

Feeling Their Way

Four men talk about fatherhood in Valparaíso, Chile



**A thesis submitted to Victoria University of Wellington in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in
Development Studies**

Monica Evans

2010

**School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences
Supervisor: Sara Kindon**

Cover photo reproduced with permission from Sr. Sobarzo, 2010

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	v
Abstract	vi
Key words	vii
Map of Chile showing key locations mentioned in this work.....	viii
First Prologue	ix
Second Prologue	x
Chapter One: Introduction.....	1
Research setting and personal rationale.....	3
Thesis structure	5
Epistemologies	6
Conclusion	10
Chapter Two: Literature Review	11
Part One:	11
Part Two:.....	15
Chapter Three: Introduction to Methodologies	19
Who did I talk to?.....	19
How did they come to talk to me?.....	20
Generating information.....	22
Methods I didn't use	23
Transcription	25
Translation	26
Analysis and 'writing-in'	27
Further Ethical Considerations.....	31
Conclusion	32
Story Section One: Starting points.....	35
Luis (26):.....	35
Ángel (29):	37
Rai (25):	40
Gopal (23):.....	42
Chapter Four: Getting it On, Getting Pregnant and Getting On with it.....	45
Finding out.....	45
Being Arranged	52
Conclusion	55
Story Section Two: Forays into Fatherhood.....	57
Luis:	57
Ángel:	58
Rai:	59
Gopal:	60
Chapter Five: Babies, Bodies and Feeling like a Father	61
Magical meeting-points?.....	61
Conclusion	65
Story Section Three: Searching for Space.....	67
Luis:	67
Rai:	70
Ángel:	71
Gopal:	72
Chapter Six: For Love or for Money	73
Love stories	73
Money stories.....	77
Conclusion	80
Story Section Four: Finding the Rhythm	81

Luis:	81
Ángel:	82
Rai:	83
Chapter Seven: Dads in the Distance	85
Benefits	85
Challenges	88
Conclusion	89
Story Section Five: Coming into each other's stories	91
Luis:	91
Ángel:	92
Rai:	93
Gopal:	94
Chapter Eight: Moving Encounters	95
Impacts on the research process and the ways we positioned each other within it.....	95
Wider impacts on participants and myself.....	98
Conclusion	102
Chapter Nine: Conclusion	104
What has each chapter done?.....	104
What might be the implications of this work?	106
Final reflections.....	110
Epilogue.....	111
Appendix One: Accompanying tracks	112
Appendix Two: Participant Information Sheet (Spanish)	113
Appendix Three: Participant Information Sheet (English translation)	114
Appendix Four: Potential Questions/Themes for Young Fathers in Unstructured and Semi- Structured Interviews (Spanish)	115
Appendix Five: Potential Questions/Themes for Young Fathers in Unstructured and Semi- Structured Interviews (English)	117
Appendix Six: Potential Questions/Themes for Academics and Collective Members in Semi- Structured Interviews (Spanish)	119
Appendix Seven: Potential Questions/Themes for Academics and Collective Members in Semi- Structured Interviews (English)	120
Glossary.....	121
List of Acronyms	121
Reference list	122

Acknowledgements

To Luis, Ángel, Gopal and Rai, for sharing stories, joys, sadnesses and ever so many lunches with me over the course of this project. To Sara, for seeing my work and my self for what-they-are-becoming, and always leading me further. To Victoria University of Wellington, the New Zealand Agency for International Development, Education New Zealand and Freemasons New Zealand for the financial support that made this adventurous project possible.

To Pancho, for your interest and support, for organising the presentation in Santiago, and for being such a 'friendly face' for me in Chilean academia. To Seba, Pablo, Sergio, Nano, Tania, Francisco, Oliver, Papo, Hernán and many more Valparaísoians for the conversations that helped me to contextualise this work. To Rodrigo and Ataba, for taking me surfing instead.

To Jamie, Tom and Matilda, my *compañeros* in this journey. To Kate, for the loving trans-Tasman proofreading, and for 'lining up outside Dymocks' to read this work. To my Mum, for keeping my feet on the ground and my fingers in the soil. To my Dad, for the non-hegemonic fathering that I continue to be grateful for. To Tessa, Lillian and Robbie for the welcome distractions, and for staying emotionally present when we couldn't be geographically so. To Manu, for helping me to work from my heart.

Abstract

In this study, I explore the experiences and understandings of fatherhood of four men in Valparaíso, Chile, who became fathers between the ages of 16 and 19 and lived geographically, but not emotionally, distant from their children at the time this fieldwork took place. I seek thus to interrogate stereotypes in social discourse, Gender and Development research and many institutions about Latin American fathers in similar situations (Viveros 2001). Given the emotionally-intense nature of this project, I also examine the impacts of emotions and empathy on the relationships that were developed within it, and on researcher and participant subjectivities inside and outside the research process – a topic seldom addressed in social science literature (Bondi 2005).

In framing this research, I draw on feminist, poststructural, structurationist and Participatory Action Research epistemologies, as well as ways-of-knowing that are indigenous to the area in which fieldwork took place. Methodologically, I carried out a series of unstructured and semi-structured interviews with each participant, and spent considerable time 'hanging out' with them as well (Kearns 2000). I also interviewed Chilean academics and practitioners working on issues of masculinity and fatherhood, both individually and in a group discussion.

Presenting the work, I use stand-alone 'story sections' as well as interpretive chapters. These story sections provide more space than a 'straight' chaptered structure might allow for each man's personal tale to be told. I postulate that all four participants were emotionally compelled to 'father' and found spaces in which to do so, despite “larger stories” (Aitken 2009, 15) about youth, fatherhood and family that constricted their participation in their children's lives (Aguayo & Sadler 2006). Yet, they all remained unsatisfied with the “fathering spaces” (Aitken 2009, 171) that they were able to negotiate, and all felt pain as a result of this. Being recognised and emotionally understood 'as fathers' through empathetic engagement with me within this research process was thus a largely positive and sometimes transformative experience for participants. Such engagement also helped me to navigate concerns about positionality and representation, and reflecting on it later on enabled me to 'process' this emotionally-intense process, and to shift and deepen my analysis.

In sum, the study offers an intimate, nuanced perspective on four men's fatherhoods and my experience of working with them, which I hope will contribute to more careful characterisations of men in similar situations in Gender and Development literature, and to scholarship on emotions and empathy in research relationships more generally.

Key words

fatherhood, paternity, Chile, Latin America, empathy, emotion, gender, space, gender and development, masculinities

Map of Chile showing key locations mentioned in this work

(NB. Dots denoting locations are not indicative of settlement size)



(2010 Enchanted Learning)

First Prologue

II

el bebé duerme
acalorado, transpirado
con las mejillas coloradas
vestido de blanco virginal

yo lo observo
y una sonrisa se levanta en mi rostro
yo lo observo
y mil besos se estrellan contra mi cara

él duerme
discreto, serio
él es carne de mi carne, vida de mi vida
testimonio palpable de mi naturaleza

él duerme, y un lápiz pasta roza una hoja de cuaderno,
y ése, es el único ruido que interrumpe su inocente silencio

*the baby sleeps
flushed, transpiring
with reddened cheeks
dressed in virginal white*

*I watch him
and a smile arises in my face
I watch him
and a thousand kisses shatter against my skin*

*he sleeps
discreet, serious
he is flesh of my flesh, life of my life
palpable testimony of my nature*

*he sleeps, and a pencil scratches a page of a book,
and that is the only noise that interrupts his innocent silence*

(Rai 2009 pers. comm., 1 Jun.)

Second Prologue

Let me start with a story.

It's about sitting at a kitchen table, chopping carrots. Rai (the poet of the previous page) and I are making lunch. It's October 2007 and I'm a few days away from leaving Valparaíso, where I've been living for much longer than I intended to, and returning to New Zealand. We're at his place, blue-and-yellow painted and on the outskirts of Cerro Alegre, or Happy Hill. Like most houses in the city this one is clinging, scruffy and optimistic, to the edge of a rubbishy hillside, and digging its toes into the shifting soil.

This lunch is about saying goodbye. Rai's known me almost since I arrived in Chile the year before, when I was living in a red house across the valley from this one, and he moved in. He's soft-spoken, long-haired, used to be a bit of a punk. One day we climbed a mountain together, and he told me about his son, who lives just about as south as you can go in this spaghetti-string of a country; who he had when he was sixteen; who not many people know he has; who he wishes he could see more of.

Good-bye rituals sometimes lend themselves to profoundness, to dream-telling and longing and wondering about what might happen next. In one of these kinds of conversations-over-the-carrots, we talk about getting out of the city some time, learning to live off the land, and he says to me smiling, well you know, one day when I have a family...

Chapter One: Introduction

This study explores the experiences and understandings of fatherhood of four men in Valparaíso, Chile, who became fathers between the ages of 16 and 19 and lived geographically – but not emotionally – distant from their children at the time fieldwork took place.¹ It also explores the process of doing this research with those men.

Projects seeking to understand men's gendered experiences are on the rise in international development research and practice. This rise is particularly informed by criticisms of Gender and Development (GAD) and its predecessors Women in Development (WID) and Women and Development (WAD). However, an academic and institutional “wall of silence” (Cardoso in Viveros 2001, 247) remains around men's experiences of fatherhood in Latin America to date, particularly for those who became fathers as 'adolescents'² and don't live with or near their children. Evidence suggests that these kinds of fathers are numerous in the region (Madrid 2005), and much, it is certain, is said *of* them. They are frequently stereotyped as incurably irresponsible, and as entirely absent from (and disinterested in) their children's lives, in line with histories of callous *conquistadores*³ who impregnated local women and left them to raise the children alone (Montecino 1995).

However, few opportunities exist for such men to speak for themselves on issues related to pregnancy and childrearing. This is perhaps unsurprising, given that these continue to be portrayed as 'women's issues' in many arenas. It also seems that even among researchers, policy-makers and practitioners eager to engage men in conversation on the above themes, uncertainty remains about how, exactly, to do it. Many cite difficulties generating trust with adolescent fathers (Allen & Doherty 1996, Lyra 1998), particularly across multiple 'axes of difference' (such as age, class, ethnicity and so on). Further, while the potentially emotionally-intense nature of such conversations might seem obvious, the effects of this kind of emotional intensity on research relationships and the people who constitute them, remains peripheral to discussions on research processes in social

¹ I accredit my supervisor Sara Kindon (2010 pers. comm., 18 Feb.) with suggesting the term 'geographically but not emotionally distant' to describe these men's relationships with their children, following a conversation regarding my concerns about the shortcomings of other ways to term their situations (see Chapter Three).

² I use inverted commas here to highlight that the term is a contested one in this project, explaining why in Chapters Three and Four. However, I have chosen to drop the inverted commas in later usages for reasons of clarity, flow and readability.

³ This term is commonly used to describe men who were leaders in the Spanish colonisation of the Americas, in the 16th century (Encyclopedia Britannica 2009).

science more generally (Bondi 2005a).

So, this study seeks to answer the following questions:

- 1) What kinds of stories do some Chilean men who became fathers between the ages of 16 and 19 and live geographically – but not emotionally – distant from their children, have to tell about fatherhood?
- 2) Why aren't such stories being told or heard more frequently?
- 3) What might be the implications of such stories for GAD theory concerning fathers in similar situations?
- 4) What can be learned, from the processes of telling and listening to these stories, about emotions and empathy in research relationships?

