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## Introduction

# GLOBALIZED FATHERHOOD

## EMERGENT FORMS AND POSSIBILITIES IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

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## Introduction

One of the key insights of 1970s second-wave Western feminism was that paternal participation in childrearing was necessary for gender equity (Chodorow 1999). Yet, even today, there persists a widely held (although largely untested) assumption in feminist, social science, population policy, and lay circles that men remain disinterested and disengaged in matters of human reproduction, childrearing, and the intimate domains of fatherhood and family life.

Is this true? Are men really so removed from the realms of reproduction and fatherhood? In *Reconceiving the Second Sex: Men, Masculinity, and Reproduction*, Marcia C. Inhorn and a group of Danish colleagues (Inhorn et al. 2009) challenged this assumption, drawing inspiration from Simone de Beauvoir's (1949 [2011]) classic feminist treatise, *The Second Sex*. Arguing that men have been relegated as "the second sex" in the scholarship on reproduction, Inhorn and colleagues issued a call to arms to bring men back into the reproductive imaginary as progenitors, partners, decision makers, lovers,

nurturers, fathers, and sentient human beings. Men not only contribute their gametes to human procreation, but are often heavily involved and invested in most aspects of the reproductive process, from impregnation to parenting. Furthermore, men have their own reproductive issues and concerns, which may be connected to, but also separate from, women's reproductive health and well-being. Thus, men need to be reconceived as reproductive in their own right, and men's reproductive "rights" need to be acknowledged along with women's.

The present volume is intended to further this first volume's aims by focusing attention on men *as fathers*. A number of volumes—including Faye Ginsburg and Rayna Rapp's (1995) seminal volume, *Conceiving the New World Order: The Global Politics of Reproduction*, Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Hochschild's (2004) *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*, and Wendy Chavkin and JaneMaree Maher's (2010) more recent volume, *The Globalization of Motherhood: Deconstructions and Reconstructions of Biology and Care*—explore new versions and new vicissitudes of motherhood around the globe, including the ways in which mothers in the Global North depend upon the mother-care of women from the Global South. However, nothing comparable has ever been published about fatherhood in the era of globalization. Indeed, to our knowledge, this is the first volume devoted mainly to social science research on fatherhood outside of the West. It includes new work by anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists, and geographers on fatherhood in a wide variety of global locations, ranging from Peru to India to Vietnam. It also offers an entirely new conceptual vocabulary through which to understand men's experiences and expectations of fatherhood at the dawn of the twenty-first century.

### Fatherhood: The State of the Art

This is not to say that fatherhood and its global variations have been entirely absent from the scholarly imagination. In fact, the literature on fatherhood has been growing and evolving in recent decades, as we will describe. However, this research is neither diverse nor comprehensive, particularly when compared to the research on women as mothers and caretakers. Furthermore, fathers who have been studied fall largely into two categories: namely, white, American, middle-class men in monogamous marriages, who are the biological fathers of children with whom they live, and, in contrast, men who

have sired biological children but have failed to enact the role of fatherhood for the most part. Other forms of "unconventional" fatherhood have been largely ignored. These would include different manifestations of paternity among adoptive fathers, non-biological fathers, non-resident fathers, non-white fathers, mentally disabled fathers, economically disadvantaged fathers, homosexual fathers, and unmarried/separated fathers, including their enactments of fatherhood in various regions of the world.

Fortunately, emerging research on fatherhood is beginning to include such nontraditional study populations. Much of this research is occurring within the three interrelated fields of developmental psychology, human development, and family studies. Topics now included in this growing body of research include the changing relationships between fathers and children; the role of fathers during the distinct stages of child development; adolescent fatherhood; the male single parent; cultural differences in father-child relationships; the ramifications of paternal absence; fathers of children with special needs; and the effects of divorce and custodial arrangements on paternal relationships with children. Particularly significant within this literature are a number of edited volumes by the renowned social and developmental psychologist, Michael E. Lamb. His books include *The Role of the Father in Child Development* (Lamb 1976), *Fatherhood and Family Policy* (Lamb and Sagi 1983), *The Father's Role: Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (Lamb 1987), and *Fathers in Cultural Context* (Shwalb, Shwalb, and Lamb 2013). The contributors to these volumes discuss the ways in which sociocultural influences across time, distinct trends within societies, and established social policies shape and influence notions of fatherhood and the men who enact these roles. These works provide innovative perspectives into the ways in which fatherhood and its many implications are negotiated in various diverse communities and societies.

Historians have also analyzed the ways in which notions of paternity have been socially constructed over time. In what is generally regarded as the first major historical analysis of fatherhood, Robert L. Griswold (1993) suggests that a variety of social and economic forces rooted in the Industrial Revolution generated a "new fatherhood" in the United States, in which men sought to develop more emotionally invested relationships with their children. Furthermore, he argues that this emergent manifestation of fatherhood not only stems from men's longing to be closer to their children, but also from their desire to validate their masculine utilitarian value within the changing family structure. However, Griswold's study focuses primarily

on white, middle-class, American men, and thus cannot be said to be representative of fathers from different social, racial/ethnic, cultural, and economic backgrounds within the United States.

An emerging corrective on minority fatherhood in America can be found in public health scholarship, which tends to rely heavily on large, national data sets. Focusing primarily on African-American men, various public health studies have been conducted on how notions of fatherhood in African-American communities can be employed as part of comprehensive HIV prevention strategies, primarily among heterosexual black men and within the context of American welfare policy (Frye and Bonner et al. 2012; Frye and Williams et al. 2012; Geva 2011). Much of this research focuses on non-resident African-American fathers, suggesting that the level of father involvement greatly decreases when a relationship between unmarried parents ends (Edin et al. 2009; Edin and Nelson 2013). Furthermore, these scholars argue that decreases in father involvement are greatest when children are younger. As a result, public health interventions to reconnect non-resident fathers with their adolescent children take on added importance in African-American communities, according to researchers (Caldwell et al. 2004).

