

*Introduction*

THE SECOND SEX IN REPRODUCTION?  
MEN, SEXUALITY, AND MASCULINITY

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In *The Second Sex* (1952 [1949]), French feminist Simone de Beauvoir argues that women's marginalization emanates from their association with reproduction. Because of their responsibility for pregnancy, parturition, breastfeeding, and childcare, women are excluded from positions of power within male-dominated patriarchal cultures. As a feminist "call to arms," *The Second Sex* generated multiple responses. It encouraged some second-wave feminists to rethink the motherhood mandate, arguing that the reproductive essentialization of women served as a fundamental obstacle to their advancement. However, other second-wave feminists embraced reproduction as the ultimate source of women's power—power that could never be shared by men, the so-called nonreproductive sex. Put another way, because men do not give birth, their power lies elsewhere in social life, making them disinterested and uninvolved in matters of human reproduction. Today, this assumption of men's disengagement from reproduction remains largely untested, but it is widely held in feminist, social science, population policy, and legal circles. Indeed, as we enter the new millennium, men are viewed as "the second sex" in reproduction.<sup>1</sup>

Men's reproductive marginalization is abundantly apparent in the scholarly literature on reproduction (van Balen and Inhorn 2002).

Extensive social science research, particularly by cultural and medical anthropologists and science and technology studies scholars, has explored women's reproductive lives, their use of reproductive technologies, and their experiences as mothers and nurturers of children (e.g., Becker 1994, 2000; Edwards 1993; Edwards et al., 1993; Franklin 1997; Franklin and Ragoné 1998; Ginsburg and Rapp 1995; Inhorn 1994, 1995, 2003; Kahn 2000; Layne 1999; Ragoné 1999; Rapp 2000; Stanworth 1987). As noted by Marcia C. Inhorn (2006a) in her recent review of the anthropological literature, more than 150 ethnographic volumes have been devoted to women, reproduction, and women's health in the past twenty-five years, with nearly two-thirds of those volumes published since the beginning of the new millennium. Meanwhile, few, if any anthropological texts, have explored men's reproductive concerns, with the exception of a volume on men and childbirth in the United States (Reed 2005), a volume on men and masculinities in Latin America (Gutmann 2003), and a volume on men and contraception in Mexico (Gutmann 2007).

To date, there are no ethnographic monographs on such major topics as male infertility; male sexuality and the use of new pharmaceuticals for erectile dysfunction; men's use of contraceptive technologies; men's use of assisted reproductive technologies, including donor sperm; men's experiences of sexually transmitted infections; men's experiences of vasectomy; men and prostate health; or men and reproductive health in general. Although several new journals are devoted to men's health (e.g., *International Journal of Men's Health*, *Journal of Men's Health and Gender*), the empirical literature is scant compared to that devoted to reproduction in women. Most of the published anthropological work on men and reproduction focuses on male infertility, mainly men's reactions to sperm donation (e.g., Becker 2002; Birenbaum-Carmeli, Carmeli, and Casper 1995; Birenbaum-Carmeli, Carmeli, Madjar, and Wessenberg 2002; Birenbaum-Carmeli, Carmeli, and Yavetz 2000; Inhorn 2004, 2006b; Nachtigall et al. 1997; Schmidt and Moore 1998). Men influence women's reproductive lives and health in a variety of ways (see Dudgeon and Inhorn this volume), but it is rarely explored how women influence men's reproductive lives. Instead, when men are included in reproductive health studies, the focus is generally on the consequences of their actions for women's reproductive lives and well-being.

But are men truly so disassociated from reproduction? Our volume challenges this assumption, arguing that the marginalization of men as the second sex in matters of reproduction is an oversight of considerable proportions. Rather, "reconceiving the second sex"

requires bringing men back into the reproductive imaginary, as reproductive partners, progenitors, fathers, nurturers, and decision makers. Men contribute not only 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. That men may be major contributors to women's reproductive health and the health of their offspring is also overlooked when men are left out of the reproductive equation. Thus, men need to be reconceived as reproductive in their own right, an insight that is long overdue.