In connection to the above questions, the study's key objectives are:

- 1) To share stories told to me by four men in Valparaíso, who became fathers between the ages of 16 and 19 and live geographically – but not emotionally – distant from their children, about their fatherhoods;
- 2) To explore, reflect on and analyse, together with these men, the experiences around and understandings of fatherhood related in these stories, taking into account the roles of both social structures and individual agency in constructing these;
- 3) To contextualise these analyses with my own experiences, discussions with Chilean academics and social workers, and wider literature on the topic;
- 4) To examine how emotions and empathy in the relationships between myself and participants impacted upon the research process and our subjective understandings of ourselves and each other, as well as our emotional well-being more generally.

In general, I aim in this research to contribute to the development of more nuanced understandings

of Latin American fatherhoods in GAD literature, and to wider debates in social research around the possibilities afforded by engaging with and reflecting on emotions and empathy in research relationships.

Research setting and personal rationale

As mentioned above, I carried out this study chiefly in the small coastal city of Valparaíso, Chile. Gendered aspects of this site's history, politics and geography have significant implications for my work, as do my personal connections to the place.

The land now called Chile has been inhabited for thousands of years by a number of different indigenous groups (Rector 2003). Several of these groups, such as the Mapuche people whose ancestral land is located in central and south parts of this region, have held and to some extent maintain more “integrated visions of men and women, and of 'male' and 'female' aspects of personality” (Falabella 1997, 63) than are common in Chile today. But following Spanish colonisation in the 16th century, dichotomous and hierarchical understandings of gender roles and family relationships came to prevail in the society that developed in that place, as occurred similarly in much of Latin America (ibid.).

These understandings were heavily influenced by the Catholic beliefs and cultural values that colonisers brought with them. Marriage was idealised, and so was *patria potestad*, or the absolute power of fathers over all other members of their households (Guy 1985). However, the sexual unions that took place between male Spanish colonisers and indigenous women did not fit with such beliefs and values, as such women were not considered marriageable (Cupples 2002). So, when children were produced as a result of such unions, it was accepted practice for these men to deny and/or ignore their fatherhood and its accompanying responsibilities (Rajević 2000). Motherhood was conversely portrayed as women's heroic, divinely-ordained duty (ibid.), even in such 'un-Catholic' circumstances – after all, *someone* had to look after the children! These and other factors contributed to hegemonic conceptions of men as virile and sexually uncontrollable by nature (Barker 1997) and as either entirely absent from, or all-powerful in, family life.

Last century, those starkly-gendered notions of fatherhood and family were actively promoted by various means in Chile. Public policies favouring 'nuclear' family structures were advanced in the

1930-60s, as was a strong sexual division of labour (Olivarría 2001). Under the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973-89) the above ideas were more aggressively reinforced: this leader could be argued to have taken the concept of *patria potestad* to a grand and brutal new level, in his authoritarian, ruthless and repressive rule over the country (Mendoza 2007). His wife, meanwhile, encouraged women to “take a secondary role in support of their husbands” (ibid., 1). Procreation was glorified, while contraception became increasingly difficult to come by (Rajević 2000). Public figures such as Carmen Grez (cited by Rajević 2000, 26), director of the National Ministry of Women, advised women in no uncertain terms that their “fundamental mission on Earth” was “to be a mother”.

Post-Pinochet and despite gradual reform, powerful conservative political, social and economic elites – many of whom remain closely linked to the Catholic church – continue to defend the hegemonic ideas and values explored above (Mendoza 2007). As a result, divorce was only legalised in 2004, and children born out of wedlock were not considered “*hijos verdaderamente hijos*” (real children) of their biological fathers until 1998 (Olivarría 2001, 12). At present, joint custody of children in the case of a relationship break-up is not legally possible: mothers are automatically awarded sole custody, which can only be disputed on the basis of ‘incapacities’ such as mental illness. A bill bidding to change this situation is currently before Congress but seems unlikely to pass in the near future, given the largely conservative make-up of that particular government body (Pancho pers. comm., 2009).

In the context I have just described, Rai’s comments in the Second Prologue which suggested a gulf between ‘proper’ fatherhood and family-making and his own related real-life experiences, are somewhat understandable. During my time in Chile in 2006 and 2007, I heard many stories similar to the one he told me. Valparaíso, where I lived, is a port town with a somewhat transient population, and many young people – especially young men – migrate there from rural areas all over Chile (Castañeda & Pantoja 2004). A number of the men I met there confided in me that they had children who still lived in their rural hometowns. However, these men had found it difficult to ‘be fathers’ in those towns, particularly if they were no longer in a romantic relationship with the child’s mother and/or if they could not provide financially for the child. Many would return intermittently to see their children and try to ‘make things work’, but most came back to Valparaíso after a period of weeks or months.

This research site, then, is moulded in many ways by dominant understandings of gender and

family, and is particularly significant for the study in terms of my relationship to it. The stories some of these men told me during that first stay in Valparaíso, and the emotions I experienced when they did so, compelled me to investigate this topic further. My already-established connections to the community there, and relative fluency in local vernacular and culture also contributed to my decision to return and carry out my research, and certainly to the depth of my findings.

In contextualising this work, I have drawn on research from Chile wherever possible, but also – given the paucity of such research (see Chapter Two) and the existence of elements to it that seem to be relevant in a number of countries, cultures and continents – from the wider Latin American region and other parts of the world, although I am careful to note the origins of such work.

Thesis structure

Following the Introduction, Literature Review and Methodology chapters (One, Two and Three), this thesis divides into two main strands. One strand – that of the five story sections, which are printed on 'sand-coloured'⁴ paper – corresponds to the first stated aim of the research. It provides space for participants' stories to be told in relatively chronological order, with little interference and interruption, as Chapter Three explains in more depth. The second strand of this work is the five interpretive chapters (Chapters Four to Eight), which are interspersed with the story sections. These attend more specifically to the second, third and fourth stated aims of this research. They are also written relatively chronologically, in order to loosely correspond with issues mentioned in the story sections that directly precede each one (as is also clarified further in Chapter Three). Hence, Chapter Four explores participants' reactions, and those of others in their stories, to the news that they were going to be fathers, and Chapter Five considers how these men felt 'upon meeting their children for the first time.'⁵ Chapter Six notes some of the challenges participants experienced around negotiating “fathering spaces” (Aitken 2009, 171) as their children grew older, while Chapter Seven examines their perceptions of the benefits and disadvantages of their current fathering situations. Chapter Eight reflects on the impacts of empathy on this research process and the relationships that were developed within it, and on participants and me outside the research arena. Finally, the concluding chapter (Chapter Nine) weaves the two strands described above back

⁴ To me, this colour choice evokes the hues of the bare earth that backgrounds the multicoloured houses on Valparaíso's hills.

⁵ I use this slightly awkward phrase to denote the men's first physical encounters with their children following these children's births. I have avoided saying 'when their children were born' because one participant did not have such an encounter until five years after his child was born, as is explained in Story Section Two and Chapter Five.

together, summarising the work's contributions to GAD literature and emotional research, and suggesting some useful future directions for further investigations in the above areas. A series of audio tracks is also attached to this PDF file; this feature is explained more thoroughly in Chapter Three. These tracks comprise songs and poems that two participants wrote about their children and subsequently performed – you are welcome and indeed encouraged to listen to these as you read this work.

Epistemologies

This section discusses some of the ways-of-knowing that informed how I conceived of, carried out and represented this work. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2003, 4-5), qualitative research “locates the observer in the world” and is concerned with “attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them”. So, it seems important to be explicit and reflexive about my *own* understandings of what constitutes knowledge in a qualitative study such as this one, and about their impact on the decisions I made throughout the research process.

However, the above is in practice a complex task – as Kincheloe and McLaren (2005, 316) point out, my ways-of-knowing are shaped by the “social location of (my) personal history” and are not always conscious, knowable or stable in themselves. As such, I feel incapable of declaring a definitive epistemology for this project. Here, Denzin and Lincoln's (2003, 5) conception of qualitative research as *bricolage*, or a “pieced-together set of representations that are fitted to the specifics of a given situation”, is useful. It allows for, indeed expects, multiple ways-of-knowing and correspondent ways-of-doing to become relevant at different points in the research process (Kincheloe and McLaren 2005), and “resists its placement in concrete as it promotes its elasticity” (ibid., 316). It is, in fact, “grounded in an epistemology of complexity” (ibid.). With this complexity in mind, then, I will proceed to relate *some* of the ways-of-knowing that were drawn on as this research project developed.

My work was strongly informed by feminist epistemologies. As such, I understood gender-based inequalities and hierarchies to be socially constructed (Letherby 2003). To this end, I was concerned with recognising and resurrecting knowledges that had been subjugated and marginalised by these inequalities as “legitimate ways of seeing and knowing” (Hammers & Brown 2004, 89). Hence, this project was politically committed to challenging “silences in mainstream research” (Letherby 2003, 4), both in relation to the topic chosen, and in how the study itself was undertaken.

This way of conceptualising research and knowledge-creation was initially developed by researchers focussing on *women's* experiences and understandings (ibid.), which most research has certainly been rather quiet about until recently. As such, some feminists maintain that research must be “by women and for women” (Webb 1993, 416) to be feminist in nature. However, many feminist researchers have since acknowledged that gender inequalities have marginalising and silencing effects for men as well as women, especially in aspects of their lives relating to 'domestic', 'private' and by association, 'female' arenas (Kimmel 2002). Speaking about fatherhood as one such aspect, Aitken (2009, 54) claims that

man-as-father is either hidden or subsumed under the history and geography of man as a public figure and, unfortunately, the pervasive patriarchy that often accompanies this discursive framework. This is not only a hidden history of fathering, it is also a hidden geography, which is tucked away in the recesses of private life in much the same way that, until recently, the geography of mothering and reproduction rested fitfully beneath the 'dominant fiction' of public, male ideologies.

Hence, I hold that by asking participants to come forward and speak to me 'as fathers' (rather than 'as' workers, activists or any of the other, more 'public' elements of their identities) was in itself a political, creative act (Bentz & Shapiro 1998) and thus quite in keeping with a feminist epistemological standpoint.

The work was also informed by post-structural epistemologies, which characterise “our epistemic situation... by a permanent plurality of perspectives, none of which can claim objectivity” (Anderson 2009, 1). As such, I was not concerned about obtaining 'the real story' of my participants' situations, or producing a text that “mirror(ed) a world 'out there'” (Agger 1991, 120). Rather, I interpreted the knowledges constructed in this research process to be 'situated', or determined by the knowers' particular perspectives. Many feminist writings have attempted to uncover “hidden truths” about women and their experiences, and to then “add women in” to male-dominated “his-stories” (Gibson-Graham 1994, 207). However, in line with poststructural perspectives, this work does not aim similarly to 'add men in' to frequently female-focussed stories around pregnancy and childrearing, or to “uncover any kind of coherent notion of fatherhood” (Aitken 2009, 3). Rather, like Butler (1990) and Spelman (1988), I hold that such aims are dangerously essentialist, and hence exclusionary of the wide range of subject positions and perspectives within and between the categories 'men' and 'women'. Instead, this work explores some of the positions and perspectives that individual men take up in particular situations, and it considers how they might be influenced

by gender and other factors (Anderson 2009).

Consistent with this understanding of knowledge as situated, a key aspect of the project was locating 'me' within it (Letherby 2003). As England (1994, 251) noted, "We do not conduct fieldwork on the unmediated world of the researched, but on the world between ourselves and the researched." My positionality in relation to my participants' was informed by some elements of sameness and rather more of difference: I was a similar age and I 'moved in similar circles', but I was also a woman, from a different country and culture, with very different kinds of resources and opportunities, and with no children. So, it was important – for ethical reasons as well as analytical ones (Howitt & Stevens 2005) – to critically reflect on who I was, how I was perceived, what I did and how all this impacted on the information that was generated (Dowling 2005) and the people involved in the project (as Chapters Three and Eight explore further).