Outside of America, development economists have been interested in fatherhood within the context of economic development processes, particularly the ways in which economic and cultural factors shape power hierarchies and resource allocation within the family unit. For example, P. J. W. Bartle (1978) suggests that urbanization, industrialization, and modernization in Ghana have, in many instances, resulted in the increasing subordination of wives and mothers, increasing men's power as fathers, husbands, and uncles. Some scholars explore the implications of different child preferences and the bargaining power of mothers versus fathers, including their effects on offspring. For example, Nancy Qian (2008) argues that in tea-growing agricultural communities in China, the different levels of bargaining power and relative preferences among mothers and fathers ultimately affect the survival rates and levels of educational attainment for both male and female offspring. These data indicate that increasing mothers' income has a positive effect on girls' survival rates and also increasing educational attainment for both boys and girls. However, increasing fathers' income decreases educational attainment for girls and has no effect on the level of educational attainment for boys.

Research in anthropology has differed from these other disciplines in its decidedly global scope across broader expanses of human his-

tory. Anthropological studies have demonstrated the many ways in which fathers contribute to raising their children, even though the level of paternal involvement appears to vary dramatically within and between cultures (Hewlett 1991). Biological anthropologists in particular have explored the origins of human fatherhood and paternal involvement from an evolutionary perspective (Gray and Anderson 2010). They have revealed cross-cultural differences in fertility patterns and the involvement of men as both fathers and stepfathers. They have also documented men's concerns over paternity (un)certainty, and how changes in male sexuality and testosterone levels are, in fact, attributable to men's roles as fathers (Bribiescas 2008).

From a somewhat different angle, cultural anthropologists have explored the ways in which the rights, duties, responsibilities, and statuses of fathers are socially constructed and determined, varying considerably across cultures. In recent years, important anthropological research has been conducted on fatherhood in the context of emergent masculinities (Inhorn 2012). For example, in his seminal volume, *The Meanings of Macho: Being a Man in Mexico City*, Matthew Gutmann (2006) explores fatherhood in a social location typically associated with machismo and other vilifying masculine stereotypes. Gutmann's ethnographic study of working-class Mexican men provides insight into the nuanced ways in which various cultural and economic transformations are also transforming the ways in which Mexican men engage in parenting and conceive of their role as fathers.

Turning to the United States, Nicholas Townsend's (2002) book, *Package Deal: Marriage, Work, and Fatherhood in Men's Lives*, takes an innovative ethnographic approach to examining gender and fatherhood within contemporary, middle-class American society. Through a feminist lens, Townsend argues that fatherhood is both an evolving institution and an experience, and he explores the ways in which men's acceptance (or rejection) of "dominant cultural values" influence how they negotiate their roles as fathers.

Several anthropologists have also been interested in men's participation in childbirth, both within and outside America. In *Birthing Fathers: The Transformation of Men in American Rites of Birth*, Richard Reed (2005) explores childbirth from the perspectives of fathers themselves, showing men's emerging desires to participate in birth rituals with their wives, despite ongoing constraints within the American hospital settings where most births take place. Similarly, in *Embodying Culture: Pregnancy in Japan and Israel*, medical anthropologist Tsipy Ivry (2009) highlights and questions men's near total exclusion from childbirth in Japan, as well as the tensions and con-

flicts she observes when Israeli men attempt to “share” the pregnancy and childbirth experiences of their wives. As she points out, paradoxically, men’s participation in childbirth may conflict with women’s best interests, especially when birth is highly medicalized and under the control of mostly male physicians.

Although certainly not a comprehensive review of all of the existing literature on fatherhood, this brief examination of major themes sheds light on the ways in which scholars from diverse disciplines are approaching fatherhood across space and time. To be truly comprehensive, the next generation of research on fatherhood must be interdisciplinary and global in nature. Understanding how men’s roles and identities as fathers are constructed, negotiated, and enacted is increasingly important in today’s world, with its pressing global concerns including economic insecurity, political violence, population movement, and fertility decline in many “aging” societies. As of now, much of the existing research still ignores the ways in which fatherhood is being transformed by cultural, social, political, and economic processes, many of which are global in nature. Yet, global forces are transforming not only fatherhood, but family structures as well. Thus, the chapters in this present volume are intended to interrogate the intersection of globalization and fatherhood, a topic that seems timely, even urgent, at this current moment in twenty-first-century history.

### Fatherhood: A New Vocabulary

Given the above, this volume is devoted to “globalized fatherhood,” a term that we use to highlight the globally emergent, transnationally inflected transformations in fathering and fatherhood in the twenty-first century. Namely, the convergence of widespread female employment and dramatic declines in birth rates worldwide, with the rise of unprecedented global movements of people, capital, and information, the new global hegemony of neoliberal economic policies, and the continuous invention and dissemination of a host of new reproductive technologies, have led to profound changes in—and new potentialities for—fatherhood across the globe. Whereas nations in the Global North face challenges surrounding declining fertility, aging populations, and shrinking labor markets, many nations in the Global South face challenges around under-employment, the consequent migration of male labor to other countries, and the loss of state institutions in the wake of neoliberal

privatization. These intersecting trends in the context of a rapidly globalizing world make men’s labor, and their lives in general, more fluid, transitory, stressful, and transnational. The question remains as to how men manage to balance their roles as progenitors, fathers, and nurturers amid these global transformations.

The chapters in this volume suggest that men are responding to globalization in creative and unprecedented ways as *fathers*. We offer the term “emergent fatherhood” to capture the creativity, hybridity, and transformations abundantly apparent in both the discourses and practices of fatherhood in the twenty-first century, not only in the West, but in numerous global locations. Indeed, the focus of most of the chapters of this volume is on emergence: those practices of fatherhood that appear new and transformative. Our notion of emergent fatherhood extends from the earlier work of Inhorn (this volume) on “emergent masculinities” (see also Inhorn and Wentzell 2011; Inhorn 2012). Drawing upon the definition of “emergent” offered by Marxist scholar Raymond Williams (1978)—as “new meanings and values, new practices, new relationships and kinds of relationship [that] are continually being created”—the concept of emergent masculinities focuses attention on the ongoing, relational, and embodied processes of change in the ways that men enact masculinity. In other words, manly selfhood is not a thing, nor a constant; rather, it is an act ever in progress. Men enact manhood in different ways from moment to moment as they move through the different social contexts that form their daily lives. Individual masculinities also change in response to larger life changes; these may include health problems such as infertility, job change, marriage, and fatherhood. Importantly, men live out all of these changes in bodies that are also ever-changing; these changes include aging, becoming ill, or being altered through medical treatment, exercise, or neglect. In other words, the understanding of masculine practice must account for the emergence of change, physically and socially, over the male life course, over the generations, and over the course of social history.

Such emergent masculinities are clearly manifest in emergent fatherhood, or the new ways in which men around the world are thinking about and enacting their fatherhood. As seen in this volume, emergent fatherhood entails new forms of fatherly affect and caretaking, often within the parameters of busy work lives, strict corporate work cultures, and lingering conservative gender norms. Emergent fatherhood also involves a fundamental questioning of paternal labor, as some men make conscious shifts out of the for-



mal work force to raise and care for their children as stay-at-home dads, while others do so out of necessity. Fathers now also include gay men, who increasingly achieve their fatherhood desires through the contributions of egg donors,<sup>1</sup> commercial gestational surrogates, reproductive technologies, and social media sites. Indeed, reproductive technologies have enabled both heteronormative and queer fatherhood, leading to the birth of children for men who would otherwise have remained sterile, childless, or both.

Emergent fatherhood today includes new ways of controlling the timing and spacing of reproduction; new styles of co-parenting that enhance father-child intimacies; new family formations that involve two dads, single dads, stepdads, and dads-at-a-distance; and new forms of fatherly support, including men's reliance on wives' wages, encouragement of wives' careers, and facilitation of daughters' education. All of these fatherhood practices are, in fact, emerging around the world, but are rarely noticed by scholars and media pundits.

Indeed, this book's major intervention is to broadly expand the conceptual vocabulary for theorizing fatherhood in the twenty-first century. Virtually all of the chapters in this volume contribute new tropes, new ways of thinking and talking about fatherhood, and new working vocabularies. In Table 0.1, we highlight these new terms and their definitions, pointing readers to the particular authors and to the global locations in which they carry out their empirical research.

TABLE 0.1. Emergent Fatherhood and Masculinities: A New Vocabulary

Term	Author(s)	Countries	Definition
<b>Activist fathering</b>	Rudrappa (Ch. 12)	India, Australia, and United States	Fathers who work to safeguard the community of children born to gay men through international commercial surrogacy; they serve as active role models and references for other potential gay fathers
<b>Ambivalent fatherhood</b>	Smith (Ch. 13)	Nigeria	Modern fatherhood as characterized by significant contradictions and ambivalence, particularly in relation to expectations of masculinity and men's on-going desires to retain patriarchal authority
<b>Assumed fatherhood</b>	Gürtin (Ch. 9)	Turkey	An assumption of fatherhood that forms a central life-course expectation and can be disrupted by involuntary childlessness

Term	Author(s)	Countries	Definition
<b>Caring communities</b>	Rudrappa (Ch. 12)	India, Australia, and United States	The real and fictive kinship networks that gay fathers create for themselves and their children in order to be accepted without prejudice, especially after transnational commercial gestational surrogacy in India
<b>Composite masculinities</b>	Wentzell (Ch. 7)	Mexico	Contingent and fluid constellations of acts, attitudes, relationships, and physicalities that men weave together into coherent masculine selfhoods through a variety of bodily and social practices, including modeling good parenting practices
<b>Controlling fatherhood</b>	Tremayne (Ch. 14)	Iran	In the midst of social change, the need for men to reassert their paternal authority through resort to strategies of control; four types of controlling fatherhood emerge: 1) resourceful fathers who foresee and pre-empt children's disobedience, 2) resilient fathers who flexibly adjust their approaches to retain control over their children, 3) alienated fathers who become isolated and lose connectivity with their children, and 4) violent fathers, who use physical force against their children to counteract any form of disobedience
<b>Emergent fatherhood</b>	Inhorn, Chavkin, and Navarro (Introduction)		Men are responding to the global forces in creative and unprecedented ways <i>as fathers</i> ; the focus on <i>emergence</i> foregrounds those practices of fatherhood that appear new and transformative, thereby capturing the creativity, hybridity, and transformations abundantly apparent in both the discourses and practices of fatherhood in the twenty-first century, not only in the West, but in numerous global locations; this term derives from "emergent masculinities" (see below)
<b>Emergent masculinities</b>	Inhorn (Ch. 10)	Arab countries of the Middle East	New understandings and practices of manhood, involving change over the male life course, generations, and social history, and

Term	Author(s)	Countries	Definition
			involving men in a variety of transformative social processes, including emergent forms of fatherhood
<b>Excess masculinity</b>	Greenhalgh (Ch. 15)	China	Surplus men, or potential non-fathers, who are unable to find mates and father children because of skewed, male-heavy sex ratios, the result of the one-child policy and discrimination against girls
<b>Expressive fatherhood</b>	Birenbaum-Carmeli, Diamand, and Abu Yaman (Ch. 6)	Gaza Strip and Israel	Complete immersion in the fatherhood caring role, fulfilled wholeheartedly, with open expressions of affection toward one's children
<b>Father-as-provider</b>	Leinaweaver (Ch. 3)	Peru and Spain	The long standing primary social role of fatherhood being equated with economic provision, and encoded transnationally in migration policy and remittance practices
<b>Father-carers</b>	Lam and Yeoh (Ch. 4)	Indonesia and Philippines	Fathers who are in charge of buying food, managing finances, earning money, attending school events, disciplining, and undertaking the intimate and mundane aspects of care work in relation to their children
<b>Forbidden fatherhood</b>	Gürtin (Ch. 9)	Turkey	The pursuit of fatherhood beyond acceptable parameters, thereby forcing men to act as "moral pioneers"; an example entails the use of donor sperm, which is legally banned in most Muslim countries
<b>Globalized fatherhood</b>	Inhorn, Chavkin, and Navarro (Introduction)		Globally emergent, transnationally inflected transformations in fathering and fatherhood in the 21 <sup>st</sup> century; in the context of a rapidly globalizing world, men's lives and labor are more fluid, transitory, stressful, and transnational; thus men must balance their roles as fathers and nurturers amidst these global transformations
<b>Hidden fatherhood</b>	North (Ch. 2)	Japan	Male caregivers who keep a low profile in the workplace to maintain the façade of "corporate warrior-hood," even though they may desire increased parental leave and more time with their children

Term	Author(s)	Countries	Definition
<b>High-tech homunculus</b>	Kahn and Chavkin (Ch. 8)	United States (as global donor sperm exporter)	The ongoing primacy accorded the male gamete in the high-tech field of assisted reproduction, with implications for the health and well-being of infertile fathers, sperm donors, women, and their offspring
<b>Ikumen</b>	North (Ch. 2)	Japan	Men who enjoy raising children and "grow themselves" in the process; a new attempt to connect involved fathering with fashionable masculinity
<b>Promised fatherhood</b>	Gürtin (Ch. 9)	Turkey	The promise of fatherhood held out by technological advancements in the treatment of male infertility, even when most of these technologies are not highly successful
<b>Relational fatherhood</b>	Browne (Ch. 1)	United Kingdom	A very basic condition of fatherhood involving time spent personally interacting with children, physical caring, playing, emotional engagement, and education
<b>Relational fatherhood work</b>	Dempsey (Ch. 11)	Australia and United States	Time spent by fathers reflecting on and enacting relationships that is sensitive to concerns about children's future sense of identity; it involves processes of emotional labor and communicative effort to secure children's sense of kinship, belonging, and connectedness
<b>Silent fathers</b>	Leinaweaver (Ch. 3)	Peru	Men who are "silent" because they do not fulfill the "father-as-provider" model; these men let their wives and children emigrate while they stay behind, or give up their biological children to overseas adoptive families
<b>Stay-at-home fathers</b>	Thao (Ch. 5)	Vietnam	Men who stay at home to care for their children while their wives migrate for work; these men enact "emotion work" through their housework and involved childcare
<b>Toxic fatherhood</b>	Kilshaw (Ch. 16)	United Kingdom	Men's fears that their toxic exposures are contagious and that they will pass on the disability or illness to their offspring; this form of fatherhood is toxic in that it impacts family life as a whole

## Fatherhood: Key Themes

This volume is intended as both a corrective and a beginning for future discussions of emergent fatherhood around the globe. It is organized around five key themes, which highlight some of the most salient aspects of emergent fatherhood around the globe. These themes include: (1) work, (2) migration, (3) care, (4) reproduction, and (5) family formation.

### *Fatherhood and Work*

In the countries of the Global North, progress toward gender equity in both employment and domestic responsibilities is certainly not complete, but has nonetheless transformed men's roles and responsibilities in family life. These include the various policies and laws that affect men as fathers, including their ability to work for meaningful family wages, to take leave upon the birth of children or the disability of family members, to balance work with family life, and to migrate for work, under laws that facilitate or limit these various practices.

### *Fatherhood and Migration*

In the countries of the Global South, where economies may be unable to support the well-being of breadwinning fathers and their families, the dynamics of fatherhood may include solo labor migration of men to many other countries, a process that often disassociates men from their wives and children for long periods of time. How men construct their notion of "fatherhood at a distance" requires interrogation. This includes fathers whose primary motivations for labor migration are to provide a better life for their children back home. Increasingly, fathers are left at home tending to children as their wives head into global labor markets. Men's responses to childcare responsibilities, and their relationships with both their children and migrant wives, require careful scholarly analysis.

### *Fatherhood and Care*

Increasingly, men around the world are assuming new roles as carers, giving care to their wives and children and taking care of themselves for the sake of their families. Today, fatherly care assumes many forms, from feeding and bathing young children, to assisting with homework and attending parent-teacher conferences. Men's caretaking may also occur in situations of uncertainty and duress, for example, during periods of childhood illness, when fathers may

be called upon to manage medical emergencies and provide direct health care services to their children. Caretaking may also assume other forms, including providing care and support to female partners during periods of reproductive crisis and child loss.

### *Fatherhood and Reproduction*

Fatherhood is intimately tied to reproduction. Yet, this basic insight is generally taken for granted and remains unexamined. In the new millennium, reproduction has been transformed, with paths to fatherhood emerging through a variety of forms and techniques of assisted reproduction. In many cases, men who never would have produced biological children are now able to do so. In other cases, social fatherhood is being achieved through new global markets in sperm, transnational adoption, and commercial gestational surrogacy, catering to both heterosexual couples and gay men.

### *Fatherhood and Family Formation*

Indeed, if there is one strong thematic running through this volume it is that fathers come in many forms. This volume highlights a variety of new forms, including gay men fathering children who have been born through the paid services of egg donors and gestational surrogates, left-behind fathers who are raising their children while their wives work—and live—elsewhere, and single men who may sire hundreds of biological children through their work as commercial sperm donors. This "brave new world" of fatherhood is brought to light in numerous chapters in this volume, suggesting that today fatherhood may or may not involve: (1) direct parenting of one's biological children, (2) co-residence with wives and children, (3) participation of wives or other women as co-parents, and (4) assumptions of heteronormativity in fatherhood. Gay dads are creating communities of care for their children, who are conceived through a variety of means, often transnationally. Many different family configurations are emerging around the globe, and men are participating in these families as fathers in diverse ways.

## Fatherhood: Future Challenges and Possibilities

Finally, it is important to emphasize that the focus on emergence and new forms of fatherhood does not imply that all that is new is necessarily positive, nor that fatherhood everywhere is changing for the better. There are still serious challenges confronting fa-

therhood around the globe. Some of these challenges are structural and relate to poverty, lack of employment opportunities, and unforgiving work environments and policies (Edin and Nelson 2013). Other challenges are demographic, reflecting increasing pressures on men in the absence of marriageable women—for example, in several countries of Southeast Asia with male-heavy sex ratios, or in the so-called “barren” states of Europe and East Asia, where fertility rates have fallen so low that concerns about future social reproduction are real. Finally, some challenges are related to shifting gender dynamics and the unrelenting persistence of patriarchy in many societies. As women pursue education, employment, and gender equality, men are likely to lose some of their masculine privilege and patriarchal authority. In some cases, men may be unwilling to relinquish their hegemonic roles as family breadwinners and authoritarian fathers. As shown in some of the chapters, how men deal with the decline of patriarchy around the globe is variable. In some cases, men amplify their efforts to control wives and children, while in other cases, men make attempts to accommodate increasing gender equality by ceding patriarchal control.

Social and political change is never linear and clean, as we know well from historical examination of efforts toward racial integration, religious tolerance, improved working conditions, rights of minorities, and so on. Those with power and privilege do not cede them easily, and their retention is sometimes aided even by those disadvantaged who may experience the cultural manifestations of the inequitable status quo to be normative and entwined with identity. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the most intimate sphere of gender roles and selfhood, reproduction and family.

The patriarchal familial norm (with variations) accords power and participation in the public domain to the wage-earning husband/father and assigns biological and social reproduction to women. Indeed, the globally subordinate status of women has been explained by their relegation to the domestic sphere (Ortner 1972). Yet, female employment outside the home increased dramatically during the twentieth century without toppling women’s requirement to reproduce, biologically and socially. For example, after the Russian Revolution, the Soviet government attempted to change the status and role of women and the family. However, shortly thereafter, the Stalinist government replaced these initial efforts toward gender equality with policies designed instead to enable women to combine gendered family responsibilities with their newly expanded ed-

ucational and employment options (Lapidus 1978). Similar patterns prevailed in the Western capitalist countries where varied public programs facilitated women’s newfound engagement in the labor market with their traditional responsibilities for rearing children and maintaining life at home.

A host of scholars have concluded that women found the burden of responsibilities in these dual spheres to be unsustainable and that this has led to the dramatic declines in birthrates that began in the highly developed world in the last third of the twentieth century and have now spread everywhere but sub-Saharan Africa (Castles 2003; McDonald 2000). Thus, at the beginning of the new millennium, the Organization for Economic Development (2005) and the United Nations Development Programme (2003) have concluded that policies need to promote paternal participation in the domestic sphere and to support men and women in combining work and family responsibilities. Such shifts in social roles require structural underpinning in order to be feasible on a population level.

The Nordic countries led the way in crafting such policies beginning in the 1970s but soon found that men did not take as much leave as expected. Further analysis revealed that occupational gender and wage divisions persisted with women concentrated in the lower paying public sector and men in the higher paying private sector. The private sector discouraged use of extended leave provision, and the wage disparity between men and women meant that it would be disadvantageous economically for a couple to forgo the man’s wages. In recent years, several Nordic countries have stipulated that specified portions of the extensive leave available must be taken by fathers (“use it or lose it”) (Gornick and Schmitt 2010; Haataja 2009). Sweden also launched a public relations campaign to shake up cultural assumptions, showing stereotypic “Viking” men holding babies and crowing that “half (of leave) is ours” (Klinth 2008). Men’s use of parental leave in these countries has increased significantly, whereas it has not in France, a country that has policies to help women accomplish their double load, but does not address male workers as fathers.

Of course, in order for policy to be effective, given the staying power of old modes and tropes, it must be based on accurate diagnosis of the underlying driving forces. The Swedish efforts did not redress gender segregation at work and the accompanying wage gaps that perpetuate the primacy of the male higher wage. China’s sex ratio imbalance is reportedly driven by peoples’ belief that sons



will care for aged parents and thus, if allowed only one child, Chinese parents consider it imperative to have sons, and achieve this by relinquishing baby girls or aborting female fetuses. Establishing pensions may thus be a far more relevant policy intervention than prohibition of sex-selective abortion. China is now piloting pensions for rural farmers (Ying 2012). While some work-family policies in the Global North allow for care of elder parents or family members other than children, data regarding whether new fathers are undertaking this increasingly needed aspect of care is as yet unavailable.

Given the historic weight and internalized salience of gender-associated familial roles and male privilege and power, it is not surprising that expressions of change in the behaviors of fathers are uneven, complicated, and contradictory. The conflation of female reproductive capacity with social assignment for childrearing and maintenance of domestic life remains the determinative factor underlying job segregation by gender and the associated gender wage gap in developed economies, and with female mortality and economic and sociopolitical deprivation in developing ones. Individuals maneuver within all of these contexts simultaneously (Spar 2013). Thus, in this volume, we see accounts of some men who are pioneers in melding new technologically assisted bio-possibilities with new paternal roles in social reproduction, while not questioning the old hierarchies of gender, colonial relationships, and race that enable them to do so. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that the emergence of new forms of fatherhood is uneven and replete with contradictions. What is amazing is the rapidity of these changes and the fact that they are occurring in so many settings, as amply demonstrated in the chapters of this volume.

### Fatherhood: The Chapters

This volume comprises sixteen chapters, most of them based on original ethnographic research undertaken by anthropologists, human geographers, and sociologists. But the volume is also explicitly interdisciplinary, drawing upon perspectives from public health and medicine, public policy, political science, and demography. The chapters have been organized in pairs, based less along disciplinary lines than on topical resonances. Furthermore, they are organized to highlight the connections between the eight different sections. Brief descriptions of the chapters are as follows:

### *Corporate Fatherhood*

Chapter 1, "The Corporate Father," by Jude Browne, considers the shortcomings of contemporary parental leave policy in the context of European corporate work. It introduces the concept of "relational fatherhood" to think about how best to design policies aimed at working fathers and gender equality. In particular, Browne, a political scientist and gender scholar, focuses on the ways in which current approaches to gender equality lack the necessary focus or mechanisms for addressing structural constraints at the institutional level. By way of a future direction for policy design, Browne explores the arguments of political philosophers Gheaus and Robeyns's (2011) work on default policy and concludes with recommendations aimed at both corporate and state policy makers.

In Chapter 2, "Hiding Fatherhood in Corporate Japan," Scott North examines the stereotypical portrayal of Japanese fathers as stern, distant, and minimally involved at home. However, recent demographic challenges and rapid transformation of the labor market and employment practices have created conditions in which men's attitudes toward fathering and their actual fathering behavior are obviously changing. This chapter takes stock of how the interplay of changing gender roles, economic conditions, and state policies is transforming fatherhood in contemporary Japan. Current efforts to stimulate and support increased paternal involvement in family work at the grassroots, governmental, and corporate levels are visible, including in new social media campaigns. However, the author finds that Japanese men must continue to "hide" their fatherhood in the corporate workplace, including use of officially sanctioned paternity leave. Although emergent forms of fatherhood are increasingly valorized in contemporary Japan, corporate culture continues to inhibit parental involvement, resisting changing fatherhood.

### *Transnational Fatherhood*

In Chapter 3, "Transnational Fathers, Good Providers, and the Silences of Adoption," Jessaca Leinaweaver uses two case studies to examine the different parenting tools available to adoptive and migrant fathers. Peruvian children who are adopted by Spanish fathers may, as a result of their adoption, enter Spain as Spanish citizens, and grow up there with the caring guidance of their co-resident parents. Peruvian children whose Peruvian fathers have migrated to Spain for work, by contrast, often must remain in Peru—in part because Spanish policies of family reunification preclude their en-

try and preclude that of other family members, with the result that there are no extended kin in Spain able to care for them while the father works. As a consequence, Spanish-resident Peruvian fathers separated from their children by an ocean engage in certain fathering practices; Spanish fathers who have brought their children across that ocean via adoption engage in others. This chapter examines the similarities and differences between what these fathers want, and attempt to do, for their Peruvian-origin children. Contrasting the parenting work that these two groups of fathers do reveals certain globalized inequalities that underlie contemporary fatherhood, including many silences surrounding transnational adoption of children from the Global South. Leinaweaver shows that a model of father-as-provider shapes the parenting work both of migrant fathers (whose fathering is discursively limited to sending remittances) and of adoptive fathers (who are prohibited from mentioning their work as providers by a powerful adoption language ideology, and thus lack a key tool to construct themselves as legitimate and real fathers to their children).

In Chapter 4, "Long-Distance Fathers, Left-Behind Fathers, and Returnee Fathers: Changing Fathering Practices in Indonesia and the Philippines," Theodora Lam and Brenda S. A. Yeoh argue that one of the key structural causes leading to emergent transformations in fathering practices in Southeast Asia is the feminization of labor migration. In response to the increasing demand for domestic and care workers in gender-segmented global labor markets, house-holding strategies are being reformulated at the Southernmost end of the global care chain when women-as-mothers rewrite their roles (but often not their identities) through labor migration. Women can now be seen as productive workers, who contribute to the well-being of their children through financial remittances and "long-distance mothering." The burgeoning scholarship on transnational forms of motherhood and mothering has in turn put the spotlight on the corresponding role of fathers, both in terms of the transnational equivalent of the "long-distance father" as well as the localized figure of the "left-behind father." Using interview material with household members in source communities in Indonesia and the Philippines experiencing considerable pressures from labor migration, this chapter explores communication practices, the provision of care, and the construction of intimacies in three contrasting modes of house-holding—the "father-migrant, mother-carer" household, the "mother-migrant, father-carer" household, and the "mother-resident, father-returnee" household—giving emphasis to

the way fatherhood is affirmed, vilified, and negotiated, even as fathering practices adapt to the realities of globalized mobilities.

### *Primary Care Fatherhood*

Chapter 5, "When the Pillar of the Home is Shaking: Female Labor Migration and Stay-at-Home Fathers in Vietnam," by Vu Thi Thao, focuses on the increasing numbers of rural female migrants moving to urban areas of Vietnam in search of employment since the economic reforms of the early 1990s, known as Doi Moi. While women's responsibilities for reproduction and fathers' role as the "pillar of the home" retain their significance in contemporary Vietnam, this chapter explores the implications of female labor migration for fathering and fatherhood. More specifically, Thao examines the performance of fathering in families where mothers migrate, as well as how stay-at-home fathers reconstruct their roles as breadwinners and heads of families. Using interviews with stay-at-home fathers, migrant wives, and their children, the chapter shows that fathers accept their new responsibilities as primary caregivers, while simultaneously strongly opposing changing gender relations. They struggle to maintain their role—as the pillar of the home—even though children's and wives' perceptions of fathers' status and role are changing.

Chapter 6, "On Fatherhood in a Conflict Zone: Gaza Fathers and Their Children's Cancer Treatments," by Daphna Birenbaum-Carmeli, Yana Diamand, and Maram Abu Yaman, is a poignant account of Palestinian men from Gaza, who must seek cross-border treatment for their sick children in Israeli pediatric oncology wards. While attending to sick children has traditionally been a woman's responsibility, the chapter shows how an international political conflict has prompted a profound change in gender roles in this caring sphere. Due to the obstacles that Israel presents to medical patients at every border crossing from the Gaza Strip into Israel, Israeli oncologists must keep children with cancer hospitalized until they have completed their full treatment course. The extended hospitalization requires many mothers to remain at home in order to care for their other children. Thus, it is the unemployed Gaza father who often accompanies a sick child during long months of severe illness, and is then isolated in the foreign country that is largely responsible for the very need to seek treatment abroad, and for the restrictions that prevent him and his child from going back home on treatment breaks. The chapter reveals that despite the hardships of exile, this group of Gaza fathers manages not only to fulfill the instrumental tasks, but

to transcend traditional gender roles and images. These men tend to their children; invent ways to overcome their boredom, loneliness, and suffering; and express emotional warmth openly. The chapter reflects on this form of caring, expressive fatherhood in the context of violent conflict.

### *Clinical Fatherhood*

In Chapter 7, "Enhancing Fathering through Medical Research Participation in Mexico," Emily Wentzell shows that some Mexican men of child-rearing age strive to be different kinds of men and parents than the fathers they see as problematically traditional. The chapter investigates men's enactment of these self-consciously "modern" masculinities through participation in an international, longitudinal study of human papillomavirus (HPV) transmission in males. Study participants undergo biannual testing for this common (and commonly asymptomatic) sexually transmitted infection, including collection of biological samples and sexual and health behavior data over a period of five years. This frequent engagement, plus the additional enrollment of female partners, makes participation in the study likely to have a significant impact on these men's lives. While the study organizers conceive of their research as focusing narrowly on sexually transmitted infection, this group of Mexican men appears to be using their participation in this international project as a way to enact "progressive" masculinity and fatherhood. They understand their participation in relationship to local discourses about global modernity, which often entail calls for enactment of "modern" masculinity through good parenting. These participants voice and strive to enact a holistic vision of health that includes progressive fathering. Thus, they see their participation as enabling self-care that physically ensures their fitness to father, modeling socially positive behavior for their children, and enhancing Mexico's "modernity" on the world stage.

In Chapter 8, "The High-Tech Homunculus: New Science, Old Constructs," Linda G. Kahn and Wendy Chavkin address new forms of fatherhood via technologically assisted reproduction. As they note, the ability of women to reproduce via artificial insemination—once the stuff of feminist fiction—has brought to the fore a number of questions relating to the notion of fatherhood and the role of fathers in the high-tech, globalized economy. While we may no longer believe in the theory of the homunculus—the little man inside the sperm that contributed all of the material necessary to grow a child in the passive female womb—hints of the enduring primacy

accorded the male gamete range from the aggressive marketing of frozen sperm in the United States to the very strict and particular rules governing use of third-party sperm elsewhere around the globe, to the burgeoning use of intracytoplasmic sperm injection (ICSI). There is now a lively—and profitable—international market for sperm, influenced by both cultural and regulatory factors. However, the rapid development of the market in sperm and normalization of ICSI have outpaced the ability of governments to deal with the ethical and legal implications, much less the impact on individual and public health. This chapter poses a number of questions about the use of purchased or donor sperm and the use of ICSI to facilitate fatherhood, focusing on the medical and public health implications. While some countries have begun to deal with these issues in a variety of ways, few have matched their support for assisted reproductive technologies that resolve male infertility with corresponding support for fathers once the children have been born.

### *Infertile Fatherhood*

In Chapter 9, "Assumed, Promised, Forbidden: Infertility, IVF, and Fatherhood in Turkey," Zeynep B. Gürtin examines fatherhood in Turkey, where it is so central to men's life expectations that most men automatically assume that they will become fathers. In this strongly pronatalist country, infertile men turn to in vitro fertilization and other assisted reproductive technologies, which deliver the promise of fatherhood. However, some forms of technological assistance are forbidden, including all forms of third-party reproductive assistance (i.e., donor eggs, donor sperm, donor embryos, and gestational surrogacy), which have been illegal in Turkey since the introduction of a law to regulate assisted reproductive technologies (ARTs) in 1987. Moreover, the taboo, particularly on the use of third-party sperm, reflects and is enforced by both the moralities of the local religion of Sunni Islam and by cultural ideals about procreation, family, and lineage. Thus, men with intractable infertility face an extremely difficult decision: a childless life or recourse to forbidden ARTs. While most Turkish men opt for the former, the chapter shows that there are a few Turkish men who accept others' sperm and have engaged in cross-border reproductive care with their wives for this purpose.

Chapter 10, "New Arab Fatherhood: Emergent Masculinities and Assisted Reproduction," by Marcia C. Inhorn, presents a humanizing portrayal of ordinary Arab men as they struggle to overcome

their infertility and become loving fathers. Contrary to popular expectations, male infertility is more common than female infertility in the Middle East, and many Middle Eastern men are engaged in high-tech forms of assisted reproduction. Through in-depth ethnography undertaken in ART clinics in four countries, the chapter captures the marital commitments and fatherhood desires of infertile Arab men as they engage with ARTs, often across transnational borders. Emerging technologies—particularly ICSI to overcome male infertility—are changing Middle Eastern men's hopes for fatherhood. However, these "ICSI quests" are also fraught with material and moral challenges. For example, because of low ICSI success rates, some men become "reproductive tourists," searching globally for efficacious ARTs. Furthermore, ICSI may perpetuate genetic disorders into the next generation, especially among male offspring. As Middle Eastern men engage with these globalizing ARTs, they are self-consciously rethinking fatherhood, masculinity, and marriage. Indeed, in the twenty-first century, emergent masculinities in the Middle East involve the questioning of many taken-for-granted assumptions about Arab men as men and fathers in an era of emerging science and technology.

#### *Gay/Surrogate Fatherhood*

Chapter 11, "Relating across International Borders: Gay Men Forming Families through Overseas Surrogacy," by Deborah Dempsey, shows that intentionally planned parenthood by gay male couples through commercial surrogacy in the United States and India is gaining momentum in Australia. Very little is known about the relational considerations of men forming families through sperm provision, egg purchase, and internationally sourced surrogate mothers. This chapter uses data from a self-selected small sample of gay men to consider the meaning and management of biogenetic and gestational maternity in the creation of these men's family relationships. The choice as to who provides the egg and who serves as the surrogate reveals a range of strategic considerations related to beliefs in children's entitlement to knowledge about their biological heritage, and the maintenance of parent-child and extended family relationships, as well as unexamined assumptions about race and class. The chapter also considers the status of relationships with egg providers and surrogates as family relationships, in the context of an ongoing debate in Australia about whether international commercial surrogacy constitutes an exploitative and unacceptable commodification of women's reproductive services.

In Chapter 12, "Conceiving Fatherhood: Gay Men and Indian Surrogate Mothers," Sharmila Rudrappa examines the fathering practices of gay men in the United States and Australia who have achieved paternity through cross-border reproductive care. Because of a plethora of reasons, including homophobia, these men have turned to Indian surrogate mothers to achieve fatherhood. Rudrappa addresses two questions on globalized fatherhood. First, how do intended fathers living in Australia and the United States create familial bonds to the not-yet-born fetuses in India, and subsequently to the newborn babies once they arrive? Second, what sorts of caring labor do the fathers engage in once the babies arrive into their social worlds back home? Along with the considerable caring labors the commissioning fathers engage in before and after the surrogate-born infants arrive, these gay men narrate thick stories regarding their fatherhood practices. These narratives are central to nurturing what Rudrappa calls "caring communities," within which gay fathers raise these almost always biracial babies who were born to Third World surrogate mothers halfway across the world. Caring communities are the real and fictive kinship networks that the fathers create for themselves and for their children. Caring communities not only support the gay fathers in their family-building efforts, but also provide safe spaces within which these children can securely grow. However, Rudrappa demonstrates how these First World men may sideline the labor of and risks to the Third World surrogate mothers who are so central to their attainment of fatherhood. The marginalization of the mothers' efforts reflects the structure of the global market in surrogacy, as well as how fatherhood itself is constituted for these gay men.

#### *Ambivalent Fatherhood*

In Chapter 13, "Fatherhood, Companionate Marriage, and the Contradictions of Masculinity in Nigeria," Daniel Jordan Smith describes how siring children and providing for one's family are the most important markers of manhood in southeastern Nigeria. Yet, even as having children continues to be the ultimate measuring stick for successful masculinity, changes in economic, social, and domestic life are reconfiguring men's expectations and experiences of fatherhood. For modern Nigerian men, contradictions abound. Messages from ever more popular Pentecostal churches that exhort men to embrace monogamy and fidelity compete with male peer pressure to prove their rising economic status by spending money on young mistresses. The emergence of globally influenced ideals of romantic love and marital intimacy—and, to an increasing extent, gender



equality—frequently come into conflict with the enduring conviction that a man must be the king of his castle. Pressures to have fewer children and invest in them educationally and emotionally contend with still salient notions of children as a form of wealth and fatherhood as characterized by paternal authority, distance, and emotional reserve. This chapter examines changes in the experience of fatherhood among men married in the last twenty years or so—arguably the population in Nigeria most affected by these transformations and the contradictions they produce. In particular, new patterns of fathering are analyzed in the context of the intersection of notions of masculinity with changing marriage practices, lower fertility, and increasingly nuclear household composition in a society that still valorizes extended kinship ties and male privilege. These patterns—and their contradictions—create uncertainties and ambivalence about modern fatherhood in Nigeria.

Chapter 14, “The Four Faces of Iranian Fatherhood,” by Soraya Tremayne, examines contemporary fatherhood in the Islamic Republic of Iran. State-sponsored population policies and increasing education have led to a major reduction in the average size of the family, which is still declining. The total fertility rate is similar to that of western Europe, below the level needed for population replacement. With fewer children in the household, the assumption is that children are more cherished, perceived as more precious, and thus receive better care. While these observations may be correct, they remain true of a limited sector of Iranian society, that which is predominantly secular, well educated, and affluent. Unfortunately, abundant evidence exists of ongoing family violence in Iran, including toward children. This chapter examines the understanding of what constitutes fatherhood in a predominantly patrilineal and patriarchal society among men who are caught at the crossroads between modernity and the fight to preserve their identities and privileges. For many men in Iran, being in control of their children is still central to normative notions of fatherhood. Thus, many men are willing to assert themselves, including violently, in order to “save face” when their children question their authority in the household.

#### *Imperiled Fatherhood*

Chapter 15, “‘Bare Sticks’ and Other Dangers to the Social Body: Assembling Fatherhood in China,” by Susan Greenhalgh, analyzes China’s aggressive policies to limit fertility in order to spur economic development and its rise as a global power. Greenhalgh argues that these policies transpired against the backdrop of longstanding as-

sumptions about male superiority and the need for sons to carry out filial duties, with the consequent loss of girls. Now, thirty years later, China has a surplus of men unable to find brides or reproduce. This chapter explores how the one-child policy, introduced in the feverish political context of post-Mao China, inadvertently produced this group of men; the strategies the men, known in Chinese as “bare sticks” (*guanggun*), are using in response to their reproductive plight; and the ethical and political consequences of denying fatherhood to some 10 percent of China’s adult male population.

The final chapter, Chapter 16, “Paternity Poisoned: The Impact of Gulf War Syndrome on Fatherhood,” by Susie Kilshaw, explores militarism and fatherhood with a focus on Gulf War veterans. In particular, it investigates the ways in which these military men experience themselves as damaged fathers as a result of their military service, and their subsequent fight for recognition of their condition. Gulf War Syndrome is reported to affect the core of a sufferer’s masculinity, with veterans’ narratives focusing on physical symptoms affecting sexuality and reproduction. Furthermore, veterans consider their illness to be contagious and believe that they themselves may be toxic and may put family members at risk. They see fatherhood as impaired through symptoms that make fatherhood difficult to attain (problems in conceiving, miscarriages, low libido, and burning semen) and problematic once attained. One of the challenges these men face is their need to present as ill, wounded, and vulnerable in order to fight for recognition of their illness. Yet, this sick role means that Gulf War veterans are often unable to fulfill familial roles such as breadwinning and caring for their children as fathers.

Together, these chapters provide a rich overview of new and complex developments in fathering at the beginning of the twenty-first century. They present us with evidence of profound shifts in gendered behaviors toward children, while at the same time demonstrating the persistence of hierarchically based assumptions about men’s and women’s roles in the world. These apparent contradictions are to be expected, as are uneven rates of adaptation to new economic, social, and technologically fueled possibilities. However, the rapidity of the profound alterations in such intimately experienced domains as reproduction and parenthood is dramatic and noteworthy and requires ongoing scrutiny and analysis. Which norms and behaviors have been amenable to change and under which circumstances? What sorts of structural or policy shifts support new forms of parental and domestic arrangements, and which components appear resistant? This volume suggests that we must continue to pay

close attention to the varied, multidirectional, emerging versions of fatherhood around the world, and probe their underlying dynamics. Only then can we hope to design empirically based policies and structural supports for fathers and mothers to nurture children within equitable gender relationships.

## Notes

1. Although the term "donor" is commonly used, it is important to emphasize that most egg and sperm donors are paid for their services.

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## Part I

# CORPORATE FATHERHOOD

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