Welfare States and Play Dates: Fatherhood and Masculinity in Canada and the United States

By

Erin M. Rehel

Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty of the

Graduate School of Vanderbilt University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Sociology

December, 2013

Nashville, Tennessee

Approved:

Laura Carpenter, Ph.D.

Karen Campbell, Ph.D.

Shaul Kelner, Ph.D.

Bruce Barry, Ph.D.

Michael Kimmel, Ph.D.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I want to whole-heartedly thank the fathers and mothers who so generously shared their time, their experiences, and their thoughts on fathering, parenting, family responsibilities, and work commitments with me. Without them, this project would not have been possible. Each of them welcomed me into their lives, expanding, enhancing, and challenging my understanding of the dynamics and processes described in the analysis found in what follows. To each and every participant: thank you for your enthusiastic participation.

My contact person at the firm supported to this project in ways too numerous to mention. She took on this project, in addition to her many other responsibilities, troubleshooting and problem-solving through challenges in recruiting participants. Her tireless efforts contributed in important ways to the innovative research design of this project. I cannot possibly thank her enough.

Laura Carpenter, the chair of my dissertation committee, believed in and supported this project from the beginning. Her thoughtful comments and suggestions, encouragement, advice, and support at every stage of this project greatly enhanced the quality, depth, and rigor of the final product. I am ever thankful to have her as my dissertation chair.

I like to think every graduate student has a mentor who is there to celebrate milestones and achievements, but who is also there to help sort through the more difficult and trying times of graduate school. Karen Campbell has been that person for me since I

first arrived at Vanderbilt. She has been a pleasure to work with and get to know over the years. I am honored to have her on my dissertation committee.

From my master's paper to this dissertation, Shaul Kelner has helped me find my voice as a scholar. Many cups of tea and walks around campus yielded fresh insights and promising lines of inquiry. While his contributions to this project are many, stories of his own fathering experiences helped shape the interview guide and chart (Figure 1) in important, and often humorous, ways. His continued participation in my graduate education has been truly wonderful.

Michael Kimmel's thoughtful suggestions and comments at several different points in the dissertation process added significantly to the project. I am grateful that he agreed to be the outside reader on this project, providing me the opportunity to work with him at this formative stage in my career.

What began as a conversation about what goes down in b-schools developed into a fantastically rewarding and always entertaining adventure with Bruce Barry. His sharp wit, sage advice, and high expectations helped me identify and mobilize my strengths, improve on my weaknesses, and find the courage necessary to move beyond graduate school as an independent scholar. The imprint of our relationship on me as a scholar, as a teacher, and as a person is deep, and for that, I am tremendously grateful.

Laura Miller helped me navigate through my initial introduction to sociology as a graduate student at Brandeis. I am fortunate to have her as a colleague and friend to this day. Tony Brown, Andre Christie-Mizell, Holly McCammon, and Ronnie Steinberg each contributed to my growth and development as a scholar over the course of my years at Vanderbilt. Katherine Crawford, Rory Dicker, Julia Fesmire, Barbara Kaeser, and Gayle

Parrott in Women's and Gender Studies offered a welcoming and supportive space, schooling me in feminist mentoring, teaching, and ways of being in the world.

Ken Sun has been an absolute wonder since we began graduate school together so many years ago. He believed in me and helped me rise beyond my own expectations. So much of what I have accomplished is thanks to his generous feedback, support, and encouragement.

Dan Morrison, who became a dad for the first time while I wrote my dissertation, was always ready with some sound, often nerdy, words of encouragement. He has been a truly wonderful part of my graduate education.

What began over a "oh, I want to run a marathon too! Let's do it together" developed into a friendship involving so much more. Amada Armenta, I'm so glad we both had that silly idea.

My favorite study date, go-to problem solver, and all around fabulous friend, Carly Rush, where do I even begin? She has been such an amazing source of reason and stability since we became fast friends at your first ASA conference. I only hope I can help her navigate this process as much as she's helped me.

Erin McDonnell and Terry McDonnell's time at Vanderbilt was brief but meaningful to me in a way I cannot quite put into words. Thank you both for the encouragement and no-nonsense pep talks.

To the smart, generous, and all around wonderful women who came through the program before me–Soma Chaudhuri, Sarah Glynn, Lyndi Hewitt, Heather Talley–your guidance and friendship has meant so much to me over the years.

Many others have supported me in various ways over the course of my graduate education and deserve far more than this simple thank you: Sandra Arch, Erin Bergner, Ryan and Emerson Burkholder, Jonathan Dice, Marianna Jewell, Morgan MacDonald, Libby Sharrow, and Morton Southall. Nate Birtwell, who read drafts, listened to practice talks, flooded my inbox with articles, stories, and pictures of fathering, and all around kept me moving forward, deserves a special thank you for being such an amazing part of this journey.

Finally, and most importantly, my parents. This has been a long and winding road, and I think they both had moments when they thought it would never end. Over the course of several degrees, many moves in many cities, and the highs and lows that come with undertaking such a significant task, they were there with love, patience, and strength. They have been there for me each and every step of the way, and for that, I am eternally grateful.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

In April 2011, shortly after the opening of the Major League Baseball season, Colby Lewis, a starting pitcher with the Texas Rangers, did something no other MLB player had ever done. In fact, Lewis did something no North American professional male athlete had ever done. Starting on April 15, the first MLB player to make use of the newly created paternity leave list, Lewis took three days of paternity leave to attend the birth of his daughter Elizabeth. Since then, hardly a week has gone by without a player being placed on the paternity leave list. Agreed to by the players union and league officials with virtually no resistance prior to the 2011 season, the paternity leave list gives players up to 72 hours away from their team, while allowing the player's team to call up another player from the minor league system. The first, and to this day only, paternity leave program offered to North American professional athletes hints at new ideals around fathering and masculinity circulating in North America.

Since Lewis took leave in 2011, the paternity leave list has been used by numerous other players, including high profile (and highly paid) players such as Philadelphia Phillies short stop Jimmy Rollins and Cleveland Indians outfielder/first baseman Nick Swisher. In interviews about their time on the paternity leave list, most players make clear how happy they were to be able to experience this exciting life event and how thankful they were that this policy exists. Ian Desmond, a "rising star" with the Washington Nationals, went on the paternity leave list shortly after Lewis in 2011. After returning to his team, Desmond enthusiastically endorsed the league's policy: "It was

better than any game I've played or any big hit I've had… People think that players are supposed to be tough and not do these things, but I say that players should take paternity leave and enjoy the experience" (Antonen 2011).

The players are not the only ones who see the policy as positive. Many former big league players who continue to work in various capacities in professional baseball, from coaches to broadcasters, have expressed their support for the policy. Representing an "older generation," many tell stories of being players in the 1970s and 1980s and missing their own children's births. In an interview in 2011, Bruce Bochy, General Manager of the San Francisco Giants, recalled missing the birth of his first son, in 1979, because he was on the road as a catcher with the Houston Astros: "Back then, we wouldn't have even thought about asking for time off to be with our wife and newborn… I didn't see my son until he was eight days old" (Antonen 2011).

Nolan Ryan, owner and current CEO of the Texas Rangers, came out in support of Lewis in 2011, recalling his days as a MLB pitcher: "In those days they never allowed you to go home for a child to be born. It's just something you heard about if it happened during the season" (Dallas news). In many ways, these men, working in a hyper-masculine context, were the ultimate distant breadwinner fathers, missing out on significant aspects of family life. Rather than expecting their players to experience fatherhood in the "old" way, these former players are hopeful that the paternity leave list will help current players experience a fuller range of life events. As sports blogger Alex Remington notes, the paternity leave list goes a long way to "create a more humane league, one in which players are permitted to engage in actions related to emotions that

athletes do not always express: grief, worry, concern, and the joy of childbirth" (Remington 2011).

Despite this enthusiasm from within Major League Baseball, several players, Colby Lewis in particular, found themselves the subject of sports writers' scorn and fan criticism for going on paternity leave. Ritchie Whitt, then a sports writer for the Dallas Observer, questioned not only Lewis' decision, but the policy more broadly. In his weekly round up of MLB happenings in April 2011, Whitt wrote:

> In Game 2, Colby Lewis is scheduled to start after missing his last regular turn in the rotation because–I'm not making this up–his wife, Jenny, was giving birth in California. *To the couple's second child*… [a] pitcher missing one of maybe 30 starts? And it's all kosher because of Major League Baseball's new paternity leave rule? Follow me this way to some confusion. Imagine if Jason Witten [player for the National Football League Dallas Cowboys] missed a game to attend the birth of a child. It's just, I dunno, weird. *Wrong even*. Departures? Totally get it because at a funeral you're saying goodbye to someone for the last time. But an arrival is merely saying hello to someone you'll see the rest of your life… If it was a first child, maybe. But a second child causing a player to miss a game? Ludicrous (Whitt 2011, emphasis added)

Embedded in Whitt's comments are several normative claims. First, he is suggesting that somehow the birth of a second child is not as important as the birth of a first child, that fathers don't really need to be there the second time around. Second, he suggests that is it "weird, wrong even" to think that a professional athlete would miss a game to be there for the birth of a child. Finally, he distinguishes between attending a funeral and mourning the loss of a loved one and attending a birth and celebrating a new addition to the family. Taken together, these claims draw a boundary around appropriate expressions of masculinity.

MLB's paternity leave list has brought possible new understandings of masculinity and ideal fathering into the public eye. By calling attention to men stepping

outside the hyper-masculine world of sports to participate in family life, the paternity leave list creates a cultural space to consider men's shifting place in families. It juxtaposes the image of a professional athlete, perhaps one of the most iconic images of hegemonic masculinity, with that of an involved father, a new figure in our collective cultural imagination. *Today* columnist Jacoba Urist (2012) points to the broader impact MLB's paternity leave list might have:

> By placing paternity leave squarely in the news (especially on sports sites that don't usually cover pregnancy and parenting), and allowing players to take a bit of time from their grueling schedule to be with their new babies, Major League Baseball might be helping to pave the way for all the normal guys out there to ask for a week or two when their wives give birth. After all, if professional athletes are showing their softer side, maybe the social stigma of paternity leave is finally fizzling.

The story of Major League Baseball's paternity leave list, and the many players who have made use of the list since 2011, is one of changing understandings of fathering and masculinity. Whereas previous generations of baseball players enacted the fathering ideal of absent breadwinner to an extreme degree, players now have more opportunities to reconcile the traditional masculinity of professional sports with a new form of masculinity that includes more active fathering.[1]

I am not suggesting that Major League Baseball has been overtaken by a new form of masculinity that deemphasizes competitiveness, aggression, winning at all cost, or stoicism. As recent doping scandals illustrate, these are all still very much part of professional sports. Moreover, three days of paternity leave is not exactly drawing fathers into the daily routine of infant care. I am, however, suggesting that competing notions of ideal masculinity and fathering co-exist today, something that is reflected in MLB's

[1] While MLB's paternity leave policy does help to expand expressions of masculinity in relation to fathering, the policy is oriented towards a very heteronormative masculinity.

paternity leave list and its active use by players. Hegemonic masculinity is being challenged, not only by those in subordinate or marginal positions in society, but also by those occupying privileged positions in the social hierarchy.

Of course there are still players who opt not to be placed on the paternity leave list. Stepping off the team, even for the brief period provided by the MLB's policy, can have significant consequences for a player. There are, quite literally, hundreds of players waiting for the opportunity to take that player's spot. While the leave-taking player returns to this spot on his team, going on the paternity leave list provides another player from the club's farm system the opportunity to play. For younger players still establishing themselves with their teams, this might be too risky a move. Many fathers today face similar concerns about their own family involvement, opting not to take available paternity leave from work for fear of being seen as unserious, uncommitted, in short, as a non-ideal worker (Weber 2013).

Like paternity leave offered by any employer, MLB's paternity leave list is, first and foremost, a business decision. Major League Baseball is an organization like many others: it employs workers with the intention of turning a profit. Prior to 2011, if a player wanted to be with his partner for the birth of a child, he would leave his team a player short. The paternity leave list provides a way for players to be with their families, while allowing their team to call another player up from the minor league system. In many ways, this makes good business sense. Happy workers are productive workers. Productive workers contribute to greater profits. Nowhere is this more true than in professional sports: the more "productive" your players, the more you win. The more you win, the longer your season and your profit-making opportunities.

Beyond that, introducing a paternity leave policy suggests a broader cultural shift when it comes to workplace attitudes around men and families. In an attempt to reconcile a desire on the part of players to be with their family for the birth of a child with the needs of each team, the players union built on the already existing bereavement list[2] and developed the paternity leave list. In this male-only occupation, both of these policies challenge the standard of the "ideal worker" (Williams 1999, 2010), bringing family into the sphere of work.

The issues raised by MLB's experience with paternity leave are at the core of this project. Dominant understandings of masculinity are certainly changing, but traditional notions of masculinity continue to circulate and inform how men and women think about men's place in families and at work, leaving men with competing ideals of masculinity. The ideal of the breadwinning father still factors prominently in how North Americans think about and evaluate good fathering (Coles 2009; Hofferth 2003). At the same time, these traditional notions of masculinity and a vision of fathering that only involves breadwinning are seen by many as insufficient, stifling, and outdated (Harrington, Van Deusen, and Sabatini Fraone 2013; Coltrane and Adams 2001). Workplaces are no longer able to count on the male ideal worker, free of family obligations and responsibilities. Perhaps more importantly, fewer and fewer men are interested in adhering to this image of the ideal worker if the cost is time spent with family.

In this project, I take up men's experiences with fathering, examining the "pushes and pulls, constraints and opportunities" (Gerson 1993, 292) men face in their attempts to

[2] In 2003, MLB introduced a bereavement list, which allows players to miss games because of death in their (or their spouse's) family. Players are required to miss at least three games, but no more than seven games, when placed on the bereavement list. This list has since been expanded to include family medical emergencies (Remington 2011)

reconcile work and family. Designed initially to consider the way social policy context differentially shaped men's resources for father involvement, the findings from this project I present in what follows tell the more unexpected story of similarities across different policy contexts. Drawing on 85 semi-structured interviews conducted with fathers employed by the same multinational financial services firm and their female partners from three different policy contexts, I explore how men are experiencing the changing understandings of masculinity, fathering, and work described in the context of professional baseball above. While keeping in mind the important role played by individual agency, I argue that four structural factors function as either enabling or limiting mechanisms for father involvement. Specifically, I point to the *structure* of state-level family leave policy, the *presence and involvement* of extended kin, *arrangements* reconciling paid childcare and work schedules, and *location* of the family home as factors that shape opportunities and resources for father involvement across social policy contexts.

As suggested by the current and former MLB players quoted above, fatherhood and masculinity have undergone significant change in a generation. This change is part of a larger historical narrative that links economic and social change to ideals around fathers, families, and work. As a means of contextualizing the findings presented in the chapters that follow, I now turn briefly to a history of fatherhood and fathering in North America.

History of Fatherhood

Historical accounts of fatherhood in the USA and Canada point to four different ideals, or models, that have existed over time. In each historical period, structural factors played a role in shifting expectations around fatherhood and in many ways altering the day-to-day ways fathers participated in their families.

During the colonial period, the rigid hierarchy of the Protestant Church played a tremendous role in the organization of both social life and family life of Anglophone communities in North America (Stearns 1991). Men were understood to be morally superior and to possess greater strength of character than women, beliefs that contributed to a society and a family structured by hierarchical gender relations (Lamb 1987). This meant that not only were men the heads of their households, ruling as authoritarian patriarchs, but they were also charged with educating and appropriately socializing their children into adulthood (LaRossa 1997; Rotundo 1985; Demos 1982). This was especially true of the religious education of sons (LaRossa 1997). Fathers, then, were very involved in the day-to-day lives of their children, a reality made easier by the fact that most men were not working outside the home during this period (Griswold 1993). Good fathering during this period emphasized the role of moral guide or teacher (Lamb 1987).

LaRossa points to two interesting pieces of historical data to support the assertion that men were very much part of the day to day childrearing in 17th and 18th century North America. First, in cases of divorce or separation, custody was almost always awarded to men, suggesting that they were believed to be capable parents. Second, parenting advice manuals and other writings were directed at fathers, not mothers

(LaRossa 1997). Both of these position men firmly in families, giving them a central role in the project of childrearing.

The rise of industrialization radically changed the social, economic, and in turn familial landscape of US and Canadian society. As the family farm and small-scale production gave way to wage labor and factory work (Coontz 1992), and the Church lost some of its foothold in society,[3] North American society was profoundly changed. John Demos, in his history of fatherhood, aptly captures how this dramatic social change affected fathers:

> the wrenching apart of work and home-life is one of the great themes in social history. And for fathers, in particular, the consequences can hardly be overestimated. Certain key elements of premodern fatherhood disappeared (e.g. *father as teacher, fathers as moral overseer, fathers as companion*), while others were profoundly transformed (*father as counselor, father as model*)… Now, for the first time, the central activity of fatherhood was sited outside one's immediate household. Now, being fully a father meant being separated from one's children for a considerable part of each working day (Demos 1982, 433-34, emphasis in the original).

This separation of work and home developed into what became know as the Victorian notion of separate spheres. Built into this ideology is an understanding of gender that positions men and women as best suited for different, and quite opposite, things (Adams and Coltrane 2005). This ideology posits that men, being stronger, more rational, more individually oriented, selfish and competitive, were better suited for public life, education, and work, while women were believed to be more at home in the domestic realm. Their selfless and nurturing nature made them ill-suited for the tough, public realm, including paid labor outside the home, but particularly well prepared to raise children and create a welcoming retreat for men from the outside world. This gender

[3] The Catholic Church maintained a stronghold in Quebec society well into the 1950s, affecting the organization of Quebec family life in important ways until this time.

ideology positioned a divide between the chaotic and dangerous public realm–the domain of men–and the safe and pure private realm, the place of women (Pleck 1987). From within this context, men came to be understood as breadwinners, while women were homemakers. The breadwinner role, therefore, emerged "naturally" from the organization of wage work. Good fathering was no longer about moral guidance, but instead emphasized the role of provider (Lamb 1987).

In this context, best practices around childrearing also changed. Enlightenment ideas about socialization, notably philosopher John Locke's concept of the mind as a *tabula rasa*, meant that childhood was no longer a time to instill deference to authority and respect for hierarchy. Instead, the aim of child rearing should be the development of "a child's conscience and self-government" (Mintz and Kellogg 1988, 47). Women's more sensitive nature made them better suited for this type of childrearing. Changes to the location of work, shifting understandings of gender, and new beliefs about human nature functioned to place women at the center of the family, while men were being pushed to a more peripheral position (LaRossa 1997).

It is during this period that what Canadian sociologist Dorothy Smith termed the "Standard North American Family" really took hold in North American society. Smith defined the "Standard North American Family" as "a conception of family as a legally married couple sharing a household. The adult male is in paid employment; his earnings provide the economic basis for the family-household. The adult female may also earn income, but her primary responsibility is to the care of husband, household, and children" (Smith 1993, 52).

This construction of family, however, represents a particular race and class location in U.S. and Canadian society, that of the white middle class.[4] For most, sequestering women and children in the home, free of economic responsibility, was simply not possible. While industrialization removed some women from the public realm, others were forced into very low-paying and oftentimes very unsafe workplaces. Furthermore, the Victorian home often functioned in no small measure due to the work of poor and minority domestic workers. Similarly, as some children were indulging in the joys of an extended childhood, others were working long days, in similarly unsafe conditions. Perhaps more so than in the pervious period, the dominant family form–composed of a breadwinner/homemaker dyad–of this period is best understood as an ideal rather than the lived reality for most North Americans (Coontz 2000).

Great social upheaval greeted North Americans in the 20th century; World War I, the Great Depression and World War II shifted gender relations, as male absence pushed more women into the workforce and fatherless families cast many women and children into poverty. The inter-war decades of the 1920s and 1930s, referred to as the Machine Age, offered two interesting additions to understanding fatherhood: domestic masculinity and masculine domesticity (LaRossa 1997); each extended fatherhood beyond simply a breadwinner. LaRossa suggests that domestic masculinity took hold in the 1920s, an ideological construct that positioned fathers as "a chum, a companion, a playmate" (LaRossa 1997, 39). Masculine domesticity was favored in the 1930s, emphasizing "the importance of being a manly guide not only to sons but to daughters, an active parent whose job it was to counterbalance the emotionally laden and potentially destructive

[4] This was also a family form more represented in English Canada, including the Anglophone populations in Quebec, than among French Canadians in Quebec.

influence of women" (Ibid.). Each of these would come to factor prominently in the ideal conceptions of fatherhood in the latter half of the 20th century.

In the decades following World War II, the United States, Canada, and Quebec experienced an initial period of economic growth. Secure, well paying manufacturing jobs offered workers a family wage, allowing more and more Americans and Canadians to adhere to the middle class ideal of a breadwinner husband and a stay-at-home wife and mother. Suburbanization expanded, allowing more and more families, not just the most economically privileged, to move out of the urban core. This further separated work and family, thereby reinforcing the separation of spheres (England 1993).

In both the US and Canada, scholars began to draw attention to the damaging effects of father absence, particularly on boys (Dowd 2001; Griswold 1993). To combat these effects, fathers were encouraged to provide appropriate "sex role modeling," especially to sons. Here, the masculinity of fathers, one very much rooted in the breadwinner/homemaker dynamic, was understood to be the most significant contribution fathers made to their children. The masculine domesticity of the 1930s is evident in this conception of ideal fatherhood.

The civil rights movement, the anti-war movement, the women's movement and the gay liberation movement that swept through North American society from the 1950s through the 1970s all called into question the organization of North American society and the white, heterosexual male privilege that was so pervasive.[5] This social milieu gave rise

[5] The 1960s also marked a time of tremendous change in Quebec society, referred to as the Quiet Revolution. Changes that occurred during the decade moved the province away from an economically weak, conservative society dominated by the Catholic Church towards a highly secular social welfare state (Cuccioletta and Lubin 2011). This was also a period that saw a steep, and at times violent, rise of Quebec nationalism. Although Quebec has historically been different than the rest of English Canada, the 1960s set in motion much of what distinguishes Quebec so radically from English Canada today.

to the fourth and final ideal of good fathering, that of nurturant father (Lamb 1987). The rigid forms of masculinity of the 1950s were being questioned by the 1970s, in part thanks to the women's movement. By calling into question social norms around gender, particularly the separation of spheres and the private/public dichotomy, feminists opened the door for a different set of expectations around fathering. From this context of dramatic social change came an ideal of fatherhood that extended much beyond an appropriate sex role model or breadwinner and instead included these dimensions along with other, more engaged dimensions of parenting.

This brief history of fatherhood in the USA and Canada highlights two important research findings about fatherhood. First, many scholars have pointed to the "ecological sensitivity" of fatherhood (Doherty et al. 1998). In contrast to motherhood, fatherhood is more circumstantially variable and more highly influenced by factors external to fathers, including macro level shifts in work, politics, religion, and education. Scholars have concluded that fatherhood "cannot be defined in isolation from mothering, mothers' expectations, and social expectations about childbearing in the society" (Doherty et al. 1998). This project contributes to this line of inquiry by examining how fathers configure fathering in the context of different social policy contexts.

Second, this history also highlights that understandings of gender also change over time and that the most prized form of masculinity, much like ideal fatherhood, is also historically specific and susceptible to change. Ideal forms of masculinity play an important role in shaping families and the dominant image of good fathering and vice versa. As social change occurs, the practices and ideas that maintain an unequal gender order must shift and adapted in order to be effective. Masculinity, then, has changed over

time, adapting and adjusting to the social, political and economic conditions of the different periods of North American history (Adams and Coltrane 2005). I continue this line of inquiry into the present day, examining how social change and social policy come together to enable or limit father involvement, being attentive to how masculinity shapes and is shaped by the four mechanisms I identify: structure of state-level family leave policies, presence and involvement of extended kin, childcare arrangements, and location of home and work. To more fully understand the co-constructed nature of masculinity and fatherhood, I now turn to the theoretical underpinnings of this project.

Theories of Gender and Masculinities

Carrigan, Connell and Lee's 1985 piece "Towards a New Sociology of Masculinity" presents the beginnings of what would become the field of masculinities studies (Schrock and Schwalbe 2009). This piece lays out the framework of hegemonic and subordinated masculinities. Adopting the "essential feminist insight that the overall relationship between men and women is one involving domination or oppression" (Carrigan et al. 1985) as their point of departure, Carrigan and colleagues provide a critique of the "sex role" literature and functionalism (Carrigan et al. 1985). They argue that although this theoretical approach did much to advance the field of gender studies, it engaged insufficiently with issues of power in gender relations. They propose using the concept of hegemony, a concept describing how a dominant group wins and then holds on to power with the support of the dominated group (Carrigan et al. 1985), to overcome this theoretical shortcoming.

In several key pieces written over the next 20 years (see Connell 1995; Connell

1993; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005), Connell continued to draw specifically from Gramsci's use of hegemony in regards to class relations to develop a broad understanding of gender and the more specific framework of hegemonic masculinity. Connell defined hegemony as "the cultural dynamic by which a group claims and sustains a leading position in social life" (Connell 1995, 77). This is not accomplished by force, but rather by naturalizing a way of seeing the world such that those in a dominant position are believed to occupy that position justly, rather than as a function of power dynamics. As such, complicity from those in non-dominant positions is essential in the maintenance of the status quo.

However, much like any power system, new forms of hegemony can–and often do–displace current ones, making a hegemonic system vulnerable to change. Connell argued that gender was relational and historically grounded (Connell 1995). Hegemonic masculinity came to be understood as a "configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (Connell 1995, 77).

Two elements of this definition are noteworthy: first, its emphasis on change and second, its positioning of patriarchy as something in need of defense, not a self-sustaining, trans-historical structure. Patriarchy is not a self-reproducing system, but rather an historical process (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Men do not dominate women without actively and consistently working to maintain this power structure, nor can men rely on the same practices to maintain patriarchy over time. As social change occurs, which Connell argues will happen if men and women continue to be groups with

opposing interests (Connell 1995), new strategies are necessary, leading to new forms of hegemonic masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).

Rejecting biological arguments, which posit a static understanding of sex, Connell argued for a socially constructed understanding of masculinity and femininity that took into account the historically specific and contextual situated nature of gender relations.[6] By underscoring the interplay between structure and agency, Connell's framework allowed for the possibility of change (Demetriou 2001). More importantly, however, this perspective drew attention to the fact that men's social power, in the form of a dominant understanding of masculinity–far from a biological given–needed to be constantly constructed and reproduced (Campbell and Bell 2000).

Also key is the way Connell's masculinity framework drew attention to the distribution of power among men. Connell highlighted the existence of multiple masculinities, and noted that these multiple masculinities were also hierarchically ordered (Connell 1995). This ordering is not derived from some natural ability among some men, but rather from some men's greater access to resources that enable them to embody a configuration of practice that best maintains the oppression of women (Demetriou 2001). In his critique of Connell, Demetriou argues that this multiple masculinities formulation makes a further, subtler and often overlooked contribution: "Connell's originality lies in the formulation of a single theoretical principle that states that the *relationship within genders are centered on, and can be explained by, the relationship between genders"* (emphasis added, 342). In other words, the inequality between men and women is the

[6] Hegemonic masculinity cannot exist in the absence of an understanding of femininity. Although this aspect of Connell's theory is significantly less utilized, he proposes the notion of emphasized femininity as the contrast to hegemonic masculinity.

foundation for the inequality that exists between different groups of men and between different groups of women.

Connell argues that the similarities drawn between homosexuality and femininity place gay masculinities at the bottom of the masculinities hierarchy, attaching the term subordinated masculinities. Of course, subordinated masculinities include all manifestations of masculinity that do not conform or attempt to conform to hegemonic ideals, i.e., do not do an adequate job of reproducing male dominance.

Connell also identifies complicit and marginalized masculinities. Complicit masculinities are a necessary part of a hegemonic system–the complicity of men who cannot attain the normative standards of hegemonic masculinity, but participate in and benefit from hegemonic masculinity, also contribute to inequality between the genders. Connell's fourth form of masculinity, marginalized masculinities, takes into account how gender interacts with other social structures, such as race and class (Connell 1995). This multiple masculinities perspective underscores the very real fact that while men, as a group, dominate women, as a group, not all men participate, or are able to participate, in this domination equally.

Two key insights from this overview of masculinities theory inform the findings presented in the chapters that follow. First, that patriarchy is not a stable system of domination, but instead must be continually protected and reproduced, suggests that an alternative is possible. A social system that is not organized around male domination is, at least in theory, possible. This leads to the second key insight: that this system of domination is propped up by a dominant form of masculinity, or what Connell labels hegemonic masculinity. To address threats that would disrupt the current hierarchy,

hegemonic masculinity changes and adapts. Essential in this project of adaptation and preservation are those men who are complicit, whose actions, embodiments, and ways of being in the world help sustain the hegemonic ideal. Some of the men in this study are those men, while others are challenging the hegemonic ideal in their fathering. As fewer and fewer men are willing to sustain a vision of masculinity that is built on the subordination of women, the current system will eventually become unsustainable.

The story of men's place in families today provides glimpses of men rejecting this hegemonic ideal. Some men's increased involvement in mundane care work, the ways they adapt their work responsibilities to fit their family responsibilities, and the egalitarian partnerships they forge with their partners are all evidence that changes to how men think about and do family are, indeed, taking place. But the simultaneous use of male privilege by other men to limit their family involvement, which often includes some degree of participation in home life, illustrates the tension that exists between conflicting masculinities. This project illustrates how this tension plays out by focusing on four structural factors that hold the potential to contribute to a more gender egalitarian family structure.

Current Research on Fatherhood

Sociologists' interest in father involvement in families greatly expanded in the post-World War II period. Social scientists became concerned with father absence and the impact of this absence on child outcomes. Children raised in the absence of fathers were believed to struggle with many mal-adaptive behaviors, boys being particularly prone to negative outcomes: "boys growing up without fathers seem especially prone to

exhibit problems in the areas of sex-role and gender-identity development, school performance, psychological adjustment, and in the control of aggression" (Cabrera and Peters 2000, 298). Much of this research, conducted in the 1950s and 1960s, came out of criminology and deviance, and focused exclusively on the presence or absence of fathers.

Several factors prompted a shift in the focus of research on fathers. The women's movement "brought about a huge surge of interest in family life" (Lupton 1997, 52) among scholars and laypeople alike. The new social milieu created by the women's movement, where more women worked for wages and contemporary understandings of gender were being challenged, also gave rise to the ideal of an involved, nurturant father. Social scientists were no longer simply interested in *if* fathers were present, but instead began to ask *what* fathers were now doing in families and how much time they were devoting to these activities/tasks. Much of this research, however, was framed as a direct comparison to what women were doing in families and how much they spent engaged in childcare and domestic labor. The rise in popularity of time use methodology during this period, in part, led to this early focus on time (Lamb 2000).

Scholars would later label this approach the deficit model, as it often led to conclusions about the deficiencies of men (Gerson 1997). By employing a "mothering template" as a basis for measuring fathering, social scientists were later criticized for ignoring what is "unique and most important about fatherhood" (Coltrane and Adams 2001, 74). In particular, as Marsiglio, Day, and Lamb point out, this approach served to undermine and undervalue "traditionally masculine expressions of paternal involvement such as breadwinning and developing social capital" (2000a, 274). Furthermore, non-observable aspects of father involvement were also overlooked, such as providing

emotional support for mothers and wives (Lamb 2000). Because of the approaches taken to researching father involvement, much of this early work on father involvement revealed low levels of family involvement from men.

In response to these critiques, several alternative theories and approaches emerged in the 1980s and 1990s. The continued interest in father involvement in the 1980s produced Lamb, Pleck, Charnov and Levine's tripartite typology of father involvement (Lamb et al. 1985; Lamb 1987; Lamb 2004). Published initially in *American Zoologist*, Lamb and colleagues proposed three different forms of father involvement: engagement, accessibility, and responsibility. Unlike previous approaches that enumerated specific (and often very gendered) tasks, this typology identified broad groupings of ways a parent might be involved. This typology captures various forms of involvement, from reading and playing (engagement), to meal preparation while a child does homework (accessibility), to planning and organizing around the child (responsibility). This typology figures prominently into Chapter 1 and so will be further elaborated there.

A second major theoretical contribution from this period focuses not on what fathers do in families, but rather on how they come to be more involved. Lamb and colleagues (Lamb et al. 1985; Lamb 1987) articulate the conditions under which optimal father involvement tends to occur: "when a father is highly *motivated*, has adequate parenting *skills*, receives social *support* for his parenting, and is not undermined by work and other *institutional settings*" (Lamb et al. 1985, 888-889, emphasis added). Of all the various theories and approaches to the study of father involvement, this has been identified by some scholars as the most influential (Doherty et al. 1998). I draw from this model in Chapter 3 and will therefore provide more detail in that chapter.

The 1990s and 2000s saw an expansion of research on men's family experience using nationally representative data sets, such as the National Longitudinal Study of Youth and the American Time Use Study (e.g. Nepomnyaschy and Waldfogel 2007). What much of this work reveals is that men today are taking a more active part in family life than at any previous time since such data has been collected. At the level of international analysis, studies considering the ways state-level policies aimed at fathers influence families dynamics, work, and gender inequality have increased as more countries now have such policies (Ray, Gornick, and Schmitt 2009). Some of this research is comparative (e.g. Haas and Rostgaard 2011; Kaufman, Lyonette, and Crompton 2010; O'Brien, Brandth, and Kvande 2007), finding US fathers less engaged in family life than their counterparts in other developed nations (O'Brien 2009), while research on single countries such as Sweden (Haas 2003; 1990), England (Tanaka & Waldfogel 2007) and Australia (Whitehouse, Diamond, and Biard 2007) suggests the important role played by social policy in fathering.

What this cross-national research demonstrates is that non-transferable paternity leave, paid at a high wage replacement level, leads to higher levels of leave-taking and lengthier leaves among men. When leave is transferable, meaning it must be shared between parents, new mothers take the overwhelming majority of the available leave. When the wage replacement level is too low, fathers forgo even non-transferable leave, most often for financial reasons. These quantitative findings have been supplemented by and expanded on in several key qualitative projects that illustrate how men understand and experience changing family and work dynamics. Although my project is informed by

the quantitative work cited above, the design, analysis, and framing of the findings is very much indebted to much of the work described below.

The 1990s brought new attention to the subjective experience and meanings of fatherhood. This research has been highly influenced by micro theories, particularly symbolic interaction and identity theory. The work developed along these lines has focused on understanding "how men perceive and construct their identities as fathers in diverse situations," (Marsgilio et al. 2000b, 1177). Sociologist Kathleen Gerson's 1993 book *No Man's Land: Men's Changing Commitment to Work and Family* examines how men responded to the changing gender landscape, where options for expressing/achieving masculinity are more varied than in the past. Using in-depth, life history interviews, Gerson identifies three different paths men took in their attempts to reconcile work, family, and expectations around masculinity. Of the 138 interviews she conducted, about a third of the men adopted the position of primary breadwinning, resisting "involvement in caretaking and domestic work" (Gerson 1993, 11), another third opted out of parenting or father involvement, and the final third "developed an outlook on parenthood that included caretaking as well as economic support" (Ibid). Like Gerson, I made no attempt to oversample fathers who either shared paid and unpaid labor with their wives or who had a more traditional outlook, but the majority of the couples in my sample tended towards sharing rather than specialization. An economic recession, and subsequent slow recovery, in both the US and Canada provide the context for Gerson's work, as is also the case with the research presented here.

Similar to Gerson's work, anthropologist Nicholas Townsend's highly influential book *The Package Deal: Marriage, Work, and Fatherhood in Men's Lives* (2002)

highlights the contradictions and tensions that American men face in their experience of family and work at a time where these areas are undergoing significant change. Townsend argues that men now see "their lives, and measure[d] their success, in terms of a *package deal* in which having children, being married, holding a steady job, and owning a home were four interconnected *elements.* No single element could be evaluated alone, and success in any one element alone did not guarantee success overall" (emphasis in original, Townsend 2002, 2). Fatherhood, one of the four elements in this package deal is itself composed of four "facets: emotional closeness, provision, protection, and endowment," (Ibid, 2).

Turning to research specifically examining the English Canadian context, sociologists Andrea Doucet and Gillian Ranson have made significant contributions to the conversation about fatherhood, parenting, and gender. Although both scholars draw on qualitative data from Canada in their analyses, the insights from their work have much to offer the conversation about fatherhood in other Western industrialized nations. Doucet's work has focused largely on fathers who are primary care providers in their families, taking up the question "do men mother?' In her 2007 book of that title, *Do Men Mother? Fathering, Care, and Domestic Responsibility*, Doucet examines the contours of care work performed by men, asking how masculinity and gender relations shift when men take on the types of responsibilities most commonly associated with mothering. She finds that when men are primary care takers of their children, as the stay-at-home fathers that populate much of her research are, they are just as capable as parenting as fully as women, even if they enact parenting in slightly different ways. The influence of Doucet's

work on this project is most evident in Chapter 1, where I too take up the issue of men's involvement in care work and responsibility for children.

Ranson's work is in the same vein, but rather than focusing on fathers specifically/exclusively, she examines couples who, she argues, are "undoing gender" in how they have divide economic provisioning and care work (Ranson 2010, 29). Her examination of unconventional divisions of labor and the corresponding alterations to gender dynamics bring to the forefront what she sees as slow and incremental change in "the gendered allocation of responsibility for earning and caring work" (Ranson 2010, 9). It is my hope that my project can make a further contribution to this conversation by highlighting structural factors that either enable or limit men's opportunities to configure more involved ways of fathering.

I situate the findings presented here as in conversation with the meaning- and process-oriented work of scholars such as Gerson, Townsend, Doucet, and Ranson. Concerned with how men understand changes to fatherhood and masculinity and how these understandings in turn shape behavior, this project continues to interrogate how structural changes influence individual lives. While the US and Canada do represent different social milieus, that they share much in the way of economies and cultural products results in a degree of similarity that makes findings about social processes and family negotiations meaningful across borders.

Clearly, the ways work and family are changing men's experience of fatherhood and masculinity, and the ways these experiences are in turn shifting work and family, have captured the sociological imagination of social scientists using a variety of approaches to social research. Below I describe the three social policy contexts studied in

this project before turning to the methods used, providing information on the interview guide, analytic approach, and the sample.

Family Leave Policies: Canada, Quebec, and the USA

The US, Canada, and the Canadian province of Quebec have each taken a different approach to supporting residents across the life course. From family leave and child care subsidies to unemployment benefits and pension support, these three jurisdictions have developed social policies rooted in fundamentally different understandings of the state's role in the lives of citizens. Thinking about these three contexts on a continuum, Quebec has the most extensive configuration of social policies, covering the greatest percentage of the population. At the other extreme, the US has the fewest social policies and those that do exist are often, but certainly not exclusively, more narrowly targeted at the poor.

An important point of divergence between the three contexts is found in the policies around family leave, with each offering significantly different opportunities for men to take time off following the birth of child. In the USA, the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA), which was signed into law in 1993, provides up to 12 weeks of protected, unpaid leave to new parents, male or female, with several significant restrictions. These restrictions include being employed by the same employer for at least 12 months, having worked for this employer for 1250 hours in the 12 months prior to taking leave, and the employer having at least 50 employees in a 75-mile radius of the employee's worksite. The FMLA's gender neutrality means that (some) new fathers are entitled to 12 weeks of leave. The structure of the FMLA means that an employee might

work for an employer that is covered by the FMLA, but not be eligible because she or he had not met the work requirements.

The FMLA has had a fairly limited impact, due in large part to its limited accessibility and its unpaid nature. An estimated 62% of the US labor force qualify for FMLA leave, but less than 20% of those qualified under the policy–or approximately 12% of the total labor force–ever take leave (http://www.aauw.org/act/laf/library/fmlastatistics.cfm). An employee's own health is the most common reason for taking FLMA leave, followed by care of a newborn or newly adopted child (http://www.dol.gov/whd/fmla/chapter2.htm). Data shows that employees who are covered and eligible for FMLA leave are most likely to be between 25 and 64 years of age, of White non-Hispanic ethnicity, married, with at least a high school education, and with significantly higher annual family income, compared to employees who are not covered or eligible for FMLA leave (http://www.dol.gov/whd/fmla/chapter3.htm).

Research on paternal leave taking shows that new fathers in the USA are most likely to make use of employer-supported programs, if such programs exist, than FMLA leave. American Time Use Survey data shows that about 44.45% of male workers over 18 have access to employer supported paid leave, compared to about 46.58% of female employees over 18 (http://www.dol.gov/whd/fmla/chapter3.htm). Another common strategy new fathers employ in order to take time off after the first of a child is to pool together vacation, sick, or personal leave days (Harrington, Van Duesen, and Sabatini Fraone 20130; Seward et al 2006), if they take leave at all. This "invisible leave" allows fathers to preserve the ideal worker image (Williams 1995; 2000). Williams suggests that

(good) jobs in the US economy, and I would argue the Canadian economy as well, are organized around the ideal of an unencumbered worker. This worker begins work in his or her 20s and continues to work uninterrupted by family obligations until retirement. The lack of family responsibility of this worker genders this ideal as masculine. The same impulse to preserve the image of the ideal worker is believed to account for why, when corporate parental leave options exist, new fathers are not likely to take advantage of them either.

The current federal parental leave program in Canada, the Canadian Employment Insurance Maternity and Parental Leave Benefits program (EI), went into effect in 2001. It provides 15 weeks of paid maternity leave plus an additional 35 weeks of paid parental leave that may be shared between the mother and father. The wage replacement rate is 55% of one's salary, up to a maximum insurable income of $42,300. The federal program makes no specific provisions for fathers. Similar to FMLA leave, access to these benefits is contingent upon meeting employment tenure and hours worked requirements–new parents, male or female, must have worked a minimum of 600 hours in the previous 52 weeks to qualify for leave. An important difference beyond wage replacement between this policy and the FMLA, however, is that qualifying for leave is based only on the employee, not also on the employer. Data from the Survey of Young Canadians 2010[7] estimates that 90% of new mothers who were working prior to the birth of a child took some type of leave after the birth of a child; the length of this leave averaged 44 weeks (Findlay and Kohen 2012). Twenty-six percent of fathers report taking leave (ibid), but Hoffman points to data from the Canadian Labor Force Survey that shows only 11% of

[7] These figures do not include new parents in Quebec.

men outside Quebec file for government-supported paid leave (Hoffman 2011). All types of leave taken by fathers are significantly shorter than leaves taken by mothers, averaging less than 2 weeks.

After a lengthy battle with the Canadian government, Quebec introduced the Parental Insurance Plan (QPIP) in January of 2006. Dissatisfied with the newly introduced federal EI program, described above, the Quebec government sought to manage and fund its own, more expansive program. With the lowest birth rate in the country, Quebec wanted to create a program that would include the most workers, would provide the most support possible, and would contribute to a more gender equitable society. The provincial government felt that the most vulnerable– poor women and families, immigrant women, and single women–were unjustly excluded from the federal plan, often due to an unstable relationship to paid labor. Furthermore, Quebec felt that the rate of compensation proposed in the federal plan was too low to make the program actually accessible to families other than the most well off. Finally, the provincial government wanted to encourage fathers to take a more active role in the family, including a non-transferable paternity leave component in the program.

The provincial government developed a flexible program that would cover the greatest number of workers, provide higher levels of financial compensation and encourage men to be more involved in families through a paid, non-transferable paternity leave component. The QPIP offers two options, the basic plan and the special plan. Families can opt to have a longer period of leave, with a smaller percentage of pay, or a shorter period with slightly higher percentage of pay. The only restriction is that both the

mother and the father must opt for the same plan; a family cannot have the mother take benefits under the special plan and the father under the basic plan.

The follow table provides a summary of the benefits for QPIP:

Table 1. QPIP Benefits

	Basic	Special
Maternity Leave	18 weeks/ 70% of salary	15 weeks/ 75% of salary
Paternity Leave	5 weeks/ 70% of salary	3 weeks/ 75% of salary
Parental Leave (can be shared or taken by one parent)	32 weeks (1st 7 weeks- 70% of salary, remaining weeks- 55% of salary	25 weeks/ 75% of salary

Like the Canadian federal plan, QPIP designates certain weeks as maternity leave (basic plan: 18 weeks; special plan: 15 weeks), available only to the mother, while the remaining weeks of parental leave may be shared between the parents (basic plan: 32 weeks; special plan: 25 weeks). QPIP goes one important step further, offering 3 (special plan) to 5 (basic plan) weeks of non-transferable paternity leave, paid at a 70 to75% wage replacement level. Single parents and same sex couples can claim benefits, as well as parents of newly adopted children. Statistics on parental leave in Quebec highlight the influence of policy on leave-taking behavior: almost 100% of mothers took paid leave, averaging 45 weeks while 76% of fathers took an average of 5.5 weeks of paid leave (Findlay and Kohen 2012).

Table 2: State-level Family Leave Benefits: USA, Canada, and Quebec

	USA[8]	Canada	Quebec
Maternity Leave (leave available only to mothers)	12 weeks	15 weeks	18 weeks (basic) 15 weeks (special)
Paternity Leave (leave available only to fathers)	12 weeks	0 weeks	5 weeks
Parental Leave (shared leave available to either parent)	0 weeks	35 weeks	32 weeks (basic) 25 weeks (special)
Wage replacement	0%	All available leave is paid at 55% Maximum insurable income: $47,400	Maternity and paternity leave (basic): 70% Maternity and paternity leave (special): 75% Shared leave (basic): Shared leave (special): 75% Maximum insurable income: $67,500
Qualifying criteria	Employed with same employer for 12 months Worked a total of 1250 hours for that employer Employer must have at least 50	Worked a total of 600 hours in previous 52 weeks Paid EI premiums through employer wage/salary deductions	Earned at least $2,000 of income in previous 52 weeks Paid QPIP premiums through wage/salary deductions

[8] The gender neutral and employee-specific nature of FMLA leave means that, if a mother and father both qualify, they can each take 12 weeks of leave, even though these 12 weeks are not designated in the FMLA as "maternity" and "paternity" leave. This is because these weeks are tied to the *employee*. Equating these weeks to the parental leave offered under EI or QPIP is inaccurate because they are tied to the *birth*. This means that even if both parents qualify, they cannot both take the weeks of parental leave; these weeks can only be shared between parents.

employees within
75 miles of
employee's worksite

As is the case with many Canadian employers, the firm I studied currently has a "top up" policy. Fathers in Canada, including Quebec, have access to six weeks of paid paternity leave, which the firm "tops up" to 95% of an employee's salary, if they take leave under EI or QPIP immediately following the birth.[9] What this means is that if a male employee takes up to six weeks of leave under either EI or QPIP, the firm will supplement the government wage replacement income, bring the employee up to 95% of their total salary. A similar benefit is not available to American employees of the firm, due largely to significant difference in federal leave policies.

Methods

In this project, I am interested in contributing to a fuller understanding of how North American men experience and perceive fathering. With many large-scale studies documenting changing dynamics in present-day North American families across race and class lines (Parker and Wang, 2013; Taylor 2010; Bianchi et al. 2006), I am concerned with the subjective experience behind these numbers, specifically as they relate to men's experience of family life. The findings presented in the following chapters are drawn from analysis of 85 semi-structured interviews I conducted with fathers and their female partners. The life history-type approach to data collection and analysis used in this project builds on the work of Kathleen Gerson in both *No Man's Land: Men's Changing*

[9] This top up policy includes female workers as well: for the first six weeks of their maternity leave, female employees of the firm also receive top up payments up to 95% of their salary. After these first six weeks, they receive payment only through EI or QPIP, depending on where they live.

Commitment to Family and Work (1993) and *Hard Choice: How Women Decide About Work, Career, and Motherhood* (1985). Because life histories focus on individuals' experiences of the world in which they live, they are particularly appropriate for research about how individuals understand and experience social change and the shifting cultural norms that accompanies such change.

I chose in-depth interviews as the data collection method for the project because of how they highlight process, meaning-making, and the connections individuals make between various experiences in their own lives (Marshall and Rossman 1999). They allow respondents to frame and retell their life experiences in their own terms, using language that is meaningful and appropriate to them. As with all qualitative research, respondents accounts involve a certain degree of interpretation. They highlight some aspects of their lives, while downplaying others. While the semi-structured interview guide used asked respondents to focus on particular aspects of their lives (Marshall and Rossman 1999), it was not a straightjacket. Respondents were given the space to explore fully the topics most salient to them and to take questions in the direction most appropriate for their life experiences.

I conducted these interviews with 50 fathers and 35 of their female partners in three North American cities–Montreal, Toronto, and Chicago–each reflecting a different social policy context. The interviews were fairly evenly distributed across the three cities, with equal numbers of men and women interviewed in each city.

Table 3: Distribution of Respondent by City and Gender

	Montreal	Toronto	Chicago	Total
Fathers	16	17	17	50
Mothers	11	14	10	35
Total	27	31	27	85

Sampling Strategy, Inclusion Criteria, Recruitment Procedure

Fathers were recruited from within a single financial services firm with operations in both Canada and the United States. By recruiting within a single firm, I was able to control for some employer-specific structural variation. Organizational policy and culture around and management support for men's involvement in families, along with economic sector, have been shown to influence father involvement (Russell and Hwang 2004), making controlling for some of this variation key to producing rigorous social analysis. The firm, ranked in the top 150 of *Forbes'* Global 2000 list (http://www.forbes.com/global2000/list/), currently employs over 50,000 people worldwide, with the bulk if its workforce in Canada. It provides a variety of personal, commercial, investment, and wealth management services worldwide, although the firm's largest presence is in North America.

In addition to reflecting three different policy contexts, Montreal, Toronto, and Chicago were ideal cities in which to conduct interviews with employees of this particular firm, as many core business functions are centered in these three cities. As such, I was able to capture a range of occupations within a single firm, providing some diversity among jobs held by interviewees. This occupational variation also translated

into variation in educational backgrounds and career trajectories, adding to the richness of the data collected.

I approached this firm about participating in my study for several reasons. First, it consistently ranks among the top employers in the both US and Canada for both policies supporting working mothers and its diversity initiatives. It has undertaken several initiatives to diversify its workforce, in terms of gender, race/ethnicity, and sexuality, and to attract and retain women into management and executive roles. Given this interest, I felt they might be amenable to participation in this study of men, work, and family. Second, it offers fairly generous benefits for full time employees,[10] ranging from paid maternity and paternity leave (in Canada, but not in the US), "unlimited" personal days, additional sick days, and emergency childcare coverage for up to five days per year. These benefits make the firm, on paper, family friendly in a gender neutral way. Finally, through a contact at this firm, I learned that they were in the process of trying to reconcile their Canadian and American employee policies and programs. Given the comparative nature of my project, the contact suggested the firm might be interested in partnering.

I was put in touch, via email, with the Senior Vice President of Talent Strategies and Executive Resourcing. In this email, I included a brief summary of the project, along with a lengthier project proposal. She forwarded the proposal to the Senior Director of Human Resources (HR), giving it her approval and requesting that HR collaborate with me to recruit the necessary participants. Upon completion of this project, I prepared an executive summary of the results along with additional findings related specifically to the firm's policies, procedures, and employee experiences.

[10] I qualify the benefits as "fairly generous" because while comparing across industries and economic sectors, the benefits offered by the firm are generous, they reflect the benefits offered by other financial institutions, meaning they are more standard than generous for this particular industry.

The firm's HR department was highly involved in recruitment efforts. An HR consultant from the firm was assigned to assist me and has served as my point of contact throughout the project. In collaboration with the firm's Communications department, I drafted an email invitation outlining the scope of the project and detailing the inclusion criteria; it was then translated into French by the firm's Communications department. HR sent out this email invitation to a randomly generated list of 600 male employees working in Montreal, Toronto, and Chicago (200 in each city), in both English and French. A second round of 200 invitations went out to men in Montreal and Chicago (100 in each city) four months later. In order to recruit a sufficient number of participants in each city, I also employed a snowball sampling strategy with those fathers who participated in the study. Commonly used by social researchers working with hard to locate or hidden populations (Weathington et al. 2010), snowball sampling relies on the social networks of initial study participants to locate additional individuals to interview. Because the firm was very interested in protecting the privacy of its employees, I was not allowed to directly contact potential employees who had not received the email invitation from HR. Instead, I asked employees whom I did interview to pass along my contact information or the email invitation to colleagues who they thought might also be interesting in participating.

As a result of this snowball approach, I have small clusters of fathers, two in Toronto and one in Chicago, who all work in the same work group. The first Toronto cluster included three fathers working in process improvement. Each of these fathers had a Bachelor's degree in mechanical engineering and had previously worked as mechanical engineers. During our interview, each recounted how a desire for greater work/family

balance had prompted a move out of industry and into the process improvement side of financial services. A second cluster in Toronto included four fathers who did non-engineering process work in a different group located in a different office building. The final cluster was in Chicago, consisting of four fathers who worked in commercial banking. All four had MBA degrees, traveled for two to three days at a time on a fairly regular basis, and were among the fathers in my sample whose salaries included a substantial performance-based bonus component.

In order to participate, fathers had to be cohabiting with the mother of their child(ren), be between the ages of 25 and 50, have at least one child born since 2006,[11] and reside in the greater Montreal, Toronto, or Chicago area. Due to privacy concerns, potential respondents could not be selected based on dependent status, meaning men without children, or with children too old to make them eligible for the study, received the email invitation to participate. I had inquiries from several such men, including men who did not live in one of the three cities but whose job was located there, men with older children, or men who were divorced, asking if they could participate as well. Without knowing how many men who received the invitation to participate actually met the criteria for inclusion in the study, calculating a response rate is impossible.

Because research shows that mothers and fathers in the same couple report different levels of father involvement (Coley and Morris 2002; Mikelson 2008), I interviewed both partners in the couple whenever possible. In the initial invitation to participate, my interest in interviewing potential respondents' partners was clearly stated ("Given the focus on fatherhood and family, Ms. Rehel would also like to interview your

[11] I wanted all fathers in each city in the study to have access to the same policy benefits, requiring me to limit my sample to families with a child born since 2006. It was in 2006 that the Quebec government introduced their generous Parental Insurance Plan.

partner in a separate, hour long, interview"); in the second round of invitations, this language was "softened" slightly, so as to encourage participation even if a father was unsure his partner would be interested ("Your partner's participation would be helpful for this research, however, Ms. Rehel understands this may not be possible"). In all, 35 female partners agreed to be interviewed. This form of triangulation–drawing on multiple groups of informants–enhances the rigor and validity of the findings of this research (Maxwell 2004; Denzin 1978).

Interview Guide

The interview guides for fathers and mothers were structured in the same way, containing questions about ideals around good fathering, the division of domestic labor and childcare, balancing work and family, and attitudes and uses of state and corporate family-related policies.

I began interviews by asking participants about themselves, where they grew up, about their family of origin (siblings, parental relationship), their education, how they met their partners, and a bit about how they decided to start a family. This initial line of questioning allowed me to establish a rapport with each participant before moving on to more specific questions. The next section of the interview asked participants to walk me through a typical weekday in their household, from "when everyone wakes up" through everyone's bedtimes. This led naturally into a series of questions about the division of labor and childcare, including a specific question on tasks either partner (almost) exclusively did. Based on findings from preliminary data collection, this section also included a question about a time, most often the first time, when the father was left solely

responsible for their child(ren). This question provided some particularly rich data about father involvement, parenting confidence, and maternal gatekeeping.

Participants were asked to describe how they understood good fathering, or what they believed it meant to be a good father. Fathers were then asked if they thought themselves to be good fathers, while their partners were asked for their thoughts and reflections on their partners' fathering. This section concluded by asking both men and women about something fathers could be better at doing than they currently were, which produced interesting data on how their ideals were or were not enacted in practice.

Changing gears, respondents were then asked about their work at the firm and if/in what ways they found it to be a family-friendly place to work. Partners were asked to provide their thoughts on the firm as well. This question was included in part to gather data to be used in the executive summary for the firm, but asking it revealed much about the tension between actual policy and working group-level culture within the firm.

The final section focused on leave-taking, insofar as an interest in family leave policy informed this research. Fathers were asked why they did or did not take leave, how they thought this decision influenced their family, employer/co-workers reaction (or a lack thereof) to leave-taking, and then their perception of how paternity leave was viewed at a societal level. The section concluded with a broad question about what types of policies or programs, at either the state or employer level, would help families balance work and family. This question revealed the greatest differences between participants in the three policy contexts, with Quebec participants most likely to suggest and/or support state-level initiatives and American participants most likely to suggest employer-level

ones, if any at all. Canadian participants[12] fell in the middle, often pointing to desirable policies that already existed in Quebec ($7-per-day daycare being the most common) or commenting on how lucky they were compared with their American counterparts.

The last two questions were as open-ended as possible, giving participants a chance to speak to issues that had not yet been touched on. To this end, I asked "is there anything you thought I might ask about today but didn't?" and "any other comments or reflections on fatherhood or parenting more generally?" The first of these two questions revealed much about how participants had understood the study, helping contextualize some of their answers.

Finally, each respondent was asked to complete the following table:

[12] Although interviews were only conducted in Toronto, Ontario, the federal policies that apply in Ontario are the same as those that apply in all other provinces in English Canada. Quebec alone has different policies. While I recognize that there are limitations to extrapolating findings from research conducted in Toronto to Canada as a whole, from Chicago to all of the USA, and Montreal to all of Quebec, I will use Canadian/Canada when discussing interviews conducted in Toronto, Quebec when discussing interviews from Montreal, and US/American when discussing interviews from Chicago.

Please fill in the follow chart as best you can.

	Who does know:	Reason:	Answer:
Shoe size			
Diaper size/underwear size			
Allergies			
Shampoo brand			
Babysitter's name (the one most frequently called)			

Figure 1: Chart to be Completed By Respondents

In filling out this table, fathers and mothers were asked, in the first column, to say who they thought knew the item of that row. In the second column, they were asked why they thought that person knew the information (for example: they do the shopping, they make arrangements for a babysitter). Finally, they had to provide the answer.

Similar in purpose to the list of domestic tasks used in other research on families (for examples, see Hofferth 2003; Radin 1994), the purpose of this exercise was less to establish who could answer these questions with greater ease or to see if couples came up

with the same answers and more to prompt a discussion of the more practical and material aspects of parenting. Items reflect routine aspects of childcare that could be encountered in a number of contexts and that did not necessarily change frequently, making it an interesting way to measure responsibility. Shampoo, for example, is something a parent might be familiar with from doing the shopping, from giving baths, or simply from seeing it in the bathroom.

As hoped, filling out this table produced additional rich data, often extending interviews by 10 to15 minutes. Both parents told stories or provided background to either their answers or their inability to provide answers. One father, for example, stated: "I don't even know how they size kids' shoes." A mother made it clear that details were not her thing and that her husband would definitely get more answers "right" than she would. The completed tables themselves are an interesting source of data, but the stories told and comments made while filling answers in were an interesting and different way of gaining a richer sense of each family.

The Interviews Themselves

I conducted all interviews between July and December 2011. Interviews lasted between 45 minutes and almost three hours, with most lasting approximately 75 minutes. All but 10 interviews were conducted in English; the remaining interviews were conducted in French or a characteristically Quebecois mix of French and English. All interviews were audio recorded. During each interview, I took notes on a printed copy of the interview guide, asking each participant's permission to do so. After each interview, I

took notes on my initial impressions and thoughts. When writing a post-interview memo was impossible, I recorded a voice memo and later transcribed it.

When conducted in person, interviews took place at a location of the participant's choice. This included everything from coffee shops to offices to people's homes. Five fathers and ten mothers were interviewed in their homes. While every effort was made to interview fathers and mothers separately, two of the couples interviewed in their homes were interviewed simultaneously. Although this shifted the dynamic in the interview, both of these interviews covered the same topics as those conducted separately. I made every effort to arrange to interview all participants in person, particularly fathers, but in several cases this was simply not feasible. The final three fathers recruited, all in Chicago, were interviewed by phone. Ten mothers were interviewed over the phone, at various times in the data collection. Because most fathers worked in two or three parts of each city, interviewing them was less challenging to arrange. Mothers were not similarly concentrated, which accounts for the difference in the number of fathers versus mothers (6 versus 10) interviewed over the phone. Three interviews not conducted in person were done using Skype's video chat option–two fathers and the partner of one of those fathers–which, while not the same as in person, worked quite well.

Most participants, fathers and mothers alike, were tremendously generous with not only their time but also with the stories they shared about their lives. These stories included happy stories of conceiving a child naturally after ceasing fertility treatments following many failed rounds, of particular father-child routines and activities, and of partnerships that had grown stronger since transitioning to parenthood. But they also included stories of difficult times, such as the death of a sick grandparent shortly after the

birth of a child, the very real challenges of raising a child with special needs, or of relationships under strain.

I encountered only one somewhat hostile participant, a father in Chicago. This father was initially aggressive in his reluctance to reveal anything about his family, his wife, or even many details about his five children. By the end of the interview, he was significantly more forthcoming, but even then, I never learned the names of any of his children or his wife! Unsurprisingly, I was not able to interview his wife. This interview, however, was very much exceptional.

Over the course of many interviews, fathers repeatedly thanked me for doing this project, for asking fathers for their experiences. Many said that no one had ever asked them what it was like to be a father nor had they necessarily sought out opportunities to talk about their experiences. In interviews with female partners that happened after the father had been interviewed, many mentioned how excited the father had been after being interviewed; many also said that the interview had prompted good conversation between them about family and work. While I was unable to financially compensate participants for their time, it does seem as though many derived some personal benefit from their participation.

At times I sensed that some participants saw the interviews as a type of counseling session. Many wanted to know if how their family did things was "normal," if other fathers felt stressed by family responsibilities and work demands, if the way they were parenting was "right." When asked direct questions about my opinions on such matters, I most often responded with what previous sociological research said about a particular topic. In keeping with other feminist researchers, I felt this was the best way to

share relevant information with participants and address their questions and concerns (Carpenter 2005), without also potentially creating conflict in couples' relationships.

Finally, the reality of being a woman interviewing men about fathering, work, and family raised the potential of social desirability in how fathers responded to my questions. While this issue of social desirability is an issue across social science research methods, the particular intersection of gender and family status in this research made me very cognizant of this issue. Of course there is no way to be sure participants, fathers or mothers, were "being straight" with me (Damaske 2011); the fact that I was presented not only with stories of family bliss and perfectly shared parenting, but also with stories of tension and struggle, suggests at least some degree of forthrightness from participants.

Sample

The resulting sample of fathers included only men in a range of white-collar occupations. Occupations included: private banker, financial planner, process improvement engineer, global finance specialist, and fraud auditor, among others. All fathers had at least some college education, with 12 holding MBA degrees. My sample included 14 fathers who were visible minorities. Two different couples, both living in Montreal, had emigrated from Europe together after completing their university studies. The average age of fathers in the sample was 39. Because the sampling strategy used the father's employer, there are no stay-at-home fathers in my sample.

Mothers were similarly well educated, with all but two having at least some college education. Twelve identified as visible minorities. The average age for mothers was slightly younger, at 36. All but two mothers in the sample had taken maternity leave

prior to the birth of their first child, varying in length from 12 weeks to 52 weeks, but 12 of these mothers did not return to work. Mothers were employed in a variety of occupations, including teacher, human resources manager, commercial banker, physician, and pharmaceutical representative. Two mothers had emigrated from the US as adults, prior to meeting their husbands. Both of these mothers also lived in Montreal.

Thirty-six couples in the sample were dual-earner couples. All couples were either married or in a long-term common law partnership, a function of the study's inclusion criteria. Couples had an average of two children, with the number of children per family ranging from one to five. The oldest child was 11 years old and the youngest was three months old. Childcare arrangements varied: 29 couples listed daycare as their primary childcare arrangement, five currently had a nanny, two relied on family members, and in the remaining 14 couples, the mother stayed at home full time.

A common concern in social science research is that of selection bias, that only certain types of participants will opt into the study. In this project, the prospect that only the most hands-on, involved fathers would volunteer for a study of fatherhood and work/family balance was an initial concern of mine. Although my sample included a fair share of highly involved fathers, it also included fathers who seemed to struggle with balancing the competing demands of work and family. I interviewed fathers who had clearly thought a great deal about work and family and had reflected on their experience as a father, but I also interviewed fathers who, after interviewing them, I was surprised they had volunteered to participate in a study of father involvement. This latter group of fathers included fathers who did not appear to be overly involved parents, leaving much of the childcare and domestic labor to their partners, or who really had not thought much

about the division of labor or childcare in their families. More often than not, these were the fathers who were most interested to know if the way they were doing things was "normal" or "right." It also included fathers like the hostile father I encountered in Chicago; these fathers did not seem too open to many of my questions, resulting in three interviews that were lacking in detail and richness.

Table 4: Respondents by City

Toronto Name	Age	Race	Education	# of kids	Wife's Name	Wife's Age	Wife's work status
Andrew	34	White	B. Eng	2	Heather	35	F/T
Jack	43	White	BLL	2	Karen	42	F/T
Brad	35	White	MBA	2	Allison	36	F/T
James	43	White	BA	2	Heidi	36	F/T
Daniel	44	White	BA	2	Margaret	34	SAHM
Edward	39	White	MBA	2	Beth	40	F/T
Nishant	36	Indian	MBA	1	Amla		SAHM
Roger	49	White	MBA	2	Maria	41	P/T
Henry	38	Asian	B.Comm	2	Angela	42	F/T
Darvesh	42	Arab	MBA	2	Maureen	36	F/T
Alex	38	White	MBA	1	Melissa	38	F/T
Rick	38	African-Canadian	BA	1	Tawni	31	F/T
Kevin	39	White	BA	2	Debbie	39	P/T
Chris	36	White	MBA	2	Melinda		F/T
Saul	36	White	MBA	3	Rebecca	37	SAHM
Jon	40	White	B. Eng	3	Brigitte	41	SAHM
Adam	36	White	BA	2	Andrea	35	F/T
Montreal							
Paolo	36	White	B.Comm	2	Claudia	37	F/T
Eric	45	White	BA	2	Maryse		P/T
Luc	39	White	BA	2	Maude		F/T
Sam	36	White	BA	2	Lizann		P/T
Jean	37	White	MA	2	Patricia	35	F/T
Dominic	41	White	BA	2	Valerie	39	F/T
Ahmed	32	Arab	B.Eng	2	Kim	34	F/T

Claudio	36	White	BA	1	Cynthia		F/T
Claude	33	White	DEC	2	Genevieve	29	F/T
Tony	43	White	DEC	1	Lisa	42	F/T
Stan	38	White	B.Eng	3	Estelle		SAHM
Todd	39	White	B.Comm	2	Hannah	40	P/T
Paul	27	White	B.Mus	1	Sarah	27	F/T
Gabe	35	White	B.Comm	2	Naomi	30	SAHM
Cyrus	38	Arab	BA	2	Leila	38	P/T
Chicago							
Fred	35	Latino	BA	2	Emily	36	P/T
Nick	35	White	BA	2	Laura	32	F/T
Chad	39	Asian	BA	1	Tina	33	F/T
Brian	38	White	BA	2	Beth	37	F/T
David	42	African American	B.Sc	2	Carol	44	F/T
Emin	47	White	B.Sc	2	Anne	41	F/T
Patrick	43	White	BA	1	Megan	41	SAHM
Michael	37	White	BA	3	Pamela	37	SAHM
Charles	41	African American	Some college	2	Erika	28	P/T
Matthew	34	Latino	MBA	2	Carly	34	P/T
Ralph	42	White	MBA	5	Meredith		SAHM
Ben	46	Latino	BA	3	Catherine		SAHM
Max	39	Latino	MBA	3	Miranda		P/T
Howard	44	White	BA	1	Nicole		F/T
Sean	39	White	BA	2	Ally	36	SAHM
Mark	32	White	MBA	1	Leslie	30	F/T
Manuel	45	Latino	B.Sc	2	Samantha	30	P/T

Analysis

Interviews were coded and analyzed according to the principles of grounded theory (Charmaz 2006) with the assistance of Atlas.ti. As I conducted interviews, I wrote memos on emerging themes and connections both within and across policy contexts. These memos, along with the post-interview memos, informed the codes I developed and used to analyze the interview transcripts. This inductive approach to analysis allowed

"salient categories [to] emerge from the data" (Patton 1990). Examples of codes used in the analysis include: parenting confidence, daycare drop off/pick up, family support, urban vs suburban, masculine domestic labor. After coding each interview, I wrote another memo on my thoughts and impressions. Reflecting on an interview a second time, particularly those done earlier in the data collection, helped me to make connections that were not necessarily evident during data collection. This continual engagement with the data is a foundational element of grounded theory (Charmaz 2001). As stated earlier, this project was designed to consider the influence of policy on individual behavior and ideals around fatherhood. Adopting a grounded theory approach allowed for the more interesting story of similarity, rather than difference, across policy contexts to emerge, enabling me to make an important contribution to the literature on father involvement.

Organization of the Project

In what follows, I examine four structural realities that act as either enabling or limiting mechanisms for father involvement. Some of these structural realities, like paternity leave, dealt with in Chapter 1, are explicitly policy-driven. Others, like childcare arrangements and gaps in care, discussed in Chapter 3, are more indirectly informed by policy.

Chapter 1 takes up paternity leave, examining how leave-taking in the immediate post-natal period influences how fathers come to think about and enact fathering. Beginning first by examining why fathers do and do not take leave, I demonstrate that although individual orientations towards father involvement, shared parenting, and gender equality motivate some fathers to take leave, the case of Quebec illustrates how

policy itself can motivate particular behavior. With this understanding of how fathers come to take or not take leave, I argue that when men's transition to parenthood is structured in a way similar to how women experience this transition, free of work responsibilities and fully immersed in parenting, they come to think about and enact parenting in ways similar to women. Being on leave allows men to develop the parenting skills and confidence and sense of responsibility that does not necessarily develop in men who do not take leave. Leave-taking enables fathers to move beyond a helper role into that of an active co-parent, contributing to the creation of equality around childcare in the couples. Paternity leave, then, is an enabling mechanism to father involvement.

Continuing the focus on the immediate post-natal period, Chapter 2 considers the presence and involvement of extended kin during this period. The birth of a child often brings family together, both those visiting from out of town and those living locally. This can mean that there are many (often more experienced) care providers present during the post-natal period. I argue that the presence and involvement of extended kin functions as a limiting factor for father involvement; these additional care providers, most often grandmothers, provide the support and care work of a second parent and therefore reduce the need for fathers to be involved in these ways. My data suggest that some fathers are comfortable with this arrangement, while others expressed dissatisfaction, highlighting the co-existence of competing notions of masculinity and fathering. This experience is contrasted with the experience of the few couples without extended kin present during this immediate post-natal period. In presenting this contrast, I provide further support for the argument that extended kin serve as a limiting mechanism for father involvement.

Moving beyond the post-natal period, Chapter 3 focuses on a common source of work-family conflict in working couples: the interrelated challenge of getting children to and from childcare/school and unexpected gaps in care (e.g. a child too sick for daycare, a snow day). I argue that focusing on these two aspects of childcare illustrates the tension that exists between the articulated ideals of good fathering and the enacted practices of fathers. I demonstrate that fathers in my sample overwhelmingly articulate an understanding of what it means to be a good father that is in keeping with the "new father" ideal described above. However, when we consider how fathers enact this ideal, we see that ideals and practices do not always line up. I propose four different ways of enacting fathering, each aligning to a different degree with the ideal of the involved father.

What I illustrate with this typology is the ways economic provisioning acts as both a limiting factor and an enabling mechanism in father involvement: when women's resources around economic provisioning (income, work responsibilities, career aspirations) are equal to, or exceed, those of their partners, a greater alignment between fathering ideals and practices is evident. When there is a greater gap in resources, men's enactment of fathering aligns more with a traditional breadwinner style of fathering. In practical terms, my data show that a greater gap manifests in mothers being almost entirely responsible for childcare related matters, while greater alignment between ideals and enactments brings fathers into getting children to childcare and covering gaps in care. As with the previous chapter, this analysis highlights how competing notions of masculinity and fathering are circulating in contemporary North American culture, informing how men think about and do fathering to varying degrees.

In the final chapter, I present findings that are more exploratory in nature than those presented in the first three chapters. Building on the understandings of ideal fathering described in Chapter 3, I argue that, when work is located in the city center, suburban residence is a limiting mechanism, while urban residence functions as an enabling mechanism. The spatial separation of work and family found in all three research sites played a major role in how couples organized family life. Suburban fathers spoke at length about how their commute consumed a significant number of hours of their week. For many, this greatly reduced the amount of time they spent with their children, particularly during the week. Most importantly for a discussion of gender equality in the division of labor, these fathers were often not involved in some basic aspects of daily care work, such as readying children in the morning, cooking dinner in the evening, or getting ready for bed. Nonetheless, these fathers believed living in the suburbs provided the best context for raising children, given the amenities, activities, space, and other resources afforded by suburban living. This suggests a type of substitution: a father's time and involvement for more material items that are believed to positively affect child development.

Urban fathers, on the other hand, emphasized the time living in the city allowed them to spend with their families, especially their young children. These fathers also exhibited greater involvement in the more mundane aspects of childcare such as preparing breakfasts and dinners and daycare drop offs and picks ups than suburban fathers. My data suggest that although suburbs are thought to be family-friendly, and some previous research has found them to be particularly good at isolating the nuclear

family to create more time for family togetherness (Miller 1995), they appear to be a limiting mechanism for father involvement.

In the following chapters, the voices of fathers are given priority. I rely most heavily on my interview data with fathers, turning to interviews with female partners to flesh out and enhance the perspective and experiences articulated by fathers. It is my hope that this project will contribute to the growing body of literature that takes men to be experts of their own experiences, even those that occur in the family.

A Note on Language

In keeping with other scholars who study fathers, I distinguish between the social institution of *fatherhood* and the actions and behaviors of *fathering*. While the former is the collection of beliefs and ideals about fathers, specific to a particular time and place, the latter reflects the enacted practices of being a father. Of course, not all men who are fathers in the biological sense are also fathers in the social or practical sense, while some men who are not biological fathers are very much fathers in practice. Throughout this dissertation, when referring to what men are actually doing as fathers, I employ *fathering*. When discussing ideals or beliefs, I employ *fatherhood*.

Chapter II

WHEN DAD STAYS HOME TOO:
PATERNITY LEAVE, GENDER, AND PARENTING

Introduction

The transition to parenthood is a time of dramatic change for a couple. New mothers often exit the workforce, for varying lengths of time, to recover from birth and to adjust to their new role (Fox 2009). Maternity leave, whether state- or employer-sponsored, often provides the context in which new mothers in the United States and Canada are able to exit the workforce temporarily.[1] An experience of the transition to parenthood marked by even a temporary absence from the workforce is far less common among fathers. Instead, new fathers more often than not maintain, or sometimes increase, their employment ties in the post-birth period (Glauber 2008; Sanchez and Thomson 1997). As a result, men and women experience structurally different pathways into parenthood, which can contribute to different understandings and enactments of parenting.

Research on this important life course event consistently demonstrates that the birth of a child results in a more gendered division of labor for most heterosexual couples (Cowan and Cowan 1992; Walzer 1998); women take on the bulk of the unpaid labor, particularly childcare (Bianchi et al. 2000; Craig and Mullan 2011), even when couples were relatively egalitarian in their pre- parenting relationship (Calasanti and Bailey 1991;

[1] Within the United States and Canada, access to maternity leave of any kind–paid or unpaid, government sponsored or employer-based–is uneven (Hegewisch and Gornick 2011).

Shelton 2000). A manager-helper dynamic often develops between new parents: mothers are primarily responsible for childcare and related matters, while fathers serve as helpers when needed and asked (Allen and Hawkins 1999; Coltrane 1996; Ehrensaft 1987; Gerson 1993). Largely overlooked in the literature, however, is what happens when men and women experience the transition to parenthood in more structurally *similar* ways. More specifically, do men develop understandings and enactments of parenting that mirror those of women when they, too, exit the workforce temporarily in the immediate post-birth period?

In this chapter, I argue that when fathers experience the transition to parenthood in ways that are structurally comparable to mothers, they come to think about and enact parenting in ways that are similar to mothers' transitions. By comparing fathers who took extended time off following the birth of a child to fathers who did not, I demonstrate that when fathers do take time off after the birth of a child, they are drawn into the daily realities of care work, responsibility, and active parenting just as mothers are. This extended time off, which I define as greater than three consecutive weeks, serves to expand men's understandings of parenting.

More specifically, the opportunity to experience the transition from parenthood freed of the demands and constraints of work provides fathers the space to develop a sense of responsibility that is often positioned as a core element of mothering (Fox 2009; Hays 1996; McMahon 1995, Ruddick 1995), while simultaneously gaining mastery of and confidence in parenting tasks. Extended time off for fathers, therefore, challenges the popular perception of the naturalness of mothering and motherhood by demonstrating the hands-on, learned nature of parenting (Lamb 2004).

Three weeks of paternity leave emerged as a dividing line in defining "extended" in my analysis; after three weeks, the initial stress and chaos of the immediate post-birth period begins to subside and patterns and routines develop. It was also often the case that extended family members who came to help out, either locally or from out of town, decreased their involvement after the first 2 to 3 weeks, leaving the couple to parent on their own. The presence of extended kin appeared to serve as a block to father involvement, as suggested by prior research (Gerstel and Gallagher 2001) and as further explored in the next chapter. Given these two factors, it is only when fathers remain at home beyond the first three weeks that they begin to develop a parenting style mirroring that of mothers.

Gender and the Transition to Parenthood

Research on parenting consistently finds that heterosexual couples respond to parenthood by adopting a gendered division of paid and unpaid labor (Baxter, Hewitt, and Haynes 2005). This finding endures, even as men continue to increase their levels of involvement in family life (Bianchi, Robinson, and Milkie 2006; Sayer 2005). Time use data from the United States and Canada has shown a steady increase in the number of hours men spend in both domestic labor and childcare (Fisher et al. 2007; Hook 2006), but research also illustrates that men's involvement is somewhat selective (Jump and Haas 1987). Men tend to participate more in the fun aspects of child care–play time, sports activities, reading, entertainment–and the aspects of domestic labor that suit their tastes and interests (Coltrane 1995), while women continue to do the more quotidian, labor-intensive tasks, such as cooking and cleaning (Offer and Schneider 2011).

Three theoretical approaches, each drawing heavily from economics (Hank and Jurges 2007), have guided much of the research on why this gendering occurs: relative resources, time availability, and gender ideology (Coltrane 2000; Greenstein 2000). The former two approaches emphasize rationality in the division of paid and unpaid labor. Here, housework is positioned as something undesirable that both men and women attempt to avoid. A relative resources explanation points to the ways the resources men and women bring to relationships shape how labor is divided up. The partner who brings the most resources to a relationship, often in terms of income, has the most power, enabling that partner to opt out of unpaid labor (Lundberg and Pollack 1996). In the same way that resources should dictate how tasks are divided, a time availability explanation positions childcare and domestic labor as tasks that should fall to the person with the greatest time availability (Greenstein 2000). More specifically, the partner who is engaged in the most hours of paid labor performs less unpaid labor.

Gender ideology emphasizes how attitudes around who should do what vis-à-vis paid and unpaid labor, and how various types of unpaid labor should be divided up, shape how these forms of labor are distributed within couples (Bianchi et al. 2000; Davis and Greenstein 2009). Here, beliefs that certain tasks and responsibilities are appropriate for women or for men provide the explanation for why women are more likely to take on certain responsibilities, while men are more likely to do others (Bulanda 2004).

While these theories provide useful frameworks for thinking about the division of domestic labor, some argue that they are less helpful in thinking about childcare (Coltrane 2007, Craig and Mullan 2011). Both men and women now spend more time in childcare than any previous period since time-use data was first collected in the 1960s

(Bianchi et al. 2006). Scholars account for this by appealing to emerging ideals around intensive parenting (Craig and Mullan 2011; Hays 1998) and concerted cultivation (Lareau 2003). Despite fathers' increased hours spent in childcare, the gendered difference in time spent with child persists. Models developed specifically to understand father involvement illustrate the ways fathers are, and are not, involved with their children, highlighting one source of this gendered difference.

Lamb and colleagues provide a useful and commonly used model for understanding father involvement in childcare (Lamb et al. 1985; Lamb 1987; Lamb 2004). Unlike previous approaches to understanding father involvement that enumerated specific (and often very gendered) tasks, this typology identified broad groupings of ways a *parent* might be involved, specifically engagement, accessibility, and responsibility. This model captures various forms of involvement, from reading and playing (engagement), to meal preparation while a child does homework (accessibility) to planning and orchestrating around the child (responsibility). When framing the available data on father involvement using this typology, we see that fathers have significantly increased their levels of engagement and accessibility, but have changed little in terms of responsibility. Responsibility for children is consistently understood as one of the most fundamental elements of good mothering (Christopher 2012; Doucet 2009; Fox and Worts 1999; Ruddick 1995) and continues to be a form of labor, often invisible, that adds to women's share of paid and unpaid labor in significant ways. Responsibility can take the form of researching and selecting childcare providers and activities, keeping track of vaccines and other necessary medical care, or recognizing that a child's diaper size has changed.

The days, weeks, or months new mothers spend with their newborns following birth, often in the absence of others, is when what is colloquially referred to as maternal instinct develops (Chodorow 1979; Oakley 1979). It is during this initial period that women develop a sense of responsibility that comes from being the primary care provider, learning cues, needs, and patterns (Bobel 2002; Miller 2007), or what Walzer (1998) refers to as "thinking about the baby." Fathers, more often than not, do not experience this time. In important ways, this period establishes parenting patterns that are both difficult to undo and difficult to discern as they become naturalized over time. Moreover, women's childhood socialization and surrogate care-taking experiences (Coltrane 1998; Lamb 2000) provide them with the opportunity prior to becoming parents to develop some of the necessary skills for and a sense of confidence towards parenting, enabling them to more easily adopt the role of primary care taker. This can include being able to quickly and efficiently change a diaper, knowing a few "tricks" to soothe a baby, or being able to bathe a baby. Taken together, these experiences contribute to how the division of labor becomes gendered when partners become parents.

Although a gendered division of labor is most common among parents, and has strong and meaningful roots in social norms and expectations (West and Zimmerman 1987), several studies of couples that parent equally illustrate that less gendered ways of dividing up paid and unpaid labor are also possible (Deutsch 1999; Deutsch 2001; Dienhart 1998; Ehrensaft 1987). Much of this research focuses on the question of whether or not men are capable of being active and nurturing co-parents, rather than simply a mother's helper. This research suggests that when parents share parenting tasks

from the beginning, men develop greater confidence and skill in their own parenting, leading to greater father involvement of all three types (Coltrane 1996; Lamb 2000).

Lending further support to the idea that men can parent with the same level of competence as women is the small, but growing, body of research on fathers who are primary care providers of their children, specifically stay-at-home dads (Doucet 2009; Doucet 2006; Rochlon et al. 2008;) and fathers parenting alone (Coles 2010; Hook and Chalasani 2008; Risman 1987; Ziol-Guest 2009). The overall finding in the research on both groups is that when fathers are required to be primarily *responsible* for all aspects of childcare, they are able to do so. Risman's work (1987) is particularly relevant here. By comparing "reluctant fathers," those who find themselves parenting alone not by their own choice, to single mothers and heterosexual co-parents, her finding that fathers who are situated to parent alone do so in ways more similar to mothers than to fathers in heterosexual partnerships reveals much about how structure matters in the enactment of parenting. Much of this research demonstrates men's capacity for "mothering" (Doucet 2009; Doucet 2006), reinforcing the idea that parenting is most often learned by doing, or to borrow from Lamb, "on the job" (Lamb 2000; Lamb 1987). This research tells us little, however, about how men parent when they *share* parenting with women.

Taken together, this research makes clear that the gendered division of labor that occurs when men and women parent together is far from biologically inevitable. We have evidence that men and women can do "parenting" in the same way, but research shows that this is less frequently an outcome when men and women parent together. In fact, the research that most clearly and definitively illustrates fathers parenting as completely as mothers is the research on stay-at-home-dads and single fathers, fathers who are

structurally situated to parent as women most commonly do. But what happens when men experience the transition to parenting in ways that are structurally similar to women? Drawing primarily from interview data with fathers who took parental leave and with fathers who did not, I demonstrate that fathers who are home during the initial transition to parenthood come to understand and enact parenting in qualitatively different ways than men who are not home during that period, regardless of the policy context in which they live.

Deciding to Take Leave

To understand the influence of leave-taking on a father's views of parenting requires first considering the decision to take, or not take, leave. Individual attitudes, structural opportunities or limitations, and maternal desire inform and influence this decision in complicated and nuanced ways. My data suggest that while some men do make leave-taking decisions based on personal attitudes about work, family, and parenting, others are enabled or constrained in their decision-making by state-level policy.

In the Introduction, I outlined the details of the family leave policies of the USA, English Canada, and Quebec. Thinking specifically about what leave is available to fathers, Quebec is the only context of the three studied here that provides non-transferable paid leave to fathers. The Quebec Parental Insurance Plan provides 3 to 5 weeks of paternity leave, paid at 70 to 75% of a new father's salary depending on if the couple opts for the basic or special plan, up to a maximum of $67,500. In addition to these weeks, a father may also share the available weeks designated as parental leave,

either 25 or 32 weeks, again based on the plan selected. The Canadian Employment Insurance Maternity and Parental Leave Benefits plan does not provide non-transferable leave for fathers, but does allow fathers to share the available 35 weeks of parental leave with their partner. These weeks are paid at a lower wage replacement level of 55% and the maximum income is $47,400. The Family and Medical Leave Act, the federal policy of the USA, provides qualified male workers 12 weeks of unpaid leave following the birth or adoption of a child.

I was able to interview men in each city who had taken at least three weeks of parental leave. Consistent with differences in social policy, the largest proportion of men who took leave lived in Montreal, the smallest in Chicago.

Table 5: Leave-taking of Greater than Three Weeks by City

	Montreal	Toronto	Chicago
Leave	10	5	4
No Leave	5	12	14

Personal attitudes certainly inform fathers' decisions around taking leave. This is just as much the case for fathers who do take leave as it is for those who do not. Many fathers who took leave, like Tony, a 43-year-old Montreal father of one, expressed a clear desire to be a very involved father, right from the start. For Tony, this included taking the five weeks of paternity leave available to him: "I was just so excited, I was so excited for him. I wanted to be around him 100 percent of the time. I wanted to be his whole world, you know?" Chad, a 39-year-old father of one from Chicago, articulated a similar interest in being involved right from birth: "You know, I just wanted to be there from the beginning with our first child. I wasn't actually sure how much time I wanted to be home,

so I wanted to be home as long as I could, really." Tony and Chad captured what most leave-taking fathers described: a sense of excitement about becoming a dad and an enthusiasm for being an involved parent. In many ways, these types of explanations for leave-taking hint at self-selection in terms of who takes leave.

Personal attitudes also played a role in the decision of those men who did not take the leave. No less enthusiastic about becoming a dad, fathers who did not take leave either did not see a need to be home or simply did not want to be home and out of work for an extended period of time. When asked if he would have taken extended (paid) leave were that available, 32-year-old Chicago father Mark said:

> I wouldn't have stayed home for two weeks when Gwen was born. Even if it was written in stone and that was common practice, I wouldn't have stayed home for two weeks. I was home for a week, plus the weekend and they didn't need me, so I don't know if anything more generous, I would take advantage of.

Believing very strongly that he wasn't "needed," Mark did not see what purpose a generous leave policy for fathers would serve.

Opting out of leave-taking because of a lack of interest indicates perhaps a more traditional orientation towards gender, parenting, and division of labor. For leave-takers and non leave-takers alike, personal beliefs and orientations figured prominently in their decisions regarding leave. The leave-taking fathers described above were drawn to paternity leave because of a personal orientation towards shared parenting, but other fathers were more extrinsically motivated to take leave, primarily by policy, suggesting that structure matters in leave-taking decisions. Here, the case of Quebec is illustrative of how policy matters. In 2005, the year prior to the introduction of the current plan, 32 percent of Quebec fathers took leave (Marshall 2008). In 2011, a mere six years later, 76 percent of men took leave (Findlay & Kohen 2012). This dramatic rise in the percentage

of fathers taking leave coincides with the introduction of the five weeks of non-transferable paternity leave. A plausible explanation for this immediate and dramatic rise is that the policy itself motivated fathers to take leave. With five weeks of non-transferable leave paid at 70 percent of one's salary, with many companies, employers, and unions offering a variety of "top up" options, the structure of the Quebec policy makes leave accessible to large numbers of new fathers. A type of threshold effect is detectable: the policy reduces barriers to leave-taking, enabling large numbers of men to take leave. As more men take leave, leave-taking becomes normalized. This suggests that new fathers take leave because that is the norm and not *necessarily* because they share the types of attitudes and beliefs articulated by the fathers described above.

In explaining why he took five weeks of leave after the births of both of his daughters, 33-year-old Montreal father Allan aptly captures the idea that for many fathers in Quebec, the existence of the policy served as a very real motivator for taking leave:

> Because they gave me five weeks and I was like yeah! I mean, really? This is Quebec- I pay like 40 percent tax on everything I earn plus 15% on everything I buy, plus the extra on gas and alcohol and anything good in life they tax it twice as much, ok? And then every once in a while, you get a social program. And this is one of them. So you just look at it and say, yeah, I'm taking it.

What becomes clear from this comment, which was far from uncommon, is that taking leave is not simply a matter of individual attitudes. Instead, a strong argument can be made that particular types of family leave policies facilitate leave-taking among fathers who might otherwise be disinclined to do so.

Interestingly, 39-year-old Chicago father of two Sean made a similar comment about the FLMA. One of four fathers in my Chicago sample who took extended leave,

Sean said he knew about the policy and how it actually worked because his wife worked in human resources. When I asked him why he had taken leave using FLMA, he said:

> I mean, if it's a benefit–I always feel like if it's any benefit that's offered and you don't take advantage of it, you're just forgoing it. It's like getting a bonus and saying, "No, I don't really need it." You know what I mean? It just doesn't make good sense. I value the time I spend with my loved ones over anything. So, I'm not the type of person who is not going to not take all of their vacation or whatever. It's a big deal in my life, bigger than anything I can imagine. If I'm allowed the time to spend with them I'm going to do it.

That the unpaid leave provided by the FMLA is seen by some as an enabling mechanism in much the same way as the paid leave provided by QPIP lends further support to the idea that policy can influence behavior by making options available that might not otherwise be.

But policy also constrained fathers in important ways. Across all three policy contexts, many fathers who did not take leave described wanting to be home for more time after birth, but pointed to one of three structural limitations that made leave-taking impossible: concerns about reactions from superiors and colleagues; wanting to maximize the weeks of leave available to their partners; and financial limitations.

The most commonly cited reason for not taking extended time off was a concern for how this would be perceived by supervisors, colleagues, and sometimes clients. When asked about the possibility of taking longer than the two weeks he did take, 43-year-old Chicago father Patrick captured a fear expressed by many fathers: "Well, that's kind of a tough question. I probably wouldn't have because of the way it would've been viewed. I mean honestly–and I've heard executives say this–excuse the language–'I can't fucking believe that guy took a month off after the birth of his baby.' I've heard people say it."

Like Patrick, many fathers felt pulled back to work by concerns about how violating the image of the "ideal worker" would impact their work lives.

The salience of the unencumbered worker ideal is suggested by the fact that concerns over perceptions at work was the only reason given by Quebec fathers who opted not to take the available paternity leave. Maintaining a strong presence at work was a central theme in the discussion of leave-taking during my interview with Cyrus, one of the Montreal fathers I spoke with who had not take any of the paid weeks of paternity leave. That it was equally present in how his wife, Leila, explained why he had not taken leave suggests just how salient the "ideal worker" image was to Cyrus:

> He didn't take much because he also recognizes that–what's the word–that impression or appearance was important. That if you take too much time off, you're granted it, but, how did it look to your clients? He was very aware that he still needed to have a big presence in the office. That was smart of him. But, he would try and come home whenever he could or make arrangements. He did take–he took about two weeks. But, he did go in periodically during those two weeks. He was always in touch. He never just took off and completely devoted himself. He never closed the door. But, I think that was wise. I understood why he did that.

Both Leila and Cyrus stressed how, given his job, taking leave simply was not possible. Working in private banking, Cyrus works directly with clients he described as "very demanding." In this context, he did not see being unavailable for an extended period of time as a viable possibility if he wanted to continue in this area of the firm.

A uniquely Canadian constraint relates to the structure of the federal leave policy. Because the only weeks of leave a father has access to are the shared weeks of parental leave, a father taking leave reduces the number of weeks a mother can take. Thirty-five-year-old Brad, a Toronto father of two, for example, said his wife wanted to be home for the whole year and so let her take the 50 weeks of combined maternity and parental leave, plus the mandatory two week waiting period: "I knew she loved it and I just would

never do that to her. It would've taken weeks off of her year and I just would never have done that."

While fathers like Brad describe not wanting to reduce their partner's leave, for others, the option of taking weeks was not something their partners were open to, suggesting maternal gatekeeping when it comes to leave allocation. When I asked Jack, a 43-year-old Toronto father, why he opted not to take leave, he straightforwardly replied that was not an option, that his wife had said she was taking all the available leave.

Finally, financial considerations often came down to families being unable to survive the significant reduction in wages that came with both partners being on leave. Here again we see how much policy can play a role in deciding to take leave: American fathers, who did not have access to any wage replacement, invoked this limitation more than their Canadian counterparts. Both Chad and Sean, two of the Chicago fathers who did take leave under FMLA, both said they would have liked to be home longer than the three weeks they each took, but had to return to work for financial reasons.

There is certainly a degree of selectivity in who does and does not take leave. That some Quebec fathers decide against leave-taking in a policy-supportive context, where generous paid leave is available, while American fathers do take leave, despite a lack of significant policy-level support for this decision, certainly supports the idea that a degree of personal preference plays into leave-taking behavior. My data also show, however, that not all men who take leave do so because of a predisposition to ideals of co-parenting. Furthermore, it would be inaccurate to conclude that those who do not take leave opt not to because of personal preference or traditional views on gender, parenting, and the division of labor without also considering the policy constraints these fathers

face. Whatever the reason for it, leave-taking enables fathers to develop the responsibility necessary for them to actively co-parent along with their partners, as I will now show.

Leave-taking Men[2]

Gender and family scholars have often pointed to men's limited exposure to infant/child care prior to becoming fathers themselves (Lamb 2004). Unlike women, who often have some "surrogate" parenting experiences prior to becoming mothers (i.e. babysitting, caring for siblings/extended family), new fathers typically find themselves engaged in child-focused care work without much direct experience to draw from. Eric, a 45-year-old father of two from Montreal, described his experience in this way: "like in my case, I had no exposure. I'm the youngest sibling in my family. No exposure to infants, diapers, I was walking into a whole new reality." For Eric, taking five weeks of paternity leave was an eye-opening experience, one that he felt really showed him what infant care entails:

> Just seeing, or being involved in the first two weeks and the three afterwards, you're doing stuff that you normally wouldn't have done [if you were back at work]. So it's more of an awareness, definitely. Obviously there's task sharing, being more aware of what's going on, the concerns, challenges, whatever that she may have, that maybe if I wasn't there for the first weeks, I would be oblivious and she would have to deal with them on her own.

The availability of an extended period of parental leave allows fathers the opportunity to gain a sense of the "concerns" of parenting, many of which are invisible and therefore might go unnoticed to a father who is back at work. A 43-year-old Torontonian father of two, James had taken eight weeks of leave after the birth of his first

[2] All fathers who took paternity leave did so at the same time as their partners were on maternity leave, overlapping their partners' time off by between 3 to 8 weeks. As such, none of the fathers in my sample were sole care providers during their leave.

child and six weeks following the birth of his second child. Like Eric, he found the experience to be invaluable in gaining a deeper understanding of care taking: "I think, you know, every spouse should do that because it's an experience that will only help you understand in the long run what the heck your wife is going through." While James' comment reflects a continued connection between women and care work, he is also pointing to the way being on leave provides men with an understanding of care work and parenting that might otherwise be inaccessible to them.

James' wife, Heidi, echoed a very similar sentiment in her interview, extending slightly beyond the benefits a father might derive from leave-taking to couple-level benefits:

> I mean, it's just my opinion, but I think that men need to get a very good understanding of the craziness of newborn life. And I think it, you know, I guess it all depends on the father's personality, and how involved they want to be, but given that they have that time to be there, particularly during the first, you know, six weeks of life. While it's not the most engaging time with your child, it does–I think it does give them a sense of what the mother goes through, you know, whether they're breastfeeding or formula feeding, baby's up and crying, and mother's not being able to get a break. So, it really gives them a good sense. And it was good cohesiveness…You know, it really cemented us. Not that we weren't cemented as a couple. I mean, you know, it's not that I didn't know James well. *I got to know him even better during that time* (my emphasis).

Not only did she think James gained a better sense of "the craziness of newborn life" but they grew closer as a couple by experiencing the transition to parenthood together over a more extended period of time.

For Paul, a 27-year-old first time father from Montreal, five weeks of paternity leave challenged his previously held understandings of what it meant to be home with an infant:

> I had this naïve thinking that I'm going to be off and I'm going to be able to catch up on all these things. I'm going to have time to myself, to write music and do

> this stuff. Oh my gosh, it was such a slap in the face! All my friends at work who were parents didn't say a thing- they just smirked: "oh yeah, you're going to do all of that, eh? Have fun with that." It did not happen. Those 5 weeks went by so fast- we were constantly taking care of James. Really made me realize to what extent taking care of a child is more than a full time job. You don't get your 15-minute breaks, your half hour breaks when you want. You don't get time off. You don't have a switch off like you do at work. Really, your attention is always - especially with a newborn - 100% on him.

Expecting a more leisure-like experience while on paternity leave, Paul found his expectations to be at odds with the reality of daily life with an infant. In place of "free time," Paul found his days filled with various tasks related to his new reality as a father. My interview with Paul's wife, Sarah, revealed how this experience continued to inform his parenting after he returned to work, while Sarah was still on maternity leave:

> He's never once told me you have it easy, you know, he's never, ever said that. He's always respected that this is a job and, I think, the five weeks that they give us paternity leave in the beginning is so fantastic. Because it makes the husband realize what kind of a…the responsibility and job, everything that the day entails and I think, you know, Paul experienced that and he's, like, this is harder than what I do, you know. And he's said that before, because he knows he can take breaks and, you know, he could have his hour lunch and he can just walk away and be hands free.

Sarah's comment is reflective of what many mothers whose partners had taken leave said: leave-taking influenced not only how their partners thought about parenting, but also how they enacted parenting.

For the men who took advantage of the opportunity to be home for several weeks, this new understanding of what it means to provide care was complemented by the time and space that allowed them to develop the skills necessary to engage in this form of care work. Much in the same way some mothers experience the transition to parenthood free of workplace obligations, extended time away from the paid labor market allows fathers to also be fully engaged in parenting.

Chad, a Chicago father mentioned earlier, pointed to the "24 hours a day" aspect of being on leave as being particularly helpful in learning to parent:

> I mean, I think I kind of needed that. Because, especially when she was first born, both of us -- I mean, your mind is going a hundred miles an hour and you really don't know what to expect when you bring the baby home. And, what you're supposed to do. And, just in those first few weeks, I think you learn a lot. Being able to spend 24 hours a day, you know, at home with the child, yeah, I think it helped.

"Being able to spend 24 hours a day" is key in extended leave-taking. With this kind of presence, fathers are able to learn to parent in much the same way as mothers, through continuous hands-on participation (Miller 2007).

Claudio, a 41-year-old father of one from Montreal who had taken a total of six weeks of leave, explained why leave-taking is so important:

> Because or else it becomes a routine, where the mom does the everyday necessities with the child and the dad comes home at night, spends a little time, plays with him, and that's it. But I find that if you're in there, every day with the child, taking care of him, making his meals in the morning, at lunch, putting him to sleep, like all the little details, you'll become attached just as much as the mom. Then it no longer seems like just the mom who has the initiative to look after all these things. It becomes the dad and the mom together.

Informed by his experience of being on leave, Claudio described parenting as a mutually shared endeavor between partners.

He went on to describe a "divide an conquer" strategy of parenting common among leave-taking fathers:

> When you have a child, you have to work together. To give an example, say in the evening, depending on who comes home first, we'll eat together, but then I'll go give him his bath and then my partner looks after the kitchen. And the reverse happens: if she goes and does the bath, then I take care of the kitchen and all that.

Extended leave, therefore, serves to challenge the manager-helper dynamic that is often the outcome of a more gendered division of labor following the birth of a child.

With these parenting skills and newly-developed care work capabilities, many fathers who took leave saw themselves as co-parents, capable of all aspects of childcare, rather than just as helpers. After having taken two six-week parental leaves, Jon, a 40-year-old Torontonian father of three, described an internal struggle he felt at having to return to work: "Honesty, I can do everything you can do. Why do I have to go back to work? Then there is the argument, 'Well, I had the kid and I'm the mother.' Yeah, I get that, but I'm a hands-on dad and I can do everything you can do." Jon felt he was capable of all the same dimensions of parenting as his wife; he believed his time off enabled him to gain mastery of the necessary parenting skills and the confidence to parent. These two factors that have been shown to favor father involvement (Pleck and Masciadrelli 2004; Lamb 1987; Lamb et al. 1985).

Non-Leave-Takers

The experiences of fathers who took more than three weeks of parental leave stand in sharp contrast to those of men who took little leave following the birth of their children. The understandings of parenting articulated by fathers who did not take leave provide further support for the claim that extended leave-taking by fathers has the potential to challenge gendered understandings of parenting in significant ways.

Until very recently, extended parental leave was uncommon in North America among new fathers. Although concerns about how extended time off would be perceived by co-workers, particularly managers and supervisors, were often cited as reasons for not taking leave, fathers just as frequently said they did not take leave because they did not see their own utility at home during the first few months following birth. Jack, one of the

Toronto fathers whose partner would not let him take any of the available weeks of leave, stated:

> From my comments earlier, that's kind of the time [the first 6 weeks] when you're the least helpful around the house from my perspective. Like, if you told me the last six weeks of the [first] year… it would make a lot of sense, right? Because at that point your kid is running around, walking, you know, interactive and a lot of work. But the first six weeks they're just sleeping, pooping and eating. So, I think that's part of it. It's like, okay, so you take six weeks off. You're really just sitting there most of the time. You're not really helping.

Max, a 39-year-old Chicago father of three, said something very similar about his experience of the 10 days he took off after the births of his two oldest children: "the first 10 days really is nothing. Just taking care of my wife. I'm absolutely worthless. The kid depends on their mom and they sleep all day. Seriously. Other than going shopping, tending to your wife, that's about the extent of what a person can do, or a man can do. And making sure that they're doing all the household responsibilities."

In many ways, these understanding of infant care reflects Paul's views *prior to taking leave*. Jack, who took less than a week of leave following each birth, believed there would have been little for him to do had he taken leave – "you're just sitting around most of the time." Max went a step further, describing himself as "absolutely worthless" during the initial post-natal period. As Paul said above, he expected being home with his new son to involve lots of "free time," but instead experienced quite the opposite. In the absence of this experience, Jack and Max retained an understanding of infant care as undemanding and non-labor intensive. Their understanding of parenting focused solely on material tasks and physical labor. Responsibility, which is more often than not an invisible form of labor, is completely absent from how they understand parenting. Instead, a manager-helper dynamic is evident in how Jack and Max articulate their presence as either helpful or not helpful.

In several of my interviews, fathers invoked breastfeeding as a reason for their lesser involvement in childcare in the post-natal period. Unable to participate in this time-consuming and highly visible aspect of infant care, many fathers saw their involvement during this period as tremendously limited by biology. Gabe, a Montreal father of two who did not take paternity leave following the births of either of his children, pointed explicitly to breastfeeding in his explanation of why he did not take the available, paid leave:

> Gabe: Because I'm looking at parental leave at the beginning, at the genesis. So, I mean, what am I doing? I'm just getting my wife–I can make dinner. I'm useless.
>
> Erin: So, why do you think that you're useless?
>
> Gabe: Because I don't breastfeed, I don't do this, I can't do the things that you have to do at that stage. But maybe at 6 months, now could be interesting.
>
> Erin: Like, if you waited until they were more interactive?.
>
> Gabe: Absolutely. Just fast-forward at six months.

Gabe was not alone in connecting breastfeeding to limited father involvement: many fathers saw this bonding opportunity as something that made women better at parenting because it allowed them to connect with the child in a way fathers could not.

Returning to work after a short time off also serves as an impediment to new fathers gaining mastery and confidence in their own parenting skills. Mark, who described himself as the barrier to taking leave, felt that his wife "picked it [parenting] up pretty quickly," and saw no reason to be home for longer than he was. Later in our interview, however, Mark reflected on the limitations of his parenting skills:

> I need instructions to feed Haley. I could be more, sort of, in tune with, you know, being able to pick up where Leslie dropped off, you know, right away. Like, I sometimes have to think about, you know, what if, you know, something happened to Leslie and it was just me with Haley. You know, would she be in as

> good hands? And, I think, she would be eventually because, you know, I would -- I would learn. But, I guess, I just don't know as much about taking care of Haley as Leslie does now.

In my interview with Mark's wife Leslie, I asked if they had a system for dividing up childcare and domestic labor. Leslie was quick to answer: "Oh yes, we have a system. It's called I do everything, and Mark does nothing." She paused and then added "I take that back; he walks the dog." Taken together, Mark and Leslie's comments clearly illustrate the manager-helper dynamic, a common reality for fathers who return to work quickly: while their wives develop the necessary knowledge and parenting skills, their own parenting capabilities are less autonomous and rely more on the support and direction of their wives. Comfortable knowing their children are in good hands, these fathers can return to work worry-free. Right from birth, this structurally different experience of parenting reproduces a gendered division of labor. Mothers' time at home, time often spent without the company of other adults, naturalizes and erases the hands-on, learned nature of parenting, while fathers' return to work curbs their growth in this area.

Charles, a 41-year-old Chicago father whose wife was expecting their third child at the time of our interview, planned to take no more than a week off when his son arrives. Echoing the sentiments of other fathers who took about a week off, Charles felt that, as the dad, there was no reason for him to be at home for long: "Well, I mean, I'm the dad, so I don't really need to take that many days off, so I'll probably only take, you know, five days, a week, just to help my wife acclimate." As with the other fathers who were at home briefly, Charles did not see why–as the father–he would need to be off for any extended period of time. Unlike those fathers who took an extended leave, non-leave-taking fathers were no longer intimately involved in the daily realities of family life

beyond that initial period of adjustment. As such, they were less able to respond to new, previously unknown needs or tasks than fathers who were home.

Discussion

In this chapter, I have argued that structuring men's initial experience of parenting in a way similar to how it is often structured for women–that is, freed of workplace responsibilities and fully engaged in parenting- leads men to understand and enact parenting in ways that are more similar to women. Extended leave challenges the perceived naturalness of a woman's superior parenting capabilities by providing men with the time to develop similar capabilities through hands-on experience. Being present provides insight into what needs to be done, while continued and extended exposure enables participation and practice. Fathers gain an understanding of childcare and a mastery of skills while on leave that does not seem to occur when fathers return to work quickly. Fathers who take extended leaves, then, are able to move from the helper role to that of co-parent. This type of shared parenting in which couples not only share tasks, but share responsibility too, can ultimately shift the gender dynamics in a couple in the direction of equality.

A quick return to work by fathers, on the other hand, establishes a pattern of care that centers on mothers. Because women exit the workforce during this initial transition period, however briefly, new mothers are able to develop not only parenting skills, but a sense of responsibility as well. Since responsibility is often enacted in invisible ways, it remains absent from how fathers understand and enact parenting when they themselves are not positioned to develop this sense of responsibility. Research on father involvement

continues to document a lag in terms of responsibility, even as fathers have become more engaged and accessible to their children.

The family leave policy contexts of the United States, Canada, and the Canadian province of Quebec provide a useful comparative framework for considering father involvement. This chapter has demonstrated the promising ways paternal leave-taking can lead to men becoming active, engaged, and *responsible* co-parents, positioning paternity leave as an important *enabling mechanism* for father involvement. Given the significant difference in leave take-up among fathers in these three policy contexts, and the specific ways fathers pointed to policy as an enabling factor in their decision to take leave, this chapter also lends support to government-supported family leave policies that provide paid weeks of leave for both new mothers and for new fathers. This type of family leave policy would encourage the most number of men to take advantage of the opportunity to be home with their newborn, leading ultimately to a less gendered societal understanding of parenting.

In the following chapter, I maintain a focus on the immediate post-natal period. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the time immediately after a child is born often brings families together. The next chapter examines the relationship between the presence and involvement of extended kin and father involvement in the post-natal period.

Chapter III

CROWDING OUT DAD:
EXTENDED KIN AND FATHER

Introduction

As illustrated in prior research (Barry et al. 2011; Porter and Hsu 2003; Parke 2002; Lamb and Lamb 1976), and further elaborated on in Chapter 1, the initial period in the transition to parenthood is crucial in the development of parenting skills and confidence. New mothers often experience this transition free from work obligations, thanks to various state or corporate maternity leave policies. As explored in the previous chapter, when fathers have the opportunity to take some type of paternity leave and experience the transition as mothers do, they develop skills, confidence, and a sense of responsibility more similar to mothers. Paternity leave, then, has the potential to generate increased involvement on the part of fathers, creating more egalitarian parenting. Ultimately, this can contribute to greater gender equality in families and at work.

My data suggest that the presence and involvement of extended kin can have the opposite effect, derailing father involvement in the immediate post-natal period. For many North American families, the birth of a child is an occasion that brings family together. Grandparents and siblings often come visit from out of town in the weeks immediately after the birth, while local family members increase the frequency and duration of their visits. In both instances, kin gather to welcome the new addition to the family and to provide support to parents. In this chapter, I argue that by providing care work and support, extended kin reduce or limit opportunities for father involvement in

real or perceived ways. More specifically, my data suggest that fathers understand or experience the presence of other care providers as rendering their own involvement unnecessary. Unlike paternity leave, which draws fathers into the daily routine of infant care, extended kin can keep fathers out.

Evidence of this pattern is found in examining how fathers described organizing their work schedules in the immediate post-natal period. Many fathers made a clear connection between the presence of extended kin and their decision not to alter their schedules in significant ways in the weeks following the birth of their child. Other fathers described experiencing their own presence as unnecessary during the time they did take off from work, prompting a quicker return to work than they had anticipated. As with the fathers who did not alter their work schedules, these fathers explained this decision with direct reference to the support and care of extended kin. Both groups of fathers seemed generally satisfied with this configuration of care work, pointing to the ways kin were providing the support and care their partners needed during this period of tremendous change. In both scenarios, this gendered division of care work aligns with more traditional breadwinner/homemaker understanding and enactment of gender and parenting.

Not all fathers who pointed to extended kin as informing their post-natal work-family decisions described experiencing the presence of extended kin favorably. Instead, some fathers articulated a very real dissatisfaction with this particular organization of this important transitional period. Wanting to be involved as much as possible, a desire in keeping with the new ideal of the involved father (Furstenberg 1988; Lamb 1987), these fathers pointed explicitly to the ways extended kin limited their opportunities for

involvement. Although one father did ask extended kin to give him and his wife time alone, thereby creating the space for them to learn to parent together, most fathers who expressed dissatisfaction felt unable to find the space necessary to enact a form of involved fathering.

Not having extended kin available during the initial transition to parenthood also shaped fathers' work schedules and how new parents configured care work, but in radically different ways than in those families with this resource. Unlike their counterparts with extended kin around, these fathers described feeling like an important and integral part of the transition to parenthood. For many of these fathers, disrupting regular work patterns in significant ways was a necessary part of navigating this transition. This provides support for the argument that the absence of kin draws fathers in, while the presence of kin appears to push them away.

Key to the broader implications of the relationship between father involvement and extended kin care is *which* extended kin are providing care. As previous research has demonstrated (Silverstein and Marenco 2001; Spitze and Ward 1998; Marks and McLanahan 1993; Spitze and Logan 1989), female extended kin, particularly maternal grandmothers, are most likely to provide practical support such as child care. This is as true at the transition to parenthood as it is as children age. This particular gendered pattern of care work was also present in my data, suggesting that female extended kin care is replacing male parental care. This substitution further naturalizes the connection between women and care work. By exploring how fathers understand the experience of extended kin support, it becomes evident that while helpful to families, extended kin do

not necessarily contribute to creating opportunities for involved fathering, active co-parenting, or a more gender equitable division of labor in families.

Who Provides What Care to Whom?

Scholars have devoted considerable research to better understanding who benefits from what types of kin support and at what stage of the life course this is most likely to occur (for some examples, see Fingerman et al. 2009; Swartz 2009; Vandell et al. 2003). Because scholars through the 1980s believed white, middle class families did not make use of extended kin networks, and therefore excluded these families from research in this area (Hansen 2005), kin support was presented as a largely low income/blue collar, minority phenomenon, something that deviated from the model of the independent, nuclear family. Stacey's (1998) study of family life at the end of the 20th century is particularly noteworthy for how it redirected this line of inquiry to include white and middle class families. Stacey's research, and the subsequent scholarship that included these previously excluded families, highlights the ways white and middle class families also mobilize kin relationships for both emotional and instrumental support (Hansen 2005 is an excellent empirical example of this). Bengtson (2001) suggests that increased life spans create more opportunities for intergenerational kin support at all levels of income, making it important to better understand how those with higher SES mobilize kin networks. My findings contribute further to this growing body of research on middle class families and kin support.

Scholars have identified a variety of different types of support that kin provide, which are commonly classified as material, affective, and practical (Swartz 2009).

Financial resources and housing assistance are the primary types of material support that kin provide. White families tend to exchange financial support more than other racial groups (Sarkisian and Gerstel 2004; Lee and Aytac 1998), while African American and Latino families benefit from housing support from kin (Sarkisian et al. 2007; Hogan, Hao, and Parish 1990). Age has also been found to be a significant factor in the provision of material support. Young parents, particularly young, single mothers, often receive both financial and housing support from kin (Dunifon and Bajracharya 2012; Baydar and Brooks-Gunn 1998; Parish, Hao, and Hogan 1991). Unsurprisingly, having young children calls forth greater levels of kin support (Hogan et al. 1993).

Although my interview guide did not directly ask about aspects of material support families received, in discussing the division of labor between him and his stay-at-home-wife, Saul, a 36-year-old father of three from Toronto, said his wife gets bi-monthly help with cleaning from his parents' housekeeper. This is an interesting combination of material and practical support: while practical in nature–the housekeeper comes and does a thorough clean every two weeks–it is also material, in that his parents pay for this benefit. This is also a class-privileged exchange of support, documented in previous research (Schoeni and Ross 2005; Henretta, Gundy and Harris 2002), where the ability to outsource less desirable forms of domestic labor is shared with adult children.

Affective, or emotional, support is the most common type of support kin provide (Swartz 2009; Hogan and Eggebeen 1995). This pattern holds across race and class lines, among different family types, and is also provided by a wider variety of kin, not just parents to adult children. Fingerman and colleagues (2009) suggest that this type of support is perhaps most common because it can be provided "at geographical distance, or

with limited material resources" (1221). Thinking specifically about the transition to parenthood, new parents often look to extended kin for affective/emotional support, particularly in the form of practical advice.[1] In many ways, affective support is less obvious than material or practical forms of kin support because it is more subtle, routine, and commonly part of the nature of many parent-child relationships. Despite the more mundane nature of this type of kin support, several parents did point to the ways they or their partners turned to more experienced care providers, particularly grandmothers or siblings with children of their own, for advice and support.

Manuel, a 45-year-old Chicago father of two, described the first time his wife left him alone with their first son. As a part-time massage therapist, his wife Samantha works a full day on Saturdays, leaving him solely responsible for their two sons. The first time he was alone with his first child and unable to soothe his son, he sought advice from his mother-in-law, a pediatric nurse:

> Manuel: Oh, yeah, I freaked out [the first time I was alone], yeah. Freaked out. First time, freaked out. He was crying. I had to call my mother--in-law in Denver. He wouldn't stop crying. I was freaking. I had the phone like this [between his shoulder and ear] and he was crying and he would not–I couldn't–no matter what I did, I could not ease his discomfort. He freaked out. She [my mother-in-law] told me to do a couple things and, you know, when–she's worked with kids extensively. So she knows what to do in any situation. So that is such a plus for us. So whenever we have issues, you know, we're not calling a doctor. We're calling mom.
>
> Erin: Right.
>
> Manuel: She's great. Yeah, she had–he was crying. I changed him. I could not figure out what was bothering him. I called her, she said, "Hey, is he in a safe place? Just let him cry it out." Cry it out, but make sure he is safe. But, after yeah,

[1] While this type of advice, which provides concrete suggestions on how to handle new and unknown situations, might appear "practical," it is labeled as emotional/affective. In her review piece on intergenerational family relations, Swartz (2009) groups "child care, household help, transportation, caregiving, or other services" as practical support (196). Advice on these matters, on the other hand, is considered emotional/affective.

> you know, it's just crying. But, after she had to settle me down. She's a nurse. She said, "All right. Is it a safe place? He's in his crib. He's not going to fall out. Nothing is going to hurt him. Sometimes babies just need to get all of that crying out."

While there is a very pragmatic reason to call his wife's mother, given her work as a pediatric nurse, prior research has demonstrated that affective support more often than not comes from maternal extended kin (Chan and Elder 2000; Uhlenberg and Hammill 1998).

Interestingly, one of the fathers with whom I spoke, 38-year-old father of two Brian, noted this pattern of maternal kin involvement among his friends and colleagues: "I don't know what it is about guys' parents, but guys' parents don't get it. It's just like, talk to the majority of guys up here and… It's interesting. I really do feel in 75 percent of the cases, the wife–you're living near– if you're going to live next to your family, you're probably living near the wife's family. And even when my parents come, they're useless. Don't confuse that with my adoration or my love for my parents, they just are useless."

Laura, a 32-year-old mother from Chicago and one of two mothers of multiples in my sample, provided a similar example of turning to (female) extended kin for affective support. Her own twin sister also lives in Chicago and gave birth to her first child a few months before Laura had the twins. While she was quick to point out how different having twins is from having just one child, Laura did say she would often turn to her sister: "I don't know that I helped her a lot, but she helped me a lot. Just kind of on, like, certain things, whether it was, you know, breast feeding them, or how to, you know, get them to stop crying, or, you know, what to expect if they were crying all the time. You know, just, like, that type of thing. It was kind of just made me feel better that it wasn't just me. That this happens to basically everybody." As was the case with other parents

with whom I spoke, Manuel and Laura are highlighting ways female extended kin provide emotional support for new parents.

This gendered pattern of kin support was particularly evident when looking at practical support. Practical support includes everything from childcare to domestic labor to caregiving (Swartz 2009). Sarkisian and Gerstel (2004a) demonstrate how class matters in the type of support kin are able to provide: lacking in financial resources, those of lower socio-economic status are more likely to benefit from practical help than those of higher SES (also in Swartz 2009). With that in mind, the combination of ideals around who is best suited to care for children, women's work patterns across the life course, and the high cost of childcare in both the United States and English Canada results in childcare being a commonly-provided form of kin support across income levels (Sarkisian and Gerstel 2004b). It was the practical forms of kin support that were most frequently mentioned and for which couples seemed most appreciative. In some ways, this is unsurprising, as this type of support is often visible, experienced directly, and often addresses an immediate need.

Although practical support during the immediate post-natal period might be possible for a greater number of families, given that visits often happen during this period, practical support later tends to be more limited to those who are geographically proximate to extended kin (Hogan et al. 1993). Andrew, a 34-year-old father of two from Toronto, and his wife Heather had the benefit of both of their mothers being geographically proximate and able to provide practical support when necessary. I interviewed both him and Heather while she was on maternity leave with their second

child. Andrew mentioned that Heather was "struggling" at home, even with their oldest in daycare, and that they were lucky to have extended kin to help out:

> Andrew: So, both of the two moms are–they know Heather's having a rough time so they're helping out a little bit. They're not, like, living with us or anything like that.
>
> Erin: But they're very much around.
>
> Andrew: Well, yeah, they're around. I mean, not, like, every day. They're not, like, like I said, they don't live with us or anything, but, you know, if it was, like, 'I'm just having a breakdown I need you to come take the kid,' like, probably we could get somebody.

As with Manuel and Laura, Andrew pointed to the ways female extended kin provided support beyond the post-natal period.

What each of these examples illustrates is the ways extended kin provide a variety of forms of support, support for which new parents are often very grateful. But this positive side of extended kin support is undermined by what I see as the negative side, which is evident from my interview with Andrew: Andrew never said that he comes home when his wife is having a tough time, highlighting his secondary role in parenting. Although it is hard to tell if Andrew would respond the same way in the absence of family support, as it is currently, he sees his wife getting the support she needs from family members other than himself, reducing his parental involvement.

Although this particular example highlights the way *female* extended kin substitute for fathers, which is consistent with previous research that indicates a disproportionate amount of extended kin care coming from female kin, more recent research suggests that male extended kin, particularly grandfathers, are now also providing practical support (Knudsen 2012). Two fathers in my sample spoke of the active presence and involvement of (maternal) grandfathers. Matthew, a 34-year-old

father of two from Chicago, described the active role his wife's father had taken in childcare right from the birth of their first child, a daughter.[2] When his wife first returned to work, they turned to her mother as one of their primary care takers. A nanny provided the remaining hours of childcare. Explaining that his father-in-law was still employed at the time, Matthew described how his father-in-law would travel across the city on days when his wife was caring for his granddaughter so he could have dinner with the family. Since retiring, he has increased his involvement, sometimes providing care on his own: "He acts like a caregiver, even when we just want him to be grandpa, but he can't really distinguish between the two… he likes to be there from when they wake up in the morning to when we give them a bath at night and he wants to do it all."

Howard's father-in-law provided similarly practical support to him and his wife. At the time of the interview, the couple was currently exploring new childcare arrangements. Howard, a 44-year-old father of one from Chicago, made clear, however, that they would continue to rely on his father-in-law for one day per week of childcare for their 15-month-old son. Since his wife had returned to work after maternity leave, her father had watched their son one or two days a week, sharing the care-taker role with a paid care provider. From my interviews with both Matthew and Howard, it did not seem that either of their fathers were exceptionally involved in childcare when Matthew and Howard were growing up. The process that led these men, as grandfathers, to become to be confident, competent, and willing childcare providers was not entirely clear from our interviews. Far from common, Matthew and Howard's fathers-in-law are interesting

[2] I mention the grandchild's gender because some research has found that grandfathers tend to be more involved with grandsons than granddaughters (Cherlin & Furstenberg 1992)

examples of the ways *male* extended kin provide practical, childcare-related forms of support.

This discussion of the types of support provided by which extended kin illustrates the varied ways new parents benefit from kin networks beyond the immediate post-natal period. What becomes clear from this discussion is the overall positive orientation parents have towards kin support. It is also clear that female extended kin provide a great deal of this support, a finding in line with previous research on the gendered nature of extended kin care. In this chapter, I argue that this gendered pattern has roots in the immediate post-natal period and has important implications for father involvement.

In many ways, how kin support happens *beyond* the first few weeks after the birth of a child is different than *during* those first few weeks. During the immediate post-natal period, kin are often present to celebrate the birth of a child. Their embeddedness, most often free of other responsibilities, coupled with their prior experience in childcare, facilitates involvement in the practical, day-to-day happenings of infant care. As illustrated above, kin support provided later is often more directly responding to a specific and time dependent need, rather than the combination of celebration and need it is in the immediate post-birth period. In the section that follows, I will explicitly explore how fathers experienced this extended kin support, demonstrating the ways extended kin support can limit father involvement.

"There were so many people around": Reducing the Need for Father Involvement

The presence and involvement of extended kin figured prominently in my discussions with fathers about the immediate post-natal period. Fathers often responded

to questions about leave taking with stories of their parents or in-laws visiting for a week or two or of in-town family visiting more often than usual and staying for longer visits. In the same way that paternity leave structured the experience of the transition to parenthood, so too did the presence of extended kin. Many fathers who opted not to take leave explicitly stated that knowing in advance that their partners would be well supported by family members influenced their decision around leave-taking. This provides the clearest indication that extended kin can limit father involvement. Despite having access to the Employment Insurance parental leave benefits provided by the Canadian government and the generous top-off policy offered by the firm, Daniel, a 44-year-old Toronto father of two opted not to take any weeks of leave after the birth of either of his children. When I asked him about this decision, he had this to say:

> Daniel: No particular reason other than there was the added extended family support available, which I think, if that hadn't been the case, I probably would have… So then I took the whole week after [the birth] and only that much partially because, equally, my wife's family were available, either her mother locally or her sister from out in BC came for an extended period of time. So there were lots of helping hands.
>
> Erin: Was there ever a conversation about you taking leave? Or was it sort of like 'we have all this family support?'
>
> Daniel: Oh, yeah. Well, to be entirely honest, the first time it was a bit of a surprise. Her sister didn't tell us she was coming. She told her parents. They knew, but they did it intentionally as a, oh, a good surprise. I'm here to help type of thing. So that was a bit–you know, yeah, we were sort of thinking, gee, do I need to do that [take leave] or not? We thought we'd be okay with her mom coming to stay with us for a number of weeks. But then with her sister arriving, I definitely did not need to.

From this, it becomes clear that extended kin care was very much being substituted for paternal care. Daniel saw the needs of his wife and his child(ren) being met by his mother-in-law and his sister-in-law–"there were lots of helping hands"–eliminating a

need for his contribution to care work. Interestingly, Daniel went on to say that while he himself did not make use of any of the available leave options, he recognized their importance and value for families in situations different from his own: “Oh, absolutely. Yeah, for sure. If there's anyone who doesn't have the benefit of having extended family locally, yeah, I think they [corporate and state level policies] are both very helpful and useful . And if we hadn't had that, I definitely would've taken leave, yeah.” Daniel is explicitly connecting the need for father involvement to the lack of other care providers; had they not had extended kin to support his wife, he would have pursued options that enabled him to be more available than he was.

Like Daniel, Ahmed, a 32-year-old father of two from Montreal, knew he and his wife Kim would have significant family support after the birth of both of their children. In explaining how they decided on leave-taking, Ahmed was explicit that extended kin involvement played a major role in the length of his leave: “In our case, we just went to, I take the minimum [allowed parental leave], she take the maximum [allowed parental leave] because we knew we’d have family that could help. But, obviously, if we were in a different situation, to be able to–if she needed three months of my help, then I would have taken it.” For fathers like Ahmed, who recognized that their partner would need some initial help and support, knowing that a family member was available enabled them to minimally disrupt their work pattern. However, Ahmed and Kim went on to say that had they not had this type of support, he–like Daniel–would have made different use of the available parental leave:

> Ahmed: Imagine my wife–our situation–my parents-in-law help us a lot. But, let’s say we are in a situation where we don’t have any family here. My wife had a C-section and I don’t have paternity leave. It would be impossible. So, then yes, it’s very important. And it’s very important because–in the case of [the

second birth], I have time to spend with [our first child, our daughter], during those [first] two weeks, which are critical so I can still play with her. I spend much more time with her than before because I was full time with her [while my wife was with the newborn]. So, it made the transition easier.

Erin: For [your daughter].

Ahmed: For [our daughter], exactly–and at the same time, would be helpful for my wife. So, I think it is useful.

Erin: So, do you think if you didn't have as much family support, that you would've taken the five weeks all at once again?

Kim: Probably, because I had the C-section.

Ahmed and Kim point to two distinct concerns or needs that were met by extended kin in the immediate post-natal period: the limitations a mother experiences as a result of a caesarean section birth and the challenges of having a toddler and a newborn. C-section births often require a longer period of recovery and several restrictions intended to allow the incision to heal, such as not lifting anything heavier than the newborn. The time between the birth of Ahmed and Kim's first and second child–only 13 months–made this latter concern perhaps more significant for this couple than it might be for most parents. While Ahmed was very much cognizant of these special concerns, and willing to step in if that was necessary, the fact that Kim's parents were able to offer so much support eliminated this need. My impression from their interview, which was one of two conducted with both parents together, was that Ahmed's leave after the birth of their second child was primarily aimed at helping their older child adjust, something he alludes to above.

Both Daniel and Ahmed are examples of fathers who recognized that infant care and post-partum recovery should not be left to mothers alone, hinting at an expanded understanding of childcare and parenting on their part. In other words, these fathers did

not decide against being home in the immediate post-natal period because they did not understand the possible ways their partners might need help. Quite the contrary, both fathers seemed very clear on the challenges of recovering from childbirth. However, they themselves did not need to be involved in this care because there were other care providers available.

Not all men with extended kin support shared this expanded understanding of childcare and parenting. Like Daniel and Ahmed, Charles knew his wife would have help after the birth of their second child. But in describing why he didn't plan to take much time off after the birth, Charles pointed first to his understanding of fathering: "well, I mean, I'm the dad, so I don't really need to take that many days off, so I'll probably only take, you know, five days, a week, just to help my wife acclimate. My mother-in-law will be there–and her grandmother will be there, so it'll be fine."

Unlike Charles, who is very much drawing from a more traditional understanding of gender and parenting, Daniel and Ahmed did not see parenting as something women should do alone. In fact, both men were quite explicit that had they not had the extensive kin support they had, they would have organized the post-natal period differently. As will be further explored in the next chapter, fathers in this study described their understanding of ideal fathering as first and foremost about involvement and presence, even if their actions did not always match these ideals. However, even with this less traditional view of parenting, the outcome is the same for both fathers like Daniel and Ahmed and fathers like Charles: the presence of extended kin eliminated the perceived need for paternal contributions to care work, leading ultimately to more limited father involvement.

Knowledge that extended kin would be around and available to help during the first few weeks after the birth prompted many men to "save " their available time off, usually vacation time, for later, once family had left. Jack, a 43-year-old Toronto father of two, was quite explicit about the connection between the presence of extended kin in the immediate post-natal period and waiting to take time off until later in the year:

> Again, Karen and I talked about like what makes sense in terms of me being off. Her mom was coming to stay. So, it made more sense for me to take my vacation later in the summer than to use up my vacation at that time. I wanted to be there for the first week because it was my first child."

As with Daniel and Ahmed, Jack explicitly connects planning his time off with the presence of extended kin in mind.

Most mothers appear to be part of this planning as well. Laura, the newest mother in my sample, encountered earlier in this chapter, had the benefit of her parents, her in-laws, and her sister in town following the birth of her twins. She described how she and husband Nick had decided on how much time and when he would take off after the birth:

> Well, I guess initially, I thought it was going to be, like, one [week]. But you know, you get home, and he [her husband] was, like, "Well, it's hard for me to leave [the twins]," because he obviously wanted to spend time with them, too. But we had a lot of family in town. So I thought it made sense for him to go back to work and save his vacation so that he could help me out later, which is essentially what he did.

Again, we see evidence of a new understanding of fathering among men where greater involvement is key. Nick did not have the option of paid parental leave and so was using his limited, but still fairly generous, vacation time to be home with his wife and newborns. He took several days off immediately following the birth, then returned to work while Laura's parents were still in town. Laura was aware that her husband also wanted to be home with the twins, but ultimately they decided it was best that he return to

work relatively soon after the birth, allowing him to take time off once family had left and Laura would be home alone.

But when I spoke with Nick, it did not appear that all this family support was what he necessarily wanted: "family gets on your nerves after a while. Just having a lot of people in your house at one time, you're new to the babies, you're trying to figure everything out and you want to learn yourself." Nick's statement is remarkable for how explicit it is about wanting to be involved and wanting to learn how to take care of his newborns. Very much in line with the new "involved father" ideal currently circulating in North American popular culture, Nick is articulating a desire to be an engaged, skilled care provider and is pointing to the ways he felt extended kin limited his opportunities to do so.

While the above fathers planned their post-natal time off with extended kin in mind, other fathers described experiencing their own involvement in the post-natal period as unnecessary because of the presence of extended kin. Mark, a 32-year-old Chicago father whose daughter was less than a year old at the time of our interview, described feeling unneeded while his mother-in-law was in town, prompting him to return to work: "I was home for five days, plus the weekend, and they didn't need me, so I went back to work... Her mom was in town so it's, like, you know, I can get–I can be out of everyone's hair. I can get some stuff done and, like, come home, you know, and so it was–it worked out." Like the above fathers who believed their full time presence in the weeks following the birth of their child was unnecessary because other care providers were available, Mark's experience of being home lead him a similar conclusion.

Another Chicago father, Brian, a 38-year-old father of two, described a similar experience. Before their first child was born, Brian had planned to take two weeks off. He recounted how having both his mother-in-law and sister-in-law around changed this plan after only five days:

> [Our son] was born on a Tuesday. We were in the hospital for two days, so I was there... And then I was–Thursday, Friday I was at home. On Sunday night we were just hanging around and Beth's sister was still in town and Beth's mom was over all the time. I had no problem with it; it was perfectly fine with me. I just said, "I'm going to go back to work tomorrow. Are you okay with that?" She's like, "Go ahead." It made sense, you know? I didn't need to take two weeks off.

Here, Brian is specifically pointing to the presence of extended kin in explaining why he returned to work less than a week after his son was born. As the conversation continued, however, Brian revealed a similar ambivalence as Nick did about having family around in the immediate post-natal period: "when we had [our first child], for God's sakes like the world descended on us. I was like, 'Why don't you just get out–leave. We don't need you.' You know, her sister came into town, her mom was right there, my mom came down–like I was a frickin' afterthought." Both fathers seem to suggest a belief that they and their partners would have been fine without the extended kin support they received and having this support was not necessarily their ideal post-natal arrangement. Both comments hint at the disruptive influence extended kin had on how these fathers understood and experienced the post-natal period.

While fathers like Nick, Mark, and Brian lamented the presence of extended kin, none of these fathers described attempting to disrupt the pattern of care provision or involvement by extended kin that excluded them. Only one father in my sample–42-year-old Chicago of two, David–felt strongly enough about being involved in parenting with his wife that he asked his wife's family to give them some time together as a family

following the birth of his second child. When I spoke with his wife Carol about this, she said: “my mom and I are very – we were very, very close. My mom and my aunt came over on that first day and David said we've got to learn how to be a family. And they had to go…So, I think he was–he just wanted–he wanted to take over. He wanted to do it.”

Connecting back to the previous chapter, David was one of the few fathers outside of Quebec to take an extended paternity leave, taking three weeks of FMLA leave after the birth of each of his children. Carol went on to say that once David returned to work, her mother and his mother would help her out when necessary, sometimes picking up their older daughter from school or helping with meal preparation, but that she and David share childcare and domestic labor fairly evenly. Since David was the only father in this study to actively limit the support of extended kin, it is difficult to draw conclusions from his actions. Given that he was one of the few fathers outside of Quebec to take an extended paternity leave, his actions suggests an active commitment on his part to being an involved co-parent; removing extended kin who in other families appear to limit father involvement fits in with this personal orientation towards father involvement. It is also interesting that he was able to identify extended kin as potentially limiting to his involvement and taking action to ensure this did not happen.

“You know what we don’t have? Grandparents”: Bringing Dad In

A small minority of families in my sample experienced the transition to parenthood without any support from family. When grandparents lived elsewhere, continued to have their own work commitments, or were otherwise unavailable, the possibility of support simply did not exist during this period of tremendous change.

While certainly the minority of families in this study, fathers in families without extended kin support often articulated a strong sense of needing to be very involved. In describing why he took the available five weeks of paternity leave, Eric, a 45-year-old Montreal father of two, pointed to needing to be there for his wife, who gave birth via caesarean section both times: "so it's an obligation, right, with Chantal, because she had a C-section for both, so I was needed." While Eric said they do have family close by, they were not available to help out. Rather than leave his wife to recover on her own, he took the available time, doing everything he could to be involved.

In much the same way that the fathers above who did have extended kin support pointed to how that structured their experience of parenting, several fathers described the opposite reality. Forty-year-old father of three from Toronto Jon was one such father. Saying that both his parents and his wife's parents were divorced, and therefore "technically, we should have four entities" who could help, Jon said each parent is unavailable for one reason or another:

> My mom is about three hours away. So, she's not available. We do lots of touch points [checking in] with her and stuff like that. Bridgette's dad is in Ireland. So, he is not accessible. He has never actually seen [our youngest]. Bridgette's mom is now a single mom trying to reinvigorate her career. So, she is phenomenal in her ability to be flexible, but available on a limited basis. Then on the flipside, my dad and his new wife are great, but he's not an infant guy. He is great with [our 5-year-old]. He is okay with [our 3-year-old]. We couldn't leave him with the infant.

Jon took six weeks of leave following the births of his second and third child, saying they were some of the most rewarding experiences of his life. In speaking specifically about the third leave, Jon was clear that this was absolutely necessary to help his wife since they had no consistent source of family support: "helped my wife now that we have three kids. And we don't have a family at our fingertips." With three children

under five years old, including an infant, Jon did not see how his wife could have managed those first six weeks alone.

Explicitly pointing to the *absence* of extended kin, Stan, a 38-year-old-father of three from Montreal, described his continued involvement once he returned to work after his five weeks of paternity leave:

> Stan: I was the one responsible with waking up in the night and giving the bottle.
>
> Erin: Was that to let your wife get some rest?
>
> Stan: Yeah, exactly. I knew once I left home, she would be, for the next eight, nine hours, alone with the baby so makes sense to have some rest. We didn't get any help from grandparents. It was just us.

What is so interesting about this division of labor is that it is the opposite of how most fathers, and many mothers, explain a "fair" division of labor during maternity leave: it is often precisely *because* the mother does not have to go to work the next day that makes her better suited to wake up with the baby during the night.[3]

What the data from fathers in couples like this, those without extended kin, suggest is that the presence and support of extended kin influences father involvement in significant ways. In couples with little to no support from extended kin, particularly practical support around care work, fathers articulate their involvement as essential and necessary. Most fathers in couples with extended kin available and participating in everyday care work did not see their care work contributions in the same way.

Lack of Support Beyond the Post-Natal Period

[3] Although none of the fathers explicitly said that the way they and their partners parented/divided up tasks was informed by their experiences with their first child, I would argue that these first parenting experiences directly informed later parenting decisions.

Many couples, such as Nick and Laura, Daniel and Margaret, and Paul and Sarah, had family come visit from out of town in the immediate post-natal period. But this support was often brief, a week or two in duration, and then described as episodic thereafter. Several couples suggested the possibility of moving closer to family, or having family move closer to them, in the future, given how helpful it is to have this resource available. Manuel, whom we first met at the beginning of this chapter, said he, his wife, and his mother-in-law, the pediatric nurse he had called on for help, were discussing having her move to Chicago. Chicago father Mark, who had returned to work quickly after the birth of his daughter because his mother-in-law was in town, revealed at the end of our interview the couple's plan to move back to Michigan in the next few months. The couple was planning to have more children and thought it would be best to be closer to family. Both of these fathers left the majority of childcare and domestic labor to their wives, lending further support to the idea that extended kin often substitute for father involvement.

Discussion

The connection between father involvement and extended kin care is very much an understudied relationship in the sociology of families, both in terms of research on fathering and kin work. Examining this relationship raises several interesting questions about new understandings and expectations around fathering, shifting gender ideals and the provision of care, and the division of labor in heterosexual couples. I argue that the support provided by extended kin in the immediate post-natal period functions as a substitute for the presence and involvement of fathers. Whether fathers fail to see a need

for their own involvement or feel pushed out, extended kin are doing the work of a second parent. This becomes problematic once extended kin leave and fathers must contribute to care work. In the absence of opportunities to develop parenting skills and confidence, fathers become less capable of autonomous parenting just as their partners become better equipped for this task. This discrepancy presents as a "natural" difference between mothers and fathers when in fact it is structured, in part, by the presence of non-parental care providers.

It is possible to argue that the presence of extended kin serves more as a *rhetorical* resource for some fathers, providing them with an acceptable explanation for their own limited involvement, rather than actually limiting their involvement. Appealing to the presence of extended kin to explain their own limited presence allows fathers to adhere to a more traditional understanding of parenting, work, and gender without appearing "old-fashioned" or unprogressive. On the other hand, it is also possible to argue that if these fathers perceive their own involvement to be redundant, limited, or in some way reduced due to the presence of extended kin in the immediate post-natal period, then, in keeping with W.I. Thomas' (1938) classic sociological insight, that perception has real consequences for how these fathers engage in parenting.

While it is impossible to say definitively that either explanation is more accurate, or that either one applies to all fathers, considering each father's discussion of extended kin in relation to other opportunities for involvement suggests that both explanations likely co-exist. Take Mark, who returned to work a week after his daughter was born so he could "be out of everyone's hair." Later in our interview, he pointed to a difference in responsibility and salary in his work and his wife's work as an explanation for her greater

share of care work and domestic labor. Together, this suggests that Mark is perhaps masking more traditional understandings of gender and parenting with more acceptable ones, like the presence of extended kin. On the other hand, Nick, who said "you want to learn yourself," took time off later, once family had left. This suggests that Nick sincerely did want to be more involved, but felt that the space for his involvement was limited by the presence of other care providers.

As argued in the previous chapter, this period immediately after birth is particularly important in the development of parenting skills, confidence, and responsibility. Because men and women often experience this period in radically different ways, they come to be very different parents. When extended kin are present during this period, particularly grandmothers who are often experienced and confident care providers, fathers may not gain the hands-on learning experiences necessary to develop into competent care providers themselves.

Examining the connection between extended kin support and father involvement provides an interesting opportunity to unpack changing understandings of gender, parenting, and father involvement. Fathers like Jon exhibit a type of gender flexibility (Gerson 2010) in his approach to parenting, participating in core household and mundane care work while providing financially for his family. Jon's experience, along with those of other fathers in my sample like him, demonstrates how masculinity is expanding to include more dimensions of fathering than it has in the past. Childcare, particularly the less enjoyable aspects like bathing or feeding, are no longer seen as incompatible with masculinity. Nor is parenting necessarily seen as something for which mothers should be

solely responsible. Fathers like Eric, Jon, and Stan provide evidence of change, both in terms of beliefs and actions around gender and parenting.

But other fathers encountered in this chapter, like Mark and Andrew, appeared to hold on to more traditional understandings of gender and parenting, insofar as they did not attempt to take on a more active role in caretaking when (mostly female) extended kin were present. All of these fathers took less than two weeks off after the birth of a child, returning to work and their role as financial provider. While it is hard to say if these fathers would have acted differently had they and their partners not had the support of extended kin, the way most of these fathers described the presence of extended kin, their perceived (in)ability to contribute to newborn care, and their swift return to work suggests the enduring connection between femininity and care work, masculinity and breadwinning. Though perhaps not as starkly as the distant breadwinner of the 1950s, the limited post-natal involvement of these fathers does point to the continued salience of the male breadwinner ideal for today's fathers.

The potential negative impact of extended kin on father involvement is further complicated by the very real fact that, as illustrated at the beginning of this chapter, this type of support is seen by couples as invaluable, helping them on a number of levels. In their study of low-income parents, Haxton and Harknett (2009) assert that various forms of kin support during the post-natal period can "mitigate the effects of this stressful period" (1021). This is equally true for more affluent families. From soothing a new baby while a mother sleeps to caring for older children to more basic things like meal preparation, couples with whom I spoke were very thankful that they had family around. Brian, a Chicago father encountered earlier in this chapter, described his mother-in-law as

a godsend, saying he didn't know what he and his wife would do without her. This sentiment was especially true during the initial transition to parenthood, when new parents are still learning. Suggesting that this incredible resource is somehow more negative than positive would likely strike many of the parents in this study as odd, potentially counterintuitive, and it is probably not something parents would be likely to forgo.

These seemingly very positive outcomes for individual families obscure the more subtle and unintended societal level outcome that is less positive. Regardless of how fathers came to occupy a more peripheral role in parenting in the post-natal period, the result is very similar: care work falls overwhelmingly to mothers, who learn to parent and develop a sense for their babies, while fathers become helpers, capable of a supportive parenting role. In many ways, extended kin care contributes to a more traditionally gendered organization of paid and unpaid work, where women come to be more capable care providers and men continue to be largely unencumbered workers. As I illustrated in the previous chapter, the patterns of care and the division of labor that develop during the transition to parenthood can be difficult to disrupt later. As such, when fathers are not embedded in the post-natal period because of the presence and involvement extended kin, a more traditional division of labor can result. Extended kin, then, serve a limiting function for father involvement. In the next two chapters, the effects of this traditional division of labor will be explored. More specifically, I will highlight how many mothers feel forced into making particular choices around work and family in order to accommodate a parenting dynamic that places responsibility and the majority of care work squarely with them.

The next chapter moves beyond the immediate post-natal period, exploring the relationship between articulated ideals of fatherhood and the enacted practices of fathering. As noted in the Introduction, understandings of what it means to be a good father have changed in important ways over the last three centuries. The latest articulated ideal, which places heavy emphasis on presence and involvement, does not necessarily reflect actual fathering behavior. In the latter part of the next chapter, I use childcare arrangements and unexpected gap in care to examine this disjuncture between articulated ideals and enacted practices.

Chapter IV

WHEN WORK AND FAMILY COLLIDE:

ARTICULATED IDEALS VERSUS ENACTED PRACTICES

While most Americans now assume that mothers need to be employed to help support their families, we are less certain about how much family work men should do. Is it enough that fathers hold steady jobs, come home after work, and occasionally play with their children, or should they also be expected to assume responsibility for the more mundane tasks of parenting and housework? (Coltrane and Adams 2001, 72)

"When my father came home from work, he did nothing. He just asked for supper, for his tea, and he was in front of the tv. So it was completely different then. And my wife and I, we have almost the same salary, so I don't know why I would ask her to do something I don't do. She probably does more than me in the home, but not like before, like when I was younger."

Dominic, father of two, Montreal

Introduction

Since the 1970s, images of a new kind of father have emerged in U.S popular culture (Coltrane and Adams 2001). These images reflect a move away from traditional markers of masculinity–competitiveness, aggression, emotional distance/detachment, high degree of career focus–towards something much softer, more sensitive. As Dowd states, "contemporary ideology supports men's active nurturing… the new model of fatherhood is always contrasted with the image of fathers as breadwinners or economic providers with no other dimensions" (Dowd 2000, 41). The new father, tied to the also much-discussed new man, is understood to be more nurturing, more caring, more involved in his romantic relationship and, most importantly, actively involved with his children. Perhaps most importantly, the new ideal father is a co-equal parent (Doherty et

al. 1998; Furstenberg 1998), not just a helper to his wife or playmate to his children (Pleck 1987).

This shift in ideal fathering is very much tied to changes in women's workforce participation. With the influx of women into the paid labor force, social scientists expected that men would become more involved at home, both in childcare and domestic labor. However, changes in the paid labor force have been considerably more radical and fast-paced than changes in the home: "the masculinization of women's work patterns has been matched neither by masculinization of women's care patterns or by feminization of men's care patterns" (Craig 2006, 274). With research continuing to document a second shift for many women in dual-earner families (Craig & Bittman 2008; Bianchi et al. 2006, Hochschild 1990), some scholars have pointed out that perhaps this new involved father is more present in cultural discourse and popular imagination than in the actual practices of fathers (Ranson 2012; Williams 2008; Pleck 2004; Ranson 2001; Coltrane 1995; Lewis and O'Brien 1987). While ideals appear to have shifted, changes in actual behavior have not necessarily kept pace.

At the same time, sociologists have found an articulated desire among many men to be a different kind of father than they experienced growing up; contemporary fathers express a desire to be more involved and hands-on (Askari et al. 2010; Gerson 2010; Brandt and Kvande 1998; Daly 1996). This active, hands-on orientation towards fatherhood is similar to the ways fathers in this study described ideal fathering today. With regards to actual behavior, studies drawing on time use data, such as the Bureau of Labor Statistics' American Time Use Survey, do document an increase in the number of hours men are spending in both childcare and domestic labor (bls.gov). Although a

considerable gap persists between the absolute number of hours men and women devote to these types of tasks, men's participation in family life has increased since the 1960s (Parker and Wang 2013; Bianchi et al. 2006). A March 2013 Pew Research Center study that garnered a great deal of media attention found that while men in the 1960s spent a combined 6.5 hours weekly in domestic labor and childcare, they now spend 17 hours. Qualitative studies by sociologists and gender scholars have produced similar findings about men's increased participation in domestic labor and childcare (Ranson 2012; Holter 2007; Brandth and Kvande 1998; Sanchez and Thomson 1997).

When we look more closely at what men are actually doing in families, we see that men's involvement in childcare and domestic labor is somewhat selective (Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard 2010; Adams and Coltrane 2005); specifically, research documents that "men may enjoy a disproportionate amount of the more pleasurable aspects of caring, and women a disproportionate amount of the more demanding aspects of caring" (Craig 2006, 274). Men tend to participate more in the fun aspects of child care–play time, sports activities, reading, entertainment–and the aspects of domestic labor that suit their tastes and interests (Craig 2002; Lamb 1997). Other research demonstrates that mothers multi-task–combining childcare and domestic labor with other activities–much more than fathers (Offer and Schneider 2011). As such, men's increased involvement does not necessarily reduce the amount of work women do: "even if fathers do spend more time with their children than in the past, they may not relieve mothers of some aspects of work that is part of caring" (Craig 2006, 262). Women's work continues to be dominated by caretaking, quotidian, mundane and repetitive tasks, or what scholars refer to as core

domestic labor (Milkie and Peltola 1999; Twiggs, McQuillan and Ferree 1999; Coltrane 1995).

In this chapter, I argue that while the overwhelming majority of fathers in this study articulate one ideal type of fathering, that of the new father, fathers enacted fathering in four distinct ways, each aligning with the ideal of the new father to various degrees. I name those most closely enacting the ideal of father involvement *working fathers*. A second group of fathers, those I label *maternally-enabled fathers*, are closely aligned in terms of ideals and behaviors, but the impetus of their involvement is more their partners than themselves. The third group of fathers, the *under-involved fathers*, are those who exhibit the most tension between an articulated ideal of involvement and behaviors that reflect a mix of involved and breadwinning styles of fathering. Finally, those I label *traditional fathers* demonstrate a style of fathering that is closer to that of a "distant provider" (Lamb 1987) than the new father.

My data suggest that fathers certainly want to enact a form of involved fathering that would allow them to be active and (more) equal co-parents, but when work and family compete, many fathers slide back towards a more traditional division of paid and unpaid labor. Childcare arrangements, particularly getting children to and from childcare and dealing with unexpected gaps in care, provide an interesting opportunity to consider the space between the articulated ideals and enacted practices of fathering today. Unlike core housework and the more care-oriented dimensions of childcare, childcare drop offs and pick ups and unexpected gaps in care arrangements bring work demands and family responsibilities into direct competition because they are bound by the same hours of the day. Despite this, scholars have focused little attention on what we might learn about

father involvement from examining these two related, but distinct, examples of work-family conflict. In examining how couples handle these two family responsibilities, I develop this four-part typology of fathering practices. Before exploring each of the four types of fathering practices named above, I will first describe how the fathers in this study understand ideal fathering in 21st century North America.

Being a Good Dad: It's About Being There for Your Child

When asked to describe what it meant to be a good father, fathers emphasized spending time with their children above everything else. Being present in the *daily* lives of their children, for the men in this study, was essential to how they understood good fathering. This daily involvement was often contrasted by fathers in this study with so-called "weekend dads." From reading books and playing games to talking with their children about their days to making it to soccer practice or swimming lessons, fathers stressed being present as a key feature of what it means to be a good father. By framing presence in these ways, it is clear that engagement and accessibility (Lamb et al. 1985; Lamb 1987) have become essential parts of how men understand ideal fathering.

For 45-year-old Montreal father Eric, this included participating in activities with his children, but also making more mundane activities opportunities to spend time together:

> I would have to say presence, obviously. Implication in some form of sport, other than Wii, Playstation, xbox, or some other kind of electronic device that they can get their hands on. Anything that they can get outside with. But it's implication, so regardless of what the activity is, you know, even if it's shopping–you know, 'come with me.'

Very much in line with Eric's thoughts on fathering, 37-year-old father of three from Chicago Michael's description of being present highlighted that spending time with children should not just be about the amount of time, but also the quality of that time:

> I think that, first and foremost, you have to be there for your kids. And by being there, I don't mean by being physically there but by being there and engaged with them in what they're doing. Clearly, it can't be like this weekend. I was alone with the [our three daughters]. Clearly, all weekend I could not give them my full 100% attention all weekend long. But I think it's carving out meaningful periods of time, whether it's participating in one of their interests, sitting down with them and building a LEGO hotel, which then they added onto the rest of the weekend, or whether it was taking them on a trip to–we went to a local natural area and walked around. So, I think number one is time. And it's kind of cliché, but it's quality time in addition to quantity time. So, it's not, hey, we're in the same room but I'm typing on the computer or watching TV, and they're back playing with their toys.

Brian, a 38-year-old Chicago father of two, articulated a similar vision of being a good father: "the broadest way I could define it is I believe in not being an absent parent. If I'm not working, I'm at home, unless we [as a family] have something going on. But my belief is that we just need to be with them and travel with them and take them places and do things." Like Eric and Michael, Brian emphasized being with his children as key to good fathering.

The value of "being together" also informed how Edward, a 39-year-old father of two from Toronto, explained how he understood what being a good father entailed:

> Edward: Being there, being available, being home every day, doing stuff together.
>
> Erin: What kind of stuff?
>
> Edward: Playing, reading, taking them to the park–watching them play with other kids. Sometimes just being there, they'll come up and sit there and just want to hang out.
>
> Erin: Okay. So being accessible to them?

Edward: Yeah, I think that is a big aspect of fatherhood.

Edward is pointing to how both being engaged with and accessible to one's children informs how he understands being a good father. Simply being present gives children the opportunity to engage with fathers, providing the space for meaningful interactions.

What all these descriptions of good fathering make clear is the way being present requires involvement and engagement with your children, not simply the type of co-presence described by Dominic in his reflections of his own father's way of fathering, presented at the beginning of this chapter. Chad, a Chicago father whose daughter was four at the time of our interview, aptly and concisely captured this sentiment in how he described being a good father: "I think it's important to always be there for your child. I think my parents always were. And, I think that kids understand that, even at this age."

While these fathers were explicit in how presence informed their understanding of good fathering, presence was implied in how other fathers described good fathering. Being present in your child(ren)'s life is very much implied in how Brad, a 35-year-old father of two from Toronto, described being a good father: "I think, you know, to be a good father I think you need to be there for your kids. I think you need to provide good structure to your kids, set good examples for your kids, teach them things." In order to be able to set a good example and "teach them things," a father needs to be present and engaged with his children on some level.

Paul, a 27-year-old Montreal father of an 11-month-old son and the youngest father with whom I spoke, echoed this idea in how he described being a good father:

> Being present, being loving, caring, providing for your child. Also, I guess disciplining is part of it. That's part of raising your children. Educate them and show them your knowledge, your outlook on life–and that's all you can do. I mean, you can't take on someone else's opinion. Just be yourself around them and

> do your best. Be honest with them as well. Not going to be a perfect parent. You'll probably fail them. I think being responsible and just present or really strong.

Brad and Paul are clear that being present matters, but the other dimensions both fathers mention–providing structure, being loving, sharing one's knowledge and outlook, disciplining–all require a degree of involvement in order to happen, further emphasizing the importance of presence.

In their description of ideal fathering, Brad and Paul both hint at moral guidance, a key feature of ideal fatherhood in the colonial period (LaRossa 1998). This was also something that figured prominently how 47-year-old Chicago father Emin described good fathering:

> Emin: I guess, for me, just kind of, like, teaching them, molding them, what's right and what's wrong. You know, hopefully, they live by my, you know–'do unto others before, or do unto others as you would have done unto you.' Because that philosophy…because I usually go, 'do you want me to do that to you? No? Then why are you doing it to your brother?' That kind of conversation. So, hopefully, you know…
>
> Erin: Sort of like a moral guidance kind of thing?
>
> Emin: Yes. More than anything else. Get them on the right path.

As was the case during the colonial period, providing this type of moral teaching suggests the need for fathers to be very much implicated in the daily lives of their children.

Several fathers emphasized affection, love, and care in their understanding of good fathering, perhaps the most significant departure from a distant breadwinner understanding of ideal fathering. Howard, a 44-year-old father from Chicago whose son had just turned one, connected spending time to demonstrating love: "I think time–spending time with your child. It could be any kind of time. I think that's the most important thing. Letting your child know that they're loved–so lots of affection, hugs and

kisses. I think that's pretty important for normal development." Spending time, then, is not just about being present, but rather about connecting with one's child(ren) on an emotional and physical level. This emphasis on love hints at a type of masculinity that is a real departure from the masculinity underlying the previous era's distant breadwinner ideal of fatherhood.

Daniel also echoed the importance of demonstrating care and love through affection and presence. Due to a long commute, the 44-year-old father from Toronto does not see his two children in the morning. He articulated a similar ideal of fatherhood as Howard, really emphasizing affection and love:

> The one thing that sort of stands out first and foremost for me is that they know how much I love them. So they always know lots of hugs, lots of kisses, as much time as I can. I don't generally see them other than looking into their rooms in the morning because they're still sleeping, but that's why, when I get home, briefcase or whatever put away, BlackBerry off. You know, I'm there, and they come running to me, and I'm all theirs. So as far as dinnertime or playtime afterwards or bedtime, yeah, they know and see that I'm there all the time.

Many fathers emphasized, as Daniel does, that while the combination of work and commuting pulls them away from the home for upwards of 10 hours a day, when they are home, all their energy–both emotional and mental–is focused on their children.[1]

In a slight departure from defining good fathering in a child-centered way, but very much in line with demonstrating love and affection, several fathers brought in the couple relationship as an important part of how they conceptualize good fathering. These fathers pointed to the way being a good and loving partner was a key part of being a good

[1] Daniel was not alone in making clear that when he is at home, he does not work. Most fathers in this study said it was very rare, if ever, that they work from home in the evening and none expressed concern about how this was read by their employer. The exceptions to this were those fathers whose jobs required generating business in some capacity: private banking, financial planning, and commercial banking.

father. This included not letting the couple relationship take too much of a backseat, but also modeling love, affection, and equality for children:

> I believe in a family of parents that love each other and display that to the kids and let them know that how important everybody is to everybody. (Chris, 36-year-old father of two, Toronto)

> I think also having a healthy relationship with [my wife] and trying to be a good example that way. (Adam, 36-year-old father of two, Toronto)

> We often have people comment about how happy we as a couple appear and equally with the kids. And I think how happy we are as a couple plays into how happy the kids are. At least that's my opinion. (Daniel, 44-year-old father of two, Toronto)

> There's a line there that's very hard because sometimes being–being a–being better at one makes you better at the other, you know what I mean? So, I think probably trying to be more supportive of my wife in what her needs are is something that I could do better as a father. (Matthew, 34-year-old father of two, Chicago)

The inclusion of love and affection, both directed at children and modeled in the couple relationship, reflects the so-called new masculinity that includes a significant departure from the stoic and more emotionally distant masculinity of the past.

In many of the descriptions of good fathering, providing financially was either explicitly mentioned or indirectly implied. While providing is certainly still seen as important, fathers rarely positioned this as what they felt to be the most important element of good fathering. Paolo, a 36-year-old father of two from Montreal, for example, included aspects of providing in his explanation of how he understood what it meant to be a good father, but he foregrounded being present and spending time with your children:

> I think it's simply being there for the kids, you know, in body and mind. I mean sometimes you can be there and be on your Blackberry or phone for most of the time and that's not really being there, but being there for the kids to interact with and to get something from you. And bring them to the activities, you know,

> making their activities your priority, versus your activities ... So, yeah, being there for them, making sure that you expose them to different things, you know. Like, they don't know what they don't know… And giving them the opportunity to dabble in different areas, activities, whatever it is, arts or sports or whatever and then, hopefully, giving them enough to make their own choice. I think that's in a nutshell, yeah, what a good dad means for me, at least.
>
> Erin: Okay.
>
> Paolo: And then, financially, obviously, if you can bring the finances and give them the, you know, the luxuries that they deserve to a certain extent, you know.

Another Montreal father, 38-year-old father of three Stan, similarly suggested providing, but it was far from the sole criterion he suggested for good fathering:

> Well, first of all, to provide them whatever they need - not just for living, school and extracurricular activities, but also for vacation, for fun, let's go to Niagara Falls, let's go to Cuba–let's go somewhere–to be able to provide all that. And also, to make my time and daily discuss with them, 'what is the problem?' 'How is school? How is that?' Talking to them is important.

What's striking about this understanding of providing is the way it is tied to providing family experiences, time for the family to be together, "not just for living," connecting financial providing to a concerted cultivation approach to parenting (Lareau 2003). That Stan's wife is a stay-at-home mom and he is, in fact, the breadwinner of the family made this understanding of fathering even more powerful: even fathers who are living a more traditional breadwinner/homemaker dynamic do not necessarily understand that good fathering stops at simply providing.

In discussing ideals around fathering, many fathers contrasted themselves with their own fathers, as seen in Dominic's comment at the beginning of this chapter. Gabe, a 35-year-old father of two from Montreal, noted a similar way of enacting fatherhood as Dominic and was also clear that he did not want to be a distant breadwinner father: "first of all, my dad–I mean the perception of what a dad should do is just nothing, except for

bring money in. That's how [my dad] did it. And, first of all, I vowed never to be like that."

Daniel, the Toronto father who also drew the couple relationship into how he described being a good father, was more explicit in his comparison to the past, really drawing out the changes from one generation to the next:

> Like I know, in contrast with my dad or my grandfather, like I'm much more involved than either of them were. And I think that, to some degree, from conversations I've had with friends, it's a conscious decision. Because they've heard the stories–their grandfather [does] that with the kids, and they knew what their experience was. And each generation learns from the past, and just being more self-aware or more in touch with the softer side of things. You know, the fathers back in the like '60s and '70s, you know, men of few words, and the few were more gruff then.

While an imperfect measure of change, these reflections on differences between fathers today and in the past do suggest that new understandings of fathering and masculinity are circulating in North American society.

Reflections on the actual experience of being a father provides additional evidence that fatherhood is, indeed, an institution in flux. Patrick, a 43-year-old father of two from Chicago, was clear that being a provider had very much informed his pre-parenting conception of fathering, but that this had shifted once he himself became a father:

> Erin: So if someone had asked you before you had [your first son] what you thought it meant to be a good father, do you think you would emphasize different things?
>
> Patrick: Oh, yeah. I think so. I think then it was more about providing financially–I mean, that's definitely part of it. You have to be able to provide for your family financially. I mean, [my wife] worked for a while, but if your spouse isn't working, you're –
>
> Erin: Someone has to make money.

> Patrick: Yeah, someone's got to make money, right? So, that's got to be part of it. You know, so you need to provide a stable base, you need to provide a good role model, and then you need to instill the right values… But I think before I had kids–I wasn't thinking along those lines. I think it was more about you know, you got to live in a nice neighborhood and you have to have enough money so that they can be clothed. It was more about the mechanics of it all than it was about the actual–it's like–yeah, it was more about mechanics than anything else.

Positioning financial providing as "the mechanics" of fathering suggests that this no longer captures the full extent of ideal fathering. Although less common than references to how their own fathers had enacted fatherhood, but still very much supported by previous research (Ransom 2012), Patrick was not the only father to express how the experience of being a father had altered his perception of what it meant to be a good father.

Taken together, this consideration of how some men now articulate good fathering is in keeping with what scholars have described as the new father. What, then, takes a father from an articulated ideal to enacting that ideal? Why do some fathers enact a style of fathering very much in keeping with the types of behaviors described above, while others fall into a more traditional style of fathering? Lamb and colleagues identified four factors that contribute to father involvement (Lamb et al., 1985; Lamb et al., 1987): "when a father is highly *motivated*, has adequate parenting *skills*, receives social *support* for his parenting, and is not undermined by work and other *institutional settings*" (Lamb et al. 1985, 888-889, emphasis added). These four factors continue to be as salient today as they were 25 years ago.

Prior research demonstrates that men need to be motivated to be more involved; without their own motivation, fathers will remain minimally involved. This factor accounts for individual differences between men, recognizing that some men will be

oriented towards a more involved form of fathering than others. I take the ways fathers in this study described ideal fathering, one that emphasized various forms of involvement, as indicative of desire or motivation to enact this style of fathering.

In terms of skills, fathers will only become involved if they believe they have the skills necessary to be a successful parent (Bornstein 2002; Parke 2002). Because parenting involves a set of skills acquired by doing, fathers' active engagement in childcare, right from birth, is key in developing the skills.[2] As demonstrated in the previous two chapters, fathers' opportunities for developing parenting skills are aided, on the one hand, by leave-taking in the immediate post-natal period and limited, on the other, by the presence and involvement of extended kin during this same period. Although Lamb and his colleagues did not emphasize the immediate post-natal period, more recent research, including the findings presented here, illustrate the importance of this period in helping mothers and fathers develop parenting skills concurrently, enabling co-parenting (Barry et al. 2011).

The third factor–support–brings a father's partner and kin network into consideration. If a mother does not want an involved partner, father involvement will be minimal (Doherty et al. 1998; Lamb 1987). This factor speaks to the issue of maternal gatekeeping and the role that both the mother and father's gender ideology play in father involvement. Allen and Hawkins define maternal gatekeeping as the "collection of beliefs and behaviors that ultimately inhibit a collaborative effort between men and women in family work" (Allen and Hawkins 1999, 200). Although some scholars claim that findings of maternal gatekeeping might be exaggerated (Walker and McGraw 2000),

[2] McHale and Huston (1984) found that fathers who believed themselves to be more skilled in the prenatal period were found to be more skilled at a year post-natal than those who estimated their pre-natal skills lower.

others have found that fathers who experience maternal gatekeeping tend to be less involved with their children (Gaunt 2008; Allen and Hawkins 1999). Gender ideology, the belief that men and women are better suited for a certain set of different tasks, often informs who performs various elements of childcare when heterosexual couples parent together. If a mother has a particularly traditional gender ideology, believing she is best suited for all aspects of childcare, this leaves little room for father involvement. Limited father involvement fits well with current standards of "intensive mothering" (Hayes 1998).

Finally, institutional factors–workplace culture, family leave policies, financial stability–all contribute to or impede father involvement.[3] Lamb and colleagues are quick to point out that institutional factors *favoring* father involvement are insufficient in and of themselves. Without the motivation, skills, and support, all the positive institutional factors will do little to increase father involvement (Lamb et al. 1985). As the case of Quebec illustrates, however, particular types of policy *can* provide sufficient incentive for fathers to take leave, which I argue can ultimately enable father involvement. This one case cannot be taken to mean that all types of institutional changes will lead to increased father involvement, but it does provide evidence that policy can result in changed behavior.

What these four factors of father involvement highlight, and more recent research continues to document, is the "ecological sensitivity" of fatherhood (Doherty et al. 1998).

[3] Lamb and colleagues focus specifically on institutional factors relating most directly to a fathers, but previous research suggests how a wife's occupational resources and institutional factors relating to her work shape father involvement in important ways: when women contribute a larger share of household income, work more hours and have more years of education than their partners, their partners tend to be more involved in childcare and domestic labor (Coltrane 1996). Given that recent data on women's workforce participation show that an increasing percentage of women are primary breadwinners in dual earner couples (Wang, Parker & Taylor 2003), the contours of a mother's work are likely to play an important part in father involvement. This will be further discussed at the end of this chapter.

In contrast to motherhood, which has a more stable and durable set of ideals associated with it, fatherhood seems to be more circumstantially variable and more highly influenced by factors external to fathers. Scholars have concluded that fatherhood "cannot be defined in isolation from mothering, mothers' expectations, and social expectations about childbearing in the society" (Doherty at al. 1998, 278). As illustrated in the Introduction, these expectations have changed significantly over time, particularly in the last century.

What the above makes clear is that, for many fathers today, good fathering means being present and spending time with their children. However, for many fathers, this involvement stops short of adjustments or alterations to their work life. This suggests that fathers have shifted how they understand their place in families, but less so their place at work. Moving now to enacted practice, I argue that fathering practice can be categorized in one of four ways: working fathers, maternally-enabled fathers, under-involved fathers, and traditional fathers. The figure below provides a visual representation of how practices and ideals come together, with each of the fathers in this study plotted in the graph. The x-axis represents articulated ideals while the y-axis represents enacted practice. The highest point on the y-axis represents the most involved in practice, while the right-most side of the graph represents those who articulated the most involved version of ideal fathering. The points in red represents all the Canadian fathers, the ones in blue the Quebec fathers, and the points in black the American fathers

I assigned each father in my sample two numbers, from one to ten: one measured the extent to which presence and involvement shaped how they described their understanding of ideal fathering (the x coordinate) and the second measured how

involved they actually were in daily family life (the y coordinate). A score closer to 10 on either ideals or practices means a father emphasized/enacted a great deal of presence and involvement; a low number points to the opposite. I constructed each score by analyzing the interview data, paying particularly close attention to how fathers (and their female partners when they too were interviewed) described a typical day in their households, how the couple described diving up domestic labor and childcare, the extent to which they were able to fill in the chart (Figure 1), and finally, how they described their understanding of what it means to be a good father. The two numbers together function as x and y coordinates for the below graph.

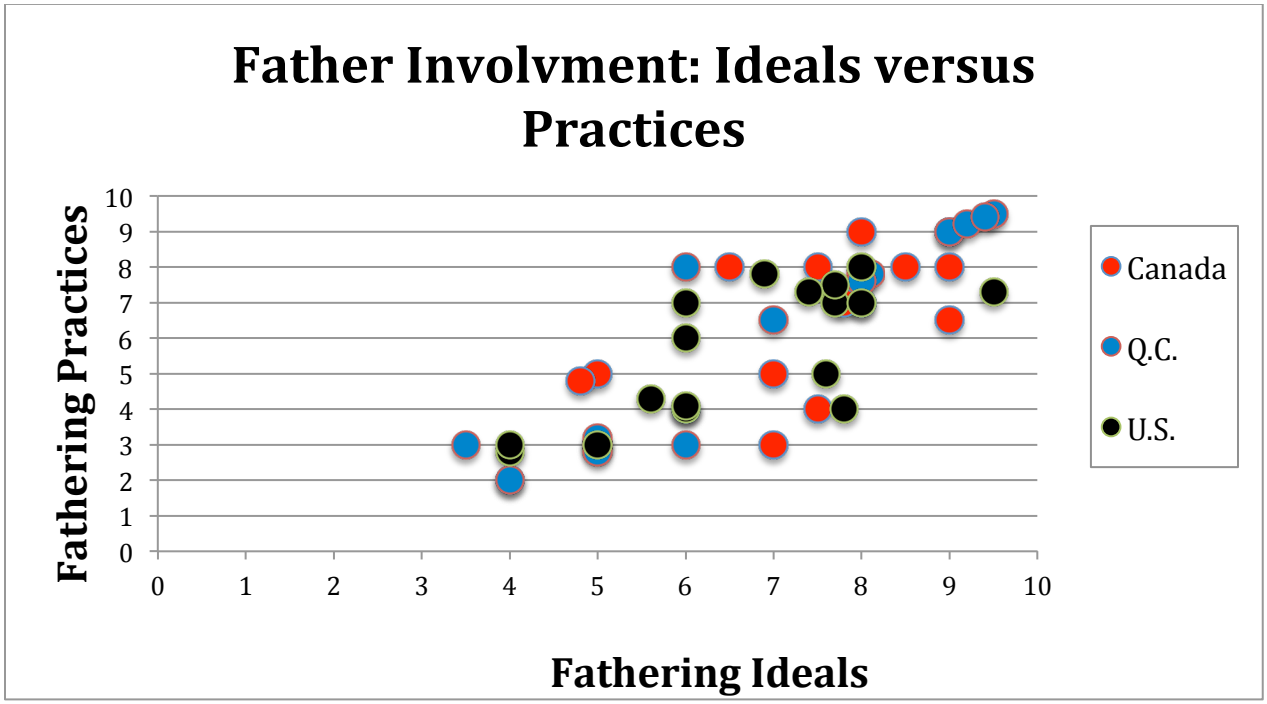

Figure 2: Types of Fathering Practice

Visualizing the relationship between ideals and practices illustrates several interesting patterns. First, fathers in Quebec had the highest degree of alignment between their articulated ideals and their enacted practices. However, we also see a significant dichotomy among Quebec fathers: they represent both the most highly involved (the working fathers) and the least involved fathers in my sample (the traditional fathers). I take this to mean that while attitudes around fathering and masculinity are certainly changing in the province, quite radically, more traditional understandings persist. That this continues to be the case among young parents suggests that the many Quebecois social policies aimed at establishing a more gender equitable society– paternity leave, heavily subsidized and universally available early childhood education, the requirement that women keep their "maiden" name after getting married–can only go so far in changing individual beliefs and behaviors.

Second, that the American fathers–the black points– are more tightly clustered along a diagonal line than either the Quebec or Canadian fathers suggests a high degree of alignment between an *individual* father's articulated understanding of fathering and his actual involvement, but the greater degree of heterogeneity among American fathers, *as a group*, in terms of their attitudes and enactments of fathering. Fathers in the US reflected all four types of fathers described in this chapter.

Finally, the dispersed nature of the English Canadian fathers–the red points– indicates these fathers were often least aligned in terms of practices. Those fathers that appear higher on the y-axis than they were along the x-axis are the maternally enabled fathers, those whose involvement exceeded their own articulated ideal. Those falling further along the x-axis than higher on the y-axis were those fathers who described a

highly involved ideal of father involvement, but did not necessarily enact this degree of involvement (under-involved fathers).

Of course, this figure also shows that, overall, the fathers in my sample were highly involved, with few fathers falling towards the lower end of the x-axis. It also shows that the four types of fathers I identify were found across the three policy contexts, further reinforcing that policy alone does not drive behavior and attitudes.

Why Shouldn't I Do Those Things? Working Fathers[4]

For some fathers, their articulated ideal and their enacted practice were very much aligned. Men's participation in getting children to and from daycare on a regular basis provides evidence that some men no longer see routine and "non-fun" aspects of childcare as solely the responsibility of women. Sharing in daycare drop offs and pick ups and negotiating with their partners when gaps in care emerged, these fathers very much enacted an involved, present co-parent style of fathering. Moving beyond involvement that happens in the home or outside of "work hours," these fathers demonstrate how the new ideal of father involvement encompasses all aspects of family life. Eric and his wife Florence both work for the firm, in neighboring buildings in downtown Montreal. Given this, I asked if the couple commuted together. Eric explained that getting their two children to school and daycare made going to work together impossible:

[4] Canadian sociologist Gillian Ranson, who has done considerable work on fathers and work-family issues, proposes the term working father in her November 2012 article in *Gender, Work, and Organizations*. While this piece did not influence the development of my typology or the naming of this group of fathers, her definition of working father fits well with my conception. She defines fathers as working fathers not only when they equitably share family responsibilities, but also "that their family responsibilities were not accommodated to their paid employment but rather that their paid employment was modified in some demonstrable way by their family responsibilities" (Ranson 2012, 749).

Eric: Because of the kids and picking up and whatever and dropping off, we split shifts. I've got the morning and she's got the evening.
Erin: So you drop off…. You take care of the kids in the morning?
Eric: Correct. So she's on the 6:00 am train, I get the kids up, feed them breakfast, get them ready, whatever–drop off the oldest at school, drop the youngest at daycare, grab my train, and then she picks them up and does supper, so it's the bookends.

Several other couples described similar "split shift" arrangements, where one partner went to work very early in the mornings, while the other took the children to daycare or school; the evening, the partner who went to work early was responsible for afternoon pick up and preparing dinner. Luc, a 41-year-old father of two from Montreal, had a similar arrangement regarding daycare drop off and pick up. His partner, an accountant, did not have the option of a non-standard work schedule. Although his partner was currently on maternity leave at the time of our interview, altering their routine significantly, his work schedule prior to that was 6:00 am until about 3:00, at which time he would pick up his oldest daughter at daycare, head home and prepare dinner. He said people often commented on how it nice it was that he picks his daughter up from daycare: "people say 'oh, it's so nice that you are doing that,' but I think 'why is that nice? Why shouldn't I do that?'" That Luc sees daycare pick up as just as much his responsibility as that of his partner lends support to the possibility that the new involved father has taken hold not only in rhetoric, but in lived reality as well.

Fathers in this group also explained how they shared covering unexpected gaps in childcare, notably in accommodating a sick child. When asked specifically about how last-minute childcare arrangements are handled, Jack, a 43-year-old father of two from Toronto, had this to say:

Jack: Well, we usually say, 'What do you have going on today?' Again, my schedule is usually pretty flexible. We both can work from home. So, what

> would–I mean, if we both had something on then it would just be a discussion of, 'Well, how are we going to manage that?' Someone has to cave or cancel. I would say I don't usually have any meetings that I have to be there in person. Although, I don't think Karen does either. Most of our work we can do over the phone–so, the worse scenario I guess would be probably me or her having to run into work to get our laptop.

His wife Karen, a senior manager with a team of 10 employees reporting to her from across Canada, has a job similar in terms of responsibility and status to Jack's. They both have a degree of flexibility in their work, including the option to work from home, a benefit of the type of professional position they each hold. Their emergency childcare decisions follow less of a pattern and are made on an ad-hoc basis, requiring the couple work together to find a solution that works for both of them. Jack did not see a reason why this type of negotiation shouldn't happen, saying not only that Karen has just as demanding a job as he does, but also that he is equally able to care for either of their children as his wife. To be certain, the flexibility enjoyed by both Jack and Karen is a privilege most workers do not have. Jack's ability to share parenting with Karen is in no small part thanks to the flexibility he has at work, a finding supported by previous research on factors that enable father involvement (Seward et al. 2006; Lamb et al. 1985; Lamb 1985).

What these examples illustrate are the ways that involved fathering intersects with men's work lives. From adjusting one's work hours to accommodate family responsibilities to taking a personal day to cover gaps in care, father involvement is not only something enacted in the home, outside of business hours. Instead, these fathers illustrate how father involvement now structures some men's workday in ways we most often associate with mothers.

Maternally Enabled Fathers

A second group of fathers appeared on the surface to be very similar to this first group: actively engaged in daily family life, often being solely responsible for some aspect of childcare arrangements. The difference, however, lay in where the impetus for this engagement originated. For the fathers in this group, their partners–or their partners' jobs–necessitated their equal participation. Most of these fathers seemed satisfied or neutral on this organization of care, although some expressed dissatisfaction. I describe the former group as maternally enabled fathers and this latter group as *reluctant* maternally enabled fathers.

In the routine of daycare drop off and pick up, Toronto couple Alex and his wife Melissa have very real work constraints they must accommodate when thinking about childcare. Melissa works as a flight attendant, working an average of three 13 hours days per week. The couple had tried various different configurations for getting their daughter to and from daycare, eventually settling into an arrangement where Alex got himself and their daughter ready to go in the morning, then left for work. Melissa dropped their daughter off at daycare on her way to the airport. In the evening, Alex picked up his daughter, increasing his 40-minute commute to almost an hour and a half. Alex, then, had an inflexible time he had to leave work every evening in order to make it to his daughter's daycare, compromising his ability to adhere to what sociologists refer to as the "ideal worker" (Williams 1999). This particular configuration also meant that Alex was responsible for many aspects of routine, mundane care work, very much moving him beyond the "fun parent" role.

Dominic, the Montreal father we first encountered at the opening of this chapter,

had a similar arrangement with his wife, Valarie. A nurse-practioner and supervisor at a Montreal-area teaching hospital, Valerie left for work at 6:30 every morning. Dominic made breakfast for their two children and dropped them both off at school. He then took the bus and metro to work, which took about an hour and 15 minutes. In the afternoon, Valarie picked up the children and made dinner. Although this sounds in many ways like "working fathers" Eric and Luc, Dominic shared with me how stressful he found fatherhood: "the last five years are probably the worst five years of my life. I wasn't prepared for that. You know, when you're young, you want to have children, but you don't know what it's like to have children."

James, a 43-year old Toronto father of two, said he and his wife Heidi share in taking off work when a childcare emergency arises, much in the same way that Jack and Karen did. However, James also pointed to the greater degree of flexibility he had in his work, particularly around personal days: "I mean, when the kids are sick, we try and share that kind of thing, who will stay home with them. But, my work is more lenient with that stuff. She needs to take personal days, personal time to be at home with the kids. I can–that's a benefit of mine, like, family days and personal days." His wife's unionized job doesn't permit the same degree of flexibility as his does, making it easier for him to take time off, which both he and his wife said was how they often handled unexpected gaps in care.

As described earlier, Lamb and colleagues position maternal support as a key factor in father involvement. Certainly the partners of the fathers in this group were supportive, but the dynamic that prompted father involvement in these couples expands beyond support. In these couples with maternally enabled fathers, necessity was coupled

with support, contributing to these fathers being able to meet the childcare needs of their families.

What differentiated these involved fathers from those in the first group was how they themselves articulated the source of this involvement. When asked about daycare drop offs/pick ups and negotiating gaps in care, these fathers pointed to their wives, or in some cases their wives' jobs, as a primary source of motivation. Some, like James and Alex, appeared comfortable with this organization of family life, suggesting that their ideals and action were aligned, even if the motivation for their involvement was extrinsic. Others, like Dominic, expressed strain or dissatisfaction, suggesting a disconnect between how much they *wanted* to be involved and how much they *had* to be involved.

Under-Involved Fathers

The third group of fathers includes those for whom ideal fathering and work seemed to be most in tension. Fathers in this group, like their counterparts in the first two groups, expressed an understanding and desire to be very involved in the lives of their children. Where they differed, however, was in how little this involvement interfered with or altered their work lives. In a real pinch, these fathers made arrangements to be home with a sick child or would leave work early in order to accommodate a daycare pick up, but these responsibilities fell primarily to their partners. As such, these fathers were able to maintain a work life that most closely resembled that of the ideal worker (Williams 1999), something not necessarily possible for their wives.

Whereas working fathers like Jack negotiate the challenges of unexpected gaps in care with their partners, under-involved fathers were most likely to let this fall to their

partners, helping out only if their partners were completely unable to make accommodations at work. Paolo, Andrew, and Mark are each an example of a different commonly given reason for why the default emergency care option is their partner. For Paolo, he and his wife had made a decision based on *potential for advancement* that his wife would be primarily responsible for family matters, while his priority would be work. Andrew pointed to the *perceived flexibility* of his wife's workplace versus his own, while Mark (somewhat reluctantly) pointed to the *difference in income and job responsibility* between him and his wife. Each will be explored separately below.

In discussing how unexpected gaps are covered in his family, 36-year-old Montreal father of two Paolo described an already agreed upon strategy: his focus would be work, while his wife Claudia's would be family. While the couple would discuss what they each had going on that day, the default was for Claudia to take the day off:

> Erin: So, what happens on exceptional days, someone wakes up sick, school days off, snow days?
>
> Paolo: And we're both working? She takes the day off.
>
> Erin: She takes it off, okay.
>
> Paolo: If she can. If she has an important meeting then I'll call in on a personal day. I mean, you know what, if we both have the same–okay, because the decision is I'll go career and she'll be family. Basically we made that decision so when it comes down to it if we both have the same priority at work then she'll take it. If she has a lesser priority obviously she'll take it. If I have a lesser priority, then I'll take it, but if we have the same priority, then she'll take the day off.

Paolo's wife Claudia works as a human resources manager for an entertainment firm. Unlike him, it is possible for her to work from home, which is sometimes the solution to last minute gaps in childcare. While currently their salaries are comparable, Paolo felt that his opportunities for career growth exceeded that of his wife, which factored

prominently in their career/family division. Paolo is not completely unwilling to take a personal day when his wife's schedule doesn't permit her to handle gaps in care, but there is less negotiation and considerably less sharing of this responsibility between this couple than between Jack and Karen.

Andrew and his wife Heather, who live in a Toronto suburb with their two daughters, are another dual-career couple where the "go-to" childcare option is mom. For this couple, it is not a difference in salary or career-orientation that has lead to this, but rather the perceived flexibility of each of their jobs. Andrew and Heather met in university, where they were both pursing engineering degrees. Andrew now works as a process engineer at the firm, while his wife continues to work in industry as a product manager. Heather's boss works out of Boston, which both Andrew and Heather pointed to as something that gives her a greater amount of flexibility in her own working arrangements. At the time of our interview, Heather was on maternity leave with their second child. In discussing how the couple had worked out childcare arrangements for their first child in the event that she was not able to go to daycare, Andrew had this to say: "Yeah, so when she's sick the default is Heather. The main reason I'd say for her is that her work offers a lot better flexibility of, you know, working at home and, like, her boss lives in Boston and she's in Toronto so it's a lot–I'd say more accepting of that than here [at the firm]." The perceived flexibility of Heather's workplace allowed Andrew to maintain the appearance of the "ideal worker," free of the constraints of family, an appearance that seemed important to him. I say perceived flexibility because after interviewing both Andrew and Heather, I was left with the impression that he sees his wife's work as more flexible than she does. While it is true that her boss is in another city

and himself works remotely, giving Heather this option as well, she pointed out working from home and working from home *with a sick child* are not the same:

> If I wanted to bring her home and just stick her in front of the TV all day [when she's sick], I'd probably do that [now that she's older]. But when she was first in daycare [a little older than a year old], and I would have to bring her home, I couldn't work. I couldn't work while I was home. I couldn't be on conference calls. She'd be crying, or she'd be like on my lap, or she'd be talking in the background. It just wasn't–I could have one-on-one calls, but I couldn't do my conference calls because it was just too distracting.

When home with a sick child, Heather's productivity is compromised by having to care for a sick child, something Andrew didn't seem to fully recognize in characterizing his wife's work as flexible.

Mark, one the most recent fathers in my sample, hadn't yet encountered a situation where his daughter was unable to go to daycare, but he did say he and his wife Leslie had discussed what they both saw as an eventuality:

> Yeah, so she hasn't had to stay home. It's certainly been discussed because we thought that she was going to have to stay home. It's going to be–it's going to be a game time decision, you know, who can do it and when. Leslie's hooked up so that… she can work from home. Now, granted, with a sick baby she's not going to get any work done. I'm not as easily able to work from home. I also have to do a lot of phone calls and, generally, a lot of meetings so it would be much more difficult for me. You know, I guess, you know, unfair as it is, I make more money and I have a little bit more, I don't want to say responsibility, but that's sort of what it is and that's recognized, you know. It's an implicit fact that we both recognize so, I think, default it would fall to her.

What's particularly interesting about Mark and Leslie is the striking similarities between them as workers: both had earned MBAs from top ten business schools, both held the same position in different financial services firms, and both had roughly the same number of years of work experience. The structure of Mark's bonus at the firm created a sizeable salary difference between the couple, which shifted the couple to a more traditional organization of paid work and care work once they became parents.

These three explanations–potential for advancement, perceived flexibility of a partner's work, and difference in income and job responsibility–were cited by the fathers in this group, highlighting the ways they saw structural factors, rather than personal attitudes, informing the work-family decisions they and their partners made. In many ways, this permits a type of mental reconciliation between an articulated ideal of father involvement with an enacted breadwinner ethic.

Traditional Fathers: New Ideals, Old Enactments

Finally, a minority of fathers mostly aligned themselves with the first three groups in terms of how they described what it meant to be a good father, but adhered to a more traditional breadwinner/homemaker ethic of fathering in practice. All the fathers in this group had wives who had shifted to part time work after having children. In conversations with the partners of many of these fathers, it became clear that these mothers felt that opting out of full time work was their only option. Given how much support they received, or expected to received, from their partners and the demands of family life, these partners made work choices that would enable them to manage childcare-related issues without much involvement from their partners. The limiting factor for these fathers appeared to be their own attitudes towards work and family, not characteristics of their workplace.

For some parents, like Montreal couple Sam and his partner Lizann, prior decisions about work and family informed how, and perhaps more importantly who, handled issues relating to childcare. When I asked how they handle unexpected childcare emergencies, Sam said the task falls to Lizann:

Sam: She's the first go-to person just because of income levels are different and the job profile.

Erin: And so has that ever been a problem for her? I mean do you know if it's hard for her to take the day off, if there's some resistance to that? Does she go in another day instead?

Sam: Well, before being hired, she was on contract. So if she wouldn't go in, she wouldn't get paid. Now being an employee, she'd entitled to I think it's 14 sick days per year.

Erin: And it doesn't matter that she's a part-time employee?
Sam: No, no. I guess, because it's a pharmaceutical company, they're usually generous with their benefits.

Differences in level of income and job profile between Sam and Lizann are not accidental, but rather the product of intentional choices aimed at reconciling work and family. Prior to having children, Sam and Lizann had comparable salaries, levels of education, and occupational aspirations. After the birth of their first child, however, Lizann told me she decided that she would return to work part time. With this in mind, she made arrangements with her employer at the time, a marketing/public relations firm, to switch to a part time schedule when she returned from her maternity leave. The work she did with this firm was interesting and challenging and she liked her colleagues. She hoped the part time schedule would allow her to continue in this field after having a child. Unfortunately, she did not find the arrangement worked all that well:

> The company I worked for before wasn't really a good match for a mother who had to pick her kids up from daycare. So when after our first child, I had worked with this company [the marketing/public relations firm] for about 4 years and then I got pregnant and our agreement was that I would come back part time, so 3 days a week, no overtime and no traveling… And it was nice because I really liked the people and the work, but career-wise it wasn't very good. Because you work in an environment where everyone works til 8 or 10 at night and travels and you're the odd one out. 'Well actually I have to go to daycare to pick up my kids.' 'Well what do you mean? We have a presentation to prepare or a conference to attend.' 'Well, no, I'm leaving.' So I got smaller projects, less demanding projects and then at the end… I got the shit that was left over. And so after we had our second

> child, while I was on mat leave, I told them I wouldn't be coming back for the next few years because I can't work in your environment…My whole reasoning was we have a family, what if the kids get sick, what if they have to go to the doctor? So, we have to get something to get me out of the house for 3 days, but something with no responsibility at all, so I could leave at 2:00 and it's no big deal.

As her second maternity leave came to an end, Lizann used a temp agency to find part time contract work. One of her contracts turned into a permanent, part-time position with a pharmaceutical company 15 minutes from home. While she was clear that she found the work less gratifying than what she had done prior to having children, this work arrangement worked best for her family. Sam, who worked as a financial planner, described his work as inflexible, requiring a great deal of "face time," both with clients and with co-workers, to be truly successful. Furthermore, because his salary included a significant performance bonus, his ability to be fully committed to work had financial implications for the family. While this economic reason appears compelling, neither Lizann nor Sam touched on the financial loss that resulted from Lizann's transition to part time work, further supporting a more traditional orientation towards fathering on both their parts.

A similar dynamic existed between 38-year-old Montreal father of two, Cyrus, and his wife, Leila. During our interview, Cyrus said he and Leila had unintentionally fallen into very traditional "gender roles," to use his language: "and it happened that Leila and I fell into very conventional gender roles, unfortunately, but we never planned it that way." As our conversation continued, this outcome seemed to fit into his overall understanding of his work responsibilities. Describing the performance expectations of his job as a private banker as very high and his wealthy clients as tremendously demanding, he did not see how he might be more involved in daily family life: "and, so, I

would love to be home at 5:00 every day. I do think it's probably impossible for any professional, for any real professional."

This orientation towards work seems to have influenced how his wife organized work and family responsibilities. After their first child was born, Leila went back to work as a graphic designer part-time, three days a week, saying: "I needed the balance. One of us had to be able to pick up the kids and make sure if they were sick, someone could be with them." Until their oldest started elementary school, Leila also found herself responsible for all daycare drop offs and pick ups:

> I used to and yes I still do. Just because things have changed a little bit [now that our oldest is in school]. It was almost always that I was dropping them and then picking them up. But, that's sort of the arrangement that we have because Cyrus has the much more money making job, more important job. But, [my job] important to [my employer] and to me as well. But, I need to be able to take off here and there. So, we agreed that he needs to work and that I would do all of the stuff. So, I don't know if he realizes how much I'm running around. Or, if he does, hey, it's not an issue because this is what we have to do.

Very much like Lizann, Leila's decision to transition to part time work appears largely informed by her husband's commitment to work. Both mothers are college educated and were previously engaged in work in their field that they enjoyed, but felt compelled to adjust their own commitment to work given family responsibilities.

Cyrus and Sam, like other fathers in this group, emphasized being involved and present as key elements in their understanding of being a good father. But this understanding of fathering appears conceptualized outside of work commitments, as if work and family exist as distinct spaces. Father involvement occurs once work is appropriately and fully dealt with. As such, fathers in this group align more in behavior with an adapted breadwinner way of fathering rather than with the new involved fatherhood ideal they described in our interviews.

Men can opt out of various forms of childcare and domestic labor because most women are less able to do so (Lamb 1987). Doherty and colleagues (1998) argue, quite accurately, that "standards and expectations for fathering appear to be more variable than those for mothering" (286). Looking back to the theoretical explanations described in Chapter 1–relative resources, times availability, and gender ideology–provides some insight into how some fathers become more traditional fathers. Shifting to part time work meant both Lizann and Leila now brought fewer resources to the relationship. Perhaps initially informed by a traditional gender ideology or a desire to adhere to the ideal of intensive mothering,[5] the consequences of the shift to part time work are fewer (financial) resources and greater time availability, leading ultimately to more minimal father involvement.

Nannies, Extended Kin, and Stay-at-Home Moms: Eliminating the Conflict

For many fathers in my sample, the particular work-family conflict used here to illuminate the space between articulated ideals and enacted practices was simply a non-issue. In dual-earner families who relied on a nanny as their primary source of childcare, families with extended kin available to help out, and families with a stay-at-home mom, gaps in care were exceptionally rare because there was someone always available.

Brad, a 35-year-old Toronto father of two, provides an excellent example of how the availability of extended kin basically eliminated the issue of emergency gaps in gap.

[5] In speaking with both women, I did not get the impression that they held particularly traditional gender ideologies. Both women spoke of their full time work prior to having children as something they truly enjoyed. They described their decisions to pursue non-full time work as more of an unplanned, but necessary, choice rather than an intentionally pursued plan. Other mothers with whom I spoke, such as 34-year-old Toronto stay-at-home mother of two Margaret, described their decision to leave the workforce as something discussed prior to having children and planned for, suggesting a more traditional gender ideology. This was not the case with any of the women whose partners I categorize as traditional fathers.

Both his parents and his in-laws live in the same southern Ontario town about two hours outside of Toronto. At even the shortest of notice, Brad said he and his wife can get someone to watch their children if necessary:

> We've called my mother-in-law at four o'clock in the morning when the kids are sick and she's gotten in the car and driven down from London at four in the morning. So, that sometimes happens. We're also lucky enough that if we know a day–if we know–if we got home tonight and the kids are violently ill and we know that they're not going to be going to school tomorrow, if we call up one of our parents there's a high probability that–they both live in London–but there's a high probability that either my parents or Allison's parents would drive down for morning, so that helps.

David, a Chicago father of two, explained that he and his wife were in a similar situation, with his mother-in-law living nearby and retired:

> Erin: Does your mother-in-law take care of the kids often? You said she's down the street?
>
> David: She's mostly called upon where there's a conflict. Where, okay, the kids are going to be out of school this day, but my wife is in school, is teaching that day… so, my mother-in-law's called upon a lot.
>
> Erin: And does she work right now?
>
> David: My mother-in-law is retired.

This type of kin care means negotiations over who should take the day off to accommodate childcare emergencies never happen. In many ways, this creates a type of gender equality in the family, as both partners can live up to the ideal worker standard. Both Brad and David stated several times throughout their respective interviews how important their wives' careers were to themselves and to their wives. Being able to accommodate both careers hinged partially on the help of extended kin, the absence of which would have made negotiation work and family far more difficult.

Five couples had a nanny as their primary source of childcare: three couples in Chicago and two in Toronto. That none of the families in Montreal employed a nanny is unsurprising given that Quebec offers government-subsidized daycare for $7/day to all citizens regardless of income. The two Toronto families both had live-in nannies, who were in Canada as part of Canada's Temporary Foreign Workers Program. While cost did factor into why couples opted for a nanny, four of the families[6] were clear about how much more flexible this option was than daycare. Emin, the 47-year-old maternally enabled father mentioned earlier in the chapter, was explicit that having a nanny worked better for them from a logistics perspective: "dragging them back and forth. Picking them up at the right time, not picking them up at the right time. It was just easier for us." Unconstrained by daycare operating hours and the possibility of late fees, dual-career couples emphasized how having a nanny allowed both parents to balance work and family with relative ease. Henry, a 38-year-old father of two, mentioned frequently in our interview how lucky he and his wife were with having a nanny: "I'm lucky with the nanny, very lucky with the nanny."

My interviews with these couples were quite different than with the rest of the couples in my sample; several of the questions did not speak to their daily lives. For example, when asking about morning and dinner/evening routine, many of these couples pointed to the role played by the nanny. From getting children dressed and fed breakfast in the morning, to taking children enrolled in some type of preschool program to that program, to preparing dinner in the evening, nannies took care of many of the aspects of daily life that other couples had to divide between themselves. But perhaps the most

[6] Nick and Laura, the Chicago couple with 3-month-old twins, were the only couple who described their decision to have a nanny as a purely financial decision. With two infants, the cost of daycare was significantly more than what they paid their full-time nanny.

significant difference between these couples and others in my sample was the fact that these couples did not have to worry about unexpected gaps in care,[7] nor did they have to make arrangements to get their children to and from childcare. In important ways, this meant these fathers never really had their ideals "tested," so to speak, allowing them to espouse the ideal of the new father without having to disrupt their presentation as an ideal worker.

In discussing unexpected gaps in care with Emin, he pointed to the way their nanny makes this a non-issue of them: "that's the hard part is that, you know, when you have a doctor for a wife, you know. Part of the problem is that if somebody's sick, well, yeah, you can't call, like other parents… usually it's the mom that stays home. But because we have a nanny, we really don't have to worry about that." In addition to the way having a nanny eliminates this particular source of work-family conflict, Emin's comment also says much about how he understands who should be responsible for things like emergency gaps in care. Despite articulating an involved understanding of ideal fathering (included above), he is simultaneously making a more traditional statement about childcare responsibilities, "it's usually the mom that stays home."

Finally, the 14 families in which the mother stayed home full time also did not experience the particular instances of work-family conflicted described above. As with the families who had extended kin available to help or who employed a nanny, these fathers often described ideal fathering as highly involved, but they themselves were perhaps less involved than their articulated ideal. As with my interviews with the five

[7] Another outcome of having extended kin available for emergency childcare or a nanny is that when more expected disruptions arise, such as routine doctors appointments or parent-teacher meetings, both parents can often more easily make arrangements to attended because they haven't had to miss work for other child-related issues.

families with nannies, the interviews with the fathers in these breadwinner/homemaker couples were also markedly different. Many of these fathers were still very involved, but this involvement was very much confined to evenings and weekends. Their ability to truly be a totally unencumbered worker was very much aided by having a stay-at-home partner, something Saul, a 36-year-old father of three from Toronto, acknowledged during his interview:

> Erin: Yeah. So, do you feel like having her at home has helped you at work?
>
> Saul: A hundred percent. I think there's a sense of ease, if you will, or just a comfortable mindset knowing that my kids are getting a much better level of attention and service. I find my kids are better behaved and I say–that's not only me as other people keep saying they're amazed [by how well behaved his children are].

Even when fathers were not as explicit as Saul, the ways they described their days, their time at work, are different than fathers in dual-earner couples. Nonetheless, fathers with stay-at-home partners very much emphasized being involved and present in how they understood good father.

What these cases highlight is the way fathers can articulate a particular ideal–in this case, that of the new involved father–without necessarily having to enact this ideal in practice. In very colloquial terms, they can "talk the talk" without having to also "walk the walk." But perhaps most importantly, the availability of female care providers, whether wives, (mostly female) extended kin, or exclusively female nannies, men are simultaneously able to articulate an egalitarian orientation in their parenting without having to compromise their work selves in significant ways.

Discussion

Adams and Coltrane (2005) drawn attention to what much social science research on families has shown: "one of the main reasons men benefit from marriage is the unequal and taken-for-granted divisions of domestic labor," (240). The assumption that women will perform the bulk of domestic labor, including childcare, not only frees men to devote more time and energy to paid employment, but also allows them to be minimally involved in domestic affairs. Although this division of labor is often premised on the biological differences between men and women, social scientists now emphasize the socially constructed nature of this division.

I take some of these conversations about arranging childcare and work schedules as evidence that some fathers have moved beyond a father/work versus mother/family understanding of gender. For some fathers, father involvement is not just about being around, being loving, or being the fun parent, although those are clearly important. It is also about contributing to your family in ways that have traditionally been associated with mothers; organizing your workday around childcare constraints and taking the day off when necessary for parenting reasons are two examples. Sharing these particular responsibilities, which in many ways compromises a man's ability to live up to the ideal worker image, is perhaps some of the clearest evidence that even among high achieving, high earning, white collar professional men, cultural discourse has, indeed, influenced behavior. Masculinity and fatherhood are indeed changing, and the work and family decisions of some men in my sample reflect that change.

The findings presented here also build on important findings about gender equality in parenting found in previous research. For example, in some couples, a wife's

expectations of involvement forced her husband to take up a significant amount of responsibility (Holter 2007). In several couples in my sample, this was certainly the case. But for the most part, these maternally enabled men were satisfied with this configuration of work and family and came across as confident, highly involved fathers. This suggests that this level of involvement is not necessarily out of sync with their own understandings of fatherhood and masculinity. If this involvement were truly at odds with a father's understanding of fatherhood and masculinity, I would expect there to be evidence of tension and strain in the couple. Among couples where it appeared that the wife's orientation towards parenting was the driving force behind high levels of involvement, I did not see evidence of strain or tension.

Similarly, when a wife's occupation *required* a father to be involved in important ways, if this wasn't desirable to him, I would again expect there to be some degree of strain or perhaps more accurately resentment. As described above, I saw hints of that in only two couples: Montreal couple Dominic and Valerie and Chicago couple Emin and Anne. That both of these women had higher levels of education and income than their husbands suggests that as women are in a position to ask more of their husbands, because they have greater resources and less time availability, fathers do take on more family responsibility. This structural reality, in turn, enables fathers to develop the parenting skills and confidence that allows them to be active and very much involved fathers, similar to the other fathers in this group.[8]

[8] Of course, as noted above, Emin and his wife Ann have a nanny, so the equal sharing that occurs between them is in part facilitated by the presence of a third care giver. The broader issues of inequality between poor women and their wealthier employers is also deserving of additional attention, in keeping with the research of Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2003), Tronto (2009), among others.

In their 2001 study of men's work in families, Coltrane and Adams also found this to be the case: "one of the most important implications of our findings is that as women's occupational resources come to resemble those of men, we will see more sharing of housework" (92). But there is a circularity to this situation that is problematic: when women bring more to the table, they are able to make greater demands of their husbands, thereby allowing these women to continue to thrive in the economic sphere. Similarly, when women are more hampered by domestic labor and childcare, they are less able to acquire the resources that would allow them to increase their bargaining power. This situation allows men to be more selective in their family involvement.

Because women often find themselves limited in their ability to pursue paid employment as a consequence of the cultural expectations around their family responsibilities (Singley and Hynes 2005), they are less able to build up the economic and/or social resources that might enable them to make additional demands of their male partners. Research shows that women who contribute a larger share of household income, work more hours and have more years of education tend to have more involved husbands (Coltrane 1996; Jump and Haas 1987).[9] I take this to mean when *women* are in a position to challenge gender norms, men are less able to be selective about their domestic contributions. However, when women do not already have these resources, their opportunities to acquire them are significantly limited by cultural expectations around family responsibilities. In other words, if a woman has not acquired, or set herself up to

[9] Much of sociologist Scott Coltrane's work has focused on father involvement and gender equity. In one study, he found that "more sharing of parenting and housework is predicted when wives are employed more hours, make more money, and are willing to negotiate for change; when husbands are employed fewer hours, believe in gender equity, and get involved in infant care; when couples delay getting married and having children…" (Coltrane 1995).

acquire, the resources necessary prior to establishing a partnership and family, there is a chance she might be hampered in her later attempts to do so.

Among couples where the woman continues to be primarily responsible for childcare, popular assumptions of maternal gatekeeping are often employed to explain this. This essentially amounts to blaming women for men's lack of involvement. Among the dual-earning couples in this study where the mothers remained primarily responsible, maternal gatekeeping did not appear to be the driver of this more traditional division of work and family. Many women, Lizann and Leila being prime examples, felt forced into a less demanding career because they were struggling to get everything done. This applied almost exclusively to women who remained in the workforce part time, but was not how most women who were stay-at-home-moms described their workforce decisions. In speaking with both Daniel and his wife Margaret, a Toronto couple with two children, about how Margaret came to be a stay-at-home mom, it was clear that this was part of how the couple had envisioned their family life, even before getting married. In his interview, Daniel described this as "their mutual preference." In speaking with Margaret, she seemed very satisfied with this breadwinner/homemaker dynamic they had created.

Career decisions like those made by Lizann and Leila established a dynamic in which the majority of family responsibility fell to them, even though they remained engaged in paid employment as well. Over time, this gendered arrangement becomes normalized and logical as the female partner's financial contribution decrease, her career aspirations wane, and her workforce attachment lessens, even if all these were on par with her partner at some point in their relationship. Again, this suggests that resources and circumstances matter in how couples make decisions about work and family.

Several fathers spoke of previous employers who were not family-friendly, or jobs that were simply too demanding once they had kids. Seeing it as unfair to their wives, these men sought other work opportunities: positions requiring less travel, or more regional travel, moving from a law firm to being part of the legal team for this financial services firm, turning down positions that were located in parts of the city that would have increased a commute to what was seen as an unreasonable amount of time. These paths were pursued by some fathers but not by all fathers. Those who did pursue such alternatives did not seem more or no less resourced than those who did not. Moreover, these decisions did not seem prompted by some commonality in the work their partners did, suggesting that their motivation for these decisions around work-family reconciliation were internal.

In the next chapter, I present some exploratory findings, examining how the geographic separation of work and family influences father involvement. While both Canadians and Americans often position the suburbs as the ideal place to raise a family, my data suggest that suburban living, coupled with employment in the city center, compromises fathers' abilities to be implicated in the daily lives of their families. When work remains located in city centers, as is the case with most of the fathers interviewed, the physical separation between work and family makes father involvement difficult.

Chapter V

FAMILY-FRIENDLY OR FATHER-FRIENDLY: FAMILY RESIDENCE AND FATHER INVOLVEMENT

Introduction

Morning routines, from getting children dressed and ready for the day to getting to daycare and work, are structured in important ways by where a family lives. When and how evening routines occur is similarly shaped by family residence. In this chapter, I examine the connection between the geography of work and family life, father involvement, and the division of childcare and domestic labor. As a means of introducing the influence of geography on father involvement, I highlight the stories of two couples, who are similar in many significant ways but different in where they live: Chicago couple Brian and Beth live in a suburb about 40 miles northwest of the city, while Toronto couple Jack and Karen live within 5 miles of the downtown core. Exploring the ways a typical workday differs for these couples highlights the significant influence space has on family life.

Brian and Beth: I always knew we'd move out here eventually

I interviewed Brian, a 38-year-old father of two, in his office in downtown Chicago. He had pictures of his wife and his two children on his desk, along with two art projects by his children on the wall next to his computer. These family items were a nice contrast to the Green Bay Packers mini-helmet, University of Wisconsin banner and mini

mascot on the hutch on his desk. While we signed consent forms, I said I was interested in knowing more about his experience as a parent and his thoughts on fatherhood. Without missing a beat, he joked, "I'm in business development so I'm really good at talking about myself." From a small town in northeastern Wisconsin, Brian described his move to Chicago after finishing college: "You know, I was that small town kid who moved to the city, and I was like 'I will never leave. I am never leaving.'" Although his position has changed since he began with the firm, transitioning into his current position that requires less travel than before, he has always been involved in the commercial banking side of things. I found Brian to be dynamic, energetic, and very engaging.

Brian and Beth were set up on a blind date; a good friend of his was dating a colleague of Beth's. Beth, who was 37 years old at the time of our interview, is originally from the Chicagoland area, having grown up in a suburb of the city. She has two Master's degrees, both in education. Like several other women in my sample, Beth's level of education exceeded that of her husband's. She is currently the principal of an elementary school in the suburb where they live, about 40 miles northwest of Chicago. The suburb is predominantly white, with a median household income of over $100,000. Because of how far outside the city they live and the nature of her job, I had to interview Beth by phone. Our interview was interrupted by a situation at her school and she insisted on calling me back once it was resolved so we could finish the interview. Despite the interruption, our interview was on the lengthier side. Beth was similarly dynamic and engaging and, despite being on the phone, creating a rapport with her wasn't difficult. She was thoughtful in her answers, just as Brian had been.

The couple married in 2004 and had their first child, a boy, in 2008. Their second child, a daughter, was born in 2010. Both children were currently in daycare at the time of the interview. They had children after becoming established in their careers and enjoying themselves as a couple for several years. The concept of parenting as a partnership was a theme throughout both of their interviews. Brian and Beth seemed to have a very similar orientation towards parenting, both in theory and in practice, with Brian saying "I'd be very surprised if you walked into our house and you said Beth and I were not on the same page about a majority of things." They also both expressed a commitment to each other's success at work, Brian being particularly vocal about this. This mutual commitment, however, had consequences for their children that both of them were less enthusiastic about. For example, the combination of both of their schedules plus Brian's commute means their children are some of the last picked up, every day: "And again, we struggled big time with this. My wife does not like leaving the kids at daycare. They're one of the last ones there; that's not a good feeling as a parent. The daycare is awesome; they are so good to our kids, but they are typically tend to be one of the later ones there."

As I did in every interview, I asked Brian to describe a typical workday morning for his family:

> Brian: So, we're up anywhere from like 5:15 to 5:45. God willing, the kids don't get up until 6:00, 6:30. Some days it's earlier, some days it's later. And it's actually very–it's pretty–[our son] is definitely up first, [our daughter] gets up later, and she's awesome. I mean, she just sits in her crib until we come and get her. It's a pretty good situation. Sometimes she sits in there a little bit longer than perhaps she should, but she doesn't seem to mind that. So, the kids are up anywhere from 6:00 to 7:00. I'm usually out the door anywhere from 6:15 to 7:10, so I'm either on a 6:34 train, a 7:11 or a 7:24 and that gets me down in the city between 7:30 and 8:15. Beth does 98 percent of the drop off and 95 percent of the pickup.

> Erin: Does she also do most of the stuff in the morning around like breakfast, getting people ready, stuff like that?
>
> Brian: She does. Yeah. Well, if [our son] is up at like–well, yes. Breakfast I can help serve up with [our son]. So, I get breakfast [for our son], but yes, she does a majority of the getting dressed. And look, her job is just as demanding as my job is. It's not an easy role to play. *Unfortunately, I'm just hindered by the fact that I have to come all the way downtown* (my emphasis)

Acknowledging the fact that his wife does the lion's share of drop offs, pick ups, and necessary care work in the morning and evening, Brian points to his commute, and not the demands of his job, for this unequal division. He also explicitly points to Beth's job being "just as demanding" as his, indirectly highlighting her second shift.

Brian was unlike many of the other suburban fathers in my sample, most of whom lamented the time spent commuting, saying this was "wasted" time. Brian, on the other hand, said he enjoyed his time on the train, having found ways to make it productive (work) time:

> I'm 40 miles away and I'm an hour and ten minutes, door to door. So, it's kind of interesting and actually the Metro's a very enjoyable place to be; it's…you can get a lot of work, a lot of emails and read the paper and read books and stuff like that, so it's actually become two hours of my day that obviously I would prefer to spend with my family but quite frankly is probably the most productive time of my day.

Brian is clear that he would rather spend the over two hours a day he spends commuting with his family, but has found a way to make this time well spent nonetheless.

My impression of Brian and Beth was of a dual career couple very much committed to each other's career success and to parenting together. Although several important childcare tasks fell to Beth as a consequence of Brian's commute and her proximity to work, I would describe Brian as an involved father, very much engaged in as much of daily home life as he can be. The constraints imposed by the geographic

separation of work and family limit his ability to fully enact equal co-parenting, most specifically in terms of mundane care work and responsibility for orchestrating these everyday aspects of having children.

Jack and Karen: That's Wasted Time in My Day, Time Away From My Family

Jack and his wife Karen are one of the three couples in my sample where both partners work for the firm. They both work in employee relations, Jack on the litigation side of things and Karen in human resources. I interviewed Karen first, in a conference room on the floor where her office is located. I interviewed Jack several days later, also in a conference room near his office. Even though they both work for the same firm, their offices are in different buildings, about 1 mile away from each other, in downtown Toronto. They both have the ability to work from home, an option both said they don't often avail themselves of, simply because they do not want to bring home and work together. They did both note this option as helpful on days when a child is sick or school is unexpectedly closed.

My post-interview notes from my interview with Jack described him as "sharp, funny, sarcastic, and what I expected after speaking to [Karen]." Jack had practiced law at a firm in Winnipeg for three years after completing law school, but found the pace frantic and the quality of life poor. Originally from Toronto, he moved back for personal reasons in 2000 and began working in the firm's legal department, where he has worked ever since.

My impression of Karen was similar: easy-going, friendly, and sharp. Karen and her family emigrated from England when she was very young and settled in Ottawa.

After completing her university studies, she moved to Toronto and began working at the firm. She has worked in various human resources capacities since she began at the firm. Currently, she manages a team of ten people, reporting to her from across Canada. As a couple, they–along with Brian and Beth–were among the top income-earners in my sample.

Jack and Karen met in 2002 and married in 2004. In their interviews, they both pointed out that they were older when they met and, to borrow from Jack, "we just clicked right away when we met. I think because we were a little older, we were both in our 30's, we had a good sense–I certainly did at that point–of having a good sense of what I wanted in a partner and what I wanted out of life." That they were also older parents, Karen being 37 when their first child was born, came up more than once in each of their interviews. Jack felt that there was a tremendous degree of intentionality in their decision to have a family and that doing so later in life allowed them to be "better prepared, more confident and capable" as parents. They have a five-year-old daughter and a two-year old son. Their daughter is currently in kindergarten and attends a French elementary school down the street from their house, while their son attends a large daycare center.

Of all the couples where I was able to speak to both partners, Jack and Karen were among those who seemed most closely aligned in their orientation towards parenting, their attitudes about work and family, and their general approach towards life. They both said they do most things together, from grocery shopping to activities with the children, and employ a "divide and conquer" strategy for childcare. At bedtime, for example, this means one takes one child and readies him or her for bed, while the other

parent takes the second child and does the same. In terms of preparing dinner, they switch: one will prepare dinner, while the other occupies the children. They have a cleaning service clean their house every two weeks, which Karen described as "the best $75 I spend." By paying someone to cleaning their house, this frees both of them up to do more things together as a family on the weekend.

The couple lives on the east side of downtown Toronto, a 15 to 20 minute drive to work when city traffic cooperates. Their morning starts at 7:00, when they get up and get ready for the day. Their daughter "likes to sleep" and is often difficult to get up in the morning. They all leave together at 8:00, dropping their daughter at school first, then their son, then Jack drops Karen at her office and continues up the street to his office, arriving there by 9:00. He pays for a monthly parking pass across the street from his office. In the evening, Jack does the reverse, leaving his office around 5:00 to pick up Karen, their son, and then finally their daughter. While Jack's commute, like many of his suburban counterparts, is about an hour, door to door, it involves many stops, or what scholars refer to as "trip-chaining" (McGuckin and Murakami 1999), drop offs and pick ups for both his children, and the time is spent together as a family. He sees his children in the morning and is involved in getting them ready for the day. In the evening, they eat together as a family and he and Karen are able to share in making dinner and getting the children ready for bed.

My overall impression of Karen and Jack was that, perhaps more than most couples in my sample, they actually do share parenting quite equally. It seemed to me that this shared parenting was largely possible because of how much time the couple spent with their children *together*. Unlike Beth and Brian, morning and evenings routines

start and end with Jack and Karen working together to accomplish everything from getting the children dressed in the morning to helping their son fall asleep at night. That's not to say, of course, that they both do each task together. But it did seem that there was tremendous fluidity in how things got done in their household. Gerson's concept of gender flexibility fits well with how Karen and Jack approach breadwinning and caretaking: rather than adhering to rigid gender boundaries around who should be primarily responsible for breadwinning or caretaking, the couple adopt "more equal sharing and more fluid boundaries for organizing and apportioning emotional, social, and economic care" (Gerson 2010, 10)

More than just sharing tasks, Jack and Karen also appeared to share family responsibility quite equally. Although not a perfect proxy for shared parenting, Jack told me a story about an outing to the zoo the couple went on with their oldest child, before their second child was born, that reflected a fluidity around responsibility not found in many couples in the sample:

> Jack: I remember once Karen and I went to the zoo with [our daughter] and she thought I had the [diaper] bag and I thought she had the bag. It was sitting in the front door. So, we get all the way to the zoo, which is like far from here. It's like a 45 minute drive.
>
> Erin: And you had to go all the way back?
>
> Jack: Well, we didn't. But, I mean, we had no diapers, no nothing, right? She's looking at me going, "How could you forget that?" I was like, "I thought you had it!"

What struck me about this story was how both Karen and Jack could believe the other person would remember to bring the diaper bag, a responsibility that fell almost exclusively to the mothers I interviewed.[1]

As illustrated in the previous chapter, fathers in my sample overwhelmingly articulate an ideal of fathering that very much centered on involvement and presence. Constraints imposed by work, real or perceived, often limited fathers' ability to live up to this articulated ideal. In this chapter, I will explore how geography–in particular the geographic distance between work and home–functions as a limiting mechanism for father involvement. Although this distance can include a number of work and family locations, suburban living and urban working was the overwhelming configuration for families in my sample: only three of the 50 fathers worked and lived in the suburbs, two in Montreal and one in Toronto. The contrast between Brian and Jack–two fathers with similar resources at their disposal, similarly work-committed wives, same number of children who are about the same age, and who got married and had children in their 30s–highlights how suburban living and city employment shape father involvement in a way that is radically different than urban living and working.

Moreover, my data suggest that geographic distance does not appear to exert the same influence on women's family responsibilities. Instead, it appears that women make accommodations at work so as to be able to meet all the demands of family life in ways fathers do not. The geographic separation of work and family, it would appear, serves to

[1] The diaper bag issue was an interesting one. Few couples seemed to share this task as Jack and Karen; more couples were like Toronto couple Heather and Andrew on this issue. When I asked Heather if she thought her husband would be able to pack, and remember to bring, the diaper bag, she said: "no. He doesn't pack anything, when we go on vacation, when we go to the cottage, I am absolutely fully responsible for understanding and packing everything. If he had to do it, he would not know what needs to go in that [diaper] bag. No way… he's responsible for himself, and I am responsible for me and my children." Others were somewhere in the middle, where the father would be able to pack the essentials–diapers, wipes, lotion–but nothing else (e.g. change of clothes, snacks, toys).

reinforce a traditionally gendered division of domestic labor and childcare. I will illustrate this dynamic in two ways. First, I will contrast the daily work week routines of suburban fathers with their urban counterparts, demonstrating how the geographic separation of work and family pulls fathers out of many of the more time-bound, mundane aspects of childcare and domestic labor, such as readying children in the morning or preparing dinner in the evening. Men's absence from essential elements of family life ensures that responsibility remains squarely on the shoulders of mothers. Second, I will present data from suburban mothers that illustrate how they felt it necessary to alter their work commitment so as to be able to accommodate the demands of family life.

A Great Place to Raise Children: Urban versus Suburban Living

"The geographic segregation of residential environments from public life reinforces the cultural choice of work or home, especially for women, who do not have the luxury of a wife" (Saegert 1980, S110).

While most commonly associated with 1950s, suburbs became part of North American residential landscapes as early as the 19th century (Miller 1995). A restorative, morally safe haven from the growing ills of the city, suburban living created a clear spatial demarcation between public and private realms, in keeping with the Victorian notion of separate spheres for men and women. Saegert argues that suburbanization is perhaps one of the most visible signs of the separation of spheres (Saegert 1980). As described in the Introduction, the new industrial city was understood to be a harsh place, unsuitable for the delicate nature of women, resulting in the city being coded masculine.

The suburbs, on the other hand, offered quite the opposite: tranquil and nature-like, the suburbs became coded as female.

Largely a class privileged living option, suburbs offered more space, greater access to nature, and less contact with the diverse inhabitants of growing North American cities. Over the course of the next century, suburbs expanded, creating more opportunities for less class privileged families to experience life outside the city center. Aided in no small part by the expansion of the interstate highway system, the expansion of the suburbs continued to be a largely white phenomenon in most cities, with scholars describing the huge mid-20th century move to the suburbs as "white flight" (Frey 1979).

Throughout this history, suburban communities have been "pitched" as family-friendly places, ideal for raising children: "suburbia has long been thought to be the most promising place for the family to flourish" (Miller 1995, 394). Scholars have consistently found that families most likely to live in the suburbs articulated "child-centered concerns," expressing the desire for large yards, good schools, and safe environments in their explanations for residing in the suburbs (England 1993; Varady 1990).

In her study of suburban and urban families, Saegert found that fathers often spoke of how the suburbs benefited their children (1980, S105), while their female counterparts were less enthusiastic. In fact, Saegert points to a Canadian study using a large, economically stratified sample that found, as did her smaller scale American study, that fathers tended to be most satisfied with suburban living and mothers the least. Saegert suggests that men appear to prefer living arrangements that reinforce a public/private dichotomy, or the separation of spheres, perhaps because they are less implicated in the goings-on of the private sphere, making the suburban home a retreat

from the working world. Although her research was conducted in the 1980s, the persistent gendered pattern of domestic labor and childcare today suggests this might still be the case.

With more space, both inside and outside the home, and with fewer negative distractions to lure children into trouble, suburbs continue today to be associated with families. Chicago father Charles had the longest commute of all fathers in my sample, at almost 2 hours each way. When I asked if he had every thought of moving closer to work, he was clear that a big city was not a place he wanted to raise his children:

> Well, the economic environment where I live, it's pretty substandard, so no, I don't ever intend on actually working in my area, but I would never move my family to the bigger city. I like where I live. I like the community. I like the size. It's more conducive to upbringing children, raising children, because less distractions, so less distractions, less trouble, less risk. I mean it doesn't eliminate it, but it makes it a little easier.

However, the family form that has always been at the core of suburban life is not the dual-earner couple that is most prevalent in North America today (Marshall 2009; Roehling and Moen 2003); instead, the suburbs are very much organized around a breadwinner/homemaker family form, one reflecting the lived reality of only 30% of American and 21% of Canadian households today (Marshall 2009). In this idealized family form, fathers provide the resources necessary for their families to have the markers of middle class success: a bedroom (and increasingly, a bathroom) for every child, a large yard for children to play in, community green space and parks, good schools, and other young families with children, while their wives create and maintain a comfortable home life. Given how few families actually conform to this ideal, particularly once children reach school age, and how families where both parents work

outside the home are increasingly common in the suburbs, the suburbs present challenges to these dual-earner families.

As might be expected, the couples in my sample who did live in the city tended to be younger, with younger children. Nick and his wife Laura, the newest parents in my sample, still lived in the Chicago condo they shared prior to the birth of their twins. Nick was very clear that he did not want to move out of the city, but suggested that perhaps his wife might be more open to the idea:

> I don't want to move outside of the city. I think she'd be open to it. But, the thing is, realistically, our family is in Ohio and the economy's not good. We have jobs here. She's got a really great job here that she really likes. I mean, they're talking about making her an executive at some point. So, why mess up a good thing? Moving to the suburbs here is kind of like, she's kind of against that. At least right now, because she's like "If I'm going to move to the suburbs, why don't I move to where my family is?" We'd get way more for our money in Ohio just because Illinois is so much more expensive, even when you move outside the city.
> I don't want to move out of the city for now while they're little, because I want to make it work. Because, I want to have somewhat of a life. I still want to do all the fun things the city has to offer. We may be a little farther north, a little farther west, but we still want to be within the vicinity of the city. So that's the plan for now. As they get older, we may have to revisit that. My goal is to–our goal–my goal? The goal is to–and I think she's on board with it is to–in the next probably, realistically, two years, probably less, but probably two years, put our house up, buy another place in the city someplace near a school, somewhere in the city, near a primary school, so we'd at least have the option of staying there for several more years.

Still young, and a very new parent, Nick wanted to "make it work." Should city living eventually become untenable, suburban living seemed to be a possibility in the future. But what I found interesting about Nick's comments was how he, and by his account his wife as well, connected moving to the suburbs with being closer to family. If they were going to leave the city, and all it had to offer, Nick seemed to suggest that the couple wanted to benefit from more than just a larger house, more yard, better schools, etc; they

wanted all that came with having family nearby. For them, suburban living only made sense if it was near family.

With few exceptions, Jack and Karen being one, children entering kindergarten often prompted the move to the suburbs.[2] This was the case for Chicago father Matthew and his wife Carly. When Carly was pregnant with their second child and their first child was nearing school age, the couple began looking for homes in the suburbs:

> Erin: And so why did you choose to move to the suburbs?
>
> Matthew: Probably the school thing, primarily. I mean, the second kid coming soon was the big motivator, but our older daughter, she was three at the time, and she was in a private Montessori School a few days a week. And it was reasonably priced tuition, but we were getting to the point where we had to get into a real school like for kindergarten and we're thinking ahead and you have to think ahead to get on waiting lists and all that. And the tuition is so outrageous for city schools and if–unless you go to public school in the city, but there's only certain ones that are desirable and then those houses are you know, 30% more, so just working out all the math, we just chose… there were two suburbs that we liked, Oak Park and La Grange. And then Oak Park, we probably liked a little bit more, but the taxes were so outrageous that we ended up in La Grange. We would not have even picked La Grange off the map even, if it weren't for Chicago Magazine, saying they had the best public schools in Cook County in 2007 or something.

The couple had lived in a condo in a "fun, hip" neighborhood of Chicago, but the desire for high quality schools led the couple to the suburbs, suggesting child-centered reasons, and not necessarily the cost of housing, for suburban living.

One of the challenges lies in the increasing geographic distance between suburban communities and their city centers. As cities swelled, suburbs have expanded, creating longer and longer suburban commutes. In many ways, the "amenities" offered by the

---

[2] Moving because of schools was mentioned most among my American couples and, interestingly, by none of my Quebec families. In fact, cost and age of the housing stock was more commonly mentioned in Montreal than in their Toronto or Chicago, despite Montreal having the lowest cost of living of all three cities.

suburbs are being substituted, consciously or unconsciously, for time spent as a family. Suburbs might have many things that make them family-friendly, but their distance from the city center, which in many cities remains the center of economic activity,[3] make them less amenable to family "togetherness." My data suggest it is more often than not the father's time that is most compromised by suburban living, something that is especially true of fathers with very young children. I will now contrast the involvement of suburban fathers and their urban counterparts, focusing specifically on the tasks and responsibilities required of the workweek.

Suburban Fathers versus Urban Fathers

"You know, if I could not have to come downtown two days a week my life would be a lot better."

Andrew, 34, father of two, Toronto

For 35-year-old Toronto father of two Brad, living in a suburb 25 miles west of his downtown Toronto office requires a bit of a trade off: his involvement in the morning routine very much limits his ability to be involved in the evening:

> Yeah, like, I try to come in as early as I can. Like, before the kids I used to take the 6:25 train out of [our suburb]. I have to help out in the morning 'cause if my wife had to do it all, she'd have to get up at 4:00 in the morning to get ready and then it's not going to work. So, I can't up… I don't want to get the kids up any earlier, first of all. They get up at a ridiculous time already. And then it just…so,

[3] Many cities have retained their economic centrality, but suburban areas across North America now offer a variety of employment options, ranging from low skilled service work to white collar professional work. The Toronto suburb of Markham is an excellent example of this expansion: the city of over 300,000 residents 20 miles northeast of Toronto is home to the Canadian headquarters of such multinational companies as IBM, Honda, and Johnson & Johnson. Although this pattern of expansion is evident in each of the cities studied here, all three cities continue to retain their economic centrality, even attracting workers from beyond the suburbs.

> it turns out that I now take the 7:10 train coming. I usually try to get… and usually in by 20 after, 25 after 8:00. I stay 'til, you know, somewhere between 4:30 and quarter to catch the 5:10 train. And, you know, that's gotten more flexible as my kids have gotten older. It's gotten a little bit more flexible on my end just because when the kids were really young… they used to go to bed at six o'clock. So, if I didn't get home, if I didn't catch the 4:30 train I used to not see them and I couldn't help out and it just… it got difficult. But now, the kids are staying up a little later, so it's given me a little bit more flexibility.

While Brad is able to help out in the morning, his wife Allison drives the children to daycare on her way to her full time position in career services at a local university, located on the west side of downtown Toronto. She also picks them up in the evening and prepares dinner for them. He said she now does about 99% of the drop off and pick ups. This type of "trip-chaining," combining several trips together in an ordered sequence, while commuting to work allows individuals to maximize tasks accomplished in one trip. Research by sociologists and geographers reveals that this type of commute is significantly more common among women than men, noting in particular that women stop to do more things for their families while men stop to do things for themselves (McGuckin and Nakamoto 2005; Dowling 2000).

But more important for the argument in this chapter is the way Allison remains primarily responsible for the daily care routines of the family, while Brad helps out in the morning and increasingly in the evening now that his children are older. Brad explained that since she drives and has a bit more flexibility as a consequence, this division of labor makes the most sense: "she drives to work and her commute is less than mine in terms of time and it's more flexible in terms of she drives." While perhaps true, the geography of work and family shapes this reality as well.

I asked Brad, who–like Brian–seemed very committed to supporting his wife in her career and not leaving all childcare and domestic labor to her, why they decided on

the suburban location they had. In keeping with the research cited above, he pointed to the way suburban living fit into his and his wife's understanding of raising children: "we just like it because it's good for the kids. I couldn't imagine raising kids in the city. I grew up in the suburbs of the city, just west of here and not downtown. But, I just… out there it's nice. The schools are nice. There's all kind of young kids. There's all kinds of programs…" While these amenities are all very desirable, they come at the cost of father involvement, either engaged in more mundane care work or simply being together as a family during the week.

Fellow Toronto father of two, James, expressed a very different preference for where to raise children. Describing his city neighborhood on the west side of downtown Toronto as "up and coming," James compared his daily interaction with his children with that of his boss:

> James: I couldn't imagine coming home at seven o'clock and saying goodnight to my kids and then going to work the next day. My boss has four kids and he lives north of Barrie. So, I can't imagine when he sees them [his children].
>
> Erin: In terms of the commute time and everything?
>
> James: Yeah, he's two hours each way. So, it's not something I aspire to.

While not actually a suburb of Toronto, the town of Barrie, about 55 miles north of Toronto, is connected to the city via the GO Transit commuter system. According to census data, about one-third of the city's over 130,000 inhabitants commute into Toronto for work, highlighting the very real economic connection the city has to Toronto. James' commute, on the other hand, is a much shorter ride on public transportation, preceded in the morning and ending in the evening with a car ride with his wife that includes dropping off and picking up their children from daycare. As with Jack and Karen, James

and his wife Heidi are not only able to share this particular duty, but are also able to spend more time together in the morning and evening, sharing the various aspects of childcare and domestic labor required during those periods of the day.

Like James, fellow Toronto urban father Jon was clear that living in the city was intentional, that it came down to time:

> There is a purpose for this. There is a really defined purpose. If I move to the suburbs, there would be a huge implication in my life. The ads showing the massive house and stuff, but I only have two hours a day [with the children]. I don't know where those two hours would come from. So, that's what I started with right now. So, in order to function at the level I'm functioning at and still have some semblance of work life balance, good quality time with the kids and *be a real strong contributor*, I don't think the suburbs could work for me (my emphasis).

A father of three, whose wife stays home full time, Jon is clear that living in the city keeps his commute reasonably short. This allows him to be involved in daily family life, "to be a real strong contributor," even though his wife does not currently work outside the home. Recognizing time as a precious commodity, Jon and his wife Bridgette have made the intentional decision to stay in the city while the children are still young. He did note that as the children get older (and bigger), and they no longer "fit in their little Ikea beds," they might have to revisit this decision. He also pointed out at that point they will also be up later in the evening, providing more time for them to be together.

Each of these fathers is addressing the ways geography plays a role in their ability to be involved on a daily basis. Other fathers spoke of how the (lack of) separation of work and family figured into their availability to deal with more episodic issues. Thirty-year-old Chicago father Mark, one of the newer fathers in my sample, said his short commute–a 20 minute walk–proved invaluable during the initial transition to parenthood:

Erin: Okay. And do you like that you're that close to work?

Mark: I do.

Erin: Because there's lots of people [in your group] in the suburbs, right?

Mark: Yeah, yeah, exactly. Because, you know, I remember early on Leslie was feeling very overwhelmed. [The baby] was crying and the dog needed to go out and Leslie was having a bad day or something so I went home, you know…

Erin: In the middle of the day?

Mark: Yeah, in the middle of the day, you know, got things settled. Got her settled. Spent an hour or so there and then came back to work and it was, you know, it was no big deal. And I don't think anybody even knew I was gone. So, that's–that was–so that's a really good thing.

Mark's experience was an interesting contrast to Patrick, who worked in the same downtown Chicago office building as Mark. Patrick, who lives in the Chicago suburbs with his wife, teenage son from his first marriage, and two-year-old son from his current marriage, described the distance as a real challenge:

Erin: So, does the commute bother you?
Patrick: You know what bothers me is being so far away. Like, I can't pick up and go home if I need to.

Erin: There needs to be planning involved, right.

Patrick: Yeah, so if I–now, today I drove, but when I don't drive, and that's a rarity [that I do]–so the train during the day, the trains leave every hour on the hour and it's 30 miles door to door, so it's not like I can pick up and go. So, trying to manage my life from 30 miles away sometimes becomes difficult.

Having been a single father for several years after his first wife passed away, Patrick remains primarily responsible for parenting his older son. His ability to be available at short notice is severely compromised by geography, but he still articulated a very strong belief that the suburban town where they currently live, the same town where he grew up, is the best place for his family.

Cost is often a driving force behind suburban living: it is often less expensive to find desirable housing in the suburbs than it is in the city. When comparing price per square foot, suburban living often comes out on top. But in discussing finances with many in fathers in my sample, it didn't seem to me that cost alone was necessarily what drove decisions about where to live. In fact, when the $250 to 400 per month some fathers were spending each month on commuting (train and subway pass, parking, gas, tolls) was factored in, something many fathers mentioned, suburban living did not always seem less expensive. Moreover, many of the families who lived in the suburbs were among the top earning couples in the sample, Brian and Beth being an example of this. With a household income over $250,000 before Brian's (often significant) bonus was included, cost did not seem to factor into their decision on where to live. For most, but certainly not all, couples in my sample, living in the suburbs appeared more motivated by lifestyle preference than cost.

The ability of fathers to share childcare and responsibility with their wives appears to be influenced by the distance between work and family. Many fathers were clear that their decision to live in the city was informed by a desire to be present and involved in the daily lives of their children. For some, like Jon, this went beyond spending "fun time" with their children and included more mundane aspects of care work. Other fathers maintained the position that the suburbs offered so much benefit to their families, particularly their children, that the time they lost to commuting during the week was well worth it. That many of these fathers explicitly acknowledged how their commutes left their wives with a larger share of childcare, a situation that was at odds with their stated desire for shared parenting. I would argue that this suggests the co-

existence of different understandings of fathering and masculinity that are very much in tension. On the one hand, fathers want to be active and involved parents, suggesting an alignment with the new involved father ideal. On the other hand, they are acknowledging how their commute forces a more traditional division of domestic labor and childcare. What appears to allow fathers to reconcile these divergent realities is the idea that living in the suburbs is best for their children.

The other side of this experience of geography is how women navigate the geographic separation of work and family. Mothers often find themselves employed in the city alongside their husbands and partners, creating real challenges for dual-earner families. The table below provides a summary of where families live, where the father works, where the mother works, her work status, and finally, who does drop offs and pick ups.

Table 6: Work and Family Location

Name*	Residence	Partner's work status	Where father works	Where mother works	Childcare Drop off/pick up
Paolo	suburbs	F/T	City	City	mother
Eric	suburbs	P/T	City	City	shared
Luc	suburbs	F/T	City	City	shared
Sam	suburbs	P/T	suburbs	suburbs	mother
Jean	city	F/T	City	City	mother
Dominic	suburbs	F/T	City	City	shared
Ahmed	suburbs	F/T	City	City	shared
Claudio	city	F/T	City	City	mother
Claude	suburbs	F/T	City	City	mother
Tony	suburbs	F/T	City	City	mother
Stan	city	SAHM	City	n/a	shared
Todd	suburbs	P/T	suburbs	suburbs	shared
Paul	city	F/T	City	City	shared
Gabe	suburbs	SAHM	City	n/a	n/a
Cyrus	suburbs	P/T	City	City	mother

Andrew	suburbs	F/T	City	suburbs	mother
Jack	city	F/T	City	City	shared
Brad	suburbs	F/T	City	City	mother
James	city	F/T	City	City	shared
Daniel	suburbs	SAHM	City	n/a	n/a
Edward	city	F/T	City	suburbs	shared
Nishant	city	SAHM	City	n/a	n/a
Roger	suburbs	P/T	City	City	mother
Henry	suburbs	F/T	City	City	nanny
Darvesh	suburbs	F/T	City	suburbs	nanny
Alex	city	F/T	City	suburbs	shared
Rick	suburbs	F/T	City	suburbs	mother
Kevin	suburbs	P/T	City	suburbs	mother
Chris	suburbs	F/T	suburbs	suburbs	shared
Saul	city	SAHM	City	n/a	mother
Jon	city	SAHM	City	n/a	mother
Adam	suburbs	F/T	City	city	mother
Fred	suburbs	P/T	City	suburbs	mother
Nick	city	F/T	City	city	nanny
Chad	suburbs	F/T	City	city	shared
Brian	suburbs	F/T	City	suburbs	mother
David	suburbs	F/T	City	suburbs	mother
Emin	suburbs	F/T	City	suburbs	nanny
Patrick	suburbs	SAHM	City	n/a	n/a
Michael	suburbs	SAHM	City	n/a	mother
Charles	suburbs	P/T	City	suburbs	mother
Matthew	suburbs	P/T	City	suburbs	mother
Ralph	suburbs	SAHM	City	n/a	mother
Ben	suburbs	SAHM	City	n/a	mother
Max	suburbs	P/T	City	city	mother
Howard	suburbs	F/T	City	suburbs	mother
Sean	suburbs	SAHM	City	n/a	mother
Mark	city	F/T	City	city	mother
Manuel	suburbs	P/T	City	city	mother

*Names in blue are fathers in Montreal. Names in red are fathers in Toronto. Names in black are fathers in Chicago

Of the fathers in my sample, only three worked in the suburbs, and they all worked in suburbs close to where they lived. Significantly more mothers worked in the suburbs, but not necessarily the same suburb where they live. Of the 16 mothers who live and worked in the suburbs, six worked part time. Of the 34 mothers who worked in the city, only five

worked part time. While some couples responded to the challenge of geography by adjusting work schedules together my data suggests, as highlighted in the previous chapter, that some women feel that they alone must reconfigure work to accommodate family responsibility.

Suburban Mothers: Making Room for Commuting Husbands

In the previous chapter's consideration of traditional fathers, I discussed how some mothers felt that they had to alter their work in significant ways to accommodate the demands of family life. In some ways, commuting–either these mothers' own commuting, the commuting of their partners, or the combination of the two–appeared to factor into these decisions.

Leila, discussed in the previous chapter, spoke of needing a more flexible work arrangement, pointing in particular to the need to pick her children up from daycare. In discussing her decision to shift to part time work, she said: "I needed the balance. One of us had to be able to pick up the kids." The couple had recently moved from the suburbs off the northern side of the island of Montreal to a suburb 20 miles west of the city, on the island, a move that did not reduce either of their commutes much. Her husband, Cyrus, worked right in the heart of the city, while her job was on the western edge of the city. Her husband's long hours, his lengthy commute, and her lengthy commute left her "time starved." Her solution was to transition to working three days a week, creating more time for family responsibility.

Toronto mother of two Debbie, an ultrasound technician, had also transitioned to a part time schedule when she returned from maternity leave after her second child.

Living in one of Toronto's largest suburbs, about 30 miles west of the city, she felt this was a necessary decision in order to get everything done. Describing husband Kevin's job as "too demanding" and his hour and a half commute–drive to the Go Train station, 45-minute train ride, plus a subway ride from the train station to his office–as lengthy, she did not feel like he could do more than he was doing. The nature of her work facilitated this transition and allowed her to continue doing work she enjoyed, but this shift was prompted in no small part by a perceived need on Debbie's part. Not only did Kevin not really mention this transition to part time work as remarkable, he also did not seem aware of the family demand that led his wife to alter her work hours.

While these mothers actually reduced their working hours, Toronto mother Heather had remained in her full time job after returning from her first maternity leave, something she intended to do once her second maternity leave ended. However, when she had only one child, she had to make use of the flexibility of her job to accommodate getting her daughter ready in the morning and then getting her to and from daycare:

> Heather: I was responsible [for daycare drop off and pick up], and I am now, too, while on mat leave. But I was responsible for drop off and pick up [before I went on maternity leave]
>
> Erin: Which makes your day long?
>
> Heather: Yeah, so for instance, a regular day while I was pregnant [between maternity leaves], I dropped [our daughter] off at probably–I can drop her off as early as 7:00, and pick her up as late as 6:00, but it's a long day, so I try not to have her there that long. A typical day, I would drop her off at 7:45, and I would get to work probably about 8:30. And then I would work, and I would leave work at about 4:30, and then get there by 5:00, 5:15 usually, get home, cook dinner, get her all ready. Usually, Andrew is home in time for her to go to bed, so she's… he at least is there to help with bedtime, and sometimes bath time, but recently hasn't been home too much for that either.
>
> Erin: Is it the travel time, or is it because he has so much work to do that he's gone?

> Heather: It's both. It's both, so I mean I think it's not like he can… and also, the flexibility of the time that he's there… So for instance, for me, when I was working, like I said, I worked 8:30 to 4:30, you know, whatever, half an hour lunch in there somewhere. But I would come home, get dinner made, put the kids to bed, and then I'd work again [in the evening] because I don't have enough time in the day… My day is compressed because I have to drop off and pick up.

The couple lives in a suburb 20 miles northeast of Toronto. Heather described living there as a compromise between them, saying her husband was from a smaller town and had wanted to live even further outside Toronto. This current configuration of work and family left Heather primarily responsible for almost all domestic and childcare matters during the week, something she was able to accommodate thanks to the flexibility of her work.

One father, 37-year-old Chicago father of three Michael, did alter his work schedule to better accommodate the needs of his family. Michael lives in the same Chicago suburb as Brian, about 40 miles outside the city. His wife, Pam, is a stay-at-home mom who homeschools the couple's oldest child, age 6, while also caring for their daughter, age 3, and 9-month-old son. Michael said that he used to work out in the morning before work, which meant that he went into work later and therefore left work later in the evening, something that did not seem to work for his wife:

> I was still a little more on the get into work late and come home a little later routine, which is something that has become very apparent, both through verbal and nonverbal communication, was not working for my wife. Especially with three kids and even with two kids, it seems like every minute after six o'clock feels like ten minutes, especially for a stay-at-home mother who is with the kids all day long.

Now, he aims to be home by 5:40 everyday to take over childcare, "freeing" his wife to prepare dinner without also having to take care of the children. This arrangement is a great example of how increased father involvement does not necessarily decrease the

amount of domestic labor or childcare a mother does, as discussed in Chapter 1. But the most significant alteration Michael made to his work life was working out of a local branch office 15 minutes from his house one day a week. On this day, Michael is able to have breakfast with his children, help with the morning routine, and is home earlier in the evening, something he noted his children look forward to each week.

The difference between Michael's accommodation and the accommodations made by the mothers described above is that he has not compromised his presentation of self at work in any way: he hasn't reduced his work hours nor is he working from home. Moreover, he is not relieving his wife of work completely or taking full responsibility for family life. Had he not pursued this particular work arrangement, all aspects of family life would still happen, there just might be considerably more marital strife!

Discussion and Directions for Future Research

The suburban fathers in my sample were not simply missing out on fun times, like activities and unstructured playtime. They were also missing the more mundane, everyday aspects of family life that consequently fall to their female partners: getting children ready for the day in the morning, daycare drop offs and pick ups, preparing dinner, and in some cases, getting ready for bed. Andrew, a father of two from Toronto, said he considers his day a success when he's out of the house for less than 12 hours. With these kinds of days, fathers simply cannot be as hands-on or involved as they would like, making it difficult for them to meet the fathering ideals presented in the previous chapter.

To be clear, I am not suggesting that fathers who live in the suburbs are not involved fathers. Instead, I'm suggesting that the way suburbs are often viewed, that is to say as family-friendly places with lots of parks, green space, good schools, and activities, ideal for raising children, masks the fact that the geographic separation of work and family life presents some very real challenges for father involvement. Given this, suburbs function as a limiting mechanism for father involvement *when fathers work in the city*, reinforcing a more traditional division of childcare and domestic labor.

Of course, as Brian and Beth's story illustrates, greedy workplaces of all kinds also exert pressure on workers, men as well as women, that restricts parental involvement to a few hours in the morning and then again in the evening. But more often than not, the female partners of the suburban fathers in my sample were primarily responsible for daycare drop offs and pick ups, for getting dinner ready, and for dealing with unexpected events during the day. That 11 of the 14 couples where the wife stayed home full-time were suburban dwellers is also interesting.[4] Similarly, many of the wives who opted for part time work after their children were born, like Lizann (who was discussed in the previous chapter), Leila, and Debbie, also lived in the suburbs.

[4] The three couples who lived in the city and the wife stayed at home, two in Toronto and one in Montreal, shared several things in common that I argue are a function of my sample rather than indicative of some larger pattern. All three husbands were engineers by training, with the two in Toronto working in process improvement while the father in Montreal worked as a computer engineer for the firm. All three couples had three children, with two of those three children being pre-school age or younger. For the couples in Toronto, the cost of childcare was one of the reasons the wife stayed home. However, that was not the case for the Montreal couple. Stan and his wife Estelle has emigrated from Europe after completing their university studies and the Quebec Bar Association did not recognize her law degree. In order to practice law, she was required to obtain additional legal education and training in Quebec. She had been in the process of completing this requirement when she became pregnant with their third child. In an oddly similar story, Saul and his wife Rebecca had moved to Europe shortly after finishing university when he was offered a temporary contract. Making the decision to quit her job and live in Europe for several months, Rebecca became pregnant while there. Once the couple returned from Europe, Rebecca stayed home with their first child and the couple had a second child a little over 2 years later. With their youngest now two, Rebecca was struggling with how she might re-enter the workforce.

The findings presented in this chapter suggest an interesting direction for future research. To gain a better sense of how geography shapes family life, a sampling strategy that matched pairs of couples along such dimensions as gender ideology, length of work history/point in career, job type and salary, and perhaps most importantly, children's ages would provide the data necessary to better understand the relationships between father involvement and family residence.

Where families decide to live is informed by a number of factors, many of which have nothing to do with children. Some people simply prefer aspects of urban living: the ability to walk to places like restaurants, parks, perhaps even work. Toronto father of three, Jon, touched on this in our interview. The couple lives in the city house Jon bought before he started dating his wife, Bridgette. At 1,200 square feet, plus the 427 square foot basement apartment they no longer rent out because they need the space, Jon described their house as "challenging" as their children get older. However, he also said that he and his wife like the lifestyle offered by city living: "so, this weekend we walked three parks, four hours in parks and spent good quality time with the kids. We walked to get groceries. We walked to get shower curtains or something. It's like you just can't do that in the suburbs. Suburbs you need a car. So, most of the conversations stems around our house is pushing us, challenging us." He was also clear that moving to the suburbs would have time implications, making him less available to help with the children.

In my interview with Toronto mother Rebecca, in their small home at the north edge of downtown Toronto, she echoed much of what Jon said. Saying that the space was tight, Rebecca showed me the bunk beds her husband had built after their third child was born, so their two oldest children could share one of the three bedrooms in the 1,300

square foot home. Both Saul and Rebecca acknowledged that they could find more space a bit further out of the city, but liked their neighborhood and the ability to walk to parks, shops, and the school their oldest child currently attended. Saul, in particular, appreciated his short commute on a single subway, taking no more than 45 minutes round trip each day.

The decision to live in the city is equally informed by a dislike or disinterest in aspects of suburban living, some of which Jon touched on above: heavy reliance on cars to get most places, high degree of neighborhood homogeneity, or the lengthy commutes. In discussing whether he and wife Sarah planned to stay in the downtown Montreal neighborhood where they currently rent, Paul said the couple "strongly believe in city living," but they were weighing their options: "We could buy on the South Shore [the off-island suburbs to the south of Montreal] pretty much in a matter of a couple months, or save up more and try to buy here on the island. That's hard too, because she's from the country. We would actually probably either live in the city or in the country–one or the other, but we don't really want the suburban life, where everyone's the same, everyone has the same house, the same cars. It's just bland."

Karen also said she and Jack have discussed the idea of moving to the suburbs: "we also talked about, 'imagine how big our house could be if we lived somewhere else.' But we can't stand commuting. We think – we see our colleagues spend two to three hours commuting a day, and that's time away from their family and from that relationship that we just laugh and say, 'I'd rather have my skinny, little, small house and have that time, than have a bigger house.'" Here, Karen is explicitly acknowledging the space/time

trade off that is at the center of the tension many couples explore when considering where to live.

Given this, I am not suggesting a direct relationship between where a couple chooses to live and the extent to which a father is involved in daily family life. Instead I am pointing to the ways suburban living and city working function to limit father involvement by making him physically unavailable for the majority of the hours his children are home and awake during the workweek. However, this was also true of women who worked in the city. The difference, though, was that women remained responsible for much of the childcare and related orchestration. In many of these suburban families, it was women who made accommodations to address the limitations of geography, as described above.

That all the fathers in this sample work for the same financial services firm, with its head office locations in each of the three cities in the city center, meant that the majority of fathers in this sample worked in the city. Their partners, on the other hand, held a variety of jobs across the city. Nonetheless, the consequences of separating work and family are the same: father involvement is limited when geographic distance removes fathers from family life for the bulk of a child's waking hours during the work week. More fully understanding this relationship could do much to help employers develop policies–such as flexible work arrangements–that would allow their employees to better address the new challenges of the geography of work and family.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSION

Concluding Comments

If teaching undergraduates about gender has taught me one thing, it is the enduring belief that women are naturally better at care work, parenting, and all things domestic. This belief is clearly not limited to undergraduates. A belief in the "natural" connection between women and particular aspects of parenting is one tenaciously held by many Canadians and Americans. We see evidence of this belief in everything from the marketing of commodities to the gender distribution of childcare workers and teachers to how couples divide up domestic responsibility.

My dissertation takes as a starting premise that parenting is a collection of learned behaviors, rather than a natural ability. Men and women learn to parent by doing. This learning does not just begin when individuals become parents themselves; surrogate parenting experiences, such as caring for younger family members or babysitting, provide an introduction, earlier in the life course, to the skills and actions necessary to parent later. To be sure, women are more likely than men to encounter such experiences prior to becoming parents, enabling them to begin to develop their own parenting tool kit years before becoming parents. For many couples, but certainly not all, this unequal exposure to quasi-parenting positions women to be more confident and competent parents as couples begin their journey through parenthood.

In this dissertation, I present findings that illustrate different mechanisms that either enable or limit men's opportunities to build and expand their own parenting tool

kits. Each of the four empirical chapters highlights the tension between older notions of masculinity and fathering, which emphasize a clear separation of spheres and a breadwinner ethic, and newer understandings, ones oriented towards shared responsibilities in both the domestic and work spheres. Woven across the chapters are stories of fathers adding to their parenting repertoire in different ways and at different times.

Examining the experience of one father holistically, it becomes clear that developing a rich parenting tool kit is not a linear progression and that early experiences do not necessarily predetermine later fathering practices. We first met 43-year-old Toronto father of two Jack in Chapter 1, as one of the fathers who opted not to take any of the available EI leave or to benefit from the firm's top off policy. This decision was guided by his belief that he was not useful during the initial post-natal period, since all babies do then is "poop, sleep, and eat." Fast-forwarding out of the post-natal period, however, Jack emerged as one of the most involved fathers in the whole sample: he and Karen drop off and pick up their children together, they split covering unexpected gaps in care, and the couple employs a "divide and conquer" parenting strategy guided by a great deal of gender flexibility. But more than that, Jack also demonstrated a high degree of *responsibility* in his parenting: in filling out the table described in the Introduction (p. 40), he was not only able to answer each item, but he was also able to provide an explanation for why his wife would *not* know the answer. Karen echoed much of what her husband said when she completed the table. Jack was the only father who said their child's daycare calls him before his wife if there is a problem during the day. Karen's equally demanding job, her commitment to her own career, the city location of their

home–all positioned Jack to be able expand his parenting skills and confidence, creating a deep tool kit that enabled him to co-parent equally with Karen.

While patterns established during the initial post-natal period can be difficult to undo later, other structural realities can force adaptations and new opportunities for learning and involvement. Chicago couple Nick and Laura, the newest parents in my sample, provide evidence of this. Not only did Nick not take extended paternity leave, he also described feeling pushed aside by extended kin in the immediate post-natal period. However, his wife's demanding job, coupled with his own articulated desire to be involved and the reality of having twins, drew Nick back into parenting in an active and hands-on way.

Similarly, early experiences of active and involved co-parenting can be undermined by later configurations of parenting, organized by such diverse structural factors as policy, space, or workplace flexibility. Montreal couple Paolo and Claudia illustrate this: while Paolo took the full five weeks of paternity leave allowed under QPIP following the births of both of his children and was involved in everything from bathing the baby to cooking meals, the 52 weeks of combined maternity and parental leave his wife took under QPIP after each birth shifted the couple away from the equal sharing that occurred during the weeks when they were both on leave. The breadwinner/homemaker dynamic established by the extended period of leave taken by Claudia established Paolo as more of a helper to his wife's manager role in their parenting relationship.

My dissertation points to three factors beyond policy that construct father involvement: the presence and involvement of extended kin; the childcare arrangements couples select for preschool aged children; and where families choose to live. Each of

these factors functions as a type of sorting mechanism, differently enabling or constraining men's opportunities to be involved in their families. These three factors, along with state-level leave policy, create different opportunities for men to build their fathering tool kit.

Policy: The Story of Difference

Policy alone does not shape human behavior, but it can play an important role in creating opportunities and resources that do shape behavior. Although my dissertation tells the important story of similarity across different policy contexts, several policy-driven differences provide the backdrop to this story. The most obvious policy difference lies in the parental leave policies, examined in Chapter 1. My sample reflects broader patters of leave-taking among men in Quebec, English Canada, and the USA. Government-sponsored leave-taking is the norm in Quebec, making non-leave-taking fathers the minority. Even non-leave-taking Quebec fathers like Gabe and Sam had mostly positive things to say about the policy, suggesting a shift in attitudes towards men and families.

Moving outside Quebec, we see the opposite: while data demonstrate that new fathers do take some leave after the birth of a child (Harrington, Van Duesen, and Sabatini Fraone 2013), they rarely make use of government-sponsored leave. Instead, fathers will combine vacation, personal, or sick days to be home for a brief period immediately following the birth of a new child. Moreover, fathers in the US expressed the least amount of support for state-sponsored family leave. While a bit extreme, Chicago father Mark captured this position well when he commented on the lack of paid

leave in the US: “we decided to have the baby. It's kind of on us to, you know, suffer the consequences, if you will, of reduced income.” From this, it becomes clear that policy can influence attitudes as well as behaviors.

Policies around early childhood education are another example of how policy differently structures the experience of parenting, and by extension fathering, across contexts. Government-subsidized $7/day daycare is available to all Quebec families, regardless of income or the work status of parents. In my interviews, not a single Quebec parent discussed the cost of childcare, except to point out how lucky they were to have such heavily subsidized daycare. In both Toronto and Chicago, however, the cost-benefit analysis of essentially working to be able to afford to pay someone else to take care of one’s children came up several times. This was especially true of couples with two or more children: with the cost of childcare for many families in Chicago and Toronto being roughly equivalent to their mortgage payment, several couples opted to have the mother stay home. This economic decision has led to a high degree of specialization in couples, even when fathers express a strong desire to be involved co-parents.

But the $7/day daycare policy creates a different set of challenges for Quebec parents. Couples regularly said one of the first things they did after learning they were having their first child was to get on as many daycare center waiting lists as they could. While no couple in my sample found themselves without a daycare spot when it came time for the child to start, several described a different challenge: because spots are so difficult to secure, particularly for older children, moving to a different neighborhood left several couples with a commute that had them going far out of their way to drop a child at daycare. Unable to find childcare in their new neighborhood, the resulting lengthy

commutes pushed some parents, mothers more than fathers, to adjust their work schedules.

While not necessarily a policy difference, almost every father in Quebec told me how the nurses at the hospital had shown him how to bathe his newborn. This translated into a task that fathers claimed, and their partners confirmed, as something they did more than their partners, even as children aged. That fathers learned how to do this task early is significant for several reasons. First and foremost, it is a type of care work not often performed by fathers. Teaching fathers how to do this brings them into a care taking space early, equipping them with the skills and confidence to care out this task. Showing fathers how to bathe an infant has the secondary benefit of showing fathers who to handle a newborn and that, despite their concerns, they will not "break" the baby. Fathers in all three contexts articulated this concern, but almost all Quebec fathers said they quickly learned, in a hands-on way, that this was unlikely. These brief examples point to ways that policy does matter in parenting experiences.

Contributions

Through this project, I make several contributions to existing sociological literature. First and foremost, this project contributes to the growing body of literature exploring the experience of fathering in the 21st century. Recent studies of fathering, many of which are described in the opening chapter, take seriously the experiences of fathers, bringing these experiences into focus. Much of this research privileges the voices of fathers themselves, as experts of their own family experiences, rather than constructing a picture of fathering from data, both qualitative and quantitative, collected from mothers.

This project, although it does include data from mothers as well, is aligned with this more recent approach to research on fatherhood.

This project also inserts fathers into the every-growing discussion of work-family balance. Since Arlie Hochschild first published *The Second Shift* (1990), scholars have primarily examined on the ways women have balanced the competing demands of work and family. Although this early attention was certainly well-focused, the expanded place of women in the workforce and the shifting nature of work in both the US and Canada necessitates a recalibration. Excluding men from research on work-family balance ignores the ways their involvement in the home can help to expand women's presence and success in the workforce. Being attentive to men's experiences and understandings has the potential to help create a workplace where both men and women, mothers and fathers, can thrive and succeed. This will ultimately shift the "stalled revolution" back in gear. I believe the findings presented here can support this project of gender equality.

Theoretically, I contribute to conversations about masculinity in North American society. That masculinity varies across time and place is widely accepted among masculinity scholars. This variability is evidence that masculinity, in its ideal form, can change, often adapting to challenges posed by subordinate groups. The data presented throughout this dissertation suggest the co-existence of competing notions of ideal masculinity, each of which is tied to a different version of ideal fatherhood. The stories presented here reveal the ways fathers today move between these competing notions of masculinity, sometimes enacting one version of masculinity and fathering while articulating another. As such, I argue that structural factors, such as state-level policy or

firm-level culture, differentially distribute opportunities and resources for maintaining or challenging hegemonic understandings of masculinity.

Because of how policy is incorporated in the very organization of this research, the findings presented here are well situated to inform policy at both the state and firm level. As I argue in Chapter 1, policy can encourage fathers to take leave, influencing how they come to think about and enact fathering, but not all configurations of policy do so successfully. Data from other countries, strongly supported by the experience in Quebec, highlights how generously paid paternity leave that does not reduce a mother's leave taking–in other words, is non-transferable–is quite successful in getting fathers to take leave. When leave-taking structures men's transition to parenthood a way that is more similar to the way women experience this transition–that is to say, free from work responsibility–their way of parenting is more similar to that of mothers.

What a comparison between Quebec, English Canada, and the US highlights is the way social policy must take into account dominant understandings of gender in order to be successful. That few men in the US take any type of leave, state or corporate level, and those who do are most often take paid leave of some type suggests the way breadwinning and fathering are intimately connected.[1] Similarly, when we look at why fathers across Canada do not take any of the shared parental leave, they most often point to the ways doing so would reduce the length of their partners' leave. Again, this suggests a particular gendered understanding of care-taking, where women are best suited to care for children. The fact that only in Quebec, where fathers are both paid at a fairly high level of wage replacement *and* their leave taking does not affect the leave taking of their

[1] That new parents are also most likely unable to take unpaid leave is also an important part of the conversation around parental leave.

partners, do men take paternity leave in such high numbers is evidence of the way social policy must be sensitive to very real and very durable notions of gender. Allowing men to be both providers and caretakers, as non-transferable paid leave does, reconciles traditional and new understandings of fathering and masculinity. In so doing, policy subtly shifts family dynamics towards greater gender flexibility than has existed in the past. When this policy is state-sponsored and not employer specific, it is able to reach the greatest number of families. This can result in broader social change than can occur with more limited initiatives.

Directions for Future Research

As a young reader, one of my favorite types of books were "choose your own adventure" books: books that told many stories, depending on which story line you chose to follow. I think of social science research in much the same way. Data has many stories to tell, many social processes to describe, large social change to make explain, and much meaning-making to be rendered visible. The research presented here tells one story of father involvement and masculinity, but suggests opportunities and directions for future research in these areas.

One particularly promising line of inquiry could consider the unintended, and I would argue negative, consequences of lengthy maternity leave. Some work has already been done in this area (e.g. the 2011 special issue of *Community, Work, and Family* 14 (2)), but more is needed to fully understand the impact lengthy leaves have on gender equality, division of domestic labor and childcare, and men and women's workforce attachment and participation. The interviews I conducted with Canadian and Quebec

couples suggest that the dynamic established between couples during a 50 to 52 week maternity leave, a dynamic very similar to a more traditional breadwinner/homemaker one, is difficult to undo once a mother returns to work. Over the course of a year, mothers and fathers develop into radically different parents, due in no small part to the highly specialized division of labor that develops. A better understanding of the long-term consequences of this would contribute to a greater understanding of how men and women develop into parents. More practically, this type of research could also lead to the design and implementation of family-focused state-level policies that are better able to address gender inequality while also supporting families.

The consideration of extended kin presented in Chapter 2 supports another interesting direction for family researchers. As documented in the chapter on extended leave, family researchers have considered many dimensions of extended kin care. My research suggests: (1) the connection between father involvement and extended kin care, particularly female kin and (2) the experience of grandfathers today. A more focused consideration of the processes and dynamics around the interaction between extended kin care and father involvement would do much to produce a richer understanding of the relationship between them described here.

Several fathers I interviewed pointed to how fathering had changed from when they were growing up to now, when they themselves are fathering. Many told stories of highly involved grandfathers, some even acting as primary care providers or occasional babysitters. Acceptance of new social and cultural norms is often shown to take hold among younger generations before becoming accepted among older generations. How, then, have shifting understandings of masculinity influenced older men, particularly in

how they participate in the family lives of their adult children? What does grandfathering look like today? How do grandfathers understand this experience in relation to their own experience as fathers? Why do some grandfathers take up an active role in care work of young grandchildren while others maintain a more distant presence? In answering these questions, we will be able to construct a richer understanding of how masculinity is changing and what mechanisms promote or curb such change.

Throughout many of my interviews, fathers described wanting a different configuration of care-taking than they had/were experiencing. This was most evident in the post-natal period, either around leave-taking or the presence of extended kin. Fathers like Nick and Brian described feeling pushed out by extended kin. Fathers like Brad, Jack, and Paolo, who were told that no weeks of (shared) leave were available to them by their wives. What struck me about these moments of conflict was how, in the face of resistance to their desired increased participation and involvement, fathers "backed down" and deferred to their wives. Only Eric, the Chicago father who asked his mother and mother-in-law to give him and his wife some space after the birth of their second child "to learn to be a family," appeared to assert himself in matters of family life. Why did more fathers not do the same?

Although on the surface these moments of conflict appear to be instances of maternal gatekeeping, that interpretation did not fit well with the contours of the situation. In many instances, these fathers' partners were doing much to facilitate and encourage father involvement. That this maternal encouragement was indeed leading to father involvement was evident in the degree of participation in daily family life of the very fathers who expressed an unmet interest in doing more. I believe this dynamic has

parallels to what Moore (2008) found in her study of Black lesbian stepfamilies: in couples where one partner was the biological mother of the child from a previous heterosexual union, Moore pointed to the way that that mother used "the 'doing' of housework and authority over childrearing as a tradeoff for control over household finances and organization" (Moore 2008, 353). She suggests that mothers in heterosexual couples attempt this strategy for obtaining power, but are often unsuccessful in their attempts to gain power in the relationship in this way due to sustained male privilege. While it may be true that men, as a group, continue to hold more power, my data suggest the need to further understand why they do not assert this power in the particular moments of disagreement with their female partners around family issues.

Interspersed through this project are indicators of increased workplace flexibility. From working at home in the evening to spending one's morning commute reading documents for the day's meetings to working remotely one day a week, men are increasingly taking advantage of flexible work arrangements (FWAs). Again, I see two promising lines of inquiry related to family, gender, and workplace flexibility. First, my data seem to suggest that men and women take advantage of different types of flexible work arrangements: women appear more likely to shift to part time work, job sharing, or a compressed work week, while men opt for options like telecommuting. In many ways, these different options allow men to adhere to the standard of the ideal worker, perhaps even becoming "more productive" as a consequence of reduced commuting, while reinforcing the stereotype that women are primarily concerned with family first, work second. Understanding how workers select the flexibility work arrangements they do and

what the consequences are for them, their co-workers, their employers, and their families would do much to deepen our knowledge of gender and work.

The second area of research is the project I anticipate developing next, looking specifically at why and how fathers make use of flexible work arrangements. While my data suggest that fathers are most likely to pursue various telecommuting options, not all fathers who have access to FWAs opt to adapt their schedules in these ways, even when an immediate co-worker/team member has done so. Building on data from my dissertation research and my continued relationship with the financial services firm used in for this research, my next project will examine the motivations, resources, and limitations of fathers who pursue FWAs and contrast them with their similarly situated co-workers who are also fathers and who maintain a traditional work arrangement. This comparative study will add to the literature on the mechanisms, processes, and negotiations that lead fathers to adapt their work patterns and increase their family involvement. In better understanding how similarly situated fathers make radically different choices at work, this research is poised to move forward the project of workforce gender equality.

Bringing fathers into the conversation about work and family, gender inequality, and family-oriented social policy has significant potential to redefine and reconfigure how caretaking and financial provisioning is viewed and organized in North America. It is my hope that the findings presented here will contribute to this growing body of literature.

Appendix

Interview Guide

Interview Guide- Fathers
Spring 2011

I am here with NAME on DATE at LOCATION.

Basic Information

1. I want to start by getting to know a bit more about you. Tell me a bit about yourself. (Age, education, where did you grow up, family- did parents work, brothers or sisters, employment, hobbies, interests, activities)
2. Great- now can you tell me a bit about your partner (How/when did you met? How long have you been married? Age, education, where is she from? Something about her family? Something about her employment, hobbies, interests, activities)
3. Now tell me about your children (how did you and your partner decide to have children? how many children do you have? Gender of children? How old are they? Do they attend some type of childcare center?)

Childcare and Work/Family Balance

4. Great. Now I'd like to talk more about you and your family. Take me through a typical week day in your house (from wake up, breakfast, getting ready, going to daycare, pick up, activities, dinner, through bedtime, middle of the night *again, practical prompts). Who does what? Is there anything that you do with your child(ren) that your partner never does? Anything she does that you never do? How did your wife's return to work affect your day-to-day lives?***
5. Now tell me about a typical weekend day. ***
6. What about "exceptional" days- sick child, doctor's visits, days off, etc. what happens on those days? ***
7. Can you tell me a bit about how you and your partner came to divide up household and childcare tasks in the way you have? Have you noticed any changes over time, as your children have gotten older?
8. Can you tell me a bit about one of the first times you were left with sole responsibility of your child(ren)? Perhaps your wife went out with friends, was out of town, had an activity? What was that like for you? ***
9. IF THEY HAVE MALE AND FEMALE CHILDREN: Do you see differences in the types of activities/childcare work you do with your son/daughter? Can you tell me a bit more about that?

Fatherhood

10. I'd like to begin with some questions about fatherhood generally. When you think of being a good father, what types of things do you think of? In other words, what

do you think makes a good father? Had you been asked this before you had kids, how would you have answered it differently? What have you learned from being a father? ****

11. Tell me a bit about other dads you know- your friends, parents of your children's friends, co-workers. What kinds of things do you see dads doing with their kids these days? At the park, pool, rink, etc? out shopping? Drop off/pick up? What about when you spend time with other families- what do you see?
12. Do you think you're a good father? Why or why not? What do you think you could do better? ****

Work

13. Tell me a bit about the work you do. How long have you been at this position?
14. How would you describe your company/office/workplace's attitude towards family? *Tease out the different levels- company, boss, coworkers* Do you know of any policies that help employees meet the demands of both work and family? Have you ever made use of any of these policies?

Leave Taking

15. Did you take any type of leave after your child(ren) was (were) born (including sick days, personal days, government leave, company leave)? If they have more than one child- did you make the same arrangements for all your children? ***
IF THEY TOOK GOVERNMENT LEAVE: Tell me a bit about how you decided to take leave in the way that you did. What were some of the main reasons that shaped that decision? Did you encounter any resistance? Do you think you would do it the same way again? Why or why not?

    15a. What kinds of things did you do while on leave? What did your wife do? Vacation? Were other family members were present? How long did you go for?

    15b. What impact do you think leave had on your family? On your relationship with your children? With your partner?

    IF THEY DID NOT TAKE LEAVE: Tell me a bit about how you and your partner decided on childcare arrangements and work when your children were first born. Did your partner take some type of leave? If so, can you tell me a bit about that?

    15c. Were you aware of government or employer policies that allow for parental leave? If yes, was that something you and your partner considered? Why or why not?

    15d. what are your thoughts on the government supported leave programs available now?

16. What types of policies/program/initiative do you think would help families better balance family and work? ***

Wrap Up and General Reflections

17. Is there anything else you would like to share/discuss with me today? Is there anything you thought I might ask about and didn't? Any other reflections on your own experiences as a father or perhaps on fatherhood more generally? ***

Interview Guide- Mothers
Spring 2011

I am here with NAME on DATE at LOCATION.

Basic Information

1. I want to start by getting to know a bit more about you. Tell me a bit about yourself. (Age, education, where did you grow up, your family- parents work, brothers, sisters, employment, hobbies, interests, activities)
2. Great- now can you tell me a bit about your partner (How/when did you met? How long have you been married? Age, education, where is he from? Something about his employment, hobbies, interests, activities)
3. Now tell me about your children (how did you and your partner decide to have children? how many children do you have? Gender of children? How old are they? Do they attend some type of childcare center?)

Childcare and Work/Family Balance

4. Great. Now I'd like to talk more about you and your family. Take me through a typical week day in your house (from wake up, breakfast, getting ready, going to daycare, pick up, activities, dinner, through bedtime *again, practical prompts). Who does what? Is there anything that you do with your child(ren) that your partner never does? Anything he does that you never do? ***
5. Now tell me about a typical weekend day. ***
6. What about "exceptional" days- sick child, doctor's visits, days off. What happens on those days? ***
7. Can you tell me a bit about how you and your partner came to divide up household and childcare tasks? Have you noticed any changes over time, as your children have gotten older?
8. Can you tell me a bit about one of the first times you were left your child(ren) alone with your partner? Perhaps you went out with friends, had to go out of town, had an activity? What was that like? How did it go? ***
9. IF THEY HAVE MALE AND FEMALE CHILDREN: Do you see differences in the types of activities/childcare work you do with your son/daughter? Can you tell me a bit more about that?

10. Did you stop working for a period of time after your child(ren) were born? Have you since returned to work? If yes, in what ways did this return to work impact your family?

Fatherhood

11. I'd like to begin with some questions about fatherhood generally. When you think of being a good father, what types of things do you think of? In other words, what do you think makes a good father? Had you been asked this before you had kids, how would you have answered it differently? What have you learned from being a parent? ***
12. Thinking about other dads you know- friends, friends' partners, parents of your kids friends, coworkers- do you seem similarities/differences between them and your partner? In what ways? What ways do you see men being involved with their families these days?
13. Do you think your partner is a good father? Why or why not? What do you think he could do better? ***

Work

14. Tell me a bit about the work you do. How long have you been at this position?
15. How would you describe your company/office/workplace's attitude towards family? Do you know of any policies that help employees meet the demands of both work and family? Have you ever made use of any of these policies?
16. What about your partner's work? What sense do you get about his workplace's family friendliness?

Leave Taking

17. Did your partner take any type of leave after your child(ren) was (were) born (including sick days, personal days, government leave, company leave)? If they have more than one child- did you make the same arrangements for all your children? ***
    IF THEY TOOK GOVERNMENT LEAVE: Tell me about how you and your partner decided on the leaving taking arrangements you did. Was there ever a conversation about him taking some of the parental leave weeks?

    17b. What kinds of things did he do while on leave? What did you do?

    17c. What impact do you think leave had on your family? On your relationship with your children? With your partner?

    IF HE DID NOT TAKE LEAVE: Tell me a bit about how you and your partner decided on childcare arrangements and work when your children were first born. Has this arrangement changed?

17d. Were you aware of government or employer policies that allow for parental leave? If yes, was that something you and your partner considered? Why or why not?

17e. what are your thoughts on the government supported leave programs available now?

18. What types of policies/program/initiative do you think would help families better balance family and work? ***

Wrap Up and General Reflections

19. Is there anything else you would like to share/discuss with me today? Is there anything you thought I might ask about and didn't? Any other reflections on your own experiences as a father or perhaps on fatherhood more generally? ***

References

Adams, Michelle and Scott Coltrane. 2005. "Boys and Men in Families: The Domestic Production of Gender, Power, and Privilege." Pp. 230-248 in *Handbook of Studies of Men and Masculinities*, edited by Michael Kimmel, Jeff Hearn and R.W. Connell. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Allen, Sarah and Alan Hawkins. 1999. "Maternal Gatekeeping: Mothers' Beliefs and Behaviors that Inhibit Greater Father Involvement in Family Work." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 61:199-212.

Antonen, Mel. 2011. "Players Taking Advantage of MLB's Paternity Leave Policy." *Sports Illustrated*. May 6, 2011. http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/2011/writers/mel_antonen/05/06/paternity.leave/index.html

Askari, S. F., Liss, M., Erchull, M. J., Staebell, S. E., and Axelson, S. J. 2010. "Men Want Equality, But Women Don't Expect it: Young Adults' Expectations for Participation in Household and Child Care Chores." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 34(2), 243-252.

Barry, Amy A., JuliAnna Z. Smith, Francine M. Deutsch, and Maureen Perry-Jenkins. 2011. "Fathers' Involvement in Child Care and Perceptions of Parenting Skill in the Transition to Parenthood." *Journal of Family Issues* 32: 1500-1521.

Baxter, Jennifer, Belinda Hewitt, and Mark Western. 2005. "Post-familial Families and the Domestic Division of Labor." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 36: 583-600.

Baydar, Nazli, and Jeanne Brooks-Gunn. 1998. "Profiles of Grandmothers Who Help Care for their Grandchildren in the United States." *Family Relations* 385-393.

Cuccioletta, Donald, and Martin Lubin. 2011. "The Quebec Quiet Revolution: A Noisy Evolution." Pp. 182-197 in *Contemporary Quebec: Selected Readings and Commentaries,* edited by Michael D. Behiels and Matthew Hayday. Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press.

Bengston, VL. 2001. "Beyond the Nuclear Family: The Increasing Importance of Multigenerational Bonds." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 63: 1-16.

Bianchi, Suzanne, John Robinson, and Melissa Milkie. 2006. *Changing Rhythms of American Family Life.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Bianchi, Suzanne, Melissa Milkie, Liana Sayer, and John Robinson. 2000. "Is Anyone Doing the Housework? Trends in the Gender Division of Household Labor." *Social Forces* 79: 191-228.

Bobel, Chris. 2002. *The Paradox of Natural Mothering*. Philadelphia: Temple UP.

Bornstein, M. 2002, ed *Handbook of Parenting* 2nd ed. Vol. 3. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Brandth, B and E. Kvande. 1998. "Masculinity and Child Care: The Reconstruction of Fathering." *The Sociological Review* 46: 293-313.

Bulanda, Ronald. 2004. "Paternal Involvement with Children: The Influence of Gender Ideology." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 66 (1): 40-45.

Cabrera, Natasha and H. Elizabeth Peters. 2000. "Public Policies and Father Involvement." *Marriage and Family Review*. 29 (4): 295-314.

Calasanti, T. and C. Bailey. 1991. "Gender Inequality and the Division of Household Labor in the United States and Sweden: A Socialist-feminist Approach." *Social Problems* 38: 34-53.
Campbell, Hugh and Michael Mayerfield Bell. 2000. "The Question of Rural Masculinities." *Rural Sociology*. 65: 532-46.
Carpenter, Laura. 2005. *Virginity Lost: An Intimate Portrait of First Sexual Experiences.* New York,, NY: NYU Press.
Carrigan, Tim, Bob Connell, John Lee. 1985. "Toward a New Sociology of Masculinity." *Theory and Society*. 14 (5): 551-604.
Carrington, C. 2000. *No Place like Home: Relationships and Family Life Among Lesbians and Gay Men*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Chan, C.G and Elder, G.H. 2000. "Matrilineal Advantage in Grandchild-grandparent Relations." *Gerontologist* 40: 179-190.
Charmaz, Kathy. 2001. "Grounded Theory." Pp XXX in *Contemporary Field Research: Perspectives and Formulations*, edited by Robert M. Emerson. 2nd ed. Edited by Robert Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press.
—. 2006. *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis*. London: Sage.
Chodorow, Nancy. 1978. *The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Christopher, K. 2012. "Extensive Mothering Employed Mothers' Constructions of the Good Mother." *Gender & Society* 26: 73-96.
Coles, Roberta. 2010. *Best Kept Secret: Single Black Fathers.* New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
Coley, R. L., and Morris, J. E. 2002. "Comparing Father and Mother Reports of Father Involvement Among Low-income Minority Families." Journal of Marriage & Family 64: 982-997.
Coltrane, Scott. 1989. "Household Labor and the Routine Production of Gender." *Social Problems* 36: 473-490.
—. 1995. "The Future of Fatherhood: Social, Demographic, and Economic Influences on Men's Family Involvement." Pp. XXX in *Fatherhood: Contemporary Theory, Research, and Social Policy*, edited by William Marsiglio. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
—. 1996. *Family Man: Fatherhood, Housework, and Gender Equity.* New York: Oxford University.
—. 2000. "Research on Household Labor: Modeling and Measuring the Social Embeddedness of Routine Family Work." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 62: 1208-1233.
—. 2007. "Fatherhood, Gender and Work-Family Policies." In *Real Utopias* edited by Erik Olin Wright. Madison: The Havens Center.
Coltrane, Scott and Michele Adams. 2001. "Men's Family Work." Pp. 72-99 in *Working Families: The Transformation of the American Home*, edited by Hertz, Rosanna and Nancy L. Marshall. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Connell, R.W. 1993. "The Big Picture: Masculinities in Recent World History." *Theory and Society* 22(5): 597-623.
—. 1995 *Masculinities.* University of California Press, 1995.

Connell, R.W. and James W. Messerschmidt 2005. "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept." *Gender & Society* 19: 829-859.
Coontz, Stephanie. 1992. *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap*. New York: Basic Books.
—. 2000. "Historical Perspectives on Family Studies." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 62: 283-297.
Cowan, Carolyn and Philip Cowan. 1992. *When Partners Become Parents: The Big Life Change for Couples*. New York: Basic Books.
Craig, Lyn. 2006. "Does Father Care Mean Fathers Share?: A Comparison of How Mothers and Fathers in Intact Families Spend Time with Children." *Gender & Society*. 20: 259-281.
Craig, L., and Bittman, M. 2008. "The Incremental Time Costs of Children: An Analysis of Children's Impact on Adult Time Use in Australia." *Feminist Economics*, 14(2): 59-88.
Craig, Lyn and Killian Mullan. 2011. "How Mothers and Fathers Share Childcare: A Cross-National Time Use Comparison." *American Sociological Review* 76: 834-861.
Daly, K. 1996. "Spending Time with the Kids: Meanings of Family Time for Fathers." *Family Relations* 45: 466-476.
Damaske, Sarah. 2011. *For the Family?: How Class and Gender Shape Women's Work*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Davis, Shannon N. and Theodore N. Greenstein. 2009. "Gender Ideology: Components, Predictors, and Consequences." *Annual Review of Sociology* 35: 87-105.
Demetriou, D.Z. 2001. "Connell's Concept of Hegemonic Masculinity: A Critique." *Theory and Society.* 30 (3): 337-61.
Demos, J. 1982. "The Changing Faces of Fatherhood: A New Exploration in American Family History." *Father and Child: Developmental and Clinical Perspectives*, 425-445.
Deutsch, Francine. 1999. *Halving It All: How Equally Shared Parenting Works.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
—. 2001. "Equally Shared Parenting." *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 10: 25-28.
Dienhart, Anna. *Reshaping Fatherhood: The Social Construction of Shared Parenting*. Sage: Thousand Oaks.
Doherty, W.J., E.F. Kouneski and M.F. Erickson. 1998. "Responsible Fathering: An Overview and Conceptual Framework." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 60: 277-292.
Doucet, Andrea. 2006. *Do Men Mother? Fathering, Care and Domestic Responsibility*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
—. 2009. Dad and Baby in the First Year: Gendered Responsibilities and Embodiment. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 624: 78-98.
Dowd, N.E. 2000. *Redefining Fatherhood.* New York: New York University Press.
Dowling, R. 2000. "Cultures of Mothering and Car Use in Suburban Sydney: A Preliminary Investigation. *Geoforum* 31(3): 345-353
Dunifon, R., & Bajracharya, A. 2012. "The Role of Grandparents in the Lives of Youth." *Journal of Family Issues* 33(9): 1168-1194.

Ehrensaft, Diane. 1987. *Parenting Together: Men and Women Sharing the Care of Their Children*. New York: The Free Press.

Ehrenreich, B., & Hochschild, A. R., eds. 2003. Global woman: Nannies, maids, and sex workers in the new economy. New York, NY: Metropolitan Books.

England, K. V. 1993. "Changing Suburbs, Changing Women: Geographic Perspectives on Suburban Women and Suburbanization. *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 24-43.

Findlay, Leanne C. and Dafna E. Kohen. 2012. "Leave Practices of Parents After the Birth or Adoption of Young Children." *Canadian Social Trends*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 11-008-X.

Fingerman, Karen, Laura Miller, Kira Birditt, and Steven Zarit. 2009. "Giving to the Good and the Needy: Parental Support of Grown Children." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 71 (5): 1220-1233.

Fox, Bonnie. 2009. *When Couples Become Parents: The Creation of Gender in the Transition to Parenthood*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Fox, Bonnie and Diana Worts. 1999. "Revisiting the Critique of Medicalized Childbirth: A Contribution to the Sociology of Birth." Gender & Society 13 (3): 326-46.

Frey, W. H. 1979. "Central City White Flight: Racial and Nonracial Causes." *American Sociological Review* 425-448.

Furstenberg, Frank F. 1998. "Social capital and the role of fathers in the family." Pp. 295-301 in *Men in families: When do they get involved? What difference does it make?* edited by Alan Booth and Ann C. Crouter. Mahwah, NJ, US: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Furstenberg Jr., Frank F. 1988. "Good dads-bad dads: Two faces of fatherhood." Pp. 193-218 in *The Changing American Family and Public Policy*, edited by Andrew Cherlin. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press.

Gaunt, R. 2008. "Maternal Gatekeeping: Antecedents and Consequences." *Journal of Family Issues* 29: 373-395.

Gerson, Kathleen. 2010. *The Unfinished Revolution: How a New Generation Is Reshaping Family, Work, and Gender in America.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

— 1997. "An Institutional Perspective on Generative Fathering: Creating Social Supports for Parenting Equality." Pp. 36-52 in *Generative Fathering: Beyond Deficit Perspectives*, edited by Alan J. Hawkins and David C. Dollahite. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

—. 1993. *No Man's Land: Men's Changing Commitment to Family and Work*. New York: Basic Books.

Glauber, Rebecca. 2008. "Gender and Race in Families and at Work: The Fatherhood Wage Premium." *Gender & Society* 22: 8-30.

Greenstein, Theodore. 2000. "Economic Dependence, Gender and the Division of Labor in the Home." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 62: 322-35.

Griswold, R. L. 1993. *Fatherhood in America: A History*. New York: Basic Books.

Haas, Linda. 1990. "Gender Equality and Social Policy Implications of a Study of Parental Leave in Sweden." *Journal of Family Issues,* 11(4): 401-423.

—. 2003. "Parental leave and gender equality: Lessons from the European Union." Review of Policy Research 20(1): 89-114.
Haas, L., & Rostgaard, T. 2011. Fathers' rights to paid parental leave in the Nordic countries: consequences for the gendered division of leave. *Community, Work & Family*, *14*(2), 177-195.
Hank, Karstan and Hendrik Jurges. 2007. "Gender and the Division of Household Labor in Older Couples: A European Perspective." *Journal of Family Issues* 28: 399-421.
Hansen, Karen. 2005. *Not-so-nuclear Families: Class, Gender, and Networks of Care*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
Hays, Sharon. 1996. *The Cultural Contradictions of Motherhood*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Hegewisch, Ariane and Janet Gornick. 2011. "The Impact of Work-Family Policies on Women's Employment: A Review of Research from OECD Countries." *Community, Work & Family* 14: 119-138.
Henretta, J. C., Grundy, E., & Harris, S. 2002. "The Influence of Socio-economic and Health Differences on Parents' Provision of Help to Adult Children: a British-United States Ccomparison. *Aging and Society* 22(4): 441-458.
Hochschild, Arlie. 1990. *The Second Shift*. New York: Avon Books.

Hofferth, S.L. 2003. "Race/ethnic Differences in Father Involvement in Two-parent Families: Culture, Context, or Economy?" *Journal of Family Issues* 24: 185-216.
Hoffman, John. 2011. "Canadian Dads @ Home." Father Involvement Research Alliance. University of Guelph.
Hogan, D. and D. Eggebeen. 1995. "Sources of Emergency and Routine Assistance in Old Age." *Social Forces* 73: 917-36.
Hogan, D., L. Hao, and W. Parish. 1990. "Race, Kin Networks, and Assistance to Mother-headed Families." *Social Forces* 68: 797-812.
Hogan, D., D. Eggebeen, and C. Clogg. 1993. "The Structure of Intergenerational Exchanges in American Families." *American Journal of Sociology* 98: 1428-58.
Holter, Oystein Gullvag. 2007. "Men's Work and Family Reconciliation in Europe." *Men and Masculinities* 9 (4): 425-456.
Hook, Jennifer. 2006. "Care in Context: Men's Unpaid Work in 20 Countries, 1965–2003." *American Sociological Review* 71: 639-660.
Hook, J., and S. Chalasani. 2008. "Gendered Expectations? Reconsidering Single Fathers' Child-care Time." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 70: 978 – 990.
Jones, M.C. 1983. *Novelists as Biographers: The Truth of Art, the Lies of Biography*. Dissertation
Jump, Teresa L. and Linda Haas. 1987. "Fathers in Transition: Dual-Career Fathers Participating in Child Care." Pp. XXX in *Changing Men: New Directions in Research on Men and Masculinity*, edited by Michael Kimmel. Newbury Park: Sage.
Kaufman, G., Lyonette, C., & Crompton, R. 2010. "Post-birth Employment Leave Among Fathers in Britain and the United States." *Fathering: A Journal of Theory, Research, and Practice about Men as Fathers* 8(3): 321-340.

Kepner, Tyler. 2011. “Recognizing a More Important Meaning of Being There.” *New York Times*, April 24, 2011. http://www.nytimes.com/2011/04/24/sports/baseball/24bases.html?_r=1&

Knudsen, K. 2012. “European Grandparents' Solicitude: Why Older Men can be Relatively Good Grandfathers. *Acta Sociologica* 55 (3): 231.

Lachance-Grzela, M., & Bouchard, G. 2010. “Why do Women do the Lion's Share of Housework? A Decade of Research.” *Sex Roles* 63: 767-780.

Lamb, Michael. 1987. *The Father’s Role: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

—. 2000. “The History of Research on Father Involvement: An Overview.” *Marriage and Family Review* 29: 23-42.

—, ed. 2004. *The Role of the Father in Child Development.* 4th ed. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Lamb, M. and J. Lamb. 1976. “The Nature and Importance of the Father-Infant Relationship.” *The Family Coordinator* 25: 379-385.

Lamb, Michael E., Joseph H. Pleck, Eric Charnov and James A. Levine. 1985. “Paternal Behavior in Humans.” *American Zoologist* 25: 883-894.

Lareau, Annette. 2003. *Unequal Childhoods: Class, Race, and Family Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

LaRossa, R. 1997. *The Modernization of Fatherhood: A Social and Political History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

—. 2011. *Of war and men: World War II in the lives of fathers and their families*. University of Chicago Press.

Lee, Y. and I. Aytac. 1998. “Intergenerational Financial Support among Whites, African Americans, and Latinos.” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 60: 426-41.

Lewis, C. and M. O’Brien, eds. 1987. *Reassessing Fatherhood: New Observations on Fathers*. London: Sage.

Lundberg, Shelly and Robert A. Pollack. 1996. “Bargaining and Distribution in Marriage.” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 10: 139-58.

Lupton, D. 1997. *Constructing Fatherhood: Discourses and Experiences*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

McGuckin, N. and Murakami, E. 1999. “Examining Trip-chaining Behavior: Comparison of Travel by Men and Women.” *Transportation Research Record: Journal of the Transportation Research Board* 1693(1): 79-85.

McMahon, M. 1995. *Engendering motherhood: Identity and self-transformation in women's lives.* New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Marshall, Katherine. 2008. Fathers’ use of paid parental leave. *Perspectives-Statistics Canada*.

—. 2009. “The Family Work Week.” *Perspectives-Statistics Canada* 10(4).

Marks, N. F., & McLanahan, S. S. 1993. “Gender, Family Structure, and Social Support among Parents.” *Journal of Marriage and the Family:* 481-493.

Marsiglio, William, Randall D. Day, and Michael E. Lamb. 2000a. “Exploring Fatherhood Diversity: Implications for Conceptualizing Father Involvement.” *Marriage and Family Review*. 29 (4): 269-294.

Marsiglio, William, P. Amato, R.D. Day and M. Lamb. 2000b. "Scholarship on Fatherhood in the 1990s and Beyond." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 62: 1173-1191.

Marxwell, Joseph. 2004. "Using Qualitative Methods for Causal Explanation." *Field Methods* 16: 243-64

Mikelson, K. S. 2008. "He Said, She Said: Comparing Mother and Father Reports of Father Involvement." *Journal of Marriage & Family* 70: 613-624.

Milkie, Melissa A., and Pia Peltola. 1999. "Playing all the Roles: Gender and the Work-family Balancing Act." *Journal of Marriage and the Family:* 476-490.

Miller, L. J. 1995. "Family Togetherness and the Suburban Ideal." *Sociological Forum* 10(3): 393-418.

Miller, Tina. 2007. "Is This What Motherhood is All About? Weaving Experiences and Discourse through Transition to First-Time Motherhood." *Gender & Society* 21: 337-58.

Mintz, S., and Kellogg, S. 1988. *Domestic Revolution: A Social History of American Family Life.* New York, NY: The Free Press.

Mignon R. Moore, M. R. 2008. "Gendered Power Relations among Women: A Study of Household Decision Making in Black, Lesbian Stepfamilies." *American Sociological Review* April 73: 335-356

Nepomnyaschy, Lenna, and Jane Waldfogel. 2007. "Paternity Leave and Fathers' Involvement with their Young Children: Evidence from the American Ecls–B." *Community, Work and Family* 10(4): 427-453.

O'Brien, M. 2009. Fathers, Parental Leave Policies, and Infant Quality of Life: International Perspectives and Policy Impact. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 624(1): 190-213.

Oakley, Ann. 1979. *Becoming a Mother.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Offer, Shira and Barbara Schneider. 2011. "Revisiting the Gender Gap in Time-Use Patterns: Multitasking and Well-Being among Mothers and Fathers in Dual-Earner Families." *American Sociological Review* 76: 809-833.

Harrington, Brad, Fred Van Deusen, and Jennifer Sabatini Fraone. 2013. *The New Dad: A Work (and Life) in Progress*. Boston College Center for Work and Family.

Hawkins, AJ & Palkowitz, R. 1999. "Beyond Ticks and Clicks: The Need for More Diverse and Broader Conceptualizations and Measures of Fatherhood Involvement." *Journal of Men's Studies* 8: 11-32.

Parish, William L., Lingxin Hao, and Dennis P. Hogan. 1991. "Family Support Networks, Welfare, and Work Among Young Mothers." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 203-215.

Parke, R. 2002. "Father and Families." Pp. 27-73 n *Handbook of Parenting*, edited by M. Bornstein. 2ND ed, Vol 3. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Parker, Kim and Wendy Wang. 2013. "Modern Parenthood: Roles of Moms and Dads Converge as they Balance Work and Family." Washington, DC: Pew Research Center

Patton, M. Q. 1990. *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*. 2nd Ed. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Peralta, Eyder. 2011. "Baseball's First Player to Take Paternity Leave Faces Criticism." *All Things Considered*. NPR April 21, 2011.

Pleck, Elizabeth. 2004. “Two Dimensions of Fatherhood: A History of the Good Dad-Bad Dad Complex.” Pp. 32-57 in *The Role of the Father in Child Development* 4th ed. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Pleck, J. 1987. “American Fathering in Historical Perspective.” Pp. XXX in *Changing Men: New Directions in Research on Men and Masculinity,* edited by Michael Kimmel. New York: Sage Publications.

—. 1993. “Are "Family-supportive" Employer Policies Relevant to Men?” Pp. 217-237 in *Men, Work, and Family* edited by Jane C. Hood. Vol. 4. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Pleck, Joseph and Brian Masciadrelli. 2004. “Paternal Involvement by U.S. Residential Fathers: Levels, Sources, and Consequences.” Pp. XXX in *The Role of the Father in Child Development*, edited by Michael Lamb. New York: Wiley.

Porter, C. and H. Hsu. 2003. “First-Time Mothers’ Perceptions of Efficacy During the Transition to Motherhood: Links to Infant Temperament.” *Journal of Family Psychology* 17: 54-67.

Radin, N. 1994. “Primary-caregiving fathers in intact families.” Pp. XXX in *Redefining Families: Implications for Child Development,* edited by A.E. Gottfried and A.W. Gottfried. New York: Plenum Press.

Ranson, G. 2001. “Men at Work: Change or No Change in the Era of the ‘New Father.’” *Men and Masculinities* 4 (1): 3-26.

—. 2012. “Men, Paid Employment and Family Responsibilities: Conceptualizing the ‘Working Father’” *Gender, Work & Organization* 19(6): 741-761.

Ray, R., J. C. Gornick, Kvande, E. 2010. "Who Cares? Assessing Generosity and Gender Equality in Parental Leave Policy Designs in 21 Countries." *Journal of European Social Policy* 20(3): 196-216.

Remington, Alex. 2011. http://www.fangraphs.com/blogs/making-mlb-safe-for-mr-mom-the-paternity-list/

Risman, Barbara J. 1987. I”ntimate relationships from a microstructural perspective: Men who mother.” *Gender & Society* 1: 6-32.

Rochlen, Aaron, Ryan A. McKelley, Marie-Anne Suizzo, and Vanessa Scaringi. 2008. “Predictors of Relationship Satisfaction, Psychological Well-Being, and Life Satisfaction Among Stay-at-Home Fathers”. *Psychology of Men and Masculinity* 9: 17-28.

Roehling, P.V., & Moen, P. 2003. “Dual-earner couples.” *Sloan Work and Family Research Network Resources for Teaching: Work and Family Encyclopedia* (http://www.bc.edu/bc_org/avp/wfnetwork/rft/wfpedia/index.html)

Rotundo, E. Anthony. 1985. "American Fatherhood A Historical Perspective." *American Behavioral Scientist* 29(1): 7-23.

Ruddick, Sara. 1995. *Maternal Thinking: Towards a Politics of Peace.* 2nd Ed. Boston: Beacon Press.

Russell, Graeme and Carl Hwang. 2004. “The Impact of Workplace Practices on Father Involvement.” Pp. XXX in *The Role of the Father in Child Development*, edited by Michael Lamb. 4th ed. New York: John Wiley.

Saegert, S. 1980. “Masculine Cities and Feminine Suburbs: Polarized Ideas, Contradictory Realities. *Signs*, 5(3): S96-S111.

Sanchez, Laura and Elizabeth Thomson. 1997. “Becoming Mothers and Fathers: Parenthood, Gender, and the Division of Labor.” *Gender & Society* 11: 747-772.

Sarkisian, N., & Gerstel, N. 2004a. “Kin support among Blacks and Whites: Race and family organization.” *American Sociological Review* 69: 812-837.
Sarkisian, N., & Gerstel, N. 2004b. “Explaining the gender gap in help to parents: The importance of employment.” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 66: 431-451.
Sarkisian, N., Gerena, M., & Gerstel, N. 2007. “Extended Family Integration Among Euro and Mexican Americans: Ethnicity, Gender, and Class. *Journal of Marriage and Family* 69: 40-54.
Sayer, Liana. 2005. “Gender, Time and Inequality.” *Social Forces* 84: 285-303.
Schoeni, R. and K. Ross. 2005. “Material Assistance from Families during the Transition to Adulthood.” Pp. 396-416 in *On the Frontier of Adulthood: Theory, Research, and Public Policy* edited by RA Setteren, FF Furstenberg, and RG Rumbaut. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Schrock, Douglas and Michael Schwalbe. 2009. “Men, Masculinity, and Manhood Acts.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 35: 277-95.
Shelton, B. A. 2000. “Understanding the distribution of housework between husbands and wives.” Pp. 343-355 in *The Ties That Bind: Perspectives on Marriage and Cohabitation,* edited by Michelle Hindin, Arland Thorton, Elizabeth Thomson, Christine Bachrach, and Linda J. Waite. New York: Aldine Transaction.
Silverstein, M. and A. Marenco. 2001. “How Americans Enact the Grandparent Role.” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 22: 493-522.
Smith, D. E. 1993. The Standard North American Family: SNAF as an Ideological Code. *Journal of Family Issues* 14(1): 50-65.
Snarey, J. 1993. *How Fathers Care for the Next Generation: A Four-Decade Study*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Spitze, Glenna, and John Logan. 1990. "Sons, Daughters, and Intergenerational Social Support." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 420-430.
Spitze, Glenna, and Russell A. Ward. 1998. "Gender variations."Pp. 113-127 in *Handbook on Grandparenthood*, edited by Maximiliane Szinovácz. Greenwood Publishing Group.
Stacey, Judith. 1998. *Brave New Families: Stories of Domestic Upheaval in Late-Twentieth Century America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Statistics Canada. 2011. “Employment Insurance Coverage Survey, 2010.” *The Daily* June 27 http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/110627/dq110627a-eng.htm
Stearns, Peter N. 1991. “Fatherhood in historical perspective: The role of social change.” Pp. 28-52 in *Fatherhood and Families in Cultural Context*, edited by Frederick Bozett and Shirley M. H. Hanson, Vol. 6. New York, NY: Springer Publishing.
Swartz, Teresa Toguchi. 2009. “Intergenerational Family Relations in Adulthood: Patterns, Variations, and Implications in the Contemporary United States.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 35: 191-212.
Tanaka, Sakiko, and Jane Waldfogel. 2007. "Effects of Parental Leave and Work Hours on Fathers' Involvement with their Babies: Evidence from the Millennium Cohort Study." *Community, Work and Family* 10(4): 409-426.
Taylor, Paul. Ed. 2010. “Decline of Marriage and the Rise of New Families”. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center.
Thomas, W. I. and Dorothy S. Thomas. 1938. *The Child in America;: Behavior Problems and Programs*. New York: A.A. Knopf

Tronto, J. C. 2002. The "Nanny" Question in Feminism. *Hypatia* 17(2): 34-51.
Townsend, N. 2002. *Package Deal: Marriage, Work and Fatherhood in Men's Lives*. Temple University Press.
Twiggs, Joan E., Julia McQuillan, and Myra Marx Ferree. 1999. "Meaning and Measurement: Reconceptualizing Measures of the Division of Household Labor." *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 712-724.
Uhlenberg, P. and B. Hammill. 1998. "Frequency of Grandparent Contact with Grandchild Sets: Six Factors that Make a Difference." *Gerontologist* 38: 276-85.
Urist, Jacoba. 2012. "Are Pro Baseball Players Shattering the Paternity Leave Glass Ceiling?" *Today*, June 27. http://www.today.com/moms/are-pro-baseball-players-shattering-paternity-leave-glass-ceiling-848980?franchiseSlug=momsmain
Vandell, Deborah Lowe, Kathleen McCartney, Margaret Tresch Owen, Cathryn Booth, and Alison Clark-Stewart. 2003. "Variations in Child Care by Grandparents During the First Three Years." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 65(2): 375-381.
Varady, D. P. 1990. "Influences on the City-Suburban Choice A Study of Cincinnati Homebuyers." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 56(1): 22-40.
Walker, A. and L. McGraw. 2000. "Who Is Responsible for Responsible Fathering?" *Journal of Marriage and Family* 62: 563-569.
Walzer, Susan. 1998. *Thinking about the Baby: Gender and the Transitions into Parenthood*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
Wang, Wendy, Kim Parker, and Paul Taylor. 2003. *Breadwinner Moms* Washington, DC: Pew Research Center http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2013/05/29/breadwinner-moms/
Weathington, Bart L., Christopher J. L. Cunningham, and David J. Pittenger. 2010. *Research Methods for the Behavioral and Social Sciences*. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.
Weber, Lauren. 2013. "Why Dads Don't Take Paternity Leave." *Wall Street Journal* June 12.
West, Candace and Don Zimmerman. 1987. Doing Gender. *Gender & Society.* 1: 125-151.
Whitehouse, Gillian, Chris Diamond, and Marian Baird. 2007. "Fathers Use of Leave in Australia." *Community, Work and Family* 10(4): 387-407.
Whitt, Richie. 2011. "Welcome Back to Earth, Texas Rangers. Welcome Back, Colby Lewis?" Dallas Observer Blogs, April 18 http://blogs.dallasobserver.com/sportatorium/2011/04/welcome_back_to_earth_texas_ra.php
Williams, Joan. 1999. *Unbending Gender: Why Family and Work Conflict and What to do About it.* Oxford University Press.
—. 2010. *Reshaping the Work-family Debate: Why Men and Class Matter*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010.
Williams, S. 2008. "What is Fatherhood? Searching for the Reflexive Father." *Sociology* 42: 487-502.
Ziol-Guest, Kathleen. 2009. "A Single Father's Shopping Bag: Purchasing Decisions in Single-Father Families". *Journal of Family Issues* 30: 605-622.