Also in line with post-structural and feminist understandings, I considered emotions to be important contributors to the knowledge that was produced in this project. Western philosophy has generally considered emotion as an obstacle along the (rational) path to knowledge (Jaggar 1989) rather than a source of knowledge in itself. Feminist researchers, however, have argued that this exaltation of reason-over-emotion in knowledge creation is connected to other dichotomous, hierarchical understandings such as public-over-private and male-over-female (*ibid.*), and is both false and damaging. Fittingly, then, researchers such as Bondi (2003) have stated that reflections on emotional experiences in research can contribute considerably to understandings of research relationships and the power and positionalities within these – a central concern of much feminist work. For this reason, I actively explored and reflected on my own emotions and experiences of empathy during the research process, and this information forms a key component of my analysis, especially in Chapter Eight.

However, as I alluded to in the introduction to this section, I also acknowledge that as self-reflexive as I aim to be in this work, my ways-of-being – and those of my participants – in the context of our research relationships are constituted by those relationships (Gibson-Graham 1994), are ever-evolving, and can never be fully known-about or understood (Rose 1997). Also, while I recognise the impacts of identities and situations on individuals' understandings of their worlds (Anderson 2009), I do not take this position to its post-modern conclusion, in which there is no space for people's agency, or indeed responsibility, around the representations that they construct (Haraway 1991). When conceptualising this research, certainly, my proposed research questions were angled

chiefly toward unravelling the social structures that informed participants' perceptions and ideas. However, as is noted in various chapters, such a perspective did not make room for the very active and aware decision-making processes that participants described in their stories, or their adamant refusals to see themselves as 'victims of their situations'.

In this respect, my approach became aligned more closely with Giddens' theory of structuration, which holds that individual agency and social construction are mutually constitutive. In his words, “society only has form, and that form only has effects on people, insofar as structure is produced and reproduced in what people do” (1998, 77). So, I sought not only to tease out the social structures that impacted on participants' understandings of fatherhood, but also to see how these men actively constructed such understandings themselves. Like Cahill (2007b, 270) in her research with young urban women of colour, my approach “privileges an emphasis upon agency, the taking control of, and taking up of, positions as opposed to mechanistic or unconscious performances of existing socially structured positions.”

My concerns with power relations, representation and social change also allude to a Participatory Action Research (PAR) orientation in this work. PAR is a collaborative approach that starts from

the understanding that people - especially those who have experienced historic oppression - hold deep knowledge about their lives and experiences, and should help shape the questions, [and] frame the interpretations of research (Torre & Fine 2006, 248).

As such, PAR problematises researchers' power over the types of knowledge and the kinds of subjects that are produced in research processes (Cahill 2007b), and is “explicitly oriented towards social transformation” (Kindon et al. 2007, 9). This project did not become as collaborative or action-oriented as I hoped, as Chapter Three explains. However, my PAR 'leanings' certainly compelled me to be particularly attentive toward issues of representation, and to the nature of the research relationships I developed, particularly their emotional dynamics.

The research was also informed by spiral logic, a way of understanding time and change held by a number of indigenous groups in Latin America, including the Mapuche people mentioned earlier in this chapter. This understanding counters 'Western' modernist conceptions of human and social development as linear and unidirectional – as Chilean sociologist Duarte (2006, 112) explained,

for the pre-invasionary (pre-colonial) cultures of our American continent, time is not

conceived of as a straight line with no end, but rather as an ascending spiral. In this ascending spiral, past, present and future mix constantly with each other and mutually feed off one another, that is to say... they're connected, you can't understand one without making reference to or finding links with the other.

To truly integrate spiral logic into my ways of doing research and living in the world, I believe, would require immense personal transformation which is perhaps beyond the scope of this thesis! However, my limited understanding and integration of this approach allowed me, at least, to step outside of assumptions I had held about different 'life phases', and about development and social change more generally, as Chapter Four explores in more depth.

Conclusion

This chapter has located my research personally, geographically and epistemologically. It has also positioned it in terms of relevant literature. The following chapter expands upon this last positioning, exploring gaps and debates in related research, and framing the arenas into which the project aims to speak.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This review has two parts, which correspond to two key elements of this research: the people I worked with, and the process of working with them. The first part surveys and assesses literature relevant to the situations of the main participants in this study (as stated, men in Valparaíso, Chile who became fathers between the ages of 16 and 19 and lived geographically – but not emotionally – distant from their children at the time fieldwork took place). The second part explores literature on reflexivity around emotions and empathetic space in research relationships.

Part One:

Part One of this review first gives an overview of literature on GAD and masculinities, before focussing more specifically on that devoted to masculinities and fatherhood – especially adolescent fatherhood – in Latin America, particularly Chile. It demonstrates that while there is considerable interest in this field amongst academics, policymakers and practitioners, research that challenges static and universalising stereotypes and/or allows men in situations similar to my participants to speak for themselves about their fatherhoods, remains scarce.

Literature on gender has proliferated in recent decades. Initially focussed on issues faced by women in 'developed' countries, it later began to address and include the realities of women in the rest of the world, in doing so becoming increasingly articulate on the diversity within the category 'women', and the effects that other variables such as race, class and sexuality can have on women's experiences (Jones 2006). In development literature and practice, this increased attention to women was reflected in the emergence of WID and (later) WAD approaches (Reeves & Baden 2000). However, the category 'men' was – and continues to be, in much literature on gender today – undifferentiated and unexplored. As Hearn (1998, 786) noted, “Men are implicitly talked of, yet rarely talked of explicitly. They are shown but not said, visible but not questioned”. While 'womanhood' was extensively deconstructed, 'manhood' remained monolithic – men were generally painted, as Cornwall (2000) explained, either as 'the problem' or as useless and irrelevant.

By the 1980s, however, little progress seemed to have been realised in changing women's lives and influencing wider developmental agendas through WID and WAD (Reeves & Baden 2000). It was recognised that working *with* men was crucial to transforming gender inequalities, and the above

approaches were gradually overtaken by GAD, which called for “gender relations (rather than women) to be adopted as the primary analytical tenet” (Chant & Guttman 2000, 9). Men's involvement in this field was initially conceived of rather instrumentally, as a means to shift power to enhance *women's* lives (Rathgeber 1989); and the disproportionate amount of literature in this field devoted solely to women suggests that gender remains a 'women's issue' in the minds of many (Jones 2006). But more recent work has recognised that men do not always benefit from gender inequalities either (Kaufman 2003), and has moved to explore their gendered experiences in their own right.

Some feminists dispute that this apparent exclusion of men from literature on gender should even be a concern (Cleaver 2003). Given the pervasiveness of gender inequalities, they argue, the majority of literature on any subject is male-focussed by default – why should men claim special attention in one of the few fields where women dominate? But pro-feminist writers on masculinities have argued that analysis of men *as gendered subjects* is in fact crucial to unravelling the complex and multifaceted workings of the gender-unequal systems that affect our lives:

It is in so many ways much easier to cling to the old essentialisms... and substitute a cardboard patriarch for the otherwise vastly complex array of situational subject positions that men may take up in different contexts and different kinds of relationships (Cornwall 2000, 8).

Men's relationships to the hegemonic models of masculinity that are perpetuated within their societies are fluid and diverse (Alsop et al 2002). Thus, attention to such relationships has the potential to considerably expand researchers' understandings of the 'workings' of gender and power. As Cornwall (2000, 3) pointed out, individual men “may be powerful in some interactions, but by being less powerful in others they are no less gendered.”

Like earlier research on women, masculinities research at present appears overwhelmingly concentrated on the experiences of 'Western' men in 'developed' countries (Jones 2006). As Mirandé (2001, 342) criticised: “The new men's studies is not the study of men qua men but the study of white men.” He posited that this field's only major forays into researching 'men of colour' have been directed at African-American men, and there has been “little effort to examine Chicano/Latino men as men or to assess the range and variety of Latino masculinities” (ibid, 341). 'Western' hegemonic notions of masculinity can be quite different from their Latin American counterparts – Latino men, for example, seem to be able to express a wide range of emotions without fear of undermining their

'masculinity', while 'Western' men might struggle to do the same (Hooper 2001). Certainly, many commonalities also exist: in fact, I draw considerably on literature exploring 'Western' masculinities and fatherhood in this work, particularly Aitken's (2009) US-based *Awkward Spaces of Fathering* project (which, it must be noted, does *not* focus solely on the experiences of 'white' men, and *does* include Chicano perspectives). As useful as it is, however, such work can not stand in place of research that speaks to men's experiences in distinct cultural frameworks.

In Latin America itself, hegemonic understandings of masculinity,⁶ family and fatherhood – the origins of which were explored briefly in Chapter One – are reproduced in much literature, policy and practice. As Beattie (2002, 304) observed, “There is an astounding lack of scholarship on Latin America debunking male gender stereotypes”. The ways in which Latino men actually relate to these stereotypes, particularly in the context of fatherhood, remains largely unexamined. Perea (in Barker & Loewenstein 1997, 167) observed that “most studies with males in areas of fatherhood and reproductive health have examined males from perspectives of deficit... rather than understand what men believe or feel on their own.” Similarly, Barker and Verani (2008, 39) stated that much literature on fathers' involvement takes an “instrumental view of how men’s involvement as fathers is positive for women and children” and does not examine its impacts on these fathers as subjects themselves. According to ProMundo (2007, 29), a Brazilian-based, gender equity focussed NGO that works extensively with young men, it is “surprising, even disturbing” how much of the literature on fathers, particularly young fathers, is told by other people – especially mothers, health care staff and children:

Young men can be quite articulate about their experiences and the challenges of fatherhood, but only recently have researchers and programme staff made concerted efforts to include their views (ibid.).

As the above implies, research *is* beginning to be carried out with fathers in the region, and a more nuanced research base on their roles and understandings is growing (Barker & Verani 2008). Gutmann's 1996 research on poor households in Mexico (in Beattie 2002), for example, which demonstrated that men in these households played important, 'hands-on' roles in parenting, suggested some far more varied and complex understandings and practices around fathering than are commonly imagined. In Chile, various studies addressing different aspects of fatherhood, and

⁶ These understandings are often defined as ‘machismo’, but the term, like the understandings themselves, is slippery, carrying different connotations in different contexts (Gutmann 2007). For this reason, I have decided to include it with caution in this project, chiefly when interviewees and other sources do so.

providing chances for fathers to speak for themselves, have emerged in the last decade. However, few touch on the experiences of fathers who live geographically distant from their children. Olavarria's 2001 study *'Ser Padre en Santiago de Chile'* (Being a father in Santiago, Chile), for example, focussed almost exclusively on fathers in nuclear family living arrangements, and non-resident fathers were addressed only in passing. Papai (2002, 27) reported to this end that information about fathers in Latin America in general tends to be restricted to fathers who live with their children, and Barker and Verani (2008, 54) commented similarly that much of the literature, and policy and programme and initiatives "continue to focus on heterosexual nuclear families" and are "framed around idealized, normative or moralistic views of what being a father means" (7). The above suggests a kind of social denial that different kinds of fatherhood exist outside of conventional familial structures, which seems to correspond to the inflexible notions of family that have been imposed and reinforced throughout this region's history, as detailed in Chapter One.

If the stories of fathers who do not live with their children tend to be obscured, those of the many who become fathers before the age of 20 appear particularly so (Olavarria & Parrini 1999). According to Viveros (2001, 247), adolescent fatherhood "has been largely ignored in examinations of fatherhood in Latin America." Adolescent *pregnancy*, it is certain, is frequently discussed, and many alarmist and inaccurate studies have (wrongly) screamed of an "epidemic" (Papai 2001, 31) in this phenomenon in the region in recent years. But, as Papai (*ibid.*, 27) pointed out, "actually what is spoken of is pregnant adolescents." Social interventions often take a similar line - in Chile, support programmes are available for mothers in this age band, but fathers are excluded from these and there are no parallel programmes for them to attend (Olavarria & Parrini 1999).

Brazilian researcher Lyra (1998, 185), to this end, interpreted his research team's difficulties in finding adolescent fathers to speak to, as suggesting that "even when a youth is set on assuming an active role as the father of his children, social institutions... seem to deny him this assumption". Latin American understandings of youth and adulthood and their implications will be explored in more depth in Chapter Four; here, Chilean sociologist Duarte's (2006, 114) description of discourses that affect young people helps explain why fatherhood that occurs in this age band might be treated as though it 'doesn't quite count':

A much-used discourse in dominant social speak, whereby "the young are the future of the Nation", positions them in the limbo of the inexistent, of that which is not yet; which is a possibility, but which denies them their existence in the present. Hence, it doesn't matter what they do, say or reclaim today, what's important is that *they'll be something tomorrow*

when they're adults.

In sum, the gaps described above - in literature, social programs and dominant discourses - have not gone unnoticed by academics, practitioners or policy-makers. The call for 'more men's stories', for men's subjective experiences and understandings to be shared and listened to, is consistent, particularly from the growing number of organisations in the region committed to working *with* men on gender issues. Barker and Verani's (2008, 54) extensive literature review on men's participation as fathers in Latin America and the Caribbean calls for, in particular, greater exploration of “men’s roles in diverse family and caregiving arrangements”, and “men’s subjective experiences and desires for childbearing”. This project, in providing space for four Chilean fathers' voices to be heard on an issue in which they have been vilified and/or ignored in dominant discourses on gender, families and reproduction, seems thus to be an appropriate – if modest – response to such calls. As Kimmel (2009 conference presentation, 31 Mar.) urged, “How do you research men? Not as bad guys, but as sons, fathers, husbands, workers, citizens...”

Part Two:

As Chapter One made clear, however, while literature gaps in research on fathers in the situations I described certainly confirmed for me the contextual significance of what I noticed during my first stay in Chile, these were not my inspiration for this project. I chose it because it touched my heart. Beginning this research, I was unsure as to how my emotional connections with the topic and my participants would affect the study; recent literature on 'emotional research', as detailed below, helped me to explore and interpret those links.

As counsellor and geographer Bondi (2005, 243) pointed out, “in research that involves interactions with other people with whom data are co-constructed, researchers enter into interpersonal relationships that generate rich emotional dynamics.” However, the emotional dynamics of such relationships are rarely referred to in social science literature. They are often simply “deemed to be epistemologically irrelevant” (Barter & Reynold 2003, 100) – unsurprising perhaps in an arena that, as previously noted, continues to privilege the 'rational' over the 'emotional', the head over the heart, the 'masculine' over the 'feminine'. Further, even when the emotions of research *participants* are an explicit focus of research, “there remains considerable reluctance to discuss the emotional impact of research on researchers themselves, at least in print” (Bondi 2005, 231). The 'messiness' of

emotional dynamics does not sit comfortably within the “lore of objectivity” (Burawoy 1991, 8) that is keenly defended in many of social science's arenas. As Blackman (2007, 700) explains, “There is a disciplinary requirement, and an ethical demand, that the storyteller and the narrative should be ‘clean’.”

Also, and perhaps especially for 'younger' academics (Coffey, 1999), 'fessing up' to emotions such as awkwardness, fear and uncertainty in research processes seems a direct threat to academic credibility, and may leave researchers particularly exposed to challenges about their research ethics (Blackman 2007, 701). Is it any wonder, then, that what tends to be presented is a nice-and-neat, re-touched and photo-shopped version of such processes? As Burawoy (1991, 8) illustrated,

The false paths, the endless labors, the turns now this way and now that, the theories abandoned, and the data collected but never presented - all lie concealed behind the finished product... We are taught not to confound the process of discovery with the process of justification.

However, according to Wincup (2001, 19), feminist work that rejected notions of distance and objectivity in research relationships has “opened up the possibility of focusing on the emotional dimensions of research”; it is now legitimate, in some fields at least, to “write the researcher into the world they investigate” (Blackman 2007, 700). And, many researchers now consider emotional reflexivity a crucial resource for analysis and interpretation in itself. Thomson (2006, 15), for example, claimed that

Looking at the researcher self is not simply a form of reflexive lip service, nor is it autobiographical indulgence, it is evidence, the manifestation of the space between what is familiar and what we are seeking to know.

Bondi has contributed considerably to this emerging field, particularly through her work on empathy, which explored the psychic space *between* researchers and participants and the “relationality” (Bennett 2009, 246) of the emotions occupying that space. Drawing heavily on psychotherapeutic literature and practice, Bondi suggested that empathy

entails oscillating between participating in processes of (unconscious) identification, and remaining aware of - observing - some distinction (however fragile) between one's own and the other person's inner realities (2003, 74).

This process, she held, “provides space for difference, while also enabling the researcher to

communicate respect and recognition” (2003, 66). However, while researchers *do* return from moments of identification with their subjects to re-inhabit their own experiential worlds (ibid.), “we often feel changed in some way, and we might well feel concerned if we don’t” (ibid., 69). Such moments of murkiness around what-belongs-to-who emphasise, according to Bennett (2009, 246), the “impossibility of simply attributing emotion to either the interviewer or interviewee.” Hence, Bondi urged geographers to explore not only *their* and *their subjects'* emotions, but the connections between these (2005a), and put forward “a plea for emotion to be approached not as an object of study but as a relational, connective medium in which research, researchers and research subjects are necessarily immersed” (2005b, 433).

Non-representational theorists such as Thrift (2004) have also made valuable contributions to this field, calling attention to non-discursive elements of experience and challenging the prioritisation of cognition in much social research. Fittingly, such theorists tend to favour 'affect' over 'emotion' as a methodological resource. To clarify what the two terms signify, “affect can be thought of as a raw unmediated feeling or reaction whilst emotion is the social cultural meaning associated with a particular assemblage of affects” (mrs c kinpaisby-hill 2010, forthcoming). However, Bondi (2005a, 445) expressed concerns about “unhelpful dualisms” being constructed around these concepts, which she held to be much less easily distinguishable in practice. This work, then, follows Bondi (ibid.), Bennett (2008) and other feminist geographers in conceiving of emotion as a key methodological resource, *and* of considering such an approach to take into account both expressive *and* extra-discursive elements of such emotions.

While the value of reflecting on emotions and empathetic space in research relationships seems clear, questions remain about how to work productively with these elements. As Pagis (2009) noted, methodological challenges are inherent in any attempt to translate felt or embodied experience into words, and despite the advances of performative and experiential 'texts' in social research, the written word remains the most prevalent form of communication in that arena. Bennett (2009) also questioned how far someone like herself – a geographer, and *not* a counsellor – could safely work within and reflect upon empathetic space when it was mobilised in research relationships, using psychotherapeutic practises in which she had never been trained: “How the journey will work out and when it will end is a frightening prospect” (248). She asked, then: “What, regarding empathy, do I take from a therapeutic context into a research situation?” (ibid., 249). She also pointed out that while in a psychotherapeutic relationship analysis is done jointly and 'on the spot', in many research relationships the researcher carries out a large portion of the

analysis by herself, later on (ibid.). As such, she wondered

how far empathic psychic space of a (research) relationship can stretch... Places and people affect me, move me (who am I again?) and these feelings are tricky to interpret in a meaningful way (248).

To conclude, many questions remain around the methodological, analytical and ethical implications of exploring emotions and empathetic space in research relationships. In Chapter Eight of this study, I actively reflect on the empathetic space that emerged in my relationships with participants in this study, and possible impacts of this for them and me. In doing so, I aim not to provide answers but to share my own experiences as openly as I – a 'young' academic! – dare, and above all, like Bennett (2009, 249), to “keep the conversation going” in this exciting field.

Chapter Three: Introduction to Methodologies

This chapter introduces how the research was done. It describes who I talked to, how they came to talk to me, how information was generated, and how I transcribed, translated, analysed and “wrote-in” (Mansvelt & Berg 2005, 248) interpretations of the above. It shows how these decisions were informed by the epistemologies I referred to in Chapter One, as well as ethical and practical constraints, and considers the benefits and limitations of the methods I chose. It highlights the importance of flexibility in this process (Letherby 2003), and of checking in about the appropriateness of preconceived terms and methods when we are ‘in the field’⁷ (Cupples & Kindon 2003, Scheyvens & Storey 2003). Further considerations on the impacts of the process on myself and participants, particularly regarding positionalities, subjectivities, emotions and empathy, is carried out in Chapter Eight.

Who did I talk to?

In my research proposal, I wrote that I planned to speak to “young, low-income ‘absent fathers’ in Valparaíso” (Evans 2008, 1). But when I returned to Chile for fieldwork, it quickly became clear that most of those adjectives didn’t actually fit the men I imagined myself interviewing, or the situations I wanted to explore (Bedford & Monk 2005) – although they certainly said plenty about the kinds of stereotypes I had already inculcated about men in such situations! As I described in my research diary, “I pick up my friends and try to put them into these boxes. It’s an odd process – they don’t look comfortable sitting there, and I can’t close the lid” (2009 reflective diary, 21 Aug.).

For one thing, and as Chapter Four explores in more detail, several of the men I spoke to didn’t see themselves as ‘young’ to be fathers. I tried calling them ‘men who were *adolescents* when their children were born’ for a while, but later became similarly uncomfortable with this label, because of its contested nature and the implications of incompleteness that it seemed to carry (again, see Chapter Four for further explanation). As well as this, while all participants were living in central Valparaíso for at least some of my fieldwork period, each one also moved house at least once during my stay: two to different suburbs, one to another town, and another a thirty-hour bus ride away to Arica on the Peruvian border. The term ‘low-income’ also turned out to apply more to my

⁷ See the section of this chapter entitled ‘How did they come to talk to me?’ for discussion on contested conceptualisations of ‘the field’.

own ideas about financial security than theirs. None of the men I spoke to had salaried jobs at the time I spoke to them: they all (apart from Rai who had just won a scholarship to write poetry) worked in the informal economy, for example doing acrobatics at the traffic lights and busking on the buses, and often their earnings were more precarious than *I* might have coped with on a daily basis. However, they did not see themselves as 'badly-off', and all maintained that they had consciously chosen their ways of life. Chilean social scientist Victoria (2009 pers. comm., 24 Jun.) commented similarly on her unease about defining participants in terms of socioeconomic levels: "like, the researcher who is from a certain level of society, goes to a neighbourhood and he finds it really working-class, but they don't think of themselves as working-class." Further, and perhaps most importantly, those who speak in this study are not *absent* fathers. Although others in some of their stories might characterise them as such, *they* do not. These men only became involved in this project because they made their fatherhoods known to me; because they *acknowledged* them, in all their troubles and transience.

So, more appropriately, this study was carried out with men 'in Valparaíso' (ie. for at least part of my fieldwork period) who became fathers between the ages of 16 and 19 (and were all in their 20s at the time of this study), and who lived geographically *but not emotionally* distant from their children at the time fieldwork took place. The boxes remain inadequate, but I feel they are at least softer and more spacious.

How did they come to talk to me?

In line with the above, it seems fitting to explain here how I invited some of these men to occupy those boxes for a moment, and speak with me from them. This issue is linked to my fourth research question (regarding emotions, empathy and research relationships), and as such is explored in more depth in Chapter Eight. Here, it is sufficient to explain that, as stated previously, I had already lived in Valparaíso for over a year in 2006-7 before travelling back there in 2009 to carry out this study. So, I was something of a 'familiar face', knew plenty of people, and was reasonably culturally and vernacularly literate. The position of trust I held as an 'almost-insider' was crucial, I believe, to my ability to seek out potential participants with the experiences and backgrounds I was interested in exploring (Valentine 2005, 117), and to their willingness to engage in this research with me. I knew three of the participants (Luis, Rai and Ángel) reasonably well already, and made contact with the fourth participant (Gopal) through his girlfriend, who I also knew already, in a kind of limited

'snowball' approach (ibid.).

In positivist research, knowing participants already might be considered problematic, because such 'non-research' relationships could inflect and 'bias' the results of the study. Research fields are often characterised as being “elsewhere,” “there” rather than “here” (Sparke 1996). A Chilean friend's comment when (at capoeira⁸ practice, where about twenty young men were hanging around) I asked if she knew of any young fathers who I could interview, exemplifies this assumption: “There's one, there's one, there's another one... Or you can't do it with people you already know?” (Tania 2009 pers. comm., 8 Mar.). However, a number of researchers have recognised that 'the field' is not a separate, otherwise world, but rather

a constructed entity that does not have identifiable borders (Caplan, 1993; Schrijvers, 1993; Killick, 1995) and, thus, according to Katz (1994), the connections between “the field” and our everyday lives mean that we are always in the field (Cupples & Kindon 2003, 212).

So, particularly given a post-structural feminist orientation in which all knowledge is understood to be situated and no claims to objectivity are made, research *can* “be incorporated into relationships rather than relationships being developed 'in the field’” (Browne 2003, 134).

Still, in the interests of keeping present some of the 'false paths' that were part of this research process – and of recognising that such paths can provide valuable information for later analyses - it is also important to point out that some of my participant-recruitment endeavours were not as successful as those described above. One friend was reluctant to help me find people to talk to, pointing out that my research topic could be seen as somewhat threatening by many of the 'geographically-distant' fathers that she knew: “Yeah, I have friends like that, they don't even know their children... but what am I going to say, I've got a friend who wants to speak to you about your kid that you don't even know?” (Naria 2009 pers. comm., 27 May.) Another boyfriend-of-a-friend agreed to an interview with me, but it quickly became clear that he had only done so out of a sense of obligation to his girlfriend, and was both disinterested in the topic and disapproving of my decision to explore it. We decided not to continue with the process; however, I reflect further on the experience and its implications for my investigations into empathy in research relationships in Chapter Eight.

⁸ Capoeira is a “cultural art from Brazil.... developed by Africans and their descendants, enslaved on Brazil's vast sugar and coffee plantations. It is a fighting art integrated with music, movement, gymnastics, theatrics and play. It is a game played in constant dance-like motion, weaving kicks, showing off gymnastic moves, playing tricks and casting sly smiles in an atmosphere charged by percussion and song” (Capoeira Mandinga Aotearoa 2008, 1).

Generating information

Unstructured and semi-structured interviews were my chief methods for generating information in this project. As Valentine (2005, 11) explains, interviews aim to “understand how individual people experience and make sense of their own lives.” Given my commitment to providing opportunities for the fathers in this study to self-represent, unstructured interviewing, which focusses on “personal perceptions and personal histories” (Dunn 2005, 89), seemed a particularly appropriate method. It gave the men a chance to tell their fatherhood stories *as they saw fit* and in the context of their lives (McEwan & Egan 1995).

I carried out a series of two to four interviews with each participant from March to June 2009, and recorded these on a digital voice recorder. Each initial interview was unstructured - I simply asked participants to tell me a little about their lives so far and about becoming a father. Subsequent interviews were slightly more structured and “interventionist” (Dunn 2005, 89) in nature, because they involved checking back with participants about the interpretations I was developing with regards their stories. This process of sequential interviewing, I believe, provided valuable opportunities for these men to critically reflect, and to clarify – for me and them – how they wanted to represent their experiences. In all four cases, both participant and I also became more relaxed about and comfortable with the research process as it progressed (Valentine 2005), which I think allowed for greater depth and openness in our conversations.

I also 'hung out' a lot with participants, a method more in keeping with ethnographic research. I gained considerable insight into day-to-day realities and relationships through doing so: as Kearns (2000, 195) observes, “Developing a geography of everyday experience requires us to move beyond reliance on formalised interactions such as those occurring in interviews.”

To gain a sense of the “larger stories” (Aitken 2009, 15) around fatherhood that affected participants' experiences and understandings, I also conducted semi-structured interviews with several members of Kolectivo Poroto, a Chilean collective of men committed to reflecting on masculinity as they experienced it, and to developing critical perspectives on gender issues (Kolectivo Poroto 2008). I did the same with Chilean psychologist and specialist in masculinities Francisco Aguayo (Pancho), and also discussed my research questions informally with other friends

during my stay in Chile. In April 2009, I attended the Global Symposium on Engaging Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality, in Rio de Janeiro, and met with academics, practitioners and policy-makers from the Latin American region and around the world. In June of that year, I presented some preliminary analyses in Santiago to a group of social workers and academics in Santiago who are connected through the 'Eme' network, which focusses on issues related to masculinities and gender equity in Chile. I then facilitated a discussion on what I had presented, referred to hereafter as the 'group discussion' in my findings.

Methods I didn't use

During this research process, I was frequently asked “why don't you talk to the mothers of the children too?” And certainly, much GAD literature speaks to the importance of *engaging and involving* men in research and projects, rather than focussing solely on them and 'leaving women out' (Oxfam 2004) of yet another arena! However, I chose not to include women's stories in this study for several reasons. Conceptually, it did not fit with my commitment to speaking with those whose voices seemed least present in literature on pregnancy and childrearing – which in this case was young men, not young women. Also, finding out whether fathers' stories were 'really true' (which seemed to be the implication behind many of the suggestions to involve mothers in the project) was epistemologically irrelevant for me (see Chapter One). More practically, I felt that participant recruitment would be extremely difficult, given the tense relationships that several of the fathers in this study had with the mothers of their children at the time fieldwork took place (and the fact that all of these women lived in different parts of Chile!). Also, it seemed to me that comparing these men's stories with those of the mothers of their children, while possibly useful in a highly skilled, long-term mediative or therapeutic situation, was far too confrontational a method for the scope and objectives of this project.

I also opted not to use more rigid and inflexible information-generating methods such as surveys, which involve a “standardised interaction with a number of people” (Winchester 2005, 12), in this work. I believed that these would unnecessarily constrain both participants' responses and my own ability to respond 'in the moment' to what they told me. I also felt that such methods might create an inappropriate sense of distance and formality in this sensitive process, in which the creation of a comfortable, relaxed atmosphere and friendly relationships seemed very important.

A method I *did* plan to use, but subsequently abandoned 'in the field', was a focus group. I was aware that such an encounter might be challenging for participants, but thought it could also be valuable – as Cameron (2005, 120) explains, focus groups can “contribute to the development and construction of new knowledges and understandings for both researcher and researched.” I hoped to facilitate the creation of a 'safe space' for participants to reflect on and discuss these issues with other men in similar situations.

However, 'in the field' this idea began to feel inappropriate, for a number of reasons. For one thing, it became clear that fatherhood was more difficult for some participants to talk about than I had anticipated. Several men mentioned that they very seldom spoke about that aspect of their lives to other people, and speaking with other men who had more contact with their children seemed particularly challenging and embarrassing for them. For example, one day when I was 'hanging out' with a group of men, all of whom were fathers, my research came up in conversation and I explained it to them in depth. Two of the men who had frequent contact with their children began talking enthusiastically about fatherhood, but another man who did not see his child often became quiet and uncomfortable, and tried to change the subject as quickly as possible, abruptly interjecting “Good lunch, isn't it?” (2009 reflective diary, 16 Mar.)

I was also concerned about inviting men who already knew each other – and didn't get on! – to participate in a focus group together. Cameron (2005, 121) commented on the potential “limitations” that can be produced by having acquaintances in the same groups, although I think that in many cases such dynamics could also bring benefits. In this particular situation however, I was worried about managing tension between two participants – I knew, for example, that one of these men had borrowed another participant's *pandeiro*⁹ several years before and had lost it, and the two were not on speaking terms as a result.

While I was disappointed that this part of my research plan didn't happen – especially given that it was one of the aspects most enthusiastically responded to by academics and practitioners I spoke to, and it fit well with my PAR aspirations as mentioned in Chapter Two – such a 'failure' is of course a significant finding in itself. It speaks particularly to issues of privacy, and the difficulties participants faced discussing ‘fathering’ issues, especially with other men. It also highlights the complexities of doing research with friends, and the importance of engaging emotionally with

⁹A *pandeiro* is “a tambourine with a head made of either animal (goat, calf) skin or plastic” which is “considered the Brazilian national instrument and an icon of samba” (Benevides 2006, 1).

social research, and noticing and wondering about what feels right and what doesn't when we are 'in the field' (Letherby 2003).

Transcription

I transcribed audio recordings of interviews verbatim. I envisaged this to be an easy, almost mechanical task. However, reducing an interaction between two people to the words that were spoken can be uncomfortable: the emotions and energy that make up so much of these are not so easily retained in recordings, let alone conveyed on paper. Many researchers have commented to this end on “how difficult it is to hold and study 'the talk itself'” (DeVault 1990, 108), and the inevitability of losing aspects of such 'talk' in the transcription process. As an attempt to keep some easily-lost elements of our interviews present in this work, I included non-verbal audible communication, such as laughter and throat-clearing, in my transcripts wherever possible: feminist researchers such as Grønnerød (2004) have explored these utterances more explicitly as methodological resources in themselves. As well as this, I tried to punctuate the transcriptions in accordance with the rhythms of the recorded speech, which has resulted in several strange-sounding sentences, but has also helped me to retain more of the 'talk itself' than a grammatically-perfect rendition would have allowed. I also kept notes of some of my emotional responses to interviews in a reflective diary.

I returned the transcripts to participants for revision and discussion as soon after interviews as I was able. My four main participants approached this task in diverse ways. In Luis' point of view, they were far too long to even attempt reading, although we did refer to them in subsequent interviews. Rai and Gopal revised them over email, paying attention only to the grammatical errors I had made. Ángel spent several hours 'neatening up' his interview transcripts – fixing my mistakes and misinterpretations, and clarifying and editing his own language, as he describes below:

Well, when I was trying to neaten up our interview, I realized that there are some words that, when you listened to me the other day, a few days ago, that, you're from a different country and some things sound different to you, in terms of understanding my words. And, I also cleaned it up, because for me, hearing myself use so much, so much slang, it also confused me, because for me, there were some phrases that I couldn't, I couldn't understand. So I tried to neaten it up, based on what I thought. But even so, you're not, you're not so far away from the reality, of the phrases and the words. Some things were misinterpreted. And I fixed them up, because of course, it's about grasping a different language (2009 pers. comm., 22 Apr.).

Although I was happy for Ángel to correct my Spanish, I felt initially uncomfortable with his decision to alter his own words for the sake of neatening up his slang. Standing (1998) cited a similar sense of discomfort when describing her research with 'lone mothers'. In response to requests by respondents, she decided to 'tidy up' their accounts herself, and was then left with the concern that in doing so she was suggesting that their speech as it stood was “wrong... inadequate... not as valid as the academic discourse” (191). In this case, I explained to Ángel that I was keen to show how he had 'really' told me the story, and told him I thought it was fine as it was, slang and all. But he was determined to do it, and given that I was committed to providing an opportunity for participants to self-represent as much as possible (*and* that I would later take editing liberties myself with those texts, as explored below), it made sense to incorporate his changes into the transcripts.

Translation

I translated the information I include in this work – of interviews, conversations, the group discussion, and Spanish and Portuguese texts – concurrently with analysis and 'writing-in'. I understand translation to be an interpretive art rather than an exact science, and am aware of criticisms of researchers for failing to recognise the impact of this process in the knowledge created in their studies (Larkin et al. 2007). When I asked Rai, who can read in English, to check over my translations of his poems, he commented that they were “excellent... there are a few changes... but I like them!” (pers. comm, 23 Oct. 09), thus highlighting the 'artistic' role I was playing in that phase. As Temple and Young (2004, 171) point out,

The translator always makes her mark on the research, whether this is acknowledged or not... (She) makes assumptions about meaning and equivalence that make her an analyst and cultural broker as much as a translator.

So, it seemed important to leave texts in their original languages for as long as possible to allow their multiple shades of meaning to seep into my analyses, and enable me to choose more consciously how to convey them. It also made sense, when translating interviews, conversations and discussion, to try to move these meanings from informal Chilean Spanish to informal New Zealand English. The alternative was to translate word for word, which in my experience can result in stilted and strange-sounding language that would do little to invoke the lively atmospheres of various fieldwork settings.

It is also important to point out, in a study where gender issues are central, that it might appear that participants in this study are making sexist assumptions by saying 'he' more than 'she' when talking about situations in which the subject could be male or female. However, this may often be due to the structure of the Spanish language, in which the masculine form can be used generically for nouns designating living beings, while the feminine form cannot (Bryant 2009). More gender-inclusive language, whereby both masculine and feminine forms are put forward, was used in some circles - particularly among feminist activists, practitioners and academics – but in my experience this was not widespread. In a study focussed on closer analysis of discourse this could be interrogated further, but in this research it will remain ambiguous.

I have also left several words, for which I feel the English substitutes are particularly inadequate, in the original Spanish. They are footnoted the first time they appear, and also included in the Glossary.

Analysis and 'writing-in'

As previously mentioned, a considerable amount of analysis was carried out in conjunction with participants, as we moved through our series' of interviews. I extended this analysis by myself in preparation for the presentation I made to academics and social workers in Santiago in June 2009, and the group discussion that followed also contributed to it. So, several key themes were already apparent to me by the time I returned to New Zealand in July 2009, and began to re-read the transcripts and my reflective diary. Using the qualitative coding software program *NVivo*, I categorised excerpts of the above sources according to those initial themes, and to other themes which I came to interpret as important (Cope 2005) as I read. I wrote the themes on *Post-It* notes and arranged them in a mindmap to help me decide how to draw them together.

Then, I approached the complex and highly creative process of 'writing-in'. This phase is often termed 'writing-up' but, like Mansvelt and Berg (2005), I think that term is inappropriate in post-structuralist social research. It "implies that we are somehow able to unproblematically reproduce the simple truth (s) of our research in writing" (ibid., 248), and from the above perspective such truths do not exist.

So how could/should I write-in what I had heard, noticed, experienced and interpreted? I knew my participants well by that stage, and I struggled to decide how to represent their lives on paper. Their back-stories and contradictions spiralled on top of what they told me, and I saw so many sides of them that telling just a few felt strange. Clough (2002, 16) described a similar experience when trying to write about a colleague who he knew well:

Earlier characters I had rendered this way, slipping the pieces of their lives easily into boxes labelled with the ciphers and stuff of a social science. However, Nick would not go in. Nick would not 'go in' because I knew the original Nick very very well, I had spent many hours sharing cigarettes, experiences, fears, joys.

Relatedly, and in keeping with my concerns around representation and power, I did not want to display only the disembodied, dissected and digested remains of what those four men had shared with me. I wanted readers to get to know them, perhaps even to like them; to be *touched* by their stories, as part of what mrs c kinpaisby-hill (2010, forthcoming) described as “more accessible and social forms of research dissemination”. I did not want to have to try to fit every aspect of their stories into my own, to make them similar and smooth out their complexities. My position in this respect resonates with that outlined in Connell's 1995 study 'Masculinities': while that work “explicitly link(ed) the minds and bodies of the men... to broad social structures like gender and class”, it also allowed participants to “remain visible as real, living people with their own personalities and trajectories” (Wedgwood 2009, 334). To me, similarly, it seemed important to show that

these stories are not simply texts to be read to sieve out the structures that influence them and discard the rest. They are stories of real people with real stuff happening to them responding in real ways... I want to provide these parts of their stories too, the colour, the life in them... in all their flaws and contradictions and beauty and strangeness (2009 reflective diary, 4 Oct.).

So, I have chosen – as explained in Chapter One – to present extended sections of participants' stories, relatively chronologically, *between* the chapters in which I analyse their comments (Chapters Four to Eight). I have also decided to print these sections on sand-coloured paper, to make this distinction particularly clear. These story sections are generally relevant to the chapters before and after them, but not always directly related. This arrangement provides for an enhanced kind of holistic integrity in the tales told here, and makes them more accessible to people who might not read an entire thesis. It also, I think, gives readers more space to interpret this information as *they* see fit, which resonates with Barthes' (1977, 3-4) poststructuralist idea that it is the reader,

not the writer, who makes meaning from a text: its “unity lies not in its origin but in its destination”. Importantly, my decision also parallels somewhat Aitken's (2009, 15) positioning of “larger stories” about fatherhood as an institution *beside* stories of everyday fathers. In doing so, and drawing on Sedgwick's (2003, 230) work on “flat ontologies that fight against any power of hierarchical and scalar power relations”, he resists tendencies to try to get *beneath* or *beyond* these everyday stories, pointing instead to the complexity of the resonances between the 'larger' and the 'everyday'.

In line with the above, then, I have also chosen (as similarly noted in the Introduction) to structure the analytical chapters that are interwoven with the story sections in roughly chronological order, in terms of key events and stages in participants' fathering experiences. In so doing, I aim to aid readers in 'keeping in touch' with relevant sections of the men's stories as they read these chapters. This decision also reflects the importance I have placed in this work on attempting to understand participants' perspectives *in the context of their personal histories*, as explored earlier in the chapter. My approach in this respect relates to 'life-course' scholarship in human geography, which “seek(s) to describe the structures and sequences of events and transitions through an individual's life” (Bailey 2009, 407), and helps to link trajectories or 'careers' (such as work and places of residence) with transitions (such as fatherhood and partner separation), “and the spaces and times they flow through” (ibid., 408).

Some participants have more 'story space' than others in this work, which represents the fact that I spent more time with them. I have decided to show and allow for this; the alternative is to create an illusion of equality in the intensity of my research relationships by giving them all the same amount of space, which for a range of reasons they didn't have in this fieldwork process. However, as both PAR and feminist work remind me, as much 'story space' as I provide here, this is still much more *my* project than participants'. As England (1994, 250) affirms, “...the published text is the final construct and responsibility of the researcher.” The stories that I relay here are specific to the times and spaces they were told in, and particularly to participants' understandings of who I was and what I wanted to know. I also translated these tales into English as I saw fit, and chose which parts of them to include – and where to include them – in this piece of work. England (ibid.) and others wonder to this end whether

weaving lengthy quotes from interviews into the text (is) a sufficient means of including 'others', especially when those quotes are actually responses to unsolicited questions that came about through the researcher's disruption of someone else's life (Okely, 1992; Opie, 1992; Stacey, 1988, 1991)

My approach is also ethically complex in that participants – and the people in their stories – are highly identifiable in this report. All of the men chose to have their real first names used, which seemed to suggest a desire to take ownership of their stories, to speak *as* and *for* themselves. While I was pleased about these decisions, and about the freedom they granted me to reveal other aspects of participants' identities, I was also aware that they were not the only characters in their stories and that those other characters might not have wanted their identities revealed. Although I have omitted others' names, they may still be identifiable by the circumstances the men describe. Browne (2003, 139) similarly acknowledged that, by respecting one participant's wishes to have her real name used in her doctoral research with non-heterosexual women, she “may have inadvertently identified other women who may have wished to remain anonymous.”

For these and other reasons, I edited the stories and quotes that appear in this text in several ways. For example, I omitted sections that I suspected others might not want revealed, and parts that I saw as less-than-relevant to the purposes of the project. I also removed various “umms”, “ahhs” and “mmms”, particularly in the story sections in which 'artistic' attention to rhythm and readability seemed especially important. Making such decisions over what to include in the final text felt somewhat paternalistic, and certainly demonstrated the power I had as a researcher to decide which parts of participants' stories were acceptable and appropriate to be told in this context (DeVault 1990). Some researchers, working from positivist conceptions of interview data as “pregiven object(s)” which should not be “distorted” (Malkki 1995, 57), have indeed portrayed this kind of editing as “betrayal” (Feldman 1991, 12) of the unity and integrity of 'what was said'. However, Feldman (*ibid.*) posited that editing “can be part of the construction, reconstruction and simulation of contexts”, and Malkki (1995, 57) urged researchers to be “explicit” rather than “silent or apologetic” about editing decisions. So, I justify the editing choices described above in terms of privacy, brevity, clarity, coherency and beauty in this piece of work.

Another aid in the “construction, reconstruction and simulation” (Feldman 1991, 12) that I am doing here, is the inclusion of short narrative sections introducing the first sections of participants' stories (in Story Section One). In those sections I attempt to convey, in informal language, something of my relationships to participants and the manner in which they became part of my life and this project. By doing so I aim to add colour to the “world between” (England 1994, 251) participants and myself that is so central to this work. I also hope to highlight, as narratives tend to, that the research was produced and written “from the perspective of someone's life and in the

context of someone's emotions” (McEwan & Egan 1995, viii).

Further to this end of reconstructing my research context and holistically representing participants' experiences and understandings, I have also attached audio recordings of two songs that Ángel wrote for his son ('Alegre' and 'Triste'), and two poems that Rai wrote for his ('II' and 'Two: Has been raining when I went'¹⁰), to this document. As noted in Chapter One, please feel free to listen to these as you read! Rai's poems, in written form and in both Spanish and English, also make up the First Prologue and Epilogue of this work, and Ángel's lyrics and their English translations appear in Appendix One.

Further Ethical Considerations

Ethical research is sometimes understood in terms of ticked boxes (Hopkins 2007); of compliance with the “strict codes of institutional paperwork” (Sultana 2007, 376) demanded by university ethics committees. However, like Hopkins (2007), I see acting ethically as a nuanced, intuitive and reflective approach, which is fluid and context-specific. In taking on this approach I commit to asking myself and others “what is the most respectful and least harmful thing I can do right now?” throughout the research process, and to doing *that* as well and as often as I am able. So, as I have alluded to frequently in this chapter, ethical concerns around engagement with and representations of 'others' in this project heavily informed how I carried out this research. Chapter Eight also considers more retrospectively the positive and negative impacts that this project might have had for participants - and for me, too.

I was also required to address ethics more rigidly and formulaically before embarking on fieldwork, in my application for ethical approval from the VUW Human Ethics Committee, which was granted on January 28, 2009. (See Appendices Two to Seven for copies of the information sheets and potential questions and themes for participants – in both Spanish and English – that I was required to submit as part of my application).¹¹ In accordance with the above, I audio-recorded oral consent from all the people I interviewed in this project. Before they gave me this consent, I explained to them the nature of the research project and the fact that they could withdraw themselves (or any

¹⁰ This phrase is not a translation: Rai chose to title the poem in English.

¹¹ The thesis titles that I used in my ethics application, and some of the words I used to describe the situations of the fathers in this study, are slightly different from those I use in this final version. The discrepancy reflects how my conceptualisations of the project evolved as it progressed, and is explored elsewhere in this chapter and in other parts of the work.

information they provided) from the project (before data collection and analysis was complete) without having to give reasons. I confirmed that the published results would only include their names and/or identifying characteristics if they so wished, and that interview recordings and transcripts would be electronically wiped at the end of the project unless they indicated that they would like them returned. I also clarified that interview transcripts would be returned to them and discussed; that they would be consulted throughout data analysis and write-in, particularly on issues of representation (if they wished to be); and that they would be provided with an executive summary of the final thesis (in Spanish) following its completion. They were also given a written information sheet (see Appendices Three and Four) outlining the above.

I used first names for people I interviewed, and referenced literature using last names, following academic convention. This created an interesting issue in the case of one participant: psychologist, researcher and EME director Francisco Aguayo, or Pancho as he is known to me. I followed the protocols above, referring to him as Pancho when citing his personal communications with me, and as Aguayo when citing his writings.

Conclusion

This chapter has shared and discussed many of the dilemmas I encountered and decisions I made in the process of doing this research, and shown how they relate to the objectives and epistemologies (detailed in Chapter One) that inform this study. Overall, I believe that my methodological decisions were appropriate to the aims, ethics and spirit of this research. I see the depth and candour of the stories and comments presented here, as well as participants' willingness to be part of the project and largely positive appraisal of the research process (see Story Section Five), as testament to the above. However, the work is also extremely limited in what it can claim to have done, both in terms of its contributions to GAD theory and its benefits to participants, as Chapters Eight and Nine explore further.

Interestingly, while the 'meaning-making' on which I was most focussed in many phases of this research was that which *participants* were doing, a significant theme of this chapter has been the multiple acts of interpretation that *I* carried out within this process. I was well-schooled in the situatedness of research, and the centrality of the researcher to the knowledge that is produced, before I began to work on the project. However, I still found myself surprised by the number of

active and creative roles that I ended up playing in its construction. So, like Sandelowski (1994, 121), I hope that readers of the stories and analyses that follow look not for 'what I found out', but rather for

what I invented, what I made up from and out of my data. But know that... I am not confessing to telling any lies about the people or events in my studies/stories. I have told the truth. The proof is in the things I have made – how they look to your mind's eye, whether they satisfy your sense of style and craftsmanship [sic], whether you believe them, and whether they appeal to your heart.

Story Section One: Starting points

Luis (26):¹²

My first interaction with Luis was a spontaneous somersault competition in the plaza of the *Centro Cultural Ex-Cárcel*¹³ on my first-ever evening in Valparaíso (or Valpo as the locals call it.) He won, and we've been friends ever since. He's an acrobat and *capoeirista*,¹⁴ who makes his money doing tricks at the traffic lights in swanky neighbouring Viña Del Mar. He's also the *pandeirista*¹⁵ in a Brazilian-inspired band that plays Valpo's bars in the weekends. They get a lot of free drinks, but Luis won't touch alcohol, reckons he's a 'fruit and yoghurt' kind of a guy. He doesn't go to church, but is careful to cross himself whenever he sees a dead animal, to make sure it goes to heaven.

When I returned to Valparaíso in 2009, I told Luis about this project and he volunteered to be part of it right away. We did several interviews over meals we made together at my house; he always insisted on paying for half the ingredients. We also did one interview in a park near his mum's place in his hometown San Javier (see Map), where he stayed for about a month that year because he'd hurt his knee and couldn't work. Here's how the story he told me begins:

Well, I was born in a small town called San Javier, which is in the seventh region, from Talca towards the mountains, and when I was two, they brought me to live in San Javier, which is, from Talca, half an hour towards the south. And there, I don't know, when I was just about to turn six, they [some men outside a pub] killed my father, and... in a very tragic way, where they tried to assault him, and they killed him, with blows, punches, knives...

And from then on, my life story changed pretty severely. Like, my (clears throat), my mum became schizophrenic, and pretty much couldn't take care of us, we were three siblings. And from there, my, my...one of my sisters went to live with an auntie of my mum, because she got the papers so that my aunt could be the legal guardian of my sister. And my younger sister went to live with my uncle and auntie, and I grew up...

practically on my own, in, in the mountains, like, hunting and fishing, and I ate whatever I could hunt and fish. Then, two years went by, and I found out about a Brazilian martial art called capoeira, and I practiced it by myself for around five years...

And after that I began to travel to, to Talca, to Linares, to the towns close to San Javier, and I got to know more capoeira groups, and I realized that what I did, was really good, and, I

¹² Ages given are participants' at the time of our first interview.

¹³ A community-initiated cultural centre in the grounds of a former prison, in central Valparaíso.

¹⁴ Capoeira player (see Glossary for a definition of capoeira).

¹⁵ *Pandeiro* player (see Glossary for a definition of the *pandeiro*).

don't know, I kept getting more and more involved in it. Then, there was a project in Cauquenes [see Map], in which they needed a capoeira teacher, and the most... suitable for the job, the closest to it, to what they asked, was me. So they paid, like the bus fares, the accommodation, and they gave me a monthly salary, and a three-year contract...

And that was where I met a, a girl... with whom, I had a, a daughter (clears throat)...

(2009 pers. comm., 17 Mar.)

Ángel (29):

One morning in April I was sick of transcribing, so I went down the hill to the book market instead and bumped into Ángel, all smiles and sparkles and a guitar on his back. “Moniquita!” he exclaimed. He thought he'd never see me again; he'd been wondering about me; he'd just become a father again, a daughter this time, born on his birthday: “Come and see her, come and have lunch, the landlord has a keyboard, we can play some music. Oh and what are you doing back here in Chile? ... Hey, *I'm* a young father, I was a father when I was sixteen, did you know that? I'd love to give you my story, just come with me to do some errands first.” We went to the print shop to pick up some posters advertising his next gig; in the shop he knew everyone's name and was so happy to see them all. While we waited for the posters he started writing on a paper bag, *Ángel, father at the age of 16...* “What else should I write? Ohhh, I see, you're going to record it, OK, cool.”

We got to his home-of-the-moment, a rented room in a kind of boarding house, with a single bed and a ceiling so low you couldn't stand up straight. He knocked on the window and his girlfriend opens the door, holding their baby daughter in her arms. I was expecting a flicker of “Who's she?” in her face, something I'd come to expect in my friends' girlfriends there: just-friends of the opposite sex didn't seem to be encouraged, especially if they were 'blonde'. But she seemed excited to see me, interested in who I was and what I was up to.

I didn't want to waste their time, so I tried to get straight into the interview while Ángel prepared quinoa soup in the dungeony communal kitchen. But “why don't we do it over lunch?” he suggested. When soup was served, I picked up the recorder again, but he waved it away. “I want to be sure of what I'm saying, and I'll be more relaxed after this.” He proceeded to tell me about his life as we ate, in a kind of rehearsal for the recorded version to come. He's a performer by trade after all; a musician who busks in the parks and bars, and sells self-produced CDs of his work. His girlfriend listened in, sometimes interjecting: “I didn't know that!” or “Yeah, right!”

We managed two interviews, many more lunches and a couple of jam sessions over the next few weeks. Then in May, the three of them moved back to Arica (see Map), where both Ángel and his girlfriend grew up. He thought he might be there long enough this time to finally take the paternity test he spoke of in his stories here. He's not much into email, but his girlfriend and I still keep in touch. This is the start of his story, which he told me after lunch on that first day, jiggling his tiny daughter as he spoke:

Well, life made me a father very young, when I was about seventeen years old. We conceived him at the age of sixteen, and he was born when I was seventeen, my first son... With a lover that I had in Arica, an adventurous love, it wasn't a conscious love, like when you have a girlfriend and you conceive a child on purpose. Rather, it was a surprise.

And all that was a consequence of being inexperienced about life, of my parents, about not having a guide, you know? I lived alone at the age of fourteen, like I told you before... And this was the consequence, because I was very irresponsible when I was young, but, children are not mistakes, rather, [my first son] is a *cable-tierra*¹⁶ for me... Being a parent, to me, I'm not saying that all children should be *cable-tierras* for all parents. To me he is a cable-tierra.

OK, so I'll tell you about how we conceived [my first son]... My family in Arica is a really big family, my grandma and my grandpa had sixteen kids, and there was a lot of repression at that time, and then the dictatorship came, with psychological, fascist repression, so the whole family was really close. So, I was born in a family like that. And my mum, she got pregnant when she was eighteen, and for my grandpa that was a really bad thing. And they kicked her out of the house... and my grandma went to rescue her...

And because my mum couldn't look after me, my grandma did. So, I grew up with my grandma, my aunties and uncles, and then my grandma died when I was fourteen. And I tried to go and live in my mum's house. With my eight siblings, on my mother's side. I have eight siblings, my mum kept getting pregnant, again and again, seven more times. Sorry, eight times. Because we're nine siblings altogether. And I got to know my siblings, and I get on really well with them, but I didn't get on well with their dad and we fought and I left my mum's house, and from then on I lived by myself...

And I began working, doing all kinds of things. I worked in a textile factory, as a machine assistant, and then I worked in Mister Sandwichero, I worked as a waiter, making Booster chicken, fried chicken, I worked in lots of places.

Until a boat arrived. And I liked the idea of adventure. I wanted to work on the high seas... and so I went and worked in that. And in '96, at the age of sixteen, when I was working on that boat, one night, I went to a party. To sing in a pub somewhere. I sang in the pub, and back then I was depressed... I suffered a lot over my grandmother's death. And, and one of the escapes from that was drinking... getting drunk... women...

and I met a beautiful woman that night. And I was really drunk. And... I was young, she was too, it was a moonlit night, on a beach close to Arica, at night, and we were both kind of sad... I think that somehow in your chemistry you can see when other people are really alone like you, and so you get together and give each other love...

And the thing is, I made love to her, but I was so young, and really ignorant about how to treat women, how, how to be a real man, a human being, you know, a good human being. I was sixteen. And on top of that, with no guides, I was even more of a child, like a baby. So... I made love with her but I didn't feel like I had to see her again the next day, or ever. I didn't see her again, that same day, I went out to the boat, where I was working, and then

¹⁶ Literally 'cable to the ground', this term signifies a 'grounding force', something that brings a person 'down to earth'.

the next day I went out to the high seas to work and earn money.

And what happened was, I was getting sick of living on the boat, and my friend was too. And we got bored of the sailors and we went to Viña del Mar, to Valparaíso... And then, I returned to Arica six months later, hitching, making music, having a good time, and in Arica, this girl that I had made love with that night, that adventure that we had had... she was fatter... and you know what, I didn't even know her, I hadn't got to know her. I had seen her just that one time, I was drunk, I had a different impression of her... and seeing her sober and with a big stomach and on top of that she said to me, "Hey you know what? This child is yours", and I was like, "Ohhh..."

But she said to me, very clearly, "don't feel obligated or anything, I just want you to know, that's all," she said. And that was my first *cable-tierra*, finding out that I was going to be a father. It was beautiful, you stop feeling alone, it changes your life...

But I didn't stop being irresponsible, I was seventeen, I didn't stop drinking, I was getting drunk all the time, I took lots of things. And after that, umm, with the girl there was no 'feeling', because there was no understanding. We were really young, and she didn't recognize me as the father of the child because she was really irresponsible too.... She gave him a Mapuche surname...

Her father spoke to me. "Hey, we don't need a father for the child." Like that. And, I felt really bad. That was the first time I went to her house. And I couldn't stand her family. Like I say to my children, "when you're going out with a girl, you are not going out with her family, just with their daughter. With the daughter and not with her parents." And for me, in this case, I was only worried about my son. But given that I was a clueless kid, if you're not clear about who you are, you can't be a good father, and at that stage I wasn't sure who I was.

And I escaped. In my lack of... wisdom, I escaped. And I went away. More than escape, I mean, I say escape, but it was like escape from nobody, no-one was looking for me, but escape from myself, from my stupidity. And from my sadness, because it all made me really sad. And from my insecurity, because I said, it's my son, wow, what a shame, or the other things is, if it's not my son, what a shame as well because we would be going through all this suffering in vain. I mean, my way of thinking, I thought about the two, the two possibilities, if he was my son or if he wasn't my son, and with all that I felt really bad. So I came to Valparaíso again, a friend invited me to play in a Sound band and make money.

(2009 pers. comm., 9 Apr.)

Rai (25):

Rai's already shown up a couple of times in this thesis – in fact, two of his poems, written when he was 16, open and close it. After we got kicked out of that red house we shared in 2006, he and I didn't see so much of each other, but we kept kind-of in touch. I'm particularly grateful for the time he told me what to do for underground emergency contraception, when the Catholic-owned pharmacies that monopolise such things were boycotting the morning-after pill.

On my first night back in Valparaíso in 2009, I stayed at Rai's place. I told him, shyly, about my thesis topic – I was still feeling uncomfortable with the boxes I'd made, unbeknownst to the people I'd thought about putting in them – and he offered himself up as an 'example'. Thanks to a poetry scholarship he'd just won, he was leaving the city that weekend to go and live in Olmué, a village at the foot of the coastal cordillera (see Map), so I travelled out on the train several times to interview him there.

And that's where this story was told, after a very late-afternoon lunch, on the deck of the little house he shared with his girlfriend and a fellow-poet flatmate. Their five pet cats lolled around us, trying to trap the last licks of sunlight before they slipped away behind La Campana, the mountain that Rai and I had climbed together several years before, when he'd told me for the first time about his son.

OK, I'm going to tell you a little bit of my story of how I became a dad. Umm... I became a dad really young, I became a dad at the age of sixteen. I found out that I was going to be a dad when I was fifteen, umm... I lived in Punto Arenas [see Map], umm... I'd been going out with this girl for three months, a girl who was older than me, she was nineteen, eighteen...

And... well, it was quite strange actually because supposedly... she was taking contraceptive pills. And, and... and one day she told me, crying, that she was pregnant. And... and I was young, I was really young. So... but... but I wasn't afraid. She was, she was really afraid. And, I don't know, I, like, my reaction was just to say to her that I was going to support her, and that I was going to be with her. That I was going to help her in every way that I could. Which, really, at that stage, I was really young and, it wasn't like I could help her a lot in reality, it was more emotional support than... real support...

What happened after that was, at that time, I was a punk. I went around with my clothes all ripped up, and my hair standing up like this...

Monica: Really?

Rai: Yup. Totally impresentable. So her family was really angry.

Monica: She wasn't a punk?

Rai: No... and her family, her mother, her aunties, her brother, were really angry. And they didn't want to see me. So they banned her from seeing me. When she got pregnant. And it was really crazy because we had to meet up in secret. Because, as a couple we were still going well. Like, in a loving relationship. And...

like, our relationship was good, but her family didn't want us to see each other. So we would meet up in secret. But it was too stressful for her. And she was pregnant, so she was getting stressed out, about being with me. Because, we had to meet up in secret, she was pregnant, and, they all spoke, they all badmouthed me all the time to her, so, one day we decided to stop seeing each other, because, it wasn't good for her. For her pregnancy.

And we stopped seeing each other. For, for months. Without me being able to know anything about her, because, umm... I didn't have a way to communicate with her, I didn't have, they changed their phone number, it was like, she disappeared. In those days, her brother also chased me around trying to smash me up!

Monica: Her brother?

Rai: Yup. I had to run away from him a couple of times. And... I didn't hear anything more of her until my son was born. Well, it was pretty weird because they gave him [the same name as] the brother who chased me around trying to smash me up!

(2009 pers. comm., 14 Apr.)

Gopal (23):

Gopal is the only one of the four main participants in this study who I didn't know previously. He hadn't lived in Valpo for long: he was always travelling, all over Chile, though he called the Cajón de Maipo home and had a son in Santiago (see Map). I knew his girlfriend quite well because we'd both hung out at the *Ex-Cárcel* a lot, so when I saw her at the market selling jewellery, one afternoon in April 2009, I stopped to say hello. When I told her about my thesis: "Oh, we were just talking about that! My boyfriend Gopal is a father and he has lots of problems trying to see his kid." She told me to go around to their house one afternoon and see if he'd be keen to be part of the project.

So I did, and that afternoon Gopal was in his room playing a piano keyboard. I came in (feeling awkward, because his girlfriend wasn't there that day to introduce us) and we started off with a bit of a jam, and then we talked about the project and did an interview. Afterwards, we had lunch with his flatmates and watched *The Simpsons*. He invited me to come and do the second interview at another lunch, this time at the home of some friends of his. That time we sat on a hillside behind the house, overlooking the city. Below us, Gopal's friends were making *paella*¹⁷ on an open fire, and from time to time he would stop the conversation mid-thread to make sure the cooks were doing it right. This part of his story comes from that day.

What happened with [my girlfriend], it was really strange, in that, she, at a certain age, we had been together for ages, like four years. OK, that's not so long, but given we were so young [sixteen], it was a long time. So, at a certain stage in the, in the relationship, she began to, her instincts started to kick in I think, and she would say to me all the time that she wanted to have a baby, that she'd like to have a baby, and suddenly, she'd bring it up at the least provocation, like, "Hey, I'd really like to have a baby"...

We even got a puppy because she was like so, so obsessed with it, like, one day we found a puppy and it was like she grabbed it, and, and, her maternal instincts were like, super developed, it was weird like that... and, well, me, I didn't want to have a baby, no, not at all... but we were having safe sex, she was taking pills, and one day we took the pills wrong and she got pregnant, and she told me one day, I was still like, oh! ... My first reaction was, but why if you... this shouldn't have happened.

But, I always try, before reacting, to breathe a little bit, think it over, and realise that in the end, a life, that comes from you, that comes from your grandfather and his grandfather and his grandfather, could never be, bad news or something, something bad, you know?

¹⁷ *Paella* is a Catalan one-pan dish of saffron-flavoured rice cooked with vegetables and seafood (Encyclopedia Britannica 2010)

And I remember that moment perfectly, because she went to do the test in the bathroom, and I stayed with her mum, outside the bathroom. And we looked at each other, we looked at each other, and suddenly we started laughing. And suddenly we look at each other and [my girlfriend] still wasn't coming out of the bathroom.

And we look at each other, and it's like, we think, analytically, and suddenly we look at each other and we s**t ourselves laughing and we said to each other, fine, and suddenly we said to each other, "hey, what will it be, will it be a boy? Oh! Will it be a girl?" And then we're talking about that, and [my girlfriend] came out of the bathroom, and showed us the test, and it was positive, and we all hugged each other, and we said, "OK". From here on we do this together, you know? However it comes, however it comes. Whatever happens, whatever might be...

(2009 pers. comm., 29 May)

Chapter Four: Getting it On, Getting Pregnant and Getting On with it

Keeping the previous section close, this chapter explores how the men in the stories above reacted to finding out that they were going to be fathers, and what kinds of fathers-to-be they were positioned as by other people when they heard the news. The first part of the chapter (Finding out) demonstrates significant gaps between the reactions that participants described to me, and the ways that situations like theirs are commonly conceptualised in 'larger stories' about people in their age-band and about men as fathers in general. These larger stories manifest themselves in various ways, such as in literature, social discourse and my own assumptions; here, I draw attention to how and why such stories might be constructed and reinforced.

In the second part of the chapter (Being arranged) I aim, similarly to Aitken (2009, 230), to show concretely some of the means by which those larger stories “g[o]t in the way of the day-to-day work of fathering” and pressured participants to take up particular subject positions as fathers. A key theme in this section is the very gendered sense of powerlessness (Cornwall 2003) that the men seemed to experience in such situations. In several cases, this sense was particularly evident in the misalignments between what they “believe[d] and fe[lt] on their own” (Perea in Barker et al. 1997, 167) and what was decided about and around them.

Finding out

For the men I spoke to, finding out that they were going to be fathers invoked a complex and intense mix of emotions. These included surprise, fear and confusion, but also excitement, joy and gratefulness, as Gopal's story in the previous section illustrated well. Ángel's case, in which the pregnancy was totally unplanned, was especially interesting in that being unable to 'be a father' for his first child compelled him to try for another child a year later (with a different partner) at the age of 17:

I felt like I was missing out on the joy of being with [my first son], you know? And, it's like I looked for, in a second child that joy, that thing that I was missing, because I always missed [my first son], I never forgot him, although I tried to forget him, I never did. And I think that that's how I managed to make my second child...

And we tried to do it and the first time we did the test, it was negative. And we started crying, you know... And we kissed each other when she wasn't pregnant, she started crying

and so did I, like, hey, let's try again, and the second time it was like, ahh, yes, she's pregnant. And it was like, it was positive, and it was, wonderful... (2009 pers. comm., 9 Apr.)

These reactions surprised me, as the following conversation with Luis makes clear. In it, he told me about his desire to have a child, while I, illogically, continued to question him about whether he and his partner had thought about the possibility of getting pregnant:

Monica: And... did you plan to have your daughter?

Luis: Yes. I mean, the fir... actually no.

Monica & Luis: hahaha

Luis: The daughter just appeared. But it was like, we just didn't protect ourselves. Like, she was a virgin and I, wanted to have a daughter and...

Monica: And you didn't worry about, you didn't think about getting pregnant at all...

Luis: Well, we were sure that she was going to get pregnant. But it was the first time that, that we did it... ok, whatever happens, happens. So, it happened... (2009 pers. comm., 17 Mar)

Why were participants' reactions so difficult for me to understand? One reason was my personal view of childbearing, which at that point (aged 23) was something that I expected complete conscious control over, and that I might decide to do when I was older. Also, I was academically interested in (and supportive of) 'reproductive rights'¹⁸ and sex education. Literature, policy and practice in such arenas often portrays adolescent pregnancy as a public health issue and a social problem (Gogna et al. 2008), and centres interventions with people in that age-band on pregnancy prevention. So, I approached the project with a presumption that these men would perceive the pregnancies that occurred as both crises and mistakes. Relatedly, I anticipated that the research would contribute to calls for more accessible contraception and better sex education in Chile.

I mentioned these initial assumptions of mine in the group discussion near the end of my fieldwork period. I posited that I might have been particularly out-of-step because I came from a different part of the world, and indeed a country in which the median age for first-time mothers is 28 (Statistics New Zealand 2009) in contrast to 23 in Chile (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) 2006).¹⁹ But Daniela, a Chilean social worker who recently carried out investigations with adolescent fathers who 'assumed' their paternity, shared a similar experience:

¹⁸ Definitions of such rights are contested; the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) defines them as "rest(ing) on the recognition of the basic right of all couples and individual to decide freely and responsibly the number, spacing and timing of their children and to have the information and means to do so, and the right to attain the highest standard of sexual and reproductive health" (2004, 1).

¹⁹ Neither Statistics New Zealand nor the INE (Chile's National Institute of Statistics) provides information on the median age for first-time fathers.

For me too, I felt the same sense of, ehh, surprise, in spite of the fact that you say you're comparing like with another reality, I'm also (haha) Chilean, and it still surprised me, the fact that they all, ehh, seemed to have been pleased when they found out (2009 pers. comm., 24 Jun.).

Much Latin American literature on the topic seemed in check with my initial ideas too. For example, Aguirre and Güell's (2002, 37) synthesis of qualitative studies with 'adolescent' men on sexual and reproductive health in various Latin American countries claimed that

With respect to the possible pregnancy of their partner, the most-quoted feelings are: "angry", "desperate", "afflicted", "worