more recent study (Yeung, Sandberg, Davis-Kean, & Hofferth, 2001) found that father involvement as a proportion of mother’s involvement with children is rising. In this instance the time diaries used in this research tracked time from the child’s perspective and the children reported that engagement and accessibility to their fathers was 67% of that which they had with their mothers on a weekday and moved up to 87% of mother’s time on the weekend. This is dramatic difference from the 30% to 45% (father time as a percentage of mother time) range that Pleck (1997) found in the studies he reviewed. Taken in total the result of this recent spate of father involvement research points to some upward growth on the part of the fathers studied to be more engaged and more accessible to children than their predecessors.
Father involvement research with its emphasis on the amounts of time fathers have with children has raised interesting questions about fathers’ perception on the meaning of time. Daly (1996) carefully considered such meaning for fathers in a well-crafted qualitative study which probed men’s understanding, frustrations, and adaptations with time. One of the conclusions Daly came to as a result of his study was that examining the meaning of time for fathers, as opposed to the quantifications of time, can serve as a basis for understanding their values and beliefs associated with time, their ability to control and take responsibility for time, and the cultural and organizational expectations that they encounter in relation to time. Taken together, these meanings attached to family time can serve as an important lens on men’s participation in family work. (1996, p. 467)

Lamb (2000) himself, who “fathered” the quantifiable fathering dimensions of engagement, accessibility, and responsibility, has linked this dominant research model to a perspective that had a “restricted focus on paternal nurturance with little if any attention paid to the other functions or aspects of fatherhood. The narrowly focused view of fatherhood that resulted, ignored subcultural variation in the definition and understanding of fatherhood” (Lamb, 2000, p. 23). Lamb reflects what is a growing appreciation among researchers for the reality of the structural and procedural diversity evident in the lives of fathers and the resultant revamping of the field’s conceptualization of father involvement is strongly recommended (Hawkins & Palkovitz, 1999; Marsiglio, Day, & Lamb, 2000) and is indeed under way.

Broadening the perspective by which fathering involvement is viewed was the thrust of Palkovitz’s (1997) effort to reconceptualize the three dimensions of fathering. Palkovitz urged a shift away from “a professional literature that is too sterile and
circumscribed” (p. 208) in its definitions of father involvement (Lamb et al., 1987) and toward a parental view of father-child interaction and connection. The parental view recognizes categories of affective and cognitive experiences that aren’t considered and therefore are not credited in the existing dimensions of involvement, such as thought processes fathers engage in regarding their children or offering prayers for their children.

Based on his own research from interviewing fathers, Palkovitz concludes:

> [I]t becomes clear that much of their consciousness, planning, evaluation, and assessment of daily experiences is occupied or influenced by thoughts about their children. Parents’ core identities are invested in the fact that they have offspring and that they perform particular functions and roles in carrying out their responsibilities toward their children (Erikson, 1950).

(Palkovitz, 1997, p. 208)

Palkovitz’s proposed shift toward a parental view of involvement has been well received by the fathering research community, with two theorists (Marsiglio & Cohan, 2000) encouraging the field to explore these and other sociological dimensions of father involvement by “[r]elying heavily on qualitative approaches such as in-depth interviews, discourse analysis, interpretive practice, narrative practice, and dramaturgy, [as some of the] ways a sociological lens can inform our understanding of father involvement. . .” (p. 75).

One illustration from qualitative work that informs our understanding comes from a study of Hispanic fathering (Fitzpatrick et al., 1999) where fathers were asked about the choices they encountered as providers for their families and the sacrifices they were willing to make as fathers. One respondent talked about decision he made after the birth of his third daughter to acquire better work so his children could better themselves. “So it
was just a matter of me making a choice of what do I want. Do I want myself or do I want my family? And I picked my family” (Fitzpatrick et al., pp. 141-142). After sharing several fathers’ comments, the researchers then offer this commentary as though reading right out of Palkovitz’s (1997) playbook about the importance of recognizing these other dimensions at work in fathers’ perception and behavior toward their children:

One telling aspect of these comments is the primacy of the fathers’ thinking about their children, even when not in their children’s presence. That is, these men considered the ways in which social, occupational, and economic decisions affected their children’s well-being over time.

(Fitzpatrick et al., 1999, p. 142, emphasis added)

From Daly and Palkovitz to Lamb and Marsiglio and finally Fitzpatrick, these and many other researchers express similar thinking about fathering to that found in the existentialist assumptions delineated by Gabriel Marcel (1951, 1984) and Martin Buber (1970). Marcel’s and Buber’s philosophical deliberations have already gained prominent usage in nursing for exploring the meaning of care in nurse-patient interactions (Rieman, 1986). The principles Buber and Marcel give light to are worthy of all due consideration by those interested in the application of father involvement through a qualitative course.

_Gabriel Marcel: Object and Presence_

Marcel (1984) viewed the family as central to his themes of _mystery_ and _problem_, _presence_ and _object_. Traditional scientific studies of the family take certain facts which can be quantified and therefore understood. Such an approach, in Marcel’s paradigm, misses the essence of “the mystery of the family bond.” This bond can be grasped or acknowledged only from the inside; there are no objective statements that can be made about it from the outside, for by
definition it is our situation, the situation we cannot get outside of. That is why the kind of writer who makes the mystery of the family palpable to us is always, for example, the novelist rather than the historian of social institutions. (p. 204)

Marcel suggested that what is studied in the family by the social scientist are a group of "objects" whose "problem(s)" may be thoroughly examined so as to be understood, healed, purged, and vivisected. Yet for the family itself, its members are imbued with a "mystery of presence," a state of recognition and being that those on the outside cannot sense. Within a family,

when somebody’s presence does really make itself felt, it can refresh my inner being; it reveals me to myself, it makes me more fully myself than I should be if I were not exposed to its impact. All this, of course, though nobody would deny that we do have such experiences, is very difficult to express in words... (p. 205)

Fortunately, the purposes and procedures of a qualitative methodology provide means for families, and in this study, fathers, to share their "voices" about experiences that may otherwise be difficult to express (Daly, 1992).

*Martin Buber: "I and Thou"

Some 30 years previous to Gabriel Marcel’s ruminations about object and presence, Martin Buber (1970), a Jewish philosopher, undertook a similar journey through relationship-oriented forms and substance. His most influential offering to philosophy was his book *I and Thou*. Buber’s thought centered on the self, or in his language the “I.” The “I” can exist by experiencing, in a surface way, the world around him or herself as objects, things, “its.” Concomitant to one’s I-It level of existence are the relationships the self would have on deeper levels of relating, not with things, but
with revelation and discovery found by interacting with and within nature, interacting
with our fellow beings, and with the spiritual, the supernatural. Buber sensed both the
profound nature of spirituality and the difficulty inherent in describing its reality when he
said, "Here [within spirituality] the relation is wrapped in a cloud but reveals itself; it
lacks but creates language" (p. 57). Taken together these dimensions embody the I-Thou
relationship. The fathers in this study express thoughts about what it means to father that
exemplify the three dimensions of the I-Thou relationship: nature, others, and God. True
living as found in interacting with the three dimensions is only accessible on the level of
I-Thou interaction. Buber explains:

Even as a melody is not composed of tones, nor a verse of words, nor a
statue of lines—one must pull and tear to turn a unity into a multiplicity—so
it is with the human being to whom I say [Thou] . . . He is no longer He or
She limited by other Hes and Shes, a dot in the world grid of space and
time, nor a condition that can be experienced or described, a loose bundle
of named qualities. (p. 59)

Outside of this intimate, open knowing that is the I-Thou relationship, all other
experience occurs with objects that are entirely capable of being categorized and
quantified. This realm of I-It experience has an important place as both a balance and a
contrast to I-Thou interaction, for it is in the comparison that I-Thou relating is felt and
comprehended. What happens as a matter of course all too often is the usurpation of I-
Thou relating by I-It experiences which inject skepticism into the delicate balance
between the two.

. . . [I]n sick ages it happens that the It-world, no longer irrigated and
fertilized by the living currents of the [Thou]-world, severed and stagnant,
becomes a gigantic swamp phantom and overpowers man. As he
accommodates himself to a world of objects that no longer achieve any
presence for him, he succumbs to it. Then common causality grows into an oppressive and crushing doom. (pp. 102-103)

For Buber, causality, which is entirely appropriate and plausible for explaining the I-It world of objects, has no place whatsoever in the I-Thou world of relating where there is no time or place, no boundaries, and thus no ordering of cause and effect. I-Thou is known only by the participants in the relating of the relationship, which is why the participants need and deserve to be given their voice.

Fathering and Existential Themes

The existentialist philosophies of Buber and Marcel offer tools for exploring the meaning of fathering that is co-created in I-Thou, presence-oriented processes between fathers and children as well as exploring the meaning of fathering for other members of I-Thou relationships, the spouses and mothers of the men in the study, who observe these father-child interactions from their unique perspective. Some of Buber’s and Marcel’s core elements can be heard in the expressions of one father in the Snarey (1993) study, who stated:

I believe a father should really show his love to his children a lot. To be around and loving, I think, would be the most important thing. Because I think it gives them a feeling of wanting to find it in themselves to pass it on to the next generation. You know, to emulate that with their own children, to be loving and thoughtful and raise them well, to be with them when they need it. (p. 355)

This expression is about a kind of providing that fathers offer their children which is outside the oft-delineated provider role measured in dollar figures or the tracking of father involvement by the minute. This father has spoken of a generative, I-Thou relating that
extends beyond the time his child is present in the home to a boundless presence he and his children can have in the lives of future children.

Another of Snarey’s (1993) participants, a daughter, shared her insights into the presence a father can offer.

It is important for a father to just be himself, to be authentic. He shouldn’t try to act like “Daddy,” or another role. He shouldn’t try to tame it down or spruce it up because the child’s there. Just be you throughout your life. Some of the friends that I’ve had were shocked when they found out what their father was really like, once they became an adult. I had no surprises at the end. [My father] was consistent. (p. 146).

This daughter speaks to what Marcel would call the real presence of her father in her life, his honest relating to her. She then contrasts her “knowing” of what a father should be with the disillusioning experience of some of her friends whose fathers appear to have been object-oriented in circumstances where they were perhaps expecting to find I-Thou relating. These brief examples highlight the potential for application of Buber’s and Marcel’s concepts in order to increase our understanding of the generative fathering experience.

Generative Fathering Literature

Both Smith (1996) and Daly (1993) found that men were actively creating a meaning of fathering beyond that of the provider/protector role that has traditionally been fathers’ sense of identity (Griswold, 1997). This meaning-making occurred in spite of the lack of models that fathers in both Smith’s (1996) and Daly’s (1993) studies say they are seeking for, but do not find in their own father’s lives. Said one such father,
I really didn’t have a lot of people around me—at least when I was growing up or before I became a father—who really stick in my mind to say “yeah, I’d like to be a father like this one.” I can’t say that there was a figure that influenced me. (Daly, 1993, p. 517)

The lack of recognizing a fathering role model by men in their own lives was a theme also identified in Cohen’s (1993) study. He noted that “men seemed to be consciously attempting to avoid replicating with their children the kinds of relationships they recall having had with their own father” (p. 17). Thus the meaning of fathering for contemporary fathers appears to be discovered, in part, as a reaction or response to the less involved or less nurturant model they received from their own father.

Snarey (1993) likewise found that the fathers in his study would apply the model of positive fathering they received from their fathers to their own fathering and “rework” the model of negative fathering they received so that their own children did not experience what they had remembered as difficult in childhood.

The fathers reworked the shortcomings in the fathering they received by becoming the kind of fathers to their children that they wished their own fathers had been, and by transforming their anger with their own fathers into a sense of sadness for and understanding of the conditions under which their own fathers had functioned. (p. 328)

The proposed study views the process of “reworking” as an important component in the phenomenon of essential generative fathering and will focus attention during analysis on references that study participants share regarding its influence on their fathering.

After he inherited a 40-year longitudinal study under way at Harvard, Snarey (1993) chose to adopt, as his framework, Erikson’s theory about generativity, for exploring the meaning of fathering. The original study, begun in the late 1930s,
attempted to track the growth and development of 500 delinquent boys and 500 nondelinquent boys who served as a comparison group. It was from what was the comparison group that Snarey gleaned the 240 fathers from whom he would collect data for his study.

Snarey’s findings result from a triangulation of quantitative and qualitative research methods. In his book, *How Fathers Care for the Next Generation* (1993), Snarey uses five chapters to report on longitudinal data measuring father’s participation in childrearing activities and sandwiches them between transcriptions of longer interviews with four father-child relationships. The interviews drew out the subjects’ reminiscences about life with their own father, followed by joint interviews of the subjects and one of their children discussing shared recollections of key events or experiences. Then, children were interviewed separately to provide a private perspective of the child’s view of the relationship. Snarey found strong support for many of Erikson’s key elements of stage theory. Erikson (1974) had once offered this summary of his developmental theory:

> In youth you find out what you care to do and who you care to be—even in changing roles. In young adulthood you learn whom you care to be with—at work and in private life, not only exchanging intimacies, but sharing intimacy. In adulthood, however, you learn to know what and who you can take care of. (p. 124)

What Snarey was able to offer empirically was evidence not only of the earnest endeavor of his study’s fathers to be involved in the lives of children, but also the weight of these fathers’ impacts on the development of their children’s identities (who you care to be) and their children’s educational and occupational mobility (what you care to do). He
discussed his findings over five categories: fathering generativity that began to develop in boyhood; actual entry into fatherhood; everyday fathering; how the children of the study fathers turned out; and revelatory insights from fathers at midlife.

The generative fathering model developed by David Dollahite, Alan Hawkins, and Sean Brotherson (1997) and further refined by Dollahite and Hawkins (1998; see also Hawkins & Dollahite, 1997a) is an extension of the generative fathering research by Snarey (1993) and advances two central ideas, first “that the human context creates needs in the next generation that fathers have the ethical responsibility and capability to meet and [second] that fathers and children benefit and grow from this work” (Dollahite & Hawkins, 1998, p. 113). The categories delineate both the areas in which fathers engage in their work to meet children’s needs and the responsibilities and capabilities that fathers bring to that generative work. They are briefly categorized below.

**Ethical Work**
- **Commit**- fathers pledge to ensure child’s well being.
- **Continue**- be an enduring presence in child’s life.

**Stewardship Work**
- **Consecrate**- dedicate material resources to child.
- **Create**- provide possibilities for child to achieve.

**Development Work**
- **Care**- respond to child’s needs and wants.
- **Change**- adapt in response to child’s needs.

**Recreation Work**
- **Cooperate**- relax and play together on child’s level.
- **Challenge**- extend child’s skills and coping abilities.

**Spiritual Work**
- **Confirm**- affirm belief and confidence in child.
- **Counsel**- guide, teach, advise, impart meaning.

**Relationship Work**
- **Commune**- share love, thoughts, feelings with child.
- **Comfort**- express empathy and understanding to child.

**Mentoring Work**
- **Consult**- impart insights and suggestions when asked.
Specific issues that have been reexamined from a generative fathering approach include the historical, cultural, and institutional challenges and opportunities for fathers (Allen & Connor, 1997; Gerson, 1997; Griswold, 1997); divorced and single custodial fathers (DeMaris & Greif, 1997; Pasley & Minton, 1997); and therapeutic applications of fatherwork concepts (Dollahite, Slife, & Hawkins, 1998). Dienhart and Daly (1997) apply generative principles to their study on the influence of spouses in cocreating generative fathering in a nongenerative culture. Advantages that a generative fathering approach can bring to university-level courses on fathering and parenting has likewise received attention (Dollahite, Morris, & Hawkins, 1997). These scholars offer recommendations that with increasing implementation in academia will produce more researchers who adopt the generative framework as they explore fathering. Though limited in scope, the original research undertaken with generative fathering is yielding many insights.

Generative fathering has probed the expanded dimensions of father involvement discussed by Palkovitz (1997) and made effective use of qualitative methodologies to widen the view of father involvement. One such study (Dollahite, Marks, & Olson, 1998) used narratives drawn from fathers of special-needs children who faced challenging and often frustrating circumstances to describe their efforts to be involved parents. This study's findings contrast traditional views and previous findings of men as distant and reserved in their expressions of grief (Cook, 1988; Walwork & Ellison, 1985). One
quotation from a father whose daughter was dying of leukemia is illustrative of the many dimensions of fathering that the generative framework can draw attention toward.

I’ve just about spent my life caring for and nurturing Megan, when I wasn’t at work. Maybe the hospital is the part we like to forget but can’t. When her pain got to the point that she couldn’t go to the bathroom, I was the one that got to do her bedpans for her. She would only let me do it; I was the one that did that. It wasn’t a thing for Mom, and she didn’t want anybody else in the room—nurses, Mom (Mom had to be outside the door), and I would get the bedpan as best I could under her bottom without hurting her. Moving the sheets hurt her. It was not a good thing. But she let me do that for her, and I was able to take care of her needs, and it helped me that I was the only one she’d let do it. . . . You wouldn’t expect bedpan shuffling to be a wonderful memory, but it was. She trusted me to do my best job not to hurt her, and that was special to me that she let me do that. (Dollahite, Marks, & Olson, 1998, p. 79)

The connection of this man to his daughter can be explored through the generative fathering framework (Dollahite & Hawkins, 1998) at the level of Development Work where he demonstrates his desire to care for his child’s needs (bedpan duty) and wants (that it be Dad and no one else). One of the strengths of the generative framework is that it invites us to explore each category of work intergenerationally, that is, the father grows and develops as he changes and adapts himself to do Development Work on behalf of his child. Note the father’s statement, “She trusted me to do my best job not to hurt her, and that was special to me that she let me do that” (Dollahite, Marks, & Olsen, 1998, p. 79, emphasis added). This father’s needs and wants were met as a result of engaging in the interaction. Now Marcel and Buber can aid here as well. The handling of a bedpan does not invite images of warmth and would certainly seem, in and of itself, to fall in the realm of I-It interaction. But as this one father determined to be fully present in the life of this one child, they expanded their I-Thou relationship in ways that border on the holy.
Because we are outside the experience we can only read of it and wonder. But this father expresses a connection that even death cannot erase and that connection belongs to him. “You wouldn’t expect bedpan shuffling to be a wonderful memory, but it was.”

This generative fathering framework thus provides a helpful set of tools for exploring the I-Thou relationships and stories shared by participants in the study under consideration and will be discussed further in the results and discussion chapters.

Summary

This literature review has clarified three main points that impinge on the conduct and findings of this study. (1) Though father involvement dimensions of engagement, accessibility, and responsibility helped researchers begin to pull apart some of the attitude and behaviors that made up fatherhood, the focus became too narrow, the emphasis too emphatic on quantifiable measures of these activities. (2) There was a need for broadening the concepts of father involvement (Palkovitz, 1997) and as that process has begun, two new frameworks for exploring these newly identified dimensions of fathering have developed, the responsible fathering model (Doherty et al., 1998) and the generative fathering or fatherwork framework. The latter is particularly suitable for a qualitative methodological approach. (3) The philosophical concepts of Buber (1970) and Marcel (1984) provide some interpretive tools for understanding the meaning of these less understood dimensions of affective and cognitive interactions between fathers and children. Again, qualitative methods serve as a beneficial backdrop for the study of a question such as the meaning of generative fathering.
CHAPTER 3

METHOD

Overview of the Research Design

The research design of this study is exploratory (Dooley, 1995), thus qualitative methods of data collection and analysis were used. The research proposal received expedited review by the IRB and the approval letter is attached (see Appendix A). Proponents of phenomenology have a long history of employing qualitative methods in research beginning with Thomas and Znaniecki’s (1918-1920) *The Polish Peasant* and continuing through the years whenever researchers have had an interest in how families think and feel (Daly, 1992; Rosenblatt & Fischer, 1993). The use of phenomenological qualitative methods in research also helps us to understand the unique nature of I-Thou relations, namely interpretive and decision-making processes used in fathering (Brotherson & Dollahite, 1997; Cohen, 1993; Daly, 1993; Dollahite, Marks, & Olson, 1998; Woods, 1996). Qualitative methods permit, “those who are studied to speak for themselves, to provide their perspectives in words and other actions...[thus], qualitative research is an interactive process in which the persons studied teach the researcher about their lives” (Ely, Anzul, Friedman, Garner, & Steinmetz, 1991, p. 4).

The mode of inquiry into fathering and transmission of values and beliefs in this study is phenomenological with an emphasis on drawing out the narratives of those interviewed (Ely et al., 1991; Manning & Cullum-Swan, 1994). Narratives have been
found to be particularly useful in other generative fathering research (Brotherson & Dollahite, 1997; Dienhart & Dollahite, 1997; Dollahite, Marks, & Olson, 1998).

Sample

Description

This study explored the transmission of fathering in one four-generation family. The Snowden family (all first and last names of family members have been changed to protect the identity of the family) was chosen for purposes of investigating each individual’s relationship with his or her own father. Then exploration occurred with each of the fathers’ in the family about relationships with their own children attempting to discover the continuity and change in generative fathering experiences.

Figure 3.1. The Snowden family constellation. Shaded names are those interviewed.
John (see Figure 3.1) is an older gentleman, 74 years of age. He was interviewed about his relationship with his father who had passed away and his experiences with his own children. Each of John’s children who had indicated a willingness to participate was also interviewed individually; this included three of his four children. Following the individual interview, a family interview was conducted. Aspects of the individual interview and the family group interview provided means for studying the influence of relationships (spouse, daughter, peer, etc.) on the essential generative fathering experience.

Selection

Sample selection was nonrandom and purposive. The family was selected from a pool of candidates recommended by religious leaders of a church community in a western state. Brief oral and written descriptions of the study’s logistics (including study subjects participation in lengthy interviews; the nature of individual and family interviews; location) were presented to all potential candidates, so that each family member could make a decision regarding their level of participation or non-participation. An example of the recruitment and informational flyer is included in the appendices (Appendix B). The family selected all agreed to be involved except for one son, Ed, who felt time and travel constraints restricted his participation. Lacking a father interview for this part of the family constellation, it was decided that none of Ed’s children would be sought for their participation in the study (see Figure 3.1). Another criterion for participation was the need for parental perspective, that is, the participant was either a parent or on the verge of
becoming one. Thus, in this family, some members were restricted on the basis of age (all those 18 and under) and marital status.

Demographic information was supplied by each participant in response to a brief questionnaire (Appendix D). The participants in this study ranged in ages from 25 to 74 years old and are all Caucasian except for Susan’s husband, Thomas, who is of Hispanic origin. All of the participants are well-educated, averaging 17+ years of schooling between them, with a wide range of occupations. The employment listing for the family includes the father-son chiropractors, schoolteacher, lawyer, homemakers, research engineer, probation officer, and business owner. All of the participants have intact marriages, and the years of marriage range from 2 years in the fourth generation respondents and 54 years of marriage for John and Louise. The annual income for the family as a whole averages between $75,000 to $100,000. As indicated before, all of the participants are active members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This identification of “active” means that they are regular attendees in Sunday meetings and serve in volunteer positions that often require additional training and attendance in leadership councils that occur on a weekly and/or monthly basis.

Data Collection Procedures

Each participant signed an informed consent statement (see Appendix C) prior to being interviewed that informed them of their right to withdraw from either the questioning or the entire project at any time. All interviews were audio-taped and transcribed verbatim. Transcription includes both the participants’ words as well as other
audible and inaudible signals that were integral to the natural flow of the interview. For example, laughter was frequent in the interviews on the part of both the interviewer and interviewees. The transcription made accommodation for both individual laughing, identified in the transcript as (laughing) and general guffawing among all interview participants as (laughter). Pausing to gather thoughts, to catch a breath, or to contain emotions also was common throughout the interviews and is noted in transcript quotations as three ellipses, no spacing (...) for short pauses and (pause) or (silence) for longer silent segments. Note the use of both types of signaling within this passage from Mark’s interview. Mark had vivid memories of traveling with his father’s Church softball team to All-Church tourneys played in Salt Lake in the 1950s and 1960s.

Mark: (laughing) They didn’t like [out-of-state] teams beating all the Utah ones.

Jeff: (laughing) So they said we’re going to go to areas.

Mark: Yeah, I mean, I remember making those trips as young kids going up there with the baseball, I mean the softball teams. Those are great memories. Going, traveling the two-lane roads all the way to Salt Lake City and sitting around, watching the softball games. I was the bat boy, I’d get to wear a little shirt you know. And they won you know, two years in a row, and they won All-Church. That was pretty amazing for that ward. So that was fun, I can remember that was a fun time. Growing up... away from the center of the Church you always had this mystique... Salt Lake City was this mystical, magical place (silence) (with emotion) I don’t know, it’s just...(silence).

At this juncture Mark was not able to continue with this line of thought and a question redirected his attention to another facet of fathering.

From the total of nine interviews, two interviews (Sandra and Dan) were conducted by phone, and the rest (John & Louise, Mark, Phil, and Susan & Thomas) were
face-to-face interviews. The interviews were conducted in two phases. Phase I
interviews were the individual interviews with each father in the extended family. These
interviews were conducted in two parts. Part A focused on the participant’s relationship
with his own father, while Part B centered on the experience of fathering with the
participant’s own children. The Phase I questions were:

Part A: What was your father like? Describe your experience of being
fathered. How would you describe the nature of your relationship
with your father to you as a child? As a teenager? As an adult?
now? What did your father give you with respect to qualities,
advice, behaviors, habits, etc.?

Part B: What does fathering mean to you? Describe your experience of
being a father. Besides your own father what other relationships or
experiences do you feel influenced your fathering? What do you
hope to give your children?

Appropriate follow-up questions were asked that further drew out the participant’s
discussion of an experience or clarified meaning. For example, when discussing the
choice of a chiropractic career over a coaching career, John described coming to that
decision after seeing a coach he respected, fired from his job. John goes on to say:

John: So I got to thinking, I said, well, I think I’ll just go back home and
go to school and be a chiropractor and throw in with Dad, and ... I knew
that, so... [emphasis added]

Jeff: Had he [John’s father] ever talked that over with you or said you
might think about this sometime?
John: He never, not that I remember him ever even saying, I'd sure like for you to come back and do this and uh, well it's the same way with Phil [John's son who had also become a chiropractor].

John described the working relationship between three generations of chiropractors. The follow-up probe elicited additional information about the nature of John and his father's relationship, which tended toward unspoken yet uniquely understood communication between father and son. This type of follow-up beyond the list of Part A and B questions was applied throughout all the interviews.

The Phase II interview consisted of John and his wife Louise and two of their children, Phil and Susan (Figure 3.1). This phase was conducted for 1-1/2 hours and was presented to the family as a story-telling time in which both individual and group experiences with their father were shared. The "story-telling" interview began with some very broad questions, "What are the experiences you had with your father when you were small children? Teenagers? Adults? Think of some events or moments that capture his fathering (fatherhood) for you and tell me about it." This phase was rich with humor as the family engaged in the sharing and completing of each other's stories. Early in the family interview an "icebreaker" question was asked about Christmas celebrations, which led to the following exchange:

John: Christmas never was enjoyable for me I... (Laughter!) I never, never had enough money to take care of what needed to be done.

Louise: He just wished Christmas didn't come around. (Laughter)

John: But after Christmas Eve got there, well then we enjoyed what was there but Christmas, the month before Christmas it was terrible. (Laughter)
Phil: Grandma [meaning Louise] just went haywire.

John: That's right. She was having a big time.

Louise: Had to. Had to get things done. (chuckles) No cooperation. (Laughter)

John: Draggin' my feet wasn't I?

Susan: I can't remember any particular Christmas. I remember enjoying getting together for Christmas eve. We'd always have Mexican food on Christmas eve. And we'd read the Christmas story out of the Bible afterwards. . . .

[Later, still responding to the question about Christmas]

Jeff: . . . What about you Phil, anything you remem...

Phil: Any Christmas?

Jeff: Any Christmas.

(Pause)

Louise: Did you like any of them? (Laughter)

Phil: Yeah, the one that stands out is the time I got my first bicycle. And uh, I think Mark [Phil's oldest brother] and I both got it at the same time. He got this English racer and I got this other one. And we went out and, he was better on his. I didn't know how to ride. Dad took me and pushed me down the hill (laughter) by the time I got down at the bottom I was on the ground and didn't want to do it any more (laughter) so Dad took my bicycle and sold it (laughter).

Louise: Was that [when we lived] on the upper fork of the river?

Phil: No, that was over at Middleton. I didn't learn how to ride a bicycle until I was in junior high (laughter).

Jeff: How, how old were you?

Phil: When? When we had Christmas?
Jeff: Yeah.

Phil: Oh, about five I think.

Jeff: About five years old.

Susan: He pushed and said, "Learn."

John: I don't really remember what was going on (laughter) maybe I had it in for the bicycle. (Laughter)

Both Phase I and Phase II interviews were conducted in the homes of the participants, either face-to-face or in the case of two participants (Sandra and Dan) via telephone interviews, at times convenient to them.

Adjustments to Selection and Data Collection

Fundamental to phenomenology is the voice of those experiencing the phenomenon. The proposal for my dissertation on intergenerational generative fathering suggested that depending on the family chosen for research it may be appropriate to anticipate between 10 and 50 individual interviews. The family eventually selected has permitted me a great deal of access to their personal lives. One family member chose not to participate in the individual interview portion of the research, and he was not involved in the family "storytelling" interview. The result of this loss of one family branch from the interview process left only eight individual interviews and one family interview for the analysis stage of the project. While this number is somewhat below the proposed count, it is not considered unusual for a phenomenologically based study. Creswell (1998) noted that 10 research subjects represent "a reasonable size" for study purposes.
adding that he has seen subject numbers for phenomenological studies ranging from one to 325.

Preliminary analysis of the data collected indicated that the numbers eight and one would provide more than sufficient depth and breadth to develop the contours of the essential generative fathering that this family describes. One example from the study interviews is illustrative of this point.

Each of the children of the first generation father have all consistently cited work, specifically farm work, as an important connection to their father. Mark, the oldest child of John and Louise, noted with some emotion, that it was the united labor with his father that forged a strong bond between the two. He contrasts his experience with what he viewed as a weaker connection between his own children and himself. He reflected on his journey into fathering and indicated a desire that he had done more to establish a stronger work-related tie. Perhaps work does form, for this study family, a unique structure for understanding the essential generative father.

Other potential concepts for study that came from a preliminary examination of the data included notions of sacrifice and altruism in the relationship between father and children (see Bahr & Bahr, 1999, for a self-sacrifice model applied to family theory); the father as protector; how church doctrine and religiosity shape the father experience; and the practice of humor in family relationships. These individual interviews and the family interview have provided a considerable collection of data for relating this family’s experience of the essential generative father.
While engaged in the interview with John and Louise, they discussed a unique experience involving the three generations of chiropractors.

Louise: We’ll have to show the picture to him though, you three together.

Jeff: Oh, that would be great, I’d love to see that.

John: They [newspaper reporter and photographer] came by the office one day, and it was a Father’s Day deal there, they said there was three chiropractors that work here, there’s one, two, three...

Louise: Put their pictures in the paper.

Jeff: And put it in the paper, how great.

John: ...and put it in the paper and so forth and they had made a record of it.

Additional inquiry was made and permission granted to make a digital copy of the article and the photograph. These two documents have been analyzed and excerpts from the article are utilized in Chapter 4.

Data Analysis Process

Ely et al. (1991) described what researchers bring to the analysis process, which may include “the conventions of our respective disciplines and professions, the advice of our mentors, and the models we have internalized from whatever we may have read” (pp. 141-142). When using the phenomenological method of inquiry, the researcher is instructed to state any of the assumptions one might have about the phenomenon, and then set aside those preconceptions and any personal experiences so that the “voice” of the participants is heard and not filtered or muffled. This concept, known as *epoche*, or
bracketing, is the first step in phenomenological analysis (Creswell, 1998) for determining the essential generative fathering experience. My personal experience regarding fathering resonates with Erikson's concept of generativity. I have personally benefitted from close, nurturant relationships with men across two generations. As the oldest grandchild on both maternal and paternal lines, I consider myself fortunate to have had experiences with my grandfathers that younger grandchildren have not known.

Perhaps one episode can be illustrative of the generative fathering influence in my life. My maternal grandfather was the father of 10 children (my mother being the oldest) and was regarded as a rigid disciplinarian in his childrearing techniques. I was 5 years old when he discovered one evening that I had not yet mastered the art of tying my own shoes. Drawing no doubt on his training as a navy recruit during World War II, he persisted for the next 3 to 4 hours in keeping me on his lap, intent on helping me acquire this skill. My initial interest in learning to do a granny knot soon waned and I began to plead for an early release on the basis of good behavior. My wails persisted but there was no relief and I was encouraged to make yet another (and another and another) attempt. Finally, with the hour nearing 10 o'clock, and my own mother near tears at having had to witness the prolonged instruction of her child, I tied a knot for the first time on my own that I continue to tie to this day. I still recall the exhilaration of running across my grandparent's living room, free at last. That experience of knot-tying, though difficult, bound me to my grandfather and is part of other memories we would create together. Be it newspaper delivery, construction work, or a memorable 3-day hike through the Grand Canyon, I could always count on his persistence and he on my resistance but eventual
devotion. Whenever I am able to sit next to him in his home now, I see first-hand the debilitating effects of Parkinson’s disease on his once strong body, and I find I must lean in close to hear the once strong voice now reduced to a whisper. He asks if I remember that hike through the Grand Canyon and I ask him if he remembers the night of the shoe-tying. And we laugh.

This experience is representative of the multitude of experiences of generative fathering I have both received and am attempting to share in the lives of my own children. Yet my experiences must be bracketed as a researcher and not overlaid on the experiences of the study participants. Their united voice of what constitutes generative fathering is the voice that matters in this study.

I have previously discussed the seven-category framework of generative fathering which is built on an ethical response to care for the next generation (Dollahite & Hawkins, 1998). This framework and its attendant assumptions about fathering must be bracketed as well and set aside during both data collection and data analysis phases. It was particularly important to avoid explicit terminology from the generative fathering model in the questions asked participants and in the creation of themes and subthemes during analysis.

Following the bracketing of the researcher’s conceptions and experiences with the phenomena, the next stage of analysis is horizontalization of the data, in which “the researcher lists every significant statement relevant to the topic and gives it equal value” (Creswell, 1998, p. 235). The statements about what constitutes a caring interaction between father and child and how it was experienced were carefully identified and
reviewed to avoid duplicate or overlapping responses. John offered this statement about the care he felt from his father:

John: [discussing his father] He was very quiet, but you had a sense, you knew in a sense, that he was concerned, that he loved you and he respected you and anything that you needed you always had, you never, you never went without.

Next, all significant statements from all participants were reviewed and a series of meaning statements that summarized what was experienced, or a textural description of the phenomena of fathering was developed. For example, from the paragraph above a textural description of John’s significant statement was created, which stated, “Dad quietly gave anything that was needed.” At this stage of the analysis the researcher relied heavily upon the verbatim accounts of the participants and similar descriptions about what was experienced were summarized together.

*How* the fathering phenomenon was experienced is the purpose of the next phase of the analysis known as structural description. The statements constructed in this phase relied less on the words of the participants themselves than in the previous stages of analysis and more on the researcher’s interpretation of what their words meant.

Returning to the example, the attribute of quietness that John experienced with his father was experienced by others in the Snowden family. Phil identified the attribute in his grandfather, “My grandpa was, he was always very quiet. He didn’t say a lot and when he did say something it was very profound and it was intended to be said.” These combined statements on quietness were interpreted by the researcher and a structural description was written, “A father can quietly convey feelings of affection and concern such that
children intuitively sense their needs are being met.” Such a statement can stand alone or be attached to a broader grouping or theme. In this instance the structural description about quietness became subsumed in a broader theme of how fathers love and respect their children.

With both textural and structural descriptions of the phenomena of fathering completed, a final paragraph was developed describing the essence of the fathering phenomenon for the Snowden family. This exhaustive description serves to “reduce the textural (what) and structural (how) meanings of experiences to a brief description that typifies the experiences of all the participants in a study” (Creswell, 1998, p. 235). Not all the research questions could properly be discussed on the basis of this phenomenological analysis alone and so one other phase of analysis was conducted to contrast and compare both the Doherty et al., 1998 contextual model and the Dollahite and Hawkins (1998) generative fathering framework with the essential fathering experience described by this study.

Data were cataloged and analyzed by a computer software program, QSR NUD*IST™ (Qualitative Solutions and Research, 1995). NUD*IST (non-numerical unstructured data indexing, searching, and theorizing) is helpful in examining large amounts of data such as that to be generated by the proposed study (Richards & Richards, 1994). A coding scheme was developed based on the phenomenological methods described above such that each person interviewed had a category of significant statements within NUD*IST. Coding for textural and structural descriptions was done both in QSR NUD*IST and through hard copy editing.
Reliability

Some qualitative researchers see the use of such positivistic terms as reliability and validity as incongruent to qualitative methods, and feel their "use is often a defensive measure that muddies the waters" (Ely et al., 1991, p. 95; also Denzin, 1994). Still, there is a desire on my part that the findings be the result of a process that has been "stable over time, across researchers and methods. We can in effect speak of 'quality control'" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 278).

Guba and Lincoln (1989) described one such method for maintaining quality control of qualitative research. Analytic criteria that are viewed as "parallel" to criteria that may be used in a quantitative study are placed as checks throughout the study to determine its dependability (validity) and confirmability (reliability). Meeting these criteria requires production of a "paper trail," specifically, a study journal and memos that chronicle the course of the study. Then, journal entries can be reviewed and adjustments made to the interview process in light of what went well and what did not; ideas about themes and categories can be placed in the journal as the process of analysis and reanalysis unfolds.

Miles and Huberman (1994) encouraged quality checks through a series of questions about issues of reliability, among them, "Were any forms of colleague or peer review in place?" (p. 278). During this study, several of the transcripts were reviewed by the committee chair for help in maintaining a sense of "quality control" that has kept the study from straying from its theoretical moorings. Additionally, the committee chair
periodically reviewed coding schemes used in the study for purposes of integrity during
analysis, thereby supporting the researcher in remaining bracketed from his own
experiences.

One other method for ensuring dependability and confirmability in this qualitative
study was the performance of a pilot study involving one father interview. This permitted
testing of the data collection protocols and questions and brought a refining or
readjustment in those protocols. A preliminary analysis of data from the pilot study
provided evidence of the dependability of the collection protocols so that data collected
reflect the purposes of the study.

Creswell (1998) recommended that qualitative researchers engage themselves in
at least two procedures for maintaining quality in a study. Besides the three procedures
described above that were used for this study, one other procedure, member checks, was
implemented to strengthen the credibility of the main finding of the study.

This technique is considered by Lincoln and Guba (1985) to be “the most
critical technique for establishing credibility” (p. 314). This approach, writ
large in most qualitative studies, involves taking data, analyses,
interpretations, and conclusions back to the participants so that they can
judge the accuracy and credibility of the account. (Creswell, 1998, pp.
202-203)

Transcripts were returned to the participants and checked by them for accuracy and
clarification of any passage. Also, the exhaustive description of the meaning of fathering
for the Snowden family was deemed an appropriate piece of the analysis to seek input
from the family. Each respondent was given a copy of the one paragraph statement and
all were individually solicited for their feedback. Their responses are reported in Chapter 4 following the exhaustive description (Table 4.4).

Ethical Considerations

Questions of ethics regarding this specific study center on matters of the confidentiality of the participants in the study, the informed consent issue, and the security of tapes and transcripts. Miles and Huberman (1994) described several scenarios that share a common thread of implication for analysis. "Weak consent [or confidentiality or security] usually leads to poorer data: Respondents will try to protect themselves in a mistrusted relationship. . ." (p. 291). Before the beginning of each interview, each participant received a university-approved consent form, which explained the purpose of the research, that anonymity would be maintained (i.e., the name and identity of participants will not be disclosed), the nature of security of tapes and transcripts of all interviews, as well as possible risks and benefits of the research. No one was interviewed without obtaining informed consent. All participants were assured that tapes and transcripts would be kept in a locked filing cabinet or drawer to which only the researcher would have access. Names and other identifying characteristics in the data have been changed to protect the privacy of the family members. No information from individual interviews has been shared by the researcher with other individuals in the family. In return for their time, participants have been offered a bound copy of the transcript taken from the Phase II story-telling interview.
RESULTS

Overview

Phenomenology as a method of inquiry wants to understand the “essence” of a shared experience. Adopting phenomenology as the mode of choice for exploring this family’s experience has resulted in the uncovering of a set of connections over four generations. Though each participant expresses fluidity as characteristic of this 70+ years fathering story-in-the-making, each returns again and again to a channeled core of themes that bind them as family over time and distance. To reach these themes the transcripts have been read and reread to cull significant statements of each participant. These statements were then grouped into categories dependent on the participant’s perspective, for example, (1) “Significant statements about my father,” (2) “Significant statements about my fathering,” (3) “Significant statements about my grandfather/grandchildren,” and (4) “Significant statements about my spouse as a father.” These data are presented in summary form in Table 4.1 and can be found in full in Appendix E, Tables E.1-E.7.

Summarized units of meaning were drawn from the significant statements which describe the texture of the family’s shared fathering experience or what was experienced. Similarly, themes developed that described how fathering was experienced, for example, experience structured through the Church, through work, and through athletics. These are presented in Tables 4.2 and 4.3. An exhaustive description of the meaning of fathering is synthesized from the textural and structural descriptions and is offered in Table 4.4.
Findings for each of the other four research questions integrate support found for key aspects of the two fathering frameworks discussed earlier in Chapter 2, generative fathering (Dollahite & Hawkins, 1998) and responsible fathering (Doherty et al., 1998). These findings are supported with extensive verbatim responses from the participants. Here also are excerpts from the family interview conducted with John and Louise and two of the four children, Phil and Susan (as stated previously, all names of individuals and places are pseudonyms). Results are also drawn from the newspaper article that was written prior to the death of Harris Snowden and contains quotes from himself, John, and Phil reflecting on their fathering experience. At the conclusion of the chapter the findings are briefly reviewed. Within these findings one can explore the meaning of generative fathering as experienced by the Snowden family.

Central Research Question: The Meaning of Fathering

From the perspective of both the father and the child, what is the essential generative fathering experience? To arrive at a description of what the essential generative fathering experience is, the entire sum of the individual interviews was dissected and summarized into significant statements about fathering. Table 4.1 provides a summary listing of the statements made by the participants that had bearing on the research question. While reviewing all of the transcripts, the decision was made to group together the statements of John and Louise, the quintessential patriarch and matriarch of the four-generation Snowden clan. John and Louise sat together for their interview and while John was the primary participant, Louise offered delightful interjections and
commentary on John’s responses as well as answering questions about her experiences with her own father. Note in this interview segment how Louise’s comments are integral to the story John is attempting to tell about family farm life:

John: And so a lot of the enjoyable times that we had together was working hard when we had to get a few things accomplished, like building up fences or...

Louise: ...trying to milk cows...

John: ...milking cows and to do all these things that put forth some effort for these...

Louise: We baled hay at midnight, after he’d get home. I’d drive the truck with the baby in my lap (laughter).

John: And the other boys would be in the truck and we’d be throwing it in to them and whatever. All of these things were because of things that we wanted to do, that I wanted to do I guess.

Louise: [with a direct look at John] Uh-huhmm.

This shared form of expression dictated presenting John and Louise statements together.

Significant Statements

The significant statements offered here (Table 4.1) are an edited listing of the larger tables provided in Appendix E, with the location of the larger tables in the appendix noted in parentheses. Statements are provided for each of the participants and are presented in order of age and immediacy of kinship, which provides the opportunity to readily compare the statements of the third and fourth generation father-child relationship. Thus after John and Louise (Table E.1) comes their oldest son Mark (Table E.2) followed by Mark’s son, Dan (Table E.3). Statements of the next oldest child Phil
### Table 4.1

**Significant Statements of the Snowden Family**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>John and Louise</strong></th>
<th>Sometimes a child would come and say I want to quit this. I'd say No, we don't quit and you said you're going to do this, you're going to do it. If at the end of the year you decide you're not going to do it anymore that's fine, but you don't quit in the middle of the year.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I guess a father or a parent lives some of the things they weren't able to do through the lives of their children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The rewards of fatherhood is just seeing the results. Sometimes it gets emotional, but seeing them lift themselves up and really make the best of themselves is really gratifying.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mark, first son of John</strong></td>
<td>Because of grandfather's reputation I didn't want to do anything that would disrespect his memory or example.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dad's the one who really taught me to work hard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>My kids don't know how to work hard. It's a shame.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fathering is a great experiment but it's been a good experience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I've learned a lot. I think I've learned more than my kids have learned from me probably.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dan, son of Mark, grandson of John</strong></td>
<td>Sometimes a child would come and say I want to quit this. I'd say No, we don't quit and you said you're going to do this, you're going to do it. If at the end of the year you decide you're not going to do it anymore that's fine, but you don't quit in the middle of the year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I guess a father or a parent lives some of the things they weren't able to do through the lives of their children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The rewards of fatherhood is just seeing the results. Sometimes it gets emotional, but seeing them lift themselves up and really make the best of themselves is really gratifying.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sandra, daughter of Phil, granddaughter of John</strong></td>
<td>When I was little Dad would tell us that was one his goals for the year was not to lose his temper.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He could understand problems and where you were coming from without being judgmental. So he became somebody that I felt very confident in confiding in, but I knew it wasn't going to go anywhere.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Every time he talked to you he didn't need to command, he just persuaded and in a loving way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Susan, daughter of John</strong></td>
<td>My father is a very hard worker and very loyal, and he's a perfectionist. He is very patient and humble in my opinion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It's been somewhat of a challenge to have a relationship or at least an intimate relationship with him on the level that I would like.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grandfather [John] is fun. I look forward to seeing him more than anyone in the family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phil, second son of John</strong></td>
<td>It was always expected to do whatever he wanted you to do and there was never that kind of thing in our family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;I don't want to do that.&quot; You just did it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He had a subtle sense of humor. All of the sudden he might surprise you one time by coming out and making you laugh at something.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I can't really remember him either preaching at us, or telling us what to do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Thomas, spouse of Susan, son of Hector</strong></td>
<td>My dad was always there, very consistent. I remember sitting in the rocking chairs, sitting next to Dad or on Dad's lap, having nice conversations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fathering is being a pillar, just standing there. Not quite a pillar of greatness or anything like that, but just kind of a pillar of steadfastness.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(Table E.4) are followed by his daughter Sandra (Table E.5). The youngest child of John and Louise, Susan (Table E.6) is followed by the statements of her husband, Thomas (Table E.7). Susan and her husband Thomas were in the room together for their interview but Thomas joined the interview late and then had to leave to run an errand, so that their interview segments were not as enmeshed as were John and Louise, thus their statements are represented separately.

The significant statements (Table 4.1 and Appendix E) demonstrate both the rich variety of experience regarding fathering among the participants as well the consistency of thought about what fathering means over the generations. One important thread to be aware of is the nature of the father/son relationship between Mark and his son Dan. While both of them maintain manifest connections to broader Snowden family themes, such as fathering as a growing experience or dependability of father, they both express ambivalence about key aspects of their own fathering or in Dan’s case what he learned from his father about fathering. Their unique case is explored later in the chapter during the discussion of differences regarding generativity and the meaning of fathering in one generation.

Textural Description

Now that the significant statements of each participant have been identified, they are aggregated into brief descriptive statements. These statements help us better grasp what is happening within the fathering experience over the four generations of this family.
Table 4.2

**Textural Statements about Fathering in the Snowden Family**

| Dad is fun. | Dad loved us. |
| Dad was firm but likeable. | Dad didn't physically express love, but love was conveyed quietly. |
| Dad felt the need to instill in children necessity of work and taught us the importance of work. | Dad found ways to spend time with us. |
| Dad taught us the importance of the Church and of living the gospel. | Dad supported whatever we wanted to do with our lives. |
| Dad taught us there was no separation of the Church and the family. | Dad is a provider. He took care of us financially. |
| Dad taught us what commitment meant and wouldn't let us quit. | Dad is an example of how to treat a spouse with love and respect. |
| Dad didn't operate out of fear. | Dad wants to do what the Lord wants him to do. |
| Dad was humble. | Dad sometimes lost his temper. |
| Dad was a farmer at heart. | Dad felt discipline was important. |
| Dad wanted his children to be the best they could be in everything they did. | Dad set standards for us to reach for. |
| Dad was like his dad. | Dad has a subtle sense of humor. |
| Dad taught work before pleasure. | Dad quietly gave anything that was needed. |
|  | The love a dad has for his children never goes away. |

Throughout the participant interviews all the family members were consistent in their use of the familiar “Dad” rather than the more formal appellation of “Father.” Therefore each of the descriptive statements in Table 4.2 begins with “Dad” and is followed by a phrase identifying something he “was” or “is” or “did.” The textural descriptions combine many of the overlapping or similar statements made by the participants about what their fathers gave to them as children or what they were in turn
proffering to their own offspring. For example, the simple statement “Dad was like his dad” combines this series of excerpts from the transcripts of Phil, Mark, and Susan:

Phil: My grandpa was... he was always very quiet. [H]e... didn’t say a lot and when he did say something it was very profound and it was intended to be said. I don’t remember him getting angry too often. There were once or twice when we were over there, we were giving Grandma a hard time and he defended her position and told us we better shape up. I can... see the same thing with Dad. You know things just kind of roll over... and there’s a lot of Grandpa in Dad. They’re both very spiritual men, always wanting to do what the Lord wants them to do and always wanting to help anybody no matter what. That’s the big thing.

Mark responded to a question about similarities or differences he saw between his father and grandfather after having discussed his grandfather’s Church work, drawing this parallel:

Mark: Yeah, yeah, they’re real similar. My, growing up, my dad was, he was always in the bishopric. he was...I don’t know how many times he was bishop, at least three times that I know of. And so growing up we, you know, we were always the first people in church and always the last ones to leave. When you’re a kid, you, it kinda irritates ya. You kind of get upset that you always have to be there, but, you know, looking back, you know, he was just a great example. I mean, I basically, my parents and grandparents, basically they were the foundation of the church down there in [that area] for many years, just, as far as I can remember. They’re great examples... Dad was always a hard worker, you know, he always worked hard.

Susan was simply asked to describe what her grandfather was like and this was her response:

Susan: Actually my dad and, and he [my grandfather] were quite a bit alike... [Grandfather’s] quiet...but he wouldn’t go out of his way to start a conversation with anybody, but he uh, enjoyed talking with people and um, he uh, and he had a subtle sense of humor too just like my dad (chuckle) and it would come out every once in a while and uh, he uh, lets see, um, I mean he, he kept busy at work. He worked until he was, I
think he was 80. I think that’s when he retired [Susan’s father also continues to work today at the relatively youthful age of 76].

The previous excerpts also contain other statements that stand alone, such as Susan’s references above to her grandfather’s enjoyment of talking with others and his subtle sense of humor, but running throughout this thread is the children’s awareness of the “roll over” of their grandfather’s life into their father’s.

**Structural Description**

This level of description (see Table 4.3) lists statements that cluster together as themes or “how” experiences of fathering for the Snowden family. The statements in this table rely less on the words of the participants themselves than in the previous two tables and more on the researcher’s interpretation of what their words mean.

**Exhaustive Description**

The meaning or essence of generative fathering (see Table 4.4) in the Snowden family is acquired through a combining of statements gleaned from each of the prior stages of analysis. Each family member’s statements have been carefully considered and integrated into this holistic expression of the fathering experience.

Additionally, as discussed in the methods section, once the exhaustive description was completed, it was given to the participants. Seven of the eight family members involved in the interview process reviewed the description and each has independently indicated that they feel the statement properly represents their view of the meaning of fathering.
Table 4.3

Structural Descriptions about Fathering in the Snowden Family

*Teaches Responsible Behavior*- Children learn from their father that commitment and responsibility are critical components in family, work, school, and Church relationships.

*Sets Standards of Behavior*- A father establishes expectations for his children regarding acceptable and unacceptable behavior and holds his children accountable for their actions.

*Role Modeling*- A father teaches more by the example he offers his children than by the verbal instructions he may give. The model will impact children in two vital areas: A work ethic and Church activity.

  *Work Ethic*- A father learns from his father how to work and teaches his own children by working with them.
  *Church Activity*- The Church and the family are inseparable. A father models how giving time and effort to the Church benefits the family.

*Loving and Respecting Children*- A father respects who his children are and respects the differences between himself and his children and the differences between each child. His love for his children never diminishes and new dimensions of his relationship (e.g., friendship) with his children develop over time. A father can quietly convey feelings of affection and concern such that children intuitively sense their needs are being met.

*Involvement in Children’s Lives*- A father engages his children in settings of both the father’s and the children’s choice. He supports them with financial means, attends academic and athletic events that are significant to his children, has awareness of and is responsive to emotional needs, and encourages spiritual growth particularly through religious activity in the Church.

*Dependability*- A father is “there,” consistently being present when his children need him.

*Fathering is a process of learning and growth*- Learning how to father takes a lifetime and the process will be more growth-intensive for the father than for the children.

*Hang in there when the going gets rough*- The full story of father-children experiences does not have its ending in adolescent angst but will become more apparent as children move into adulthood. Time is a great teacher.

*Father as Provider*- A father has a responsibility to provide for his children’s basic needs and wants, among them food, clothing, and security.

*Father as Protector*- A father has a responsibility to point out potential problems in choices children are making and to actively seek out his children if he perceives they are in situations or settings that may prove harmful to them.

*Coping with conflicting values*- A father learns to cope with value choices his children make especially as they enter adulthood, that may be different from his own. He continues to love them and seeks to understand their choices.
Table 4.4

An Exhaustive Description of the Meaning or Essence of Fathering

Fathering is a great experiment. A father is someone who loves his children and guides them and tries to set a standard in life for them so that they can reach for that which will help them become better people and become better parents themselves to their children. Fathering is being a pillar, just standing there, not quite a pillar of greatness or anything like that, but a pillar of steadfastness. One of the rewards of fathering is just seeing the results in the lives of children. Seeing children lift themselves up and make the best of themselves is really gratifying. Not only for themselves but also being able to lift others up through what they do. The only way to really know whether you've been a good father or not is what happens on down the road in the lives of children and grandchildren and great-grandchildren, seeing what they've been able to accomplish. Fathering is, in essence, being present for and a presence in, the lives of your children.

Research Question: Differences in Fathering over the Generations

In a single four-generation family, how does the generative fathering experience differ from one generation to the next? One answer to this question is found in the candid remarks of Susan, John's only daughter. Susan is highly supportive of the overall vision the family shares toward fathering that is based on a spiritual belief system, hard work, and commitment to getting the job done. Yet Susan also approaches her father from a distinctly different set of experiences while arriving at the same general conclusions as her brothers. Susan and John both related stories of struggle from Susan's teen years, with both offering details about a particular New Year's Eve in their individual interview and both recounting the same story again in the family interview.

John: And I say that raising a daughter is about ten times harder than raising a son (laughter). I never worried about those boys when they went
out anywhere, ‘cause I knew they all know what they were doing to get back where they ought be, but you never know what the, since your daughter’s with somebody else, you don’t understand or don’t know what they’re . . . doing. But anyway, she didn’t show up and she didn’t show up for awhile, and finally found that they, she and a couple of her friends had gone somewhere on New Year’s Eve to a ...I think it was Holiday Inn over there wasn’t it? One of their dance halls or one of their ballrooms or whatever, they were having a party. I just felt like I had to go so I went over there and got Susie and brought her home and uh, she didn’t like that very much.

Here is Susan’s version of the same event.

Susan: One of my friends said hey, let’s go to this, somebody was having a party at some hotel and they were inviting all the high school, this was a year after our senior year. So everybody was going to get together and see everybody from high school and, and what was it? It was that evening I told my dad I was going, I’ll see you later, uh, so and so was waiting outside in the car, and I think I had told my mom where I was going, what hotel I was going to be at and what was it? We were there, not very long I don’t think. And (chuckle) somebody came up and said, “Uh, some older guy is out there asking for you (chuckle), he was out in the lobby. And I said O.K. (laughing) and so I went out in the lobby and I knew it was him and uh, he said, “You’re going to come home with me right now.” I said “No, I’m not.” He said, “You’re going to come home with me right now.” “No, I’m not.” (laugh) And he said, what was it? ... Said, “Well do you want me to throw you over my shoulder and carry you out?” (laugh) Basically that’s what he said. And I said “nooo” Anyways, he, he kind of backed off a little bit, he said “O.K.” He said, “I’ll pick you up at twelve.” (high-pitched) “Twelve o’clock?” and then finally he said “O.K. I’ll pick you up at two and that’s it, if you’re not here I’ll come looking for you, in every room.” (chuckle) I said, “O.K.”

From the standpoint of Mom and Dad they were simply relieved that their daughter was home safe and that she had appeared to learn the lesson.

Louise: But I never did hear anymore about it, afterwards. She knew she was wrong.

Susan, however, learned something additional about what it means to be a father.

Susan: [H]e, it was good to know, well afterwards, after I thought about it.
Jeff: Yeah, after you thought about it.

Susan: But you know he thought that much of me to come after me to find out where I was and, you know, that he would actually do that just to make sure I was safe. Afterwards I mean.

John too learned something about what it meant for him to have a daughter out late at night,

John: I just knew that she was somewhere where she shouldn't be. But she had been raised, she knew what was right and what was wrong and she was just feeling her oats so to speak. But I think she was appreciative of our, that we were concerned enough about her to...

Louise: ...go get her.

John: ...to do those things and to bring her back home and see what the situation was.

Susan was her father's daughter, committed to the Church and its teachings. She married within the Latter-Day Saint community, indeed married within the walls of an LDS Temple, but her spouse, Thomas, was of Hispanic origin and outside her family's cultural comfort zone. When she and Thomas made their intentions to her father clear,

Susan: It was kind of tense that night. . . .

Thomas was the epicenter of a situation to which Susan's father and grandparents were initially uncertain of how to respond.

Thomas: As a matter of fact, the night that we went to talk to him, saying we were getting married, you know, Louise was just kind of cheering, "Yes, this is great" and John said "I'd really like some time to think about it." He was really nice. He even said, "I have nothing against you," he said, "but I really want to spend some time personally and think about this you know solemnly..."

Susan: He said "I'll let you know."
Jeff: I’ll let you know.

Thomas: He said “I’ll, I’ll let you know. I let you....” (laughter) John called I think the next day, and said, you know, he supported it fully. I’m sure he talked with his dad [who] was a big mentor in his life, and said, “Look, what do we do” and so forth and so never a dull moment.

Once John made his decision to, in essence, give his blessing to the young couple’s marriage, he went on to establish a warm relationship with his only son-in-law.

Thomas: From that experience you know ... I learned to appreciate him and John was a ... he’s always been extremely kind and he’s not changed. He hasn’t gotten kinder or less kind, or you know, even from the very beginning, but ... he’s always been very complimentary you know. They go, I think part of them, they go out of their way to let me know how much they love me because they think maybe at the very beginning when they even questioned you know that I should be with [Susan].

Susan’s choice in a husband grew in part out of a desire to have the father of her children be similar to her own father in terms of values, standards, work ethic, and devotion to the Church and the role of priesthood leadership in the home. But Susan also found she wanted some things to be different for her children in their relationship with their father.

Susan: [Something] opposite [from my family] that I also liked in Thomas’ family they were raised ... showing a lot of affection towards one another, you know hugging, kissing, touching, whereas in my family we hardly did any of that. You know my mom would give me a kiss at night when I went to bed, but, but um. (pause) I can’t really remember my dad showing that much affection to me when I was growing up. He kind of does in his own way ... but nothing just kind of normal ... showing affection. But I’ve enjoyed that, showing more affection in the home and toward each other. Just you know, touchy-feely sort of things. Because I think, I was raised as kind of like if something happened and I started crying he’d tell me “why are you crying, there’s nothing to cry about,” you know “so you don’t need to cry” that sort of thing. So, we weren’t a very emotional family, I guess that way.
Susan had looked for and eventually found in Thomas an important component of physical warmth and expression in the fathering experience that was not as apparent in her relationship with her father John. John points out that physical affection was not a hallmark of his own father, Harris.

John: Dad, I think maybe, he could have expressed himself more. He wasn’t one to give everybody a hug or whatever, make over a whole lot...

Louise: He didn’t talk much.

John: He was very quiet, but you had a sense, you knew in a sense, that he was concerned, that he loved you and he respected you and anything that you needed you always had, you never, you never went without. But uh, I guess part of that has rubbed off on me. Like I told Louise or somebody that I guess I told my Mom or Dad that I loved them, more in the last two or three months they were alive, than I did all the rest of my life, because there’s not a whole lot you could say when they’re just as weak as they are and not doing well, you just want them to know that you love them. But there wasn’t a whole lot of that shown, but there was a whole lot of it felt, I guess is the way to say it.

Susan charted new waters for the Snowden family when she pursued this element of physical expression between a father and children that was missing from previous generations of fathering. The definition of generativity within the family expanded to accommodate this important aspect of expression.

Research Question: Similarities in Fathering over the Generations

In a single four-generation family, how does the generative fathering experience remain the same from one generation to the next? One dominant message carried by fathers to each generation of the Snowden family was the message of work. Consider John’s experience learning work from his father.
John: Well, I think he and Mom were both hard workers, in other words, they didn’t shirk from anything, any work as far as that’s concerned. And how always from the time I was big enough to do anything I had responsibility, by that I mean I was asked to do this or to do that, or I knew that I had to do this before I could do that...

Louise: ...to go play ball.

John: ...play ball, or to do all the work that I needed to do. In other words he always showed us that ....

John grew up having opportunities to return to his grandparent’s home and spend summers on the farm. Mark felt it was those memories that stirred his father into getting a farm for his family.

Mark: It was my dad’s idea [to get a farm]. Yeah, evidently when he was growing up he would spend summers in Mexico with his family, his extended family, his uncles. And they had ranches and farms and orchards down in Mexico. Anyway, he loved that, that’s what he always wanted to do. So, we, anyway, he taught us to do that kind of stuff. He’d teach us and we did it. He taught us how to work and that’s one thing I think, man, he’s the one that really taught me how to work hard. My kids don’t know how to work hard. That, it’s a shame, they just don’t know how to work like we worked.

When asked what he attributed that difference in learning how to work between his generation and his children’s, Mark replied:

I don’t, well, I think it’s probably a circumstance. When you’re out there [on a farm], there’s always a lot of stuff to do. Around here there’s really nothing much to do, except yard work, you know, mowing grass, flowers... it’s just not the same and so they grow up not knowing how to work hard.

However, Mark’s son, Dan, did recognize that work was something to be valued and that the value was taught him by his father.

Dan: His job, I always looked up and was very proud of him for being a successful attorney. And I was, you know and I always admired him for his dedication to his work and getting an education. I guess by example
that was probably one of the biggest influences I could have and uh, so it remains today.

*Generative Fathering: Spiritual Work*

Work is the core concept on which the generative fathering framework (Dollahite & Hawkins, 1998) is built. The framework affirms that fathering is labor-intensive and as such requires attentive devotees in order to attain certain outcomes and benefits for both children and fathers. Though all seven of the frameworks categories (Ethical Work, Stewardship Work, Development Work, Recreation Work, Spiritual Work, Relationship Work, and Mentoring Work) find support from the Snowden family interviews, two of the categories are especially notable—Spiritual Work and Relationship Work.

One example of how the generative fathering experience remained the same from one generation to the next is the clarity of thought each generation maintained about the spiritual work of the father/grandfather/great-grandfather. Over time this amounted to his spiritual legacy to which the whole family has sought to live up to. During his children's growing up years, Harris Snowden served within the hierarchal structure of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as the lay minister or president of a district of congregations (branches) of Latter-Day Saints scattered over a 500-mile radius. His travels were extensive but often family were included in the trips, as John recalls:

Everyone sure loved to see him come and we’d get to go with him every once in [a] while when he’d go on these trips when he’d just go down for Sunday and come back Sunday, he’d take most of the family with us and have ’em raise the numbers of the branch where we was at.
In 1958 Harris Snowden began over 40 years of religious service in the Church as an ordained stake patriarch. *The Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (Ludlow, 1992) offers this description of the role of patriarch:

> Each stake in the Church has at least one patriarch ordained, as the Prophet Joseph Smith wrote, "for the benefit of the posterity of the Saints as it was with Jacob [the Old Testament patriarch] in giving his patriarchal blessing unto his sons" (*BJS*, p. 6).³ Age is not a factor, and the call, which is for voluntary service in giving patriarchal blessings to stake members, may come to any worthy, spiritually mature high priest. (Baliff, 1992, p. 1064)

Reflecting on the duties of his father while acting in this spiritual “calling,” John connects how the calling had influence over the kind of man his father became.

> John: He was a patriarch and he gave what? Three thousand some odd blessings over a period of time. He was patriarch for how many? He was ordained in '58 or thereabouts so for...

> Jeff: For a number of years.

> John: Yeah, about thirty-five years or so. He was still giving blessings when he was what, ninety?

> Louise: Something like that. When he moved from there up here.

> John: Anyway, he did a good job and he was under that influence too. So he’s, dad’s had some real good experiences in his life and because of those experiences he had it made a better person.

The imprint of Harris Snowden’s spiritual nature embedded itself in the third and fourth generations of his family line. Mark, a grandson, and Dan, a great-grandson, had both moved over 500 miles away from the family home yet found the influence of “the patriarch” in their respective communities. Mark began discussing how the opportunity to receive a patriarchal blessing at the hands of his grandfather came about.
Mark: He [grandfather] was teaching the priest’s quorum. I think, when I was getting ready to go on my mission and I hadn’t thought much about getting my patriarchal blessing and then he gave me an assignment to get it (laughter) I mean that was basically it, ...

Jeff: (laughing) ...it was part of the class

Mark: (laughing) ...part of the class...He said I give you an assignment. So he told me I had to do it. I had to go to the bishop, who was my dad.

Jeff: (laughing) All in the family.

Mark: I had to get my recommend, got the recommend and went and got my patriarchal blessing and it was a great experience. It was right before my mission ... . So it was, I guess he thought I needed it. ... at the time growing up, he was just my grandfather, being up here I can’t begin to tell you how many I run into that knew my grandfather. Especially, during the war years there were a lot of servicemen who went through town, Air Force and Army, he married a lot of people as the branch president. I guess one of the counselors in the bishopric here, his father and mother were married by my grandfather and he went on to be stake president, regional representative in West Virginia and people are always doing that. I mean people I run into all the time that knew my grandfather and got their patriarchal blessings from my grandfather and so there’s always been a great example. I mean its because of his reputation I always felt like, I didn’t ever want to do anything that would disrespect his memory or his example.

Mark’s son, Dan, likewise felt a very keen connection to his spiritual forbear and as the oldest great-grandchild had clear memories of time spent with him.

Dan: [My great-grandfather had] very big hands and a kind spirit, even [at] such a young age I was able to feel the kind spirit. As I’ve gone through life, up at college even different people in [the mission field in South America] that were from the United States, and here in the states I’ve come across more people that have known my great-grandpa and it’s been really amazing to me and almost a testimony about how great of a man that he was. And just by his, I guess, life and how he’s influenced others has affected my life a great deal, even though I didn’t have a personal relationship with him on an adult level. Yeah, it’s kind of bizarre. I’ve seen him from just a child influenced by his life. He had
almost a greater effect on my life than my grandfather or even as far as my dad.

*Generative Fathering: Relationship Work*

One example of the feelings of love a father has for his child that typified the category of generative fathering known as “relationship work” (Dollahite & Hawkins, 1998) is uniquely expressed by Thomas, Susan’s husband, who was in the presence of his own father when he was received a sudden illumination:

Thomas: I felt I finally, I never knew what it was like to have a son and I couldn’t fathom how it felt like until my oldest son was developed. But the one thing that I learned as my first son started getting older is that you really start developing your love for this child that you’ve gone through so much for. Then all of a sudden I remember one day, I was sitting outside with my dad, you know, and I started thinking, “You know what? If I love my son that much, Dad loves me that much.” And I thought, “Oh, my gosh, no wonder he’s always worried.” And I know that sounds kind of silly. But yeah, that’s when I realized how much my father loved his sons and his daughters. [It wasn’t] until we had ours. It’s just one of the eye-opening experiences, you always heard it, said it, and felt it but never really realized the magnitude of it until you become a parent and see it.

Mark likewise had a discovery about his parents that came from his fathering experience and the love felt for his own children.

Mark: But, uh, you still love ‘em. That’s one thing that I’ve really noticed, the love you have for your children never goes away. It’s always there, it’s a constant. And so I understand my parents better. I understand that they love me, so even though they may not of told me much or the way they treated me I didn’t think they did but I think after you live a lifetime then you understand, kind of, other people and you kind of accept people the way they are. I mean, I accept my parents, that’s who they are. I love ‘em. I mean, there are things that are unique to them and I’m sure I have my own unique characteristics that they probably don’t like that much but they accept me the way I am.
Research Question: Intrigenerational Similarities and Differences

Within one generation of a four-generation family, how is the generative fathering experience different or similar for the men who are fathers in that generation? The answer to this question is best illustrated in a comparison of the father/child relationships of Mark and his brother Phil, both sons of John. The analysis looks first at their relationship with their father and then in turn Mark and Phil’s relationship with their children.

Both Mark and Phil (Mark is the oldest, Phil the next oldest) have clear remembrances of life on the farm, a period that moved both of them from childhood into their mid teens. The farm experience grew out of John’s desire for farm life and what he felt it could teach his children. Here is a sample of what Mark and Phil say they learned.

Mark: Dad was still working as a chiropractor in the city, and he would commute back and forth but he enjoyed the outdoors and wanted to ranch and [have a] country life. So he leased a place and we moved out there and we raised cows, we had a dairy cow, and horses and chickens and we would milk the cow, and have the milk and eat the eggs we had raised... and anyway at a young age we learned these kinds of things. It really wasn’t available in a city environment. . . [W]e had a good time, looking back those were great memories going through, that as a young child you don’t really realize. You just know that you’re there.

Phil began recalling life on the farm during the family interview with John, Louise, and Susan, and the conversation soon turned to the daily milking performed by the boys in the family.

John: They’d bring the milk bucket in and pour it through the strainer...

Phil: (laughing) ...and see what you’d got...(everyone laughing)

Louise: You never knew what was poison (more laughter).
John: We had more manure in there than there was [milk]...(laughter) “So how’d this get in the bucket?” They’d say, “She stepped in it” (everyone laughing).

Phil: (laughing) The cow steps in it, man. Just get that foot out of there.

Louise: Shorty Tibbetts [a neighbor] told me how to make cheese. I did it, and baked it, and cooked it in the oven. It didn’t, I didn’t try it again, it wasn’t any good. (Laughter)

Phil: Oh, I don’t remember cheese.

Louise: Well I didn’t serve it. I threw it away. I think eventually I learned how to make butter.

Phil: The most fun we had together as a family was hauling hay, wasn’t it Dad?

John: Yeah.

Phil: You were out there comb...uh, baling hay.

Louise: I’d drive the truck with, with a baby in my lap and them hauling the, pitching the hay bales.

Phil: About ten to twelve you could still hear Dad baling, baling hay. He’d go about, about ten yards and he’d break, ten yards and break. (Chuckle) We’d make fun of him...say “hey Dad, you just got ten minutes left!” (Laughter) He said, “Good night, time to go to bed. It’s Sunday.”

These shared childhood experiences with their father were difficult for Mark and Phil to pass on to their children without a contextual setting like the farm, so each as fathers improvised and adapted their settings for their children. For Phil one setting became vehicle purchasing, for Mark one dominant setting was athletics.

Phil: And sometimes, maybe it’s not right, but uh, then again going back to the discipline and wanting your children to live in the world that they’re in today, I felt the need to install in them the necessity of work. . . . for some reason almost every parent in school up there, they think when their kid decides to be a junior or a senior they have to have a new car.
(chuckle) and it’s amazing the kind of cars these people drive up in. And in fact our neighbor noticed for instance, that our kids have gotten new cars lately. But my son’s been paying for his car (laughter). Our neighbor said “Well, our son’s wanting to get a car just like your son’s” and I said, “Well, tell him that our boy is paying for his car” (laugh) then he’s never had to pay anything over there so (laughter) . . . . I feel like you know, that’s part of their development. They need to learn that life’s no gimme. I feel like they, it’s life, and if you don’t feel it now, you’re going to feel it later. And it’s better to learn now how to take care of things than it is later when you have to come back and say help. They don’t agree with that too much, but I think they will sooner or later. . . . I feel like it’s still good for ’em. And uh, I think they’re learning a lot from it. Having a lot of fun with it too. That’s a question I’ll have to ask them, see what they feel.

Mark made use of the support he gave his children in extracurricular activities, most notably sports. But Mark is ambivalent about the success of that context in helping him as a father connect with his children.

Mark: I wish, I wish, that I could [have] been more proactive in a lot of ways, instead of...I didn’t really know how to take the initiative to maybe make special moments for my kids. You know, we always wanted to do the best for them and the kids growing up I would think probably from ages 5 or kindergarten up through, uh, up through junior high school it was mostly involved, family time was mostly involved, even church activities. Cubs Scouts, Boy Scouts, or athletics, in other words, all my kids have been involved, there’s soccer in the fall, basketball in the winter, there’s soccer again in the spring, there’s baseball in the summer and it went around like that. I mean, that’s when one would stop, another started and that’s kind of the way we lived our lives for all those years, umm, going to games, (laughter) going to games and making sure they’re there. You know that’s what they like to do and we’d go to support them we were at their games all of the time, make sure that they went to their practices. I remember, growing, early, I mean it was kind of financial, I mean we had to it was a financial, I don’t want to say burden, but it was something that we had the budget for, because we had uniforms and shoes and balls and refreshments, that whole thing, the whole cycle, and we did that and we thought, you know, and uh, so I didn’t hunt or fish with my kids like my dad did with me. But I never had all those activities either, I never had that kind of a year round athletics like these kids do, now. That’s what they like, their friends liked it and that’s what they did and they were good at it and so we went to the games and everything, we were supporting ’em
the best we could, that's kind of where we went. I mean, I look back, I wish there was some other, you know, even with Boy Scouts, I was a scoutmaster for a couple of years and even though, you know, your kids go out on the camp out with you, 'cause they're part of the troop. The problem is they don’t really want to be with you, they want to be with their friends, so you, it's, it's tough.

Jeff: (laughing) It’s not necessarily a bonding time, is it?

Mark: No it isn’t. It really isn’t, yeah. I look back, I wish there, I mean, I don’t know what else I could of done. I wish I could’ve done something to bond more with my kids.

Mark’s son, Dan, when asked about experiences he remembers growing up with his dad, expressed a similar ambivalence about the setting for father/child interaction he experienced.

Dan: Most of my memories of my childhood were uh...........sports. I played sports year round. With soccer, uh baseball, basketball and then just, we went from season to season. And uh most of my memories of my father taking me to these games, always watching me. Um, going to church with my father and making sure I was reverent. Um, didn’t want to act up, didn’t want to get his look. . . Like I say he’s always been in the background and always there, always uh, always there, but yet not there.

Earlier in the interview Dan had described his father as “in the background, just taking care of everything quietly.” Both Mark and Dan give other accounts of generative fathering that have taken place from childhood into the present, but both shared an ambivalence about sports as a context for fathering and both wished for something more than what they had experienced. Chapter 5 will explore this relationship further and the resultant “reworking” of the fathering model that Dan undertook as he has neared fatherhood.
Research Question: Spouse Influence on Fathering

In a single four-generation family, how is the generative fathering experience influenced by the father’s interaction with his spouse and/or mother of his children? Many of the males in the Snowden family paid particular attention to the influence of their spouses on the quality of their fathering. John demurred to the influence his wife held in the more organized teaching they sought to do as parents under the Church-structured Family Home Evenings.

John: I think this is a big influence on our lives. I’ve been neglectful in not being as punctual in holding Family Home Evening as I should. My wife when the kids had grown up she was the strong stalwart here and [in] many good Family Home Evening’s I think the kids gained a great deal from the meeting atmosphere. In other words, we’d say whoa, time out, sit down, let’s see if we can learn something here . . . and do things together . . .

John also felt guided in the realm of grandparenting by Louise. “Well, I follow my wife (laughter). She seems to enjoy being Grandma and shows it a lot more than I do.”

Mark did not comment directly on the influence he may have felt from his wife. He did feel connected to his paternal grandmother, Harris Snowden’s spouse.

I think the single most influence on me individually and even on my wife, was my grandparents, my dad’s parents. My wife and my grandmother were just best friends right away. A great bond between them that [was] just amazing. I mean they were great friends, they would do stuff, she would come over and help with the boys at a young age when we lived near them, and she’d take care of ‘em whenever [my wife] need[ed] to run errands or anything. I mean it was amazing. I still picture in my mind this 70-year-old lady out in the backyard playing ball with these 4- or 5-year-old kids. Throwing the ball, hitting the ball, I mean it’s like, it’s just amazing. I would think, yeah my grandmother had a real influence on the way I look at parenting. Mostly, for example, she was a very spiritual person. She didn’t preach at you. She’d let you know what she was
thinking. She'd let you know if she thought you weren't doing right in her own way.

Phil attributed a great deal of influence to his wife on the success of his fathering experience.

Phil: . . . Wives have that tendency of guiding us in the right direction many times. They, they see a bigger picture than we do, sometimes we [men] become narrow minded or tunnel vision, that's what it is, not narrow minded, tunnel vision. And . . . she helps bring things more in perspective, points out the things that I'm lacking, things we need to do more of. That's what wives are supposed to do isn't it?

Jeff: Oh, oh, I (laughing) think so.

Phil: I. I think she's the other source, besides Dad and learning from him and Mom. My wife has to be the next one. She's a great mother. She has a lot of intuition and those motherly instincts. Whenever she says she feels something, I believe her. I said, "Well that must be right then." . . . So you know, many things have come about the way that she said they would.

After a few years you start listening.

The model developed by Doherty et al., (1998) stipulates that responsible fathering is moderated by the nature of the mother and father's relationship. Susan was asked a question about what she believed her sons are learning from their father (Thomas). Her response highlights her awareness of the primacy of the marital relationship and its influence on fathering.

Susan: [My sons are] learning I think just from watching Tom, how he treats his mother. Well, how he treats me too, but now he calls his mom everyday, actually Tom's dad died a few years ago and I think ever since then he's called her almost every night to see how she's doing, make sure she's ok, see if she needs anything. He's just very attentive, especially when he's with her too. And I think . . . they're learning that also just by watching . . . [H]e treats me very well and so I can expect them to treat their own wives really well. Just by the way he talks to me or if he does something special or you know, anything like that because they're always watching, you know (chuckles). They're always watching and, and I think
they’re going to be. I think they’re going to be good fathers, just by watching him.

Susan’s response serves as additional evidence that the marital relationship as discussed in Doherty et al. (1998) influences fathering behaviors and practices in the present and the future. Thomas’s treatment of Susan bodes well for the future “good fathers” that Susan and Thomas’s sons may yet become as they incorporate similarities and differences learned from their grandfathers and father.

Summary of Findings

The study of the meaning of generative fathering among a four-generation family has produced the following results:

1. The essence of generative fathering in the Snowden family is described as a great experiment. The exhaustive description (Table 4.4) identifies what a man does or is as a father to his children:

A father is someone who loves their children and guides them and tries to set a standard in life for them so that they can reach for that which will help them become better people and become better parents themselves to their children. (Susan, daughter of John)

How a father does the above is described as “being there,” or being present in the lives of his children. Thomas noted that to be a father is to be “a pillar, just standing there, not quite a pillar of greatness or anything like that, but a pillar of steadfastness.”

The final aspect of the Snowden family’s meaning of fathering has to do with the rewards of fathering, which is described as seeing the results of fathering in the lives of children.
2. This study found that generative fathering can be quite different over the generations as illustrated in the lives of Susan, John's daughter and her husband, Thomas.

3. The data about similarities in generative fathering over the generations revealed that this family valued the importance of learning how to work. Also revealed was evidence from the interviews that supported each of the seven categories within the generative fathering framework with attention given to relationship work and spiritual work.

4. Differences and similarities within one generation of fathers were explored and findings drawn from a comparison of Mark and Dan's father/son relationship and Phil and Sandra's father/daughter relationship.

5. Finally, findings were reported on the broad range of influence exerted by wives and mothers on father behavior and practice. Overall, these findings were supportive of the responsible fathering model (Doherty et al., 1998) and its contextual factors that posit a large influence for the marital relationship.
CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSION

Overview

John Snowden: Fatherhood is a very important situation. It's one that we need to do and we only get one chance.

Phil Snowden: [H]aving a father that you know is there for you no matter what and someone that cares about you and you can count on them . . . that's what family is all about.

The final chapter of this dissertation summarizes the findings of the research and offers commentary on how these findings may differ from or be similar to the literature reviewed for this study. Implications for theory development will give attention to the philosophical arguments of Buber (1970) and Marcel (1984) and the potential for integration of such thought in fathering discourse. Limitations in the research also are discussed. The implications of the study’s findings for policy and practice are explored and recommendations for future research themes and methods in the fathering field are offered. The conclusion offers some final thoughts on the meaning of fathering.

Significant Findings

Meaning of Fathering

The study’s finding of an exhaustive description of the meaning of generative fathering (see Table 4.4) is unlike other theorized descriptions of fathering. Generative fathering is defined as “fathering that meets the needs of children by working to create
and maintain a developing ethical relationship with them” (Dollahite, Hawkins, & Brotherson, 1997, p. 18). The responsible fathering model (Doherty et al., 1998) relied on the definition of Levine and Pitt (1995), who have offered criteria for expectations of responsible behavior from fathers. Included among these criteria is the expectation of emotional and financial preparation for fatherhood, and, once the child is born, establishment of paternity. Additionally, a father shares with the mother the responsibility for the “continuing emotional and physical care of their child, from pregnancy onwards” and “continuing financial support” as well (Levine & Pitt, 1995, pp. 5-6, as cited in Doherty et al., 1998, p. 279).

The meaning of fathering identified in this study is embedded in four generations of Snowden family life. This definition of fathering was collectively gathered from the experiences of those who lived the experience, and developed by them from generation to generation. Rather than restating the entire exhaustive description (see Table 4.4), a statement drawn from Susan’s transcript has been identified as core to the larger description and is beneficial for comparative purposes with the definitions of responsible and generative fathering. Susan said, “A father is someone who loves their children and guides them and tries to set a standard in life for them so that they can reach for that which will help them become better people and become better parents themselves to their children.”

The definition of generative fathering (Dollahite, Hawkins, & Brotherson, 1997) describes what is or what should be the intents and desires of a father at a specific point in time as he endeavors to develop an ethical relationship with his children. The Snowden
family definition of fathering includes that ethical component, describing, in Susan’s words, “a father [who] loves [his] children and guides them and tries to set a standard in life for them” and then extends the generativity of the definition to an additional generation, contemplating a future in which children will “become better parents themselves to their children.” The Snowden definition is not only concerned with fathering of the immediate generation, but with the future fathering of generations yet unborn. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saint’s doctrine regarding the eternal nature of the family, specifically the Church’s teachings that family relationships may extend beyond death and continue forever, may be pertinent as well. Knowing of the Snowden family’s high regard for and devotion to the teachings of their faith, this doctrine is a likely influence on the family’s awareness of future generations.

Additionally, this belief is consistent with John’s statements that it is “what happens on down the road” in the lives of children and seeing what they have been able to accomplish, that is a better indicator of how one has done with his fathering.

The Snowden family’s definition of fathering compares favorably with the criterion-based definition of responsible fathering (Levine & Pitt, 1995) with both definitions emphasizing expectations of care and support for emotional and physical needs of the child. However, given the emphasis in the responsible fathering definition on the importance of “financial support” for children, the relative nonappearance of words such as “money” or “finances” in the Snowden family transcripts is striking. The word “money” appears a total of 24 times in the nine interviews and is primarily used to describe the economic condition of the family in general (as in, “we didn’t make any
money off those cows”) or of an individual family member (e.g., “I took the job, ’cause I needed more money”) but is not used as a measure to describe how father met the needs or wants of his children. One example is notable for this feature of the family’s downplay of money. Mark, son of John, described a period of time in his life as a young, single adult.

Mark: I went to school a couple of years and then the third year after my mission I decided well, I wasn’t gonna go back. I was gonna maybe work awhile and make some more money, ’cause I needed more money, I didn’t have enough money to go. That summer Dad told me, he thought I just oughta go back up to school and finish.

Jeff: Did you bring that subject up with [him]?

Mark: Yeah. I told him I didn’t, I told him I felt like I didn’t want to go back right now. I wanted to work, maybe earn some money so I could go back some day. And he said, “Naw.” He thought it would be a better idea if I went ahead and go back up [to school]. So he made it possible so I could go back to school.

Mark later met his future spouse during that semester when his father made it “possible” for him to return and continue his education. Though the need was almost entirely financial, Mark did not designate any dollar amount or elaborate on the expenditure that his father had made, only that “he made it possible.” Though neither Mark or John used the word “sacrifice” as they described this incident, John’s support of his son did not come at a time that might be considered a period of great financial prosperity for the family. The farm experience, while rewarding in other familial ways, was not a fiscal success, or as John said, it was when “we were trying to be farmers and didn’t have enough money at the time even to be farmers.”
Eventually the family moved back into the city, which was shortly thereafter followed by Mark's mission to South America. It is against this backdrop that John encourages Mark to return and complete school with John “making it possible” through whatever means he had available. In so doing, John remains true to his own philosophy, that of encouraging the long view, taking the perspective of what might be in the better interest of his child's educational and career pursuits over time versus focusing on the short-term impact on John's finances. In spite of certain economic constraints, the Snowden family meaning of fathering consistently expresses the importance of the father doing “whatever it takes” to support his children, but avoids the trap that fathering-deficit paradigms fall into of reducing fathering to primarily an economic function (Bahr & Bahr, 1999; Hawkins & Dollahite, 1997b).

Buber (1970) warned that I-it, object-oriented relationships without the life-giving warmth of I-Thou relationships could cause a “stagnant” condition in quality of life that would eventually overpower mankind. As a person, “accommodates himself to a world of objects that no longer achieve any presence for him, he succumbs to it” (p.103). Such existential principles are relevant to affirmative choices made by Snowden fathers. As illustrated above, by John being aware of and present for a critical point in Mark’s adult-life, and Mark’s response to his father’s overture, both John and Mark demonstrated the I-Thou principle. Other fathers and other sons in the same situation certainly could have arrived at a different conclusion than did John and Mark and still have engaged each other in an I-Thou context. Marcel (1971) described the fundamentals of a present-for interaction in this way:
The person who is at my disposal is the one who is capable of being with me with the whole of himself when I am in need; while the one who is not at my disposal seems merely to offer me a temporary loan raised on his resources. For the one I am a presence; for the other I am an object.

(p. 26, emphasis in the original)

Many of the experiences of the Snowden fathers give evidence of this presence-orientation, which they have subsumed into their own meaning of fathering, namely, that "fathering is, in essence, being present for and present in the lives of your children" (see Table 4.4). However, not every experience has grown out of this ideal as the section on similarities and differences in one generation illustrated.

Differences over the Generations of Fathering

As expected, there was a finding for diversity over the generations as new fathers had experiences with their children not available to the previous generation’s fathers and vice versa. One experience which illustrates this change in fathering experiences over time was Mark’s presence in the delivery room during the birth of his son, Dan, an experience not available to John. Mark was deeply moved by the events on that day, recalling:

Mark: It was in June and it was raining and when we got into the delivery room I can remember how quiet it was. It was just really, really quiet. And... really spiritual experience. I just, of course, I’d never seen anything like that before. . . .[W]hen my son was delivered I felt the spirit very, very strong and I just felt really almost overcome. I couldn’t get over how quiet it was, you know. Looking back, it was just like a reverent, reverent feeling that I had. . . . That was a very special experience.

One of the messages that comes from the Snowden family definition of the meaning of fathering is the notion of fathering as a great experiment. An experiment
entails the trial of some aspect or element with which the experimenter is uncertain of what may result. Fathers today face many different circumstances and conditions from that of their fathers, some of which permit more freedom to father, such as Mark’s involvement in the birthing experience, and some of which produce barriers to fathering, such as a more pervasive divorce culture that can be used by both men and women to separate fathers from their children. Fathers of tomorrow will encounter challenges and opportunities unique to their day. The message of generative fathering as expressed by Susan’s pursuit of greater physical warmth in her future husband and father of her sons is the encouragement to seize the opportunities for change that present themselves.

*Similarities in Fathering over the Generations*

The study found that specific types of value messages about what it meant to be a father and the range of behaviors which fathers enact were transmitted from Harris Snowden to John to his sons and daughter and from them to their children. At the same time the Snowden family culture developed, the father-son relationship of Thomas Lopez, husband to Susan, built on a strong generative model. Thomas then weaves what he had acquired from his family and father into the fabric of the Snowden family, passing this combined model in turn to his sons. Thomas’s generative father provides additional evidence from which to check the hypothesis of similarities over the generations of fathers. Thomas, raised in a Catholic home, converted to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as a teenager along with his brother and two sisters. Both he and his brother served missions for the Church, Thomas in South America, his brother in Europe.
Though his children were now of a different faith, Thomas’ father, Hector, took measures to let his children know how he felt about their accomplishments. “Dad was proud that we stood up for something that we believed in... and we showed him how we would be honorable to him by doing what we believed...”

The Snowden family work ethic that had such an impact in binding the family together was also a feature in the Hector Lopez family and is an important aspect of what Thomas seeks to teach his sons. For example, Thomas and Susan moved their family into a new home where they did the landscaping, which included clearing the backyard of rocks. When one of his sons asked why they had to clear rocks, Thomas responded, “Because my Dad made me pick them up. And I remember doing the exact same thing in our yard, picking up rocks and putting them in a rock stack in the back to use one day.”

Cross-checking the original analysis of the Snowden family with this additional source of generativity from the Lopez family adds strength to the finding of support for value transmission across generations (Snarey, 1993).

*Similarities and Differences in One Generation*

Daly (1996) posed some interesting questions relative to time and the choices fathers make regarding its expenditure:

Specifically, to what extent are fathers’ needs to spend more time with the family matched by a need for them to be more available from the perspective of mothers and children? What are their perceptions about how that time is spent in the home in comparison to fathers’ own viewpoints? Is there a consistency of beliefs and values about time within the same family? In the same way that women entered the foreign territory of paid work with high expectations and many sobering constraints, so, too, are men moving into generative fatherhood with high hopes and the
accompanying crisis of adaptation. Even though the rate of change may be considered by some to be glacial, the very presence of effort, commitment, and awareness of obstacles bodes well for their future as fathers who are better integrated into the household. (Daly, 1996, pp. 475-476)

Both Mark and Dan had expressed ambivalence and uneasiness with the nature of the fathering relationship and some of their choices about time together as it was experienced in the context of sporting events. To Daly’s (1996) initial inquiry about time it was found that both Mark and Dan, in their separate interviews, match each other in their expressed need for time together. Mark felt the need to do more than he was doing as a father and Dan felt the need of a greater connection to his father than the shuttling from one activity to the next that both had experienced. It is as though these two were on parallel paths, each desiring to head the same direction and yet finding it difficult to join each other on one path at the same time. Such an understanding about this mutual need would be difficult to tap into using traditional measures of father involvement, because Mark was both available and engaged in being with his son at these sporting events and other activities and likely would receive high marks for the amount of time he was present. The question from an existentialist perspective for Mark would regard his “presence” for his son.

The literature review in Chapter 2 examined the concept of “reworking” (Cohen, 1993; Daly, 1993; Snarey, 1993), in which the role model that sons may have experienced in childhood sometimes exposes the flaws and faults of their fathers, and thus the sons consciously shift or attempt to change by “becoming the kind of fathers to their children that they wished their own fathers had been” (Snarey, 1993, p. 328). Dan made use of
"reworking," contrasting his father’s model with other models he has experienced throughout his life, for example, his great-grandfather, Harris Snowden, and more recently, his father-in-law.

Dan: I look at him [Dan’s father-in-law] as probably my role model as far as being a father. To me he is a perfect father in almost every way. He is just so involved in his children’s lives and he has (laughter) he has eight children. So he has a lot to work with...a lot of experience.

Dan’s awareness of his father-in-law’s model served as an impetus to rework portions of his father’s model that do not seem workable at present. Most acutely, Dan has observed his father-in-law’s relationship with his daughter, Dan’s wife, “...just seeing the relationship that her dad has with my wife...it’s probably been a huge eye opener. I want to have that relationship with my child” (emphasis added). As Dan’s “high hopes” about his imminent fatherhood become reality, both his strong reaction to the lack of connection from his father, Mark, and the models from his great-grandfather and father-in-law, with which he now identifies, will be influential in the meaning-making experiences of Dan’s own father-child relationships.

The passage of time, from within the Snowden fathering paradigm, would appear to be as significant a factor for understanding similarities and differences in one generation of fathers as the belief-driven choices about time and its expenditure (Daly, 1996). Mark commented on the influence that years of lived experience have brought to him:

Mark: I understand my parents better. I understand that they love me, so even though they may not of told me much or the way they treated me I didn’t think they did, but I think after you live a lifetime then you
understand, kind of, other people and you kind of accept people the way they are. I mean, I accept my parents, that's who they are. I love 'em.

Perhaps, as the fluidity of the fathering experience unfolds, Mark's son, Dan, will revisit the meaning of his childhood disappointments and discover other purposes at work in his father's behavior that can benefit Dan as a father. Daly (1996) asked, "Is there a consistency of beliefs and values about time within the same family?" (p. 475). Within the Snowden fathers the response appears to be, "Over time, yes."

*Influence of Spouse and Others on Fathering*

In commenting on findings from a historical review of fathering (Pleck & Pleck, 1997), Doherty (1997) stated that the conclusion of those authors "suggests that contemporary fathers are more ideologically committed to generative fathering than any generation in history" (p. 226). Our society has developed in such a way that socio-cultural barriers that sometimes inhibited men's involvement with their children have been and continue to be lowered. Doherty (1997) cited the trend in the 1970s for hospitals to open the birthing process from which fathers had been excluded and fathers responded. "Fathers were not forced into the labor and delivery room . . . . [T]hey went willingly and in large numbers, helping to create a new cultural norm that generative fathering begins before the baby is born" (p. 226). Mark Snowden's reverential memories about the birth experience of his son, Dan (discussed previously), were highly significant to him and the spiritual orientation that guided his fathering appears connected to that experience.

And yet, in spite of that ideological commitment to generative fathering, some have argued that the widespread flowering of the generative fathering process has been
derailed. Doherty (1997) offered his assessment that it is “the deterioration in male/female relations in marriage and coparenting [that] has short-circuited what should be the golden era of generative fathering in the United States” (p. 226). This movement away from marriage on the part of many men has carried in its wake well-chronicled challenges for children and single mothers (Amato, 2000; Blankenhorn, 1995). By contrast, research from the child development field has been descriptive of the benefits to the child when father and mother interact in a caring and committed marriage relationship (Belsky, Youngblade, Rovine, & Volling, 1991; Cox, Owen, Lewis, & Henderson, 1989; Cummings & O’Reilly, 1997; Fincham, 1998; Shek, 2000).

In light of such findings, the responsible fathering model (Doherty et al., 1998) concludes “that a high quality marriage is the optimal context for promoting responsible fatherhood” (p. 290). While such a strongly expressed position is controversial and contested (see the response to Doherty et al. from Walker & McGraw, 2000; also Silverstein & Auerbach, 1999), this assertion nevertheless receives support from the present study. Marital quality and stability have greatly influenced the generative fathering that occurred from generation to generation in the Snowden family, with John, Phil, and Mark’s son, Dan, all crediting their relationship with their spouses as having, in John’s words, “a big influence on our lives.” In Phil’s estimation, his spouse “helps bring things more in perspective [and] points out the things that I’m lacking” in the parental relationship. Mark did not directly reference his spouse and her influence, but did “think the single most influence on me individually and even on my wife, was my grandparents, my dad’s parents,” emphasizing his grandparents’ identity as a couple. Mark credits his
grandmother’s friendship with his wife during the early part of his marriage as
strengthening his spouse’s parenting, and then reflectively concluded that “my
grandmother had a real influence on the way I look at parenting.”

In addition to these findings, Sandra, Phil’s daughter, discussed expectations in
the identity development of her husband’s future fathering and expressed awareness for
avoiding a comparison between her experienced father and her husband’s fathering.

Sandra: [Dad] got to be a better father as he went and I can’t expect
perfection from Alex [Sandra’s husband] from the very start. That’s
something in our relationship that I’ve had to keep in mind . . . one thing
that helps me not worry about it is that his [Alex’s] dad is a very patient,
he has lots of humor and he likes to be a fun person to be around and so I
think if Alex is like either one of his parents, that he’s going to be a great
father.

Taken together the Snowden statements bolster the position of Doherty et al., (1998) that
men’s optimal context for success in developing an ethically founded relationship to their
children will occur in a committed marriage relationship.

Limitations of the Research

There are several limitations to the study that suggest that its findings be
interpreted cautiously. The small sample size (N = 8) of the study as well the relative
homogeneity of the participants in terms of race, religious practice, and SES, limit the
generalizability of these findings to a larger heterogenous population. It is important to
study family members of other faith backgrounds or those whose family members are
agnostic to see what influence religiosity has on the intergenerational flow of fathering
generativity.
Another limitation was the absence of a third-generation family member, Ed Snowden (see Figure 3.1), who chose not to participate in the study. The absence of his perspective on the fathering experience is a very real loss to the study. Any other analysis of what may have been Ed's experience within the family and with his father, grandfather, and his own children is left to the realm of uncertainty.

Implications for Policy and Practice

Government and other organizations that promote fathering and marriage as the best context for fathering to flourish would find support in the results of this study. Findings from this study could be shared in workshop settings to explore with men the meanings of fathering in their own lives. The author conducted one such session about generative fathering in connection with the Governor's Initiative on Families Today (GIFT) regional marriage and family conference. GIFT was developed in 1994 and is co-chaired by Utah Governor Michael Leavitt and First Lady Jaclyn Leavitt, with the goal of providing Utah families with parenting and communication skills (State of Utah, 2001). To that end, GIFT has provided community-supported settings for disseminating information about marriage and family topics.

At the session conducted by the author, the men and women attending participated openly and shared numerous instances in which they had experienced generative fathering. Men have been found to be supportive of such family education experiences when they receive personal invitations to participate and know that other men will be instructed or otherwise involved in the process (Palm, 1997). State and local
governments, university extension family programs, and religious and other private organizations can successfully sponsor family education that seeks to improve the fathering experience for men.

Recommendations for Future Research

Previous research on fathering has provided a large body of findings about what fathers do, but often from the deficit paradigm (Hawkins & Dollahite, 1997b) that describes fathers on the basis of what they fail to do, thereby bypassing the more compelling question of what fathering means to the fathers themselves. The present study beckons for more accounts of fathering from those who live it, or who have experienced the phenomenon of fathering.

The meaning of fathering that the Snowden family reveals in this study contains the imprimatur of Harris Snowden (the father of John and the family patriarch). Indeed a future extension of this project may be to explore deeper the genealogy of the Snowden family tree, which connects into the root system of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. The Snowden family ancestors figured prominently in the early days of Church history as well as in its hierarchy. There are pioneer journals and biographical writings within this ancestral family that would avail themselves to qualitative analysis with an eye toward father-child interactions and Church teachings that have influenced fathering in the home.

Another recommendation for future research grows out of the shared experience of many of the first three generations of the Snowden family. Fathering was experienced
in a rural setting that brought opportunities for children and parents to learn from and with each other. Mark expressed the difficulty as a father of generation to find similar opportunities to connect with his children as those which he experienced on a farm. He felt the activities available in the suburbs were not as effective in connecting with his own children as those he had experienced with his father during childhood on a farm.

Differences in fathering practices in rural and urban cultures could be contrasted through interviewing a four-generation urban family and examining the opportunities for father-child connection in such a setting, and how the meaning of fathering is influenced thereby.

One final recommendation involves the method of data collection and data transcription, currently done through analog tape recording. As digital technology continues to develop, I believe the field is on the verge of an expansion of qualitative research unparalleled in social science history. The literature is understandably nascent regarding the advances made in voice recognition software but probes of leading software companies (IBM Via Voice and Dragon Naturally Speaking) indicate that the technology is coming that soon will permit a researcher to take a small digital recorder, conduct a 1- to 2-hour interview, return to his or her computer, and download the entire conversation ready for initial reading and analysis. What a boon this could be to a field in which the greatest constraint to conducting qualitative fieldwork is often the time involved in transcription.
Conclusion

It sure appears from an outsider perspective that the children in this family have got a lot of things from their parents that have been a blessing to them. And I just want to make a record on this tape for whatever it’s worth of my observation, my appreciation for the Snowden family and for the goodness of the hearts of the people that I’ve been able to get to know. (Jeff Chapman, Snowden Family Interview)

It is John Snowden’s philosophy that the true impact of a father cannot fully be known in the short term, and when asked to offer final thoughts on fathering, he said:

John: I’d like a second chance (laughter). I’d probably do the same thing all over again. But uh, I think we can’t say enough of the importance of being a father, of being taught in our religion, who’s willing to put forth the effort to be a father, of trying to understand our children and to help them. I guess the only way to really know whether you’ve been a good father or not, is what happens on down the road, your children and your grandchildren and your great-grandchildren and see what they’ve been able to accomplish as far as the Lord is concerned. I think that’s where you measure the success of a father, in other words, I think that’s how you can test is how that person lives in their activities and how they are able to meet and cope and still do the right things that they’re supposed to do.
(emphasis added)

John’s view is the long view. It is a view worth adopting when undertaking a study involving any aspect of human relations. It is a view worth adopting when undertaking the relationship itself. Being fully present in and a presence to your child takes time.

Viewing the individual in an I-Thou context takes time. Moving beyond interactions that denigrate or exploit, learning to treat a child or any human being as more than an object involves a paradigmatic shift in thought and action and such processes take time. In Mark’s words:

Mark: You love ’em, you accept them; try to teach ’em, try to counsel ’em. Sometimes you can’t, it just doesn’t sink in, sometimes you wish there was
a switch you could just reach out and turn on so they could kind of get it. You just keep trying till they get it. And if they don’t ever get it, well then that’s the way it is.

Indeed.

I have been deeply affected by this research journey and have determined that generative fathers have profound consequences for families. That children are greatly blessed when they have access to relationships of commitment and devotion from a father. The Snowden fathers, the Snowden family, exemplify all this and more. I am indebted to them beyond words. The influence of generative fathers, it is said, “can last a lifetime and even over generations” (Snarey, 1993, p. 356). For the Snowden family where family relations are taught to be eternal, generative fathering can last forever.
REFERENCES


MEMORANDUM

TO: Kathleen Piercy
    Jeffery Chapman

FROM: True Rubal, IRB Administrator

SUBJECT: The Essential Generative Fathering Experience

February 17, 2000

The above-referenced proposal has received expedited review by this office and is approved. The research activities listed below are exempt from IRB review based on the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) regulations for the protection of human research subjects, 45 CFR Part 46, as amended to include provisions of the Federal Policy for the Protection of Human Subjects, June 18, 1991.

7. Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

Your research is exempt from further review based on expedited review procedure number 7. Please keep the committee advised of any changes, adverse reactions or termination of the study. A yearly review is required of all proposals submitted to the IRB. We request that you advise us when this project is completed, otherwise we will contact you in one year from the date of this letter.
Appendix B: Research Invitation

You are invited to participate in research

A research project that focuses on fathers and children and their relationship over the generations is underway and you are invited to participate. The project is being conducted by Dr. Kathleen W. Piercy, an Assistant Professor in the Department of Family and Human Development at Utah State University.

What is the purpose of the research?

The purpose is to look at how fathers across several generations of one family define fathering.

How can I participate?

We will meet with family members in their own homes or in other convenient locations and conduct a private interview. Questions will be asked about your experiences with your father and if you are a father, about your relationship with your children. Each interview will last approximately one hour and will be audio tape-recorded so that no important ideas are missed. You may also be invited to participate with members of your family in a unique “story-telling” session where adult family members gather and reminisce about some of their experiences with their father. This tape-recorded session will be transcribed and bound and returned to the family to become part of a family history.

In the next week or two, Dr. Piercy’s student researcher on this project, Jeff Chapman, will contact you by phone or letter to ask if you are willing to be interviewed, and to set up a time and date for the interview. All information you provide them will remain confidential.

Thank you for your consideration of this project.

Kathleen W. Piercy, Ph.D.
Utah State University
Informed Consent Form

The Essential Generative Fathering Experience

Purpose: Kathleen W. Piercy, Professor in the Department of Family and Human Development at Utah State University, is conducting a research study to find out more about father-child relationships across the generations. There will be approximately 20-30 members of your extended family who will be asked to participate. If you choose to participate in this research project, you can be assured that your rights as a human subject must be protected. Before you agree, we want to be sure that you understand that your decision to take part, or not to take part, is entirely voluntary.

Procedures: If you agree to participate in this research study, you will be asked to engage in a 1-2 hour interview. The questions during the interview are about experiences throughout your lifetime with your father. A second interview with members of your immediate family (father, mother, siblings) will be conducted and you will be invited to tell stories that recall shared events and experiences with your father. These interviews will be conducted in your home or in another setting you are comfortable in and at a time convenient to your schedule.

Risks: There are no known risks of the procedures outlined. However, you have certain rights as a participant in the study.
(1) You are free to refuse to answer any question at any time.
(2) You are free to withdraw from the interview at any time.
(3) Your participation in the interview is entirely voluntary.

Benefits: As a result of this research the investigators may learn more about father-child relationships. Involvement in the individual interview and “story-telling” activity may stimulate you into thinking more about your relationship with your father. The family “story-telling” will be transcribed and one copy presented to the family upon the consent of all those present for the interview.
The Essential Generative Fathering Experience

Costs: There will be no cost for you to participate in this research study.

Explanation: Jeff Chapman has explained this study to you and answered your questions. If you have any other research-related questions, you may reach Jeff at 435-797-8871 or Dr. Kathy Piercy at 435-797-2387.

Confidentiality: Your responses to the questions will be audiotaped and then transcribed by either the researchers or professional transcribers. Only the principal investigator and student researcher will have access to the transcriptions. All audiotaped and transcribed responses will be kept in a locked file cabinet in a locked room. Once transcribed the audiotape recordings will be kept for six months and then destroyed. The transcriptions will be kept for an indefinite period to aid in analysis of the data.

IRB Approval: The Institutional Review Board (IRB) for the protection of human subjects at Utah State University has reviewed and approved this research project.

Consent Copy: You have been given two copies of this Informed Consent. Please sign both copies and retain one copy for your files.

Assurances: “I certify that the research study has been explained to the above individual, by me or my research staff, and that the individual understands the nature and purpose, the possible risks and benefits associated with taking part in this research study. Any questions that have been raised, have been answered.”

Kathleen W. Piercy, Principal Investigator
Ph.D., Utah State University
435-797-2387

Jeffery G. Chapman, Student
Researcher
435-797-8871

Consent: I have read about the study of fathers and children as described above. By signing this consent form I agree to participate in the interviews.

Signature Date
Participant Demographic Information

Age ______
Sex: (circle one) M  F
Race: (circle one) African American-----Hispanic-----Caucasian-----Native American-----other
Education (years) ____________
Occupation ____________________
Religious Background: (circle one) LDS-----Protestant-----Catholic-----other______
Years married ______
Previous marriages ______
Number of children ______
Income (circle one)
$10,000 or less
$10,001-$25,000
$25,001-$50,000
$50,001-$75,000
$75,001-$100,000
$100,001 or higher
Appendix E: Significant Statement Tables

Table E.1

*Significant Statements Summarized from John and Louise Snowden’s Interviews*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements regarding his father</th>
<th>John’s Significant Statements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church activity influenced the time spent and the nature of fathering experience.</td>
<td>Time engaged in recreation (dove hunting) limited by employment and Church activity &quot;we’d go every once in awhile, but not too often.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dad’s Church responsibilities created a difficult situation in that there wasn’t a whole lot of time.&quot;</td>
<td>Teaching deference, respect to Church leaders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As a child wondered about father’s lack of involvement in recreational activity</td>
<td>Following Dad’s footsteps. “a good thing to do,” felt comfortable doing it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Depression influenced the nature of the fathering experience.</td>
<td>Following Dad’s footsteps was never discussed between father and son.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The care of the family (provider role) belonged to father.</td>
<td>Three generations working together--newspaper experience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fathering means getting the job done.</td>
<td>Unique features of the business relationship--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fathering means doing what you can.</td>
<td>No anger in business relationship.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father involved in Cub Scouting.</td>
<td>Always comfortable in the relationship.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fathering experience tied to Church activity or experienced via Church activity.</td>
<td>Good spirit working together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsibility to family taught by father through various chores like raising rabbits for food and hauling water to garden.</td>
<td>Cooperative tri-generation effort.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father participated in the work he asked his son to do.</td>
<td>Provided each person with “the opportunity to take care of what needed to be done”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teen years signified by gift of a .22 from father.</td>
<td>Father never spoke derogatorily of his time commitment to the Church, always expressed happiness in his Church activity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taught work before pleasure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Showed how to do get work done before play.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
John's Significant Statements

**Statements regarding his father (continued)**

Father became provoked with me a few times about being able to take the time to do what he felt I needed to do.

Felt father treated him similarly in both childhood and adolescent years.

There wasn't a whole lot of hugging and other physical affection shown, but there was a whole lot of it felt.

From quiet "sense" you knew he was concerned.

From quiet "sense" you felt love and respect.

From quiet "sense" you knew anything needed was given.

Quiet sense "rubbed off on me"

As a son had verbalized "I love you" more in the last three months of their lives than the whole rest of his life.

More visual affection displayed by father-in-law toward children.

Father-in-law instrumental in circumstances leading to finding and marrying his spouse.

On the job with father "He was very easy to get along with and he did a good job."

On the job with father: "He wasn't overbearing."

Caring for father in home brought in deeper contact with emotions of father.

Caring for father in home, very independent, but kind never derogatory or harsh.

Father's condemnation of Mother's swearing in front of the children.

Time with father: Accompanying and other family on Sunday journeys to distant Church meetings.

Observed the love demonstrated by those in the Church towards his father.

Observed the love, encouragement, and patience of father towards Church members.

Father concerned that children do their best in school, Church or whatever.

Led by example.

Always in the right place at the right time.

Spiritual nature of father: Quoting 13 articles of faith from memory at age 90 in a conference gathering of the Church left son "amazed... because the Spirit was really strong when he was doing it."

Father as teacher: taught college courses that son took in preparation for his career in chiropractic.

Father's deep feelings for son.

Dad was dependable.

Dad was enjoyable to be around.

Dad could see needs and try and help.

Dad brought sense of security with him, you "never felt like we were sitting on the edge of a volcano"

Dad didn't operate out of fear with children.
John’s Significant Statements

Statements regarding his father (continued)

Observation of father as a grandfather: often was visited, grandchildren got close enough to know him.

Spiritual nature of father: Church Patriarch and other Church callings Dad’s experiences made him a better person.

Dad’s discipline consisted of making “you feel ashamed of what you mighta done.

Dad never raised his hand against his children. “We didn’t really have many spankings.” Crying over the “D” in chemistry in junior high. “He wore me out just going up one side and down the other, just by talking to me, in other words, he had me crying there.”

Dad’s Discipline: That’s all it takes.

Statements regarding his own fathering

Following Dad’s footsteps never discussed between 2nd generation father and 3rd generation son.

Gratitude for son’s decision to follow in employment.

Son may feel provoked from some of Dad’s business practice.

Doing what needs to be done v. the maybe of more time at home, being a better father.

Uncertainty of fatherhood.

Blessed to be a father: “Mark came along it was real impressive, you felt real blessed. You felt like you had accomplished what you had come here to do, when you had your wife and your child.”

I still felt inadequate in what needed to be done or how it needed to be done.

That feeling of first holding them: “I remember when the child, when you hold them for the first time you feel a little like you don’t really know (chuckling) whether or not your going to drop them, squeeze ‘em to death, or something else.”

Fatherhood’s importance: “Fatherhood is a very important situation. It’s one that we need to do and we only get one chance, cause your kids grow up in spite of you.”

Fathering lessons learned
--Foresee children’s needs
--Do things, present child with things (opportunities, share vision, insight, understanding)
--Act don’t react

The secret of good fathering is: “it’s much easier to take care of a problem before it happens and instead of trying to patch it up after it had already been there and its all involved…”

Fathering that offers peace and harmony around a baby can influence the baby’s spirit or his activities “just mesh”

Not contingent on fathering alone but on every family members happiness.

Children can feel animosity.

Children can feel harmony, peace, and love.

Father should be sure the latter feelings a present and surround the child.

Another responsibility: Provide “safe ground...safe area”

Father perspective: “Raising a daughter is about ten times harder than raising a son”
John’s Significant Statements

Statements regarding his own fathering (continued)

Father/Daughter New Year’s Eve Story: Looking for daughter at a hotel when she didn’t return at agreed upon time.

Father thinks daughter was appreciative though angry at the time I just knew that she was somewhere where she shouldn’t be.

He wanted to raise children in farm environment.

Enjoyed hunting with sons.

Support of children’s school activities.

Support of children’s missionary activities.

Things I’d do differently as a father--Activities together, though enjoyable, were short.

I would be more outgoing in showing my love or whatever to our kids.

Time away was hard.

I guess I feel like you would like to have done more than you did and you’d like to be sure that everybody knew how you felt, that’s what you wanted to do.

We did what we had to do.

Statements regarding other influences on Fathering

More free expressions of love from Mother

I would say that the Church as an entity has been very influential in what we do, because in reality besides our profession we spend more time in meetings and associating with Church people than we do anything else.

Specific Church-oriented activities that influenced: Seminary, Family Home Evening, Church Athletic Events traveling over distance.

Wife’s influence in teaching children.

Athletic Team coaches-how they interacted with your children-influenced him.

The Success of Fathering

"I guess the only way to really know whether you’ve been a good father or not is what happens on down the road, your children and your grandchildren and your great-grandchildren and see what they’ve been able to accomplish as far as the Lord is concerned."

"I think that’s where you measure the success of a father, in other words, I think that’s how you can test is how that person lives in their activities and how they are able to meet and cope and still do the right things that they’re supposed to do."
### Mark’s Significant Statements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements regarding his father</th>
<th>Getting to know brand-new life [watching colts be born].</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father practiced chiropractic profession.</td>
<td>Dad would contract out to plow people’s land, but I would be the one to do it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three generations practiced chiropractic together (grandfather, father, brother).</td>
<td>Dad didn’t do a lot of teaching.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal grandfather had a real estate practice and managed citrus trees.</td>
<td>Dad would tell us what to do and if it wasn’t done right he’d get upset.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dad would commute from work to rural home environment.</td>
<td>At the time I didn’t understand why he always seemed to be mad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dad enjoyed outdoors and wanted to live the ranch and country life.</td>
<td>Now, as an adult I understand, he had a lot of stress, working full-time in town, driving back and forth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It was dad’s idea to live on the farm.</td>
<td>Dad really enjoyed that kind of life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As children we learned things not available in a city environment.</td>
<td>He really had an affinity for rural people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learned from father how to milk cows, feed horses, feed chickens, clean stalls,</td>
<td>Financially, the family couldn’t make it, he [dad] had to move family back into town.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drive tractor, plow, and plant.</td>
<td>Liked the first house they bought in town because it was near grandparents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great memories of those times.</td>
<td>Financial problems with that house, so we moved in with grandparents for a while.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My kids haven’t had that kind of opportunity.</td>
<td>Dad was bishop two or three times.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dad’s the one who really taught me to work hard.</td>
<td>We always the first people in Church and the last to leave.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My kids don’t know how to work hard. It’s a shame.</td>
<td>When you’re a kid it kinda irritates ya. That you always have to be there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probably a circumstance that children don’t learn to work hard.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dad started raising horses, got to learn a lot about life, death, new colts born.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mark’s Significant Statements

Statements regarding his father (continued)

Looking back at what you’re going through as kids, you don’t understand [why a father would do what they do].

We always had everything we needed.

Looking back, you know, he was just a great example.

Dad was a good provider.

One difference between Grandfather and father: Grandfather didn’t have many hobbies, he wasn’t an outdoorsman-type person.

Dad would take us deer hunting, turkey hunting.

He taught us how to shoot rifles and shotguns.

He showed how to fish, how to do it: bait the hook, catch the fish, clean the fish, gut the fish, descale it.

Dad and the deer kill [a very vivid description of dressing a deer].

Deer skin rugs, only problem was they had these big bullet holes in them.

I’m more like my grandfather—I never had the desire to go out and kill things.

After Dad cut up a deer we’d sit there and play around with deer hooves.

Dad was a real outdoorsman type of guy that’s the way he’s always been.

Another difference between grandfather and father: Dad was very athletic.

Trips across the country with Dad’s Church softball team.

[Remembering the trips brought a rush of emotion to Mark]

We [as adolescents] thought Dad was too hard on us.

I think he loved us.

Sunday dinner tradition with missionaries there or servicemen there eating dinner with us.

Dad is a good guy.

Dad told us to get as much education as you can.

Dad always said take as much science and math as you can.

Dad taught early morning seminary.

Dad was supportive during the move, how difficult the adjustment was to new school, trying to fit in.

My Dad didn’t go on a mission.

My grandfather didn’t go on a mission.

I really didn’t have a role model about what missionaries were supposed to be like.

I had the desire to serve a mission, Dad was really supportive about that.

I think it really pleased him a lot, because my grandparents had wanted him to go, I think he always had little regrets about not going.

Dad was real supportive of the mission.

Dad would write letters almost every week to me. They were great, great letters.

A father is the head of the family. A father takes care of the family. A father looks to everyone’s welfare.
Mark’s Significant Statements

**Statements regarding his father (continued)**

Dad was supportive of me finishing school, when I had run out of money he made it possible so I could go back to school.

**Statements regarding his own fathering**

When my wife and I got to the delivery room [for birth of first baby] I can remember how quiet it was. It was just really, really quiet.

Birth of son was a really spiritual experience.

When my son was delivered, I felt the spirit very, very strong.

When my son was delivered I felt almost overcome by the spirit.

I couldn't get over how quiet it was.

The birth experience was a reverent. reverent feeling I had that happened.

I was real happy, it was an exciting day.

I remember calling my parents to let them know.

Birth of second son the doctor wouldn't let me go into the delivery room.

Second son's birth. poor little guy looked all beat up.

Third child. a daughter, they had them all lined up in the nursery. She was smiling. it was awesome. I couldn't believe it.

The births of all my children have been really special experiences.

The births of my children--its one of the best things that happened... Athletics and our support of children took up most of the father-child interaction time.

We lived our lives going to games.

I didn't hunt or fish with my kids like my Dad did with me.

I never had that kind of year round athletics like these kids do now.

I mean, I look back. I wish there were some other, you know ... Even though a Scoutmaster with sons, on campouts they don't really want to be with you. they want to be with their friends.

I wish I could have done something to bond more with my kids.

I don't know what else I could have done.

Relationship with the kids really good in elementary school.

Once they got to high school communication kind of shuts down little by little.

Senior year has always been the toughest for both my boys. I mean it just is.

Senior is the toughest year because of poor choices, hanging out with poor friends, make some bad decisions, and so its kind of a strain that way.

A father is ... like my grandfather and father they do the best they can for their family and their kids.

You know by what they [fathers] do they show that they love their children and their family.

Daughter, a junior in high school. excels in many areas. I just hope it lasts, that she'll hold on for the last couple years.
Mark’s Significant Statements

Statements regarding his own fathering (continued)

[Laughing] I think I deserve a little happiness after all this.
I didn’t take the initiative to make special moments for my kids.
Fathers foster a good spirit in the home.
A father is someone who is basically an example.
There are not that many teaching moments for fathers.
Fathers show you how to do stuff.
Most of my experience [of learning how to father] has been by example.
I mean, the high-school years for the boys were really tough years for us, it took its toll on the family, it just, there was a lot of sadness.
Relationship with oldest son is a lot better since his mission and marriage.
Oldest son: Dan now an adult, his values are the same as mine.
Son’s belief system and standards are really the same as mine.
Both feel real comfortable with the Church, those same doctrines.
As a result we really get along well.
Second son, doesn’t want to have much to do with the Church, he made some choices that put him at odds with our belief system.
The relationship is still kind of tense, but better since he got older, more mature.
We [Mark and 2nd son] get along great.

I get along better now with him then I have in a long time.
My mother and father wrote to second son while they served mission for the Church, he may or may not have read them.
I don’t think he wanted to hear from them, he didn’t want to hear what they had to say.
Aren’t many who had influence on fathering outside of father and grandfather.
Fathering is a great experiment (laughing).
You try to do your best but you really, you’ve never done it before, so you’re kind of winging it.
By the time you learn to have anything to do with it, I mean, it’s almost over.
Your kids are almost grown up by the time you figure out what you should do or what you should say or those moments where you should give praise or when you do something good or when not to speak, when you should say something.
With teenagers you kind of learn that sometimes you just let it go.
Fathering is a great experiment but it’s been a good experience.
I think I’ve learned more than my kids have learned from me probably.
I think I’ve learned more about human relationship, how people should interact.
As a father you try to have some standards, have some organization in their lives.
Hopefully when they’re out there [away from home], there’s some constants in their lives.
Hopefully they can look to their parents and see some kind of constants.
Mark's Significant Statements

Statements regarding his own fathering (continued)

Hopefully we do well enough that they maybe want to follow in our footsteps.

If they don't follow in our footsteps, they don't.

You still love 'em. That's one thing that I've really noticed.

The love you have for your children never goes away.

The love for your children is always there, it's a constant.

I understand my parents better.

I understand that my parents love me, even though they may not of told me much.

I understand that my parents love me even though the way they treated me I didn't think they did.

I think after you live a lifetime then you understand, kind of, other people.

After you live a lifetime you, kind of, accept people the way they are.

I accept my parents, that's who they are. I love 'em.

My parents accept me the way am.

Children are like that too, you love 'em you accept them, try to teach 'em, try to counsel 'em.

You wish there was a switch you could reach out and turn on so they could get it.

You just keep trying till they get it. And if they don't ever get it, well than that's the way it is. (laughing) Then they'll never get it.

I've always tried to be a good example. My children know where I stand and then they make up their own minds.

All you can do with these kids is hope they turn out, you never know.

I assumed, when we first had children, I kind of assumed that they would be like me.

I figured the things I liked, you know, course, that's what they would.

It's not like that, they have their own likes and dislikes their own point of view, their own aspirations I guess.

It took me awhile to figure out that I just have to let them be their own person.

The things I would want, the way I wanted my parents to treat me, was the way I would try to treat my children.

But that necessarily was not the best thing probably, because, you know, what their desires. I guess. I don't know, more to their desires, what they needed.

Give children what they really needed not what I thought they needed. I guess.

As a father I think what you do is you try to teach them correct principles.

I wish that I had been more proactive as a father in a lot of ways.

How to try to handle conflict, I'm not very good at it. Some people thrive on it.

I don't.

Our home has always been a pretty peaceful place. In order to avoid conflict, when the boys were going through difficult times, they would go be somewhere else.
Mark's Significant Statements

Statements regarding his grandfather

Grandfather and grandmother were always there.

Grandfather went to work every day.

Grandfather just a great example of doing what you are supposed to do, when you are supposed to be doing it.

Grandfather was a patriarch in all my growing up years.

Grandfather was teaching priest's quorum meeting and he gave me an assignment to get my patriarchal blessing.

I had to go get a patriarchal blessing recommend from the Bishop, who was my dad.

I got my recommend and got my patriarchal blessing [from grandfather] in August and left on my mission in September. I guess he thought I needed it.

People I run into all the time knew my grandfather [though Mark now lives 500 miles away from where grandfather lived] and got their patriarchal blessings from my grandfather.

Because of grandfather's reputation I didn't want to do anything that would disrespect his memory or example.

Grandfather and father are real similar.

Statements regarding others influence on fathering

Grandfather and grandmother were always there.

The single most influence on me was my grandparents.

My grandmother playing ball with these 4 or 5-year-old kids.

I would think, yeah my grandmother had a real influence on the way I look at parenting.

Grandmother was a very spiritual person.

Grandfather went to church all the time, served in a lot of positions in the Church.

Grandmother didn't preach at you.

Grandmother let you know what she was thinking, she'd let you know if she thought you weren't doing right in her own way.

Grandmother had a good sense of humor and my Dad has a really good sense of humor and I think that kind of carried over to me with my kids.

As for other institutions or anybody else, I just can't think of anybody else.
Table E.3

**Significant Statements Summarized from Dan Snowden's Interview (son of Mark, grandson of John)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dan's Significant Statements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Statements regarding his father</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My father is a very quiet man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My father is very patient and humble in my opinion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My father is a very hard worker and very loyal, and he's a perfectionist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My father does not communicate very well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's been somewhat of a challenge to have a relationship, or at least an intimate relationship with him on the level that I would like.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My father has always especially as far as financial support, he's probably the best father, as far as financially supporting his son and I appreciate that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He's kind of been the third party in the background, just taking care of everything quietly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With soccer, baseball, basketball, we went from season to season. And most of my memories are of my father taking me to these games, always watching me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have memories of going to church with my father and making sure I was reverent. I didn't want to act up, didn't want to get his look.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel like I don't have too many memorable memories if you will.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He's always been in the background and always there, but yet not there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My father would have the opportunity to be involved with a spiritual meeting that helped me advance to a different class or rank in the church if you will.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ordination is a pretty intimate thing, a special opportunity for both father and son generally in, in our church. That was special to me that he was able to do that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People with the authority to act in the name of God that can do this and my father has the priesthood and he is able to give me for example the Aaronic Priesthood which is a Priesthood in the church, and he's able to do that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's unexpected tears at the mission farewell in the Missionary Training Center.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was confused. I really had no idea where this [his emotion] was coming from especially since we weren't involved with each other really as far as on the level that I would have liked to have been.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I think the biggest thing that had affected my, as far as teenage life is I always heard his voice in my head saying &quot;make good grades.&quot; Constantly, just &quot;make good grades.&quot; That to me had a real negative effect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lots of pressure from Dad to make good grades, to make him proud.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I felt like he didn't have too much concern as far as how I was actually learning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He was happy as long as I got good letter grades.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When I didn't make the good grades that he expected I felt disappointed and very anxious to be around him.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dan's Significant Statements

Statements regarding his father (continued)

Education obviously was important to him. He demonstrated that with his life.

We have more to talk about since I'm a probation officer and he's an attorney, we just opened up a whole new door for us.

He's been able to open up a lot more to me.

His job, I always looked up and was very proud of him for being a successful attorney.

I always admired him for his dedication to his work and getting an education. I guess by example that was probably one of the biggest influences I could have and so it remains today. To be able to go and get a higher education and to better myself.

Influenced in my view of fathering by my father's humility, his example of patience, his example of education.

The way he treated my mom with really good respect influenced me. I knew my father loved my mother, therefore I could love my father.

Even now as an adult I still feel like he is the authoritative figure instead of someone I can just talk to.

My adult relationship with Dad is very casual, very informal. I mean it's nice.

I don't know if he was afraid to talk about what he does at work or what the situation was.

Maybe my mother didn't like him talking about work or, what goes on.

I was always fascinated by it and he would never talk to me about it. But now he's been able to open up a lot more, so that's opened up a new avenue for us which is nice.

He doesn't talk a lot about how he feels or doesn't mention his love for me that much.

He has a really time, a hard time like giving me a hug or expressing himself.

It's definitely no tension there.

He seemed successful in his field. I guess that, that's the positive thing that came, out of it.

I just came to the conclusion that he is who he is and I accept him for who he is and the way he expresses himself and I've been able to deal with that. I do feel very good and content. It's been a lot more difficult for me.

My younger brother is exactly like my father. So, he and my father I guess have a great relationship cause they're both on the same wavelength.

Statements about his grandfather

Been surprised to hear him speak in church because I've been touched by what he had to say.

We talk about University sports.

Grandfather is fun. I look forward to seeing him more than anyone in the family.

Statements about his great-grandfather

I have great memories of great-grandfather.

The kind gentleman with big hands.

A very tall man.

Met people across the West who have known my great-grandfather.
Dan's Significant Statements

*Statements about his great-grandfather (continued)*

It's a testimony of how great he is.

He's had almost a greater effect on my life than my grandfather or even as far as my dad.

*Statements about others who have influenced fathering*

My wife's father, a college professor. I look at him as probably my role model as far as being a father.

To me he is the perfect father in almost every way.

Father-in-law a born people person.

It's the way he treats people, interacting with children.

He always takes out time for the small things.

I want to have that relationship with my child.

He is so involved in his children's lives and he has eight children.

My mother gets a lot of credit for my perspective of the kind of parent I would hope to be.

I couldn't ask for a better mother.

The negative I'm surrounded by in my work as a probation officer. It's exactly the opposite of what I want to be like.

As I step into fatherhood, it's just the most precious thing I can possibly think of. It just blows my mind to think people could abuse children.

People in the Church, former bishops, have a great influence in how they treat others in general.

Working with these seminary kids has really helped me out a lot actually, being able to see what kinds of attitudes they have and what kind of mentality, perspectives on life.
Table E.4

*Significant Statements Summarized from Phil Snowden’s Interview (son of John)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phil’s Significant Statements</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Statements regarding his father</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's decision to be on a farm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact of father's decision for farm on children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child perspective on farm years: dream of living on a farm, having wonderful things, more interesting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specific farm experiences: hunting, fishing, unworried about messing up neighbor’s yard, riding horses, funny things.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dad a farmer at heart.</td>
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<tr>
<td>His decision to enter Ag Econ @ State University based on hoping he [Dad] would have a dairy by then.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>But he never got the dairy farm so I had to get a job somewhere else.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He worked with us.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father busy doing things.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dad unable to come to ball games on Saturday because of work.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dad at High school ball games.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dad an avid hunter going hunting together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunting experience: 7 years old and Dad held end of barrel up to aid aiming and shooting the result was the first buck.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dad was fun: Part of outdoor outings with other adults invited by Father.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dad showed you how to work.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dad worked with you.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dad would let you know when you weren't doing something right.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dad's major characteristic when showing what to do: the intent and the sincerity that's always there, wanting to help you do the right thing.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Things just kind of roll over. There's a lot of Grandpa in Dad.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grandpa and Dad very spiritual, &quot;That's the big thing&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grandpa and Dad want to do what the Lord wants them do.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grandpa and Dad want to help everybody no matter what.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everything Dad and Grandpa do shaped by belief in God and Jesus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Without belief in God and Jesus that whole personality wouldn't be there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charity of father and grandfather: willingness to share or help: drop what they're doing and go help someone else.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father teaching: No separation of religion and family, it's the same.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Father as bishop: You see the role he plays in other's lives.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Father as bishop: You see his belief.</td>
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Phil's Significant Statements

Statements regarding his father (continued)

Father teaching: Family prayer.

Father teaching: Through Family Home Evening.

Father teaching: Taking or having Mom take us to Church every week.

Father teaching: Father on stand during worship service.

Father/Teenage Years: sitting in the back of church Dad the Bishop called us to repentance "you youth in the back, if you can't be quiet, you need to go sit with your parents" from the pulpit.

Father teaching: Taught church doctrines and principles and "bore his testimony of the gospel" in seminary. in Priest's quorum.

Father/Teenage years: Glad Dad was his Bishop.

Don't want to tell everything to your bishop/father.

Not ashamed of father's religious title, but not open with friends about church and father's role.

Relationship with dad a lot closer now as an adult.

Relationship is now more a friend basis. instead of talking father to son.

We share and talk a lot easier. Our relationship has changed quite a bit over 25 years.

Dad was kind of shocked when I asked him to go help me enroll at Chiropractic college.

Dad was more than willing to do anything we wanted him to do.

The major force for going chiropractic wasn't love of the profession, it was who I was going to get to work with.

Early days on the job, not a lot of patients, so I'd talk with Grandpa, hear his stories of both Church and Chiropractic experiences.

Great stories--Grandpa's daughters got them written down and on film.

That's the major driving force of. of you know, the profession I'm in now is just being with Dad and Grandpa.

Early Years in the chiropractic, didn't feel like it was my right to come in and be made a partner right off.

Early Years I took on more responsibilities to run the business.

Grandpa did all reports and finances and so that's the role I kind of took over.

We were disciplined forcefully sometimes.

Other times less so, the forgotten whipping story.

He'd forgotten he'd told me to go in there [in bathroom to await whipping].

When he finally came in he figured that was discipline enough.

Statements regarding own fathering experience

You become like your father.

I'm busy like my father trying to make things meet.

My children may say I get upset sometimes [when comparing father to grandfather] when I'm trying to teach them something.
Phil's Significant Statements

Statements regarding own fathering experience (continued)

Father teaching: The way I'm teaching my children is, you can't separate religion and family, it's all one and the same.

All of us are fathers in training until you finally get the first child.

Until you finally get the first child you don't know what your going to do anyway (laughing).

You try to go the way you saw, the example of your own father.

The example of your father is the biggest influence.

Teachings and principles of the Church very important. had influence on fathering.

We felt like discipline was very important.

My own opinion is that it's [lack of discipline] the biggest problem in the world today.

There is no discipline and everything has gotten too lenient.

I feel like some people might think that we abuse our children, but every once in a while laying on of hands is important.

Discipline used to get their attention, and we never beat our kids, but we did get their attention.

And when they get older, I don't think we spanked out kids after they're age 8 you just think of other ways to get to them.

Feeling the gospel in your life, knowing the love that's there influences how the children turn out.

Anyone who becomes a father takes on that major responsibility, and it's kind of a heavy burden to teach that [about the gospel, its influence].

Of course the older children say you were more lenient with the younger ones than you were with me.

Perhaps, you know, we're learning.

First birth was a choice experience. The first one's always special.

First born, a daughter, born with a strong will.

Put a lot of responsibilities on her. I think it helped shape her character.

As a older student she made up her mind she was going to be valedictorian and she did it.

Even when faced with some adversity, a blood clot in her senior year, she was still determined she was going to do it.

Watching daughter work through and maintain determination made this a special time.

We were able to spend some time with her. [from daughter's interview, Phil as father, spent extensive time with her, built a stronger relationship with her]

I guess all of us [fathers?] don't take enough time with our kids. But you always try to take more. Do more with them.

Children are all different, everyone is a different individual they all have different problems, different ways of doing things.

Witnessing those differences, working with them is a growing experience in itself.

Discipline used to get their attention, and we never beat our kids, but we did get their attention.
Phil's Significant Statements

Statements regarding own fathering experience (continued)

What works for one child is not going to work for another one.

That fathering responsibility is hard at first. I'm not too sure whether it gets any easier the more you have.

It's just a matter of you know, keepin' urging them, telling them what they need to do. Just keep praying they'll do it. Things happen, you just go to plan B.

You just find ways of spending time with the kids. You know, it's good to spend as much time as you can it's just a matter of making it. Doing more than one thing at one time it's O.K. too.

Time with family: vacations were primarily to family reunions where we get to spend some time together.

Never had the opportunity of really taking the kids and do a lot of hunting. There've been a couple times, they've enjoyed it. Just a few times.

Try to spend as much time with their extra-curricular activities. One daughter played flute in marching band, so we'd go over at half-time of football games, it was the big event.

Got to hear one daughter's talent for flute on a recent Father's Day. It was good to be able to hear her play the flute again.

Another daughter played trumpet (trumpet was mine from Jr. High) and was also on the dance team.

We can't really say that we did anything [in regards to children's excellence in extra-curricular activities].

We support our children in everything. We told them we would support them in anything they did. We'd go all out and do everything we could for them to accomplish it.

We want them to do the best they can do in everything.

Sometimes a child would come and say I want to quit this. I'd say No, we don't quit and you said you're going to do this, you're going to do it.

If at the end of the year you decide you're not going to do it anymore that's fine, but you don't quit in the middle of the year.

And I feel like that's the main thing we've done, is to support the maximum effort and teach them that they needed to do the best they could do in whatever they're doing.

Whether it's playing chess or whether it's playing football. You do the best you can. I think that helps install in them the values that they need.

I was never disappointed in my daughters but we always wanted to have a son.

I've never loved one [child] more than the other.

I guess a father or a parent lives some of the things they weren't able to do through the lives of their children.

As a father I've always wanted our children to have the best that we could give em'.

Going back to discipline and wanting your children to live in the world that they're in today, I felt the need to instill in them the necessity of work.

The story of the kid's cars and how they work for them.

If you want to buy a car you have to do the same thing there, you have to make the payments. I feel like that's part of their development.

They need to learn that life's no gimme. I feel like they, it's life, and if you don't feel it now, you're going to feel it later.
Phil's Significant Statements

Statements regarding own fathering experience (continued)

I mean that's it, and whatever you need in order to fulfill that, we're behind you. I feel like they, that's a big part for them.

It's better to learn now how to take care of things than it is later when you have to come back and say help.

So I kinda grew up kinda thrifty and didn't, you know go all out and didn't want to buy a whole lot of different things 'cause I knew that it wasn't there for me to get.

They all have different personalities. I guess as a father, I'm really happy on how they turned out.

I mean they're good kids. They know the gospel, they know the direction they need to be going in and we're glad for that direction that they're doing.

[After discussing the homesickness of one daughter] Crazy experiences, but they're all growing experiences.

We never, never know until it's all over with huh? Uh, it's been fun, mean I wouldn't trade it for anything else.

You know it's definitely a thing I feel like we need to be doing.

I think the major portion of this world is lacking. I'm not saying I do everything right, probably the thing I lack the most is spending more time with them.

It's hard to find the time, extra time to enjoy it--so I try to make the best of what we've got. I feel like the children have dealt with that ok. We enjoy the times that we are together so that's important.

Like I say, it's supporting them in whatever they're doing that's important to them. I think that's a big part of it.

I've seen in all of our children, as long as you agree with and can say "this is what I'm going to do, are you going to support me?", and say yeah.

The rewards of fatherhood is just seeing the results. Sometimes it gets emotional, but seeing your children lift themselves up and make the best of themselves is really gratifying.

Not only for themselves but also being able to lift others up through what they do. As they were given more responsibility as presidents of their classes, quorums, and seeing what they did with that.

Being able to hear other's comments about them and their participation makes you that much happier about what you've been able to do.

Just keep pluggin' and keep trying to figure out the right things.

Statements regarding others influence on fathering

Wives have that tendency of guiding us in the right direction many times. They see a bigger picture than we do.

Sometimes we [as fathers] become narrow minded or tunnel vision, that's what it is, not narrow minded, tunnel vision.

I think she's the other source, besides Dad and learning from him and Mom. My wife has to be the next one. She's a great mother.

She has a lot of intuition and those motherly instincts. Whenever she says she feels something, I believe her. I said, "well that must be right then."

So many things have come about the way that she said they would. After a few years you start listening.

The things that he [my father-in-law] said and a lot of his way of doing things didn't match the way I thought. So what he said, I just kind of let blow over. I really didn't pick anything up on him.
Phil's Significant Statements

Statements regarding grandfather

Grandpa always very quiet.

Grandpa didn't say a lot.

When Grandpa did speak it was very profound, it was intended to be said.

Remembers Grandpa being angry only once or twice when grandchildren were giving Grandma a hard time.

He defended her position.

Things just kind of roll over. There's a lot of Grandpa in Dad.

Grandpa and Dad very spiritual. "That's the big thing."

Grandpa and Dad both were wanting to do what the Lord wants them do.

Grandpa and Dad were wanting to help everybody no matter what.
## Significant Statements Summarized from Sandra Little’s Interview (daughter of Phil and granddaughter of John)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sandra’s Significant Statements</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Statements regarding her father</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dad's learned some of his father and grandfather's characteristics, i.e., patience and learning not to lose his patience.</td>
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<tr>
<td>When I was little Dad would tell us that was one his goals for the year was not to lose his temper.</td>
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<tr>
<td>With six kids it's kind of hard not to lose temper no matter how patient you are.</td>
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<tr>
<td>I am very close to my Dad. A lot more closer to my Dad than my Mom.</td>
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<tr>
<td>I use my Dad as the person I would confide in.</td>
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<tr>
<td>My Dad always supported me.</td>
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<tr>
<td>He was never telling me what I should or shouldn't do in terms of school, college, major, extracurricular. It was, &quot;what were my interests?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He was who I went to when I felt sick. I don't think I ever remember going to my Mom.</td>
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<tr>
<td>I just felt more comfortable with him and he being a doctor, that was a side of him that was very natural in taking care of us.</td>
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<tr>
<td>The only disagreement with Dad was my boyfriend who six years later became my husband.</td>
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<tr>
<td>I guess Dad thought I could do better or I needed to keep looking cause I started to date my husband when I was sixteen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once we got engaged he fully supported us. He was the person who really put the wedding together and helped me get everything ready for it.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Once I made a decision he was there to support me one hundred percent.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Work always took a priority over vacations, holidays, or whatever.</td>
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<tr>
<td>In the last few years he's taken off more days I think than ever.</td>
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<tr>
<td>He worked on Christmas eve until six and then come and be with family through Christmas and then back to work the day after.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hard to understand when we were little that people were sick and they need help, they just don't take a break for the holidays.</td>
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<tr>
<td>He's a very wonderful, very good person. Really a hard worker.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I've learned from him that if I commit to doing something, there's not a question about it. It's not if I don't feel like doing it anymore.</td>
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<tr>
<td>He's become very compassionate person.</td>
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<tr>
<td>He was a bishop for seven or eight years, all through my teenage years.</td>
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<tr>
<td>His job as bishop was to help people and to not judge them but to give them advice on how they can make their lives better. That carried over into our family.</td>
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<tr>
<td>During the time as bishop is really when he became more even tempered and a very good listener.</td>
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Sandra’s Significant Statements

Statements regarding her father (continued)

He could understand problems and where you were coming from without being judgmental. So he became somebody that I felt very confident in confiding in, but I knew it wasn't going to go anywhere.

It was just something that we talked about and it stayed there and it didn't leave that room.

I never really went through a rebellious stage where I tried to defy anything he said.

I really respected him and I wanted him to be proud of me and so I was always doing what I thought would be best and he helped me, because he didn't demand it or tell me exactly what I was going to do.

It became something that I did because I wanted to do it. I put myself through school and that was something I wanted to do and my grades were always good not because they had to be, um because my dad would get upset, but because it was something I had pride in and I learned that from him.

Dad took care of me during my weird health problems in my senior year of high school.

During one illness, he put a TV in my room so my boyfriend/future husband and I could watch together.

Permitted my boyfriend in my bedroom which was the only time he was in my bedroom before we were married because that was not allowed.

Dad looked past that, rules still had meaning, but on his own without me asking for it.

Blood clot and in the hospital ten days Dad would come straight from work and stayed with me every night.

I've seen his respect for me grow a lot in that he doesn't question what I do.

He always has supported me and he actually helped me make my decision of what job offer I was going to take when I graduated...and helped put things in perspective.

We don't get to see each other as much but when we talk on the phone it's just like we've been seeing each other every week.

A father is somebody who guides and advises.

There are certain times when he can see the big picture a lot of times that children can't.

Each of my brothers and sisters had a different personality and a different relationship with my dad.

He hasn't taken a stand that it's just their life and they can screw it up, he's always stepped in but he did it in a loving manner and tried to persuade the person instead of demand that they change.

He's had to be stronger on some of the children than others but it was something that he learned I think from church. that telling people what to do doesn't make it happen.

It's by helping them understand the reasons and helping them want to do it is what helps keep them on the right path.

He's a lot more playful with my brothers. I don't know if it's just a guy thing.

I still think like every oldest child that the youngest ones have it easier. It seems like I had to fight for everything.

So that was something I remember he always took care of me and he was there when I needed him.

Our relationship hasn't changed a lot since I was in high school.
Sandra’s Significant Statements

Statements regarding her father (continued)

I'll take a lot of things that to be a parent are characteristics from my dad. I've always looked to him as my example and even though there's differences between mothers and fathers there's a lot of things that are the same and that is something that I'll take from him. I think this has just made me realize how much I am like him.

A lot of my characteristics are directly from him and he has been a wonderful dad to me.

He's always been there and there's never been a question...especially when I hear stories about other people's lives.

I listen to dad's at the kid's baseball or football games. Some of them are just so demanding and the kids just want to be perfect just for their dad. It's not a loving type of thing, it's more to make sure I don't get yelled at when I get home.

I've never had that kind of experience with my dad. And I'm very grateful for that opportunity to be so close to him...and to have his respect without having to be perfect.

Statements about her grandfather

Grandpa on mother's side live in California, he loved to tease and I'm not one to enjoy teasing.

One time I locked myself in the bathroom 'cause he was teasing me.

I don't have many experiences with him.

Grandfather on father's side a patient person.

Grandfather does speak out and tell the kids they're being too loud or they need to quit running around.

Favorite thing to do with him would be to go to University football games. My love for football came from him.

I've never seen my father and grandfather argue in their working relationship. Very hard to do to not have an argument.

Statements about great-grandfather

Sunday dinner with great-grandfather every Sunday, so I got to see them throughout childhood.

Great-grandfather was very gentle, very patient and loving person.

Great-grandfather had everyone's respect.

Every time he talked to you he didn't need to command, he just persuaded and in a loving way.

He was always aware of everything around him and always trying to help people.

Picking up flower-tree mess on the lawn, as we were leaving, great-grandfather gave me a quarter and thanked me for picking up his lawn. I remember that.

I got lots of chiropractic adjustments from great-grandpa. He was really, really gentle. He could adjust little babies and they wouldn't cry.

Statements about her spouse's future fathering

One thing I have to remember is that I can't compare my husband to my dad right now.

A lot of times I have to think back to the times that we were little and realize that he's [Dad] grown a lot. He got to be a better father as he went and I can't expect perfection from Bill from the very start.
Sandra’s Significant Statements

*Statements about her spouse’s future fathering (continued)*

That's something just in our relationship that I've had to keep in mind. I think being a father is the exact same way.

One thing that helps me not worry about it is that my husband's dad is very patient with lots of humor, and he likes to be a fun person to be around and so I think if Bill is like either one of his parents, that he's going to be a great father.
### Significant Statements Summarized from Susan Lopez's Interview (daughter of John)

#### Susan’s Significant Statements

**Statements regarding her father**

- He was gone a lot, between work and church callings.
- When he told you to do something he expected it to be done.
- There were no excuses, no reasons why you didn’t do it.
- It was always expected to do whatever he wanted you to do and there was never a well you know I don’t want to do that. There was never that kind of thing in our family. You just did it, whatever it was.
- He was firm but likeable.
- He had a subtle sense of humor. And every once in a while you’ll get him to tell a joke or something, but his humor is usually subtle.
- All of the sudden he might surprise you one time by coming out and making you laugh at something.
- Raising a family with certain values and standards he was a very good example of what we should do in order to do the right things as far the gospel goes or life goes, family life goes.
- I always wondered why my parents were so straight in the gospel.
- It always seemed like there was never any grey areas.
- Always wondered why in the world were they like that when I was growing up. And now I can appreciate it. (chuckles)

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- I can’t really think of him telling us that this is what you should do and this is what you’re going to do.
- He taught us what we should do and then we were expected to do it.
- When you went to him talk about something you were thinking about doing he always would just kind of laugh to himself or chuckle to himself and he would say “well if you really think you should do that, you go ahead.”
- That made you think well, should I really go ahead and do what I was thinking of doing.
- I can’t really remember him either preaching at us or telling us what to do.
- His parents were so ingrained in the church that you know the real advice came from learning the gospel and going to church.
- Father’s advice: “If a person’s living the gospel then they won’t have any problems.”
- When he was trying to give advice he would always bring it back to the gospel.
- When my brothers were deciding jobs and careers he basically tells ‘em, puts his two cents in what he thinks about things and then lets them decide on their own what they’re going to do.
- He’s never been a real pushy man or a controller I guess.
- Within these boundaries you can make your own choices.
**Statements regarding her father (continued)**

When I was real little, we lived on a farm. Everybody had their chores. The boys milked the cows. I got the eggs from the chicken coop and you know we all had our chores and I was expected to do my jobs just like they were expected to do theirs.

[On the beach trips] there was nothing else to interfere with that time. It was just our family time. I just enjoyed having him there.

We didn't see him much at night. He worked long hours during the week.

He would work till about 7:30. We would eat dinner at 7:30. We'd have maybe an hour with him before we'd go to bed.

The New Year's Eve story: Dad came early in the evening looking for his daughter. Somebody came up and said, "some older guy is out there asking for you." He was out in the lobby.

Dad said, "I'll pick you up at twelve." and then finally he said "O.K. I'll pick you up at two and that's it, if you're not here I'll come looking for you, in every room." (chuckle) I said "O.K."

It was good to know, well afterwards, after I thought about it (chuckle) he thought that much of me to come after me to find out where I was. That he would actually do that just to make sure I was safe. Afterwards I mean.

Another time: The bar story. I called and said I'll be home you know, around one or two or something. Well three o'clock came around. I wasn't home so my dad went out looking for me.

But I got home before he found me. It made me feel good that he thought enough of me to go looking for me, even though I did something I shouldn't have done.

**Marriage of non-hispanic Susan to hispanic Thomas--Father was very apprehensive at first.**

Church teachings, church leaders cautioned against marrying outside culture because of the strain it can put on marriages.

**Thomas:** The night we went to talk to him saying we were getting married. Louise was cheering, "yes, this is great" and John said "I really like some time to think about it."

**Thomas:** He even said "I have nothing against you, he said "but I really want to spend some time personally and think about this solemnly...

**Susan:** He said, "I'll let you know."

**Thomas:** He called the next day and said he supported it fully.

**Thomas:** I'm sure he talked with his dad which was a big mentor in his life.

**Susan:** It was kind of tense that night.

My mom, usually she'll put her two cents worth in but once Dad says, he usually has the last word. And she usually just doesn't, she just kind of lets him think about whatever he's going to do.

**Dad** was really tense, because my grandparents, oh, my grandmother was almost sick because we were going to get married.

The relationships [between father and daughter and between father and son-in-law] have been fine since we got married.

**Saturdays** was our work day, he would work half a day and then he would come home and we would do the yard. We would cut the lawn together.

The times we had the most fun was when we would go to the beach one or two days. I really enjoyed that time together with my dad.
Susan's Significant Statements

Statements regarding her father (continued)

There's a closeness there with Dad, closer that it was when I was teenager.

It seems like they also need that closeness, more loving, more attention.

It seemed like my dad, you know he, was a good church member, a good Priesthood holder, he knew how he wanted his kids to be raised and what they should be doing according to the gospel. And that's what I wanted too.

Things opposite of my father that I liked in Thomas, in Thomas' family they were raising a lot affection for each other, hugging, kissing, touching.

In my family we hardly did any of that. My mom would give me a kiss at night when I went to bed but I don't remember my dad showing that much affection to me when I was growing up.

He kind of does [show affection] in his own way, he would always give me these funny kisses, not every night but ever once in a while he would give me these funny kisses.

Nothing just kind of normal, a normal kiss, showing affection.

Dad wants more hugs now. I've enjoyed that, showing more affection in the home and toward each other.

We weren't a very emotional family. I was raised if something happened and I started crying Dad would tell me, "Why are you crying, there's nothing to cry about, so you don't need to cry" that sort of thing.

I think we've gotten closer as I've gotten older.

I can see more of where they were coming from as parents and now we're parents and I think I appreciate them more (laugh) now and what they went through.

Brothers' relationship with Dad: Phil is closer because besides being family they're tied in business. Phil is probably closer because the other two lived further away.

I think a father is someone who loves their children and guides them and tries to set a standard in life for them so that they can reach for that which will help them become better people and even better parents themselves to their children.

I know there's all different kinds of fathers.

I think father's are unique in one way that they'd do anything for their children like going out to search for their child at night.

If it was going to help protect them or help get them out of trouble or help them become a better person, they'd do anything they can to help their children, guide them, or make sure they're ok.

He does a really good imitation of a dying cockroach.

I think the last time he did that was at a family reunion. Somebody said something about it and he did it. When I think of memorable experiences that's what I think of.

He did an oration, from high school speech class, he could still remember it. He, forgot what the title was, but his bible was the yellow pages from the phone book and he, what was it? It's just really funny and by the end you're just laughing. You're in stitches it's so funny.

He wanted to be a dairy farmer, but he couldn't get it together, something was always out of place and so he never got a dairy farm.

He would have liked to have been, spent his days with the cows instead of having to go into town working at the office all day. But he, he likes the farm. He would like to have a farm somewhere and sit on the front porch (chuckles) listening to the cows moo.
Susan's Significant Statements

Statements regarding her husband as a father

What I really liked [in Thomas as a potential father to my children] was that he was a strong priesthood holder and strong member of the Church.

I looked, I wanted that. I saw my Dad as that. I wanted that for my husband.

I wanted my husband to be a good example to the kids, to know where he fit in life.

I wanted my husband to know what his kids were supposed to do and how he was supposed to raise his kids. I wanted that.

I thought about how Thomas would be as a father before we got married, when we were thinking about getting married.

I knew we would never go hungry. It didn't matter whether we were rich or poor. But I knew we would never go hungry, because he's a go-getter.

He would do anything to make sure his family had food on the table.

I knew he had a testimony.

I knew he was good with kids, he was kind to other children that were around, nieces and nephews.

He wanted children. Now-a-days some people don't want kids at all, but I knew he wanted children.

I knew he wanted to raise them in the Church.

I knew he would be a good guide for them, a good example.

These different things had a lot to do with whether I would marry him or not.

My sons are learning from their Dad how to have fun. Thomas does know how to have fun. Thomas has a good sense of humor.

My sons know [from their father] that there's a time to have fun, a time to work, there's a time to do Church things.

My sons are learning just from watching their Dad how he treats his mother, he calls his mother everyday.

Ever since his Dad died a few years ago he calls his mother almost every night to see how she's doing, see if she needs anything.

He's just very attentive, especially when he's with her too.

My sons are learning just by watching. He treats me very well, so I can expect them to treat their own wives really well.

The way he talks to me or does something special, they're always watching.

I think they're going to be good fathers, just by watching him.

Statements regarding the influence of others on fathering

I think with wives you see a lot of success if the wives support the husband or not in whatever it is. Whether it's teaching the kids or disciplining the kids or rules they're setting up or whatever it is, if they're supporting their husbands their family relationships will be a lot better.

If the mother's supports the father they'd be more unified in the family. He'll be able to do his job better as a father.

If you're really involved in living your religion it's a part of your family. It becomes a part of your life and therefore a part of your everyday family life.

A good Priesthood holder and having strong testimonies is important when you think about what our beliefs are as far as having our family with us forever.
Susan's Significant Statements

Statements regarding the influence of others on fathering (continued)

These father attributes aren't just going to be here, remain with us here on earth, but they're going to be with us in the eternities.

It doesn't end here it just keeps going on and building on that and more and more. I guess that's why it's important.

Statements regarding grandfather

My Dad and grandfather were quite a bit a like.

Grandfather- he's quiet. he wouldn't go out of his way to start a conversation with anybody.

Grandfather had a subtle sense of humor just like my dad. It would come out every once in a while.

Grandfather kept busy at work. He worked until he was 80, that's when he retired.

Grandfather always had Church callings that kept him busy too.

Grandfather was patriarch for a long time. He was a very dedicated church member.

He gave a lot of patriarchal blessings and he would fast for every blessing, sometimes several times a week. It was just something he wanted to do.

Grandfather was very dedicated to the Lord and to the Church.

Grandfather was very loving. He loved to have his grandkids around.

Grandfather was very loving towards my Grandma and those last few years sometimes she didn't even know who he was.

He went to the nursing home everyday to visit her, talk, and just sit there or fall asleep by her or feed her something. He was a very dedicated husband.

They would try to attend all the grandkids special events, weddings or baptisms they could. They were real involved with their kids and their grandkids.

Sunday dinner at grandparents home. So we saw them at least once a week usually.
Table E.7

Significant Statements Summarized from Thomas Lopez's Interview (spouse of Susan, son of Hector Lopez)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements regarding his father</th>
<th>Thomas' Significant Statements</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I was raised that crying was not accepted. That was not a mean thing, we're a very Hispanic family.</td>
<td>I'd always spend as much time as I could with him and a lot of people thought my dad was my grandfather because he was so old.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dad was accepted by the German community fairly well here in the different areas that he would go to. He talked about the dances that he would go to.</td>
<td>When I was ten years old, let's just say that was thirty years ago, he was already fifty-something years old. People thought he was my grandfather. They'd have baseball games and say, &quot;Hey, is that your grandfather?&quot; And I'd say, &quot;Yeah, that's my grandpa.&quot; (laughter) He'd get real mad and so forth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He was very friendly and he was a friend to everybody and didn't like having any enemies at all.</td>
<td>We spent a lot of time with him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He avoided conflict at all cost and was sometimes a little bit wishy-washy, but I think that was as he was getting older, he got wishy-washy.</td>
<td>He tried to get to most of my baseball games. I'd say he went to about half of them which was always a lot of fun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior to that he wasn't as wishy-washy.</td>
<td>My brother went to Europe on his mission, I went to South America. Parents were very supportive. Dad was very proud that his kids, my Dad was proud that we stood up for something that we believed in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I never saw my dad do a dishonest thing until one time and I think he's never going to live it down and you know he just felt so terrible.</td>
<td>We were brave enough to stand up to him. He and I would say, &quot;Hey.&quot; and we showed him how we would be honorable to him by doing what we believed, which, he was proud of that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>But afterwards he just kind of spent so much time telling, explaining to me why I shouldn't have done what he just did.</td>
<td>Pride, proud in a good sense, appreciating what his kids were doing with their lives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's sad that's the one thing I remember and other than that he just had impeccable integrity. He just had that one thing you know that he did and...</td>
<td>Dad was raised in a very conservative way where he thought that buying a brand-new car was not a good idea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My dad was a work-a-holic, he had to be working constantly.</td>
<td>He would always worry, constant worrier. He'd ask me, &quot;How's business going?&quot; He'd go, &quot;Gosh, you're in trouble why don't you get a job,&quot; you know. (laughter).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He had his two sons in the middle of the family and we'd always go just about everywhere with him. And sometime we'd take my little sister.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thomas' Significant Statements

**Statements regarding his father (continued).**

My dad worked for the same company for fifty-something years. Loved every minute of it.

Susan: He was always right about people. He could discern how people really were.

I remember him being, he tried to be a disciplinarian.

The 100 keys on the key ring in the garage story.

He had, in his way, the spirit of discernment, when it came to people. My Dad was always there, very consistent.

He'd meet somebody, he'd size them up real quick. Not judgmental like, but if he felt, he'd kind of pull you aside and say, "I really don't think you oughta hang around this person."

In one case, I remember my sister, he forbade her from seeing this family, ever again, and there ended up being some pretty major problems. I don't know if they ever recovered, but he didn't want her to be a part of it.

We'd always have birthday parties and he was always there.

We'd always kiss goodnight, even when I was a teenager. I'd always kiss him goodnight and I was smelling his rough evening beard and his aftershave that he had on.

The fishing pond story.

And then my Dad, when he was going to retire, he'd say, "You know, son, when we retire, you know we are just gonna hunt and fish and do all those things." Even I knew that was just a dream.

I remember him having to borrow money sometimes when we needed something.

Like for example, my sister needed a certain thing, and I guess credit cards weren't popular back then, he didn't believe in going into debt. But he would, he'd say, "I can go to the plant, and I can borrow money from someone."

What they did was they sent us to a private school, first through eighth grade, which was pretty expensive, but they felt that we would be further in our education and actually around a different type of kid. It really was true, because in high school, when I went to a public school, I was just in shock.

I always felt, I had kind of a different childhood, because I felt a sense of obligation to him because he was older not to really upset him.

He had a heart attack when he was fifty and which was back when we were little and we really, it really didn't come to mind, but my Mom would always remind me, "Now don't make your Dad upset, 'cause you don't want to..."

He expected us to work, always work. Come Saturday morning he would get the lawn mower right next to our bedroom and start it right up, ROWWWWRR. And Mom's saying, "Your Dad's out there cutting the grass, you should be doing it." So we'd get up and cut the grass (laughter).

Constantly had something going on pouring cement, breaking down something, building something, doing something, always, always work.

He trusted us quite a bit, more so than most parents, a matter of fact, he trusted us so much, you know I felt an obligation never to do anything wrong, because of how much trusted me.

I just noticed getting into the teen years. I noticed him getting older and then notice, not that I felt sorry for him, but more an obligation to grow up.
Thomas' Significant Statements

**Statements regarding his father (continued)**

I remember when I was thirteen I felt bad if they would give me something, like, for example a Christmas present or a birthday present. I would feel I should own it on my own. And I never expected anything, nor did I ever ask for anything.

My Dad was never not there on Friday or Saturday night.

I remember as a kid always sitting outside at night and rocking, not watching TV.

I find myself being impatient. Especially since I work and I'm away from the home and when I come back it's kinda like all the sudden I've got to get used to being around my home.

Sitting in the rocking chairs, sitting next to Dad or on Dad's lap, having nice conversations.

My Dad was a constant smoker til the day he died.

Dad loved to tell stories about his youth, other things in his life.

Dad and "Lopez Pride" which kept him from making peace with his sisters. Problem over a family house, who paid for what, etc.

On his deathbed he's just trying to unite everybody.

My brother picked up on the "Lopez Pride." he hardly talks to my sisters. He married someone who doesn't want to be a part of the family.

This hurt Dad quite a bit. He is so pained by the whole thing and he would blame the Church sometime.

My dad had an accordion personality you know he would just kind of, he would kinda conform into whoever he was talking to.

**Statements regarding his own fathering**

Teaching children to work--"At least one bucket of rocks". Why do we have to do this, because my Dad made me.

Dad was impatient sometimes and sometime I find myself being impatient.

And so, also the issue of work Whenever I came home I was thinking boys should be working you know and I, I feel a real big obligation to teach them to be workers because if not, you know, they'll be behind the eight ball, big time.

I tend to be as friendly as him sometimes. I like being friendly.

Fathering is being a pillar, just standing there. Not quite a pillar of greatness or anything like that, but just kind of a pillar of steadfastness, just say look this is the way its going to be.

Fathering is being a leader in your home and just saying sometimes hard decisions that have to be made.

Fathering is being a provider.

Fathering is being a good example, not talking it but really living the gospel, helping your kids really see your example.

Fathering is sitting with your son in priesthood meeting.

A big part of fathering is teaching my sons to work.

Fathering is teaching them how to be respecters of women, being a real gentleman.

Fatherhood is just spending time with the kids. There's really very little we can actually do, but there's a lot we can just by spending time with them.
Thomas' Significant Statements

*Statements regarding his own fathering (continued)*

Preparation during the first pregnancy and it never dawned on me that we were going to have a baby. I knew Susan was pregnant and I knew other people were having babies, but I never knew we were going to have a baby until we came home.

Taking care of second son because of the difficulty of wife's recovery resulted in a stronger bond or connection with that son.

The love of a father comes when sitting on the porch by his Dad. I started thinking, "If I love my son that much, Dad loves me that much."

He's always been extremely kind and he's not changed. He hasn't gotten kinder or less kind.

He's always been very complimentary.

Time together with children in sport.

Sorry, you can't quit, that's the rules.

Most of our weekends center around sports, except Sunday's. The Lopez's will not be there on Sunday.

He doesn't even think about playing on Sunday cause there's not even a chance. Not even a possibility.

*Statements regarding his father-in-law*

John really, has a gift of the spirit, being able to, when he expresses his feelings on the gospel you know, he touches people. He's always been that way.

When I need advice he's very objective for me.

He likes me asking him questions, it's important.

If something is wrong he's very quick to point it out, he does it in a loving way.

Like that scripture [LDS scripture] love unfeigned. tenderness, kindness, love unfeigned. He portrays that.

Father-in-law's humor right before wedding in Salt Lake. I think part of them, they go out of their way to let me know how much they love me because they think maybe at the very beginning when they even questioned you know that I should be with Susan.

*Statements regarding other influences on fathering*

As we got married we realized that we really didn't have the same culture.

(laugh)

It wasn't ever anything that would cause any disharmony, but you know it was just kind of, we realized that our families were very unique.

My family at the dinner table everybody has a conversation at the same time.

It's which one do you want to participate in. "auuuuuu" and it's great.

Her family is fun too, but it's a little more solemn.

Cultural difference with kissing. Hispanic culture you kiss everyone. Susan's family culture is more reserved.
FOOTNOTES


2. From the style guide at The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints official website (www.lds.org) comes this pertinent information: “When writing about the Church, please follow these guidelines: In the first reference, the full name of the Church is preferred: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Please avoid the use of ‘Mormon Church,’ ‘LDS Church,’ or ‘the Church of the Latter-day Saints.’ When a shortened reference is needed, the terms ‘the Church’ or ‘the Church of Jesus Christ’ are encouraged. When referring to Church members, the term ‘Latter-day Saints’ is preferred, though ‘Mormons’ is acceptable” (The Church of Jesus Christ, 2001).


4. Young Latter-Day Saint males, primarily ages 16-18, are ordained priests and oversee the weekly sacrament or communion services. The priests living within a geographical boundary of the ward belong to a “quorum” or group, who meet weekly as part of Sunday instructional classes. See Encyclopedia of Mormonism entry for Priest (Hollist, 1992, p. 1132) to obtain more information.
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(July 2001)

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