To our knowledge, this volume represents the first attempt by anthropologists to examine men as reproducers. Feminist and kinship theorists within anthropology (e.g., Collier and Yanagisako 1987; Franklin and McKinnon 2002; Ginsburg and Rapp 1995; Martin 2001; Ortner 1974; Rosaldo 1974; Rubin 1975; Strathern 1992a, 1992b, 1995; Yanagisako and Delaney 1995) have challenged scholars to place reproduction at the center of social analysis. This requires reembedding men within this analysis—to study "men as men," in the words of Matthew Gutmann (1997:385)—and, in so doing, to break the silence surrounding men's thoughts, experiences, and feelings about their reproductive lives in order to shed new light on male reproduction from a cross-cultural perspective. This book is explicitly global in scope, focusing not only on men in Euro-America, but also in regions ranging from the Middle East to Asia to Latin America. Heterosexual, homosexual, married, and unmarried men are featured as reproducers in this volume, their concerns ranging from masculinity and sexuality to childbirth and fatherhood. Thus, the scope of this volume is explicitly wide ranging in order to highlight the large number of reproductive topics in which men are often heavily implicated.

### Masculinity, Sexuality, and Reproduction

Throughout this volume, the interplay of masculinity, sexuality, and reproduction becomes apparent. Although the contributors do not agree on one overarching definition of either masculinity or sexuality, we argue that exploring how ideas of masculinity and sexuality are embraced, experienced, conceptualized, challenged, and sometimes rejected in the context of reproduction is inherently important.

What is generally meant by the term "masculinity"? In his review article, "Trafficking Men," Matthew Gutmann argues that studies addressing "masculinity" have done so in a rather vague way, not clearly defining the anthropological use of the concept. He identifies four distinct notions of masculinity used in scholarly discourse:

1. masculinity as anything men think and do;
2. masculinity as anything men think and do to be men;
3. masculinity as reflected by some men being inherently more manly than others; and
4. masculinity as anything that women are not, emphasizing the central importance of male-female relations (1997:386).

Recent studies of masculinity have tended to focus on physical training, sports, education, wage earning, militarism, and fatherhood (Ben-Ari 1998; Kanaaneh 2009; Lupton and Barclay 1997; Townsend 2002), with attention paid to regional and religious differences between masculinities (Brandes 1980; Gutmann 2003; Herzfeld 1985; Jones 2006; Lewis and O'Brien 1987; Ouzgane 2006; Ouzgane and Morrell 2005). However, the notion of hierarchy and competition *within* masculinities is also important. According to R. W. Connell, "We must also recognize the *relations* between different kinds of masculinity: relations of alliance, dominance and subordination. These relationships are constructed through practices that exclude and include, that intimidate, exploit, and so on. There is a gender politics within masculinity" (1995:37). Connell introduces the notion of "hegemonic masculinity" to suggest that dominant masculinities also produce subaltern forms. Perhaps nowhere is this clearer than in the realm of reproduction. Delaney (1991, 1998) and others (Bouquet 1996; Goldberg 2004; Yanagisako and Delaney 1995) have argued that, within the shared Judeo-Christian-Islamic tradition, hegemonic masculine ideals are clearly reflected in reproductive imagery and practices. Notions of procreation, or "coming into being," are inherently gendered, placing more value on men, who are seen as created in the image of God, as genitors, and as divinely embodied in the life-giving "seed," or sperm. As a result, sperm and its imagined unique abilities to "trigger" conception (Martín 1991) have captured the scholarly and popular imagination (see Goldberg, Moore, and Oaks this volume), including in media and Internet discourses connecting the abundant production of sperm to manhood. Indeed, the "failure" of sperm to impregnate poses one of the greatest challenges to hegemonic masculinity. The lack of ability to "perform" or "to get my

wife pregnant" bespeaks a powerful form of subaltern masculinity qua emasculation, which is clearly tied to the stigma and silence still surrounding male infertility around the globe (Becker 2002; Carmeli and Birenbaum-Carmeli 1994, 2000; Gannon, Glover, and Abel 2004; Goldberg 2004; Inhorn 2003, 2004; Shokeid 1974; Tjørnhøj-Thomsen 2005).

Although male infertility and impotency is not the same thing, their common conflation speaks to the connection among reproduction, masculinity, and sexuality in men's lives. As with masculinity, sexuality has at least four different meanings:

1. sexuality as male and female categories with physical differentiation based on the genitals;
2. sexuality as a set of learned behavior patterns tied to cultural ideas and expectations of how sex and gender (male and female) should be acted out or performed;
3. sexuality as "being sexual" and "having" sexual longings, orientations, and desires (e.g., lust, eroticism); and
4. sexuality as a fluid identity, to which a person subscribes and is ascribed by others (Pat Caplan 1987; also see Butler 1990; Gutmann and Mosegaard this volume; Kulick 1998; Weston 1993).

Although these varied meanings of sexuality should apply equally to men and women, the sexual lives of men seem to be a far more common subject in the social science literature than the reproductive lives of men. Especially since the arrival of HIV/AIDS, men have been studied as sexual creatures, while women continue to be framed in reproductive terms (Bolton and Singer 1992; Plummer 1995). Such a division unwittingly reproduces gendered stereotypes. For example, the one-sided focus on gay men's lives as merely sexual has had the effect of denying their lives as fathers and representing them as nonprocreative beings (Mosegaard this volume). Put another way, homosexuality and reproduction have been seen as mutually exclusive (Hayden 1995; Lewin 1993; Rich 1993; Weston 1991). For heterosexual men and men in general, the focus on male sexuality at the expense of reproduction has silenced central elements of masculinity, including what it means to be a man and a father. As Matthew Gutmann argues in his chapter in this volume, men's "sexual destiny" is more often than not taken for granted both in popular imagination and in gender studies, where scholars seldom question this assumption of uncontrolled male sexuality.

The scholars whose work is represented in this volume challenge this portrayal. Through their empirical studies, they argue that men's reproductive aspirations, roles, and capacities cannot easily be separated from men's sexual lives. The connections among masculinity, sexuality, and reproduction are reflected in men's interests and abilities as lovers, as producers of male reproductive gametes, as supportive contraceptors, and as impregnators and progenitors of desired offspring. Yet, these connections are not always seamless; some chapters in this volume explore how the interconnectedness of sexuality and reproduction is contested, renegotiated, and sometimes resisted in various cultural settings around the globe.

Studying such connections poses methodological challenges. Sex can only be formally studied through self-report, and physical reproduction occurs only through the bodies of women. Thus, certain aspects of sexuality and reproduction seem to be forever precluded from firm view (Butler 1993). In the realm of reproduction women become the central gatekeepers to knowledge through their roles in pregnancy, childbirth, and caretaking. Men inevitably become "othered" in this process, including by the many female anthropologists who, unwittingly perhaps, have treated men as the second sex in reproduction, not worthy of empirical investigation (Gutmann 1997; Inhorn 2006a; van Balen and Inhorn 2002).

### Organization of the Volume

This volume is dedicated to overcoming the othering of men as central actors in the reproductive process. Men are connected to reproduction, theoretically and empirically, in fourteen chapters written primarily by anthropologists from four continents.

#### *Part I. Masculinity and Reproduction*

Part I introduces male reproduction from multiple theoretical perspectives, examining men as masculine subjects, as sexual beings, as reproductive partners, and as family decision makers. Masculinity and sexuality are the key themes of this section, with authors interrogating these concepts in multiple ways. In all cases, they challenge many untested assumptions about men's lives, including their presumed promiscuous sexuality, their uncontrolled fertility, and their lack of concern for their own reproduction or that of their reproductive partners. In this section, men are demystified as the second sex in reproduction and reconceptualized as multifaceted reproductive subjects with multiple needs, desires, and concerns for personal and

familial well-being. Through exploration of common "mistakes" and "lies" about men and reproduction, as well as review of the existing literature on this subject, readers of the volume will gain foundational knowledge on a topic rife with stereotypes and misconceptions. This section serves as the backdrop for the empirical studies in the following sections.

In Chapter 1, "The Missing Gamete? Ten Common Mistakes or Lies about Men's Sexual Destiny," Matthew C. Gutmann argues that the woefully unmarked category of the "male heterosexual" has gone overdetermined and understudied. In the age of evolutionary psychology and the medicalization of all manner of (alleged) bodily processes, the belief in heterosexual men's hypersexuality has, in more than a few cultural contexts, become something of a totemic illusion that treats male sexuality as naturalized, fixed, and entirely distinct from female sexuality. Gutmann's chapter examines men's "sexual destiny," a topic taken for granted in the popular imagination, yet seldom studied by feminist and gender studies scholars. It poses the ten common "mistakes" or "lies" about men's sexual destiny that are still propagated in both popular and scholarly discourses.

In Chapter 2, "Killer Sperm: Masculinity and the Essence of Male Hierarchies," Lisa Jean Moore argues that sperm are attracting considerable media attention and social commentary—for example, through concerns about global declines in sperm count and accompanying web-based marketing of sperm-enhancing pharmaceuticals. Assisted reproductive technologies have rendered sperm more predictable and operational outside of male bodies but are nonetheless viewed ambivalently for reasons having to do with cost and masculinity. Thus, it is not a coincidence that new scientific theories have emerged to resituate semen as being composed of "active warriors" with highly organized and complicated divisions of labor. Several connections can be made between the increased knowledge about and control over sperm and the cultural anxieties men experience in contemporary societies. Using scholarship about hegemonic masculinity, this chapter explores the dialectical relationship between men's lived experiences and the production of masculinity through an analysis of how sperm is represented in the reproductive sciences.

In Chapter 3, "Gender, Masculinity, and Reproduction: Anthropological Perspectives," Matthew R. Dudgeon and Marcia C. Inhorn shift the focus from discourses of sexuality and masculinity to how men's reproductive health has become an explicit focus of population and development programs and policies. Anthropological research suggests that understanding men's reproductive health needs

and problems requires investigation of both local biological and cultural variation. Taking a biosocial perspective on human reproduction, the chapter examines contributions from biological and cultural anthropology concerning men's reproductive health. Biological anthropologists have demonstrated important variations in men's reproductive physiology. Cultural anthropologists have explored intersections between masculinity and health, men's experiences of fatherhood, and reproductive problems such as infertility. The chapter explores the implications of both "local biologies" and "local masculinities," as rendered through anthropological approaches, for future research on men's reproductive health.

In Chapter 4, "Men's Influences on Women's Reproductive Health: Medical Anthropological Perspectives," Dudgeon and Inhorn examine the recent reproductive health initiative, which has emerged as an organizational framework that incorporates men into maternal and child health programs around the globe. The chapter begins by exploring the concept of "reproductive rights," examining the concept from an anthropological perspective. As part of this discussion, the question of "equality" versus "equity" is addressed, introducing anthropological perspectives on ways to incorporate men fairly into reproductive health programs and policies. The chapter goes on to provide a number of salient examples of men's relevance in the areas of contraception, abortion, pregnancy and childbirth, infertility, and fetal harm. For several decades, medical anthropologists have produced reproductive health research that explores male partners' effects on women's health and the health of children. This chapter summarizes exemplary research in this area, showing how medical anthropologists contribute new insights to the growing public health and demographic literature on men and reproductive health. The chapter concludes with thoughts on future areas of anthropological research that may improve understandings of men's influences on women's reproductive health.

### *Part II. Fertility and Family Planning*

Part II interrogates men as contraceptors, family planners, and participants in pregnancy termination. Although men may impregnate women, they also contracept and may, in fact, consider family planning to be their major responsibility. The chapters in this section explore the development of family planning methods aimed at men and their willingness to adopt various forms of contraception, including hormonal methods. In addition, the authors in this section explore the degree to which men "control" the reproductive decision-making process, sometimes in ways that facilitate women's

reproductive health. Although the notion that men are fully informed reproductive "partners" is questioned in this section, every chapter provides compelling evidence that men are important participants in the family planning process.

In Chapter 5, "Manhood and Meaning in the Marketing of the 'Male Pill,'" Laury Oaks documents the neglect of male hormonal contraceptive development despite the fact that, since the 1960s, female hormonal contraceptives have become available around the globe. This chapter examines the development and existing media coverage of the so-called male pill, including the benefits of and limitations to male hormonal contraceptive technologies; women's health advocates' positions on male hormonal contraceptive development; the increasing medicalization of the male sexual and reproductive body; the potential differential marketing of male hormonal contraceptives to men; and men's future role as contraceptive consumers. Particularly crucial to this discussion is the fact that hormonal contraceptives will not prevent sexually transmitted infections. Although women's health advocates may be hesitant to raise concerns about male hormonal contraceptive development, this chapter argues that it is necessary to promote health policies that take into account both women's and men's sexual and reproductive health.

Chapter 6, "Reproductive Paradoxes in Vietnam: Masculinity, Contraception, and Abortion," by Nguyen Thi Thuy Hanh, turns from men's role in contraception to that in abortion. Vietnam has one of the highest abortion rates in the world, and this chapter explores men's role in reproductive health care choices through case studies and in-depth interviews with couples seeking pregnancy termination at the Gynecology and Obstetrics Hospital of Hanoi. This study finds that although Vietnamese men—both married and unmarried—are involved in issues concerning reproductive health, they are not necessarily involved in the abortion decision-making process. Instead, they display relatively limited awareness of contraceptive methods and the effects of abortion on women's health. This chapter explores the paradoxical position of men as both empowered and powerless in the reproductive realm in Vietnam. In addition, the chapter discusses how information about various options is conveyed to couples, the communication between men and women, and ultimately how abortion affects women's health in Vietnam.

In Chapter 7, "Reproductive Politics in Southwest China: Deconstructing a Minority Male-Dominated Perspective on Reproduction," Aura Yen argues that culture and politics are crucial determinants of how indigenous men in rural China influence gender



relations, reproduction, and development, sometimes adversely affecting women's reproductive health. This chapter examines how stratified social relations, as they reflect gender and class inequality, intersect with dominant Chinese reproductive health policies in an ethnic minority and purportedly "model contraceptive" village in Southwest China. Ascribed gender roles, hierarchical relations, and notions of "fate" sustain the power of male elders, who, by perpetuating a reproductive "myth" employed by the Chinese government and by utilizing their social position in order to foster their own families, prioritize their own reproduction and development over that of junior women. Under the male dominance of sexuality and reproduction, women's reproductive health problems are attributed to fate and are not viewed as problems to be rectified.

### *Part III. Infertility and Assisted Reproduction*

Part III examines men's experiences of infertility and the variety of measures used to overcome this condition, ranging from painful genital surgeries, to assisted reproductive technologies, to gamete donation and adoption. Although more than half of all cases of childlessness involve a so-called male factor, male infertility remains deeply hidden and is considered one of the most stigmatizing of all male health conditions. Furthermore, the common conflation of male infertility with impotency leads to a kind of double stigmatization, even though the two conditions are usually separate phenomena. Behind this veil of secrecy, men around the world must cope with their infertility and seek methods to overcome it, often involving multiple forms of bodily objectification. The chapters in this section explore infertile men's sense of masculinity, their understandings of "weak" sperm, the problems of sexuality they may experience as sequelae of the infertility treatment quest, and the lengths to which they may go to produce biological offspring. The section also explores infertile men's alternative forms of family formation, including some men's eventual acceptance of "social" parenthood.

In Chapter 8, "The Sex in the Sperm: Male Infertility and Its Challenges to Masculinity in an Israeli-Jewish Context," Helene Goldberg takes readers to Israel, where there is a prevailing silence surrounding male infertility in both scholarly circles and clinical settings. This has led, in turn, to an unbalanced emphasis on women's infertility issues in the Israeli-Jewish population. This chapter questions the notion that assisted reproduction and reproductive technologies themselves are sexless. Rather, when the focus is shifted to infertile men rather than women, notions of sexual intercourse emerge as an important issue. In the context of male infertility, sexual intercourse

is symbolically attached to sperm, and male infertility raises cultural notions of dysfunctional sperm, failed masculinity, and sexual impotence. Although male infertility and impotence are usually separate conditions, their conflation contributes to the silence surrounding the former.

In Chapter 9, "It's a bit unmanly in a way': Men and Infertility in Denmark," Tine Tjørnhøj-Thomsen examines Danish men's perceptions of fatherhood and family life as well as their reactions and responses to their own infertility and childlessness. This chapter explores men's attempts to come to terms with their infertility, their use of reproductive technologies, and, in some cases, a form of fatherhood that does not involve a genetic connection to their offspring. Through the use of infertility narratives, this chapter illuminates infertile Danish men's thoughts, experiences, and feelings about their reproductive lives, their masculine identities, and their sense of authenticity as fathers.

In Chapter 10, "Male Genital Cutting: Masculinity, Reproduction, and Male Infertility Surgeries in Egypt and Lebanon," Marcia C. Inhorn examines why both fertile and infertile Middle Eastern men routinely undergo genital surgeries. These surgeries include varicocelelectomy, a genital operation purported to remove infertility-producing varicose veins from the testicles; and testicular aspirations and biopsies, to draw sperm from the testicles for the purposes of assisted reproduction. In both cases, pain, swelling, and other complications may result. In the case of varicocelelectomy, the surgery has little role in overcoming male infertility and has been subject to international critique. Yet, its popularity in the Middle East continues. This chapter highlights the reasons for the widespread practice of "male genital cutting" and includes stories of several Egyptian and Lebanese men, both fertile and infertile, who underwent testicular surgeries for the sake of their marriages and their future fertility. These men's willingness to "put their genitals on the operating table" bespeaks their desire to share their wives' suffering and signals changing marital and gender relations.

### *Part IV. Childbirth and Fatherhood*

Part IV explores childbearing and fatherhood. Over the last few decades, interest in the "modern father" has increased in both the political and academic arenas. Modern family structures have given Western men the opportunity to parent in radically different ways than their own fathers (Gillis 1996; Townsend 2002), thus contributing to changing traditional conceptions of masculinity (Lupton and Barclay 1997). At the same time, fatherhood has not played a central

role in studies and conceptualizations of masculinity. Although new and different forms of family and reproductive technologies have generated new and different modes of parenting and fathering, men have been relegated to the background of those studies (Franklin 1997; Inhorn 1994; Kahn 2000; Ragoné 1999). This section explores men's participation in pregnancy, childbirth, and fatherhood worldwide, arguing that changing forms of male participation may be leading to profound transformations in gender relations.

In Chapter 11, "We are pregnant": Israeli Men and the Paradoxes of Sharing," Tsipy Ivry examines Israeli childbirth-education courses, showing how men participate in their partners' pregnancies and negotiate medicalized pregnancy by using notions from their own lives. For example, Israeli men explain pregnancy and childbirth by comparing it to their own physical hardships as soldiers. However, they also draw on the discourses of "natural birth" by employing TV-romanticized images of women from Third World countries giving birth without assistance. In so doing, Israeli men argue that the medicalization of pregnancy and childbirth is in the best interests of their "spoiled" pregnant partners, who are unable to withstand the physical tolls of labor and delivery. Thus, they encourage women to adopt medicalized forms of childbirth in order to prevent any pain or discomfort. This chapter questions this form of medicalization, by pointing to the paradoxes evident in Israeli men's ideals of "sharing." Although Israeli men expect to participate in the birth process, they may be doing so in ways that undermine women's best interests and reproductive health.

Chapter 12, "Making Room for Daddy: Men's 'Belly Talk' in the Contemporary United States," by Sallie Han, questions the assumption that because men's bodies are not involved and implicated in pregnancy in the same ways as women's bodies, the male partner's bond with the expected child is marginal and minimal. "Belly talk"—that is, speech and other communication, such as music and touch, that expectant parties direct to an expected child—allows men to become involved in the pregnant "feeling," or an emotional and sensory engagement with the pregnancy and the expected child. In this chapter, based on a study of pregnancy practices in an American Midwestern city, men's belly talk practices are described and analyzed. It is argued that belly talk and other male partners' practices during pregnancy must be understood within the context of an American political discourse on "family" that promotes the centrality of fathers in social life.

In Chapter 13, "Husband-Assisted Birth among the Rarámuri of Northern Mexico," Janneli F. Miller takes us to Northern Mexico's

Sierra Madre, where, until the middle of the twentieth century Rarámuri Indian women gave birth outdoors and alone. When the number of non-Rarámuri in the region rose dramatically and the forest was no longer considered safe, women began giving birth indoors. The change in birth place was accompanied by a change in birth assistant. Now, Rarámuri men often take an active role in their children's births, an involvement that continues in the work of shared child rearing. Although most observers have noted the profound sex segregation in this indigenous group, the private practice of husband-assisted birth points to changes in Rarámuri social life, including the strengthening of the husband-wife bond as the fundamental unit of social organization.

The final chapter, "Stories of Fatherhood: Kinship in the Making," by Maruska la Cour Mosegaard, highlights the little-known category of gay fatherhood. So far much attention has been given to lesbians and their motherhood, while gay fathers have been ignored in both political and legal discussions and in the scholarship on reproduction. Gay men act as fathers in multiple ways—as primary parents, as "donor dads," and as part-time caregivers. As parents, homosexual men both challenge and reproduce old ideas about the interconnectedness between sex and reproduction, and between partnership and parenthood. Although gay fathers are still quite invisible in popular and scholarly discourses, this chapter on gay fathers in Copenhagen, Denmark, aims to bring them into focus alongside the mothers of their children.

Taken together, these chapters provide evidence of the great variety of ways men around the world are participating in reproduction. Through this examination, we hope to successfully move men from the reproductive margins, thereby reconceiving their second-sex status in the anthropological study of reproduction.

### Note

1. The argument that men are the "second sex in reproduction" was initiated by Goldberg (2004).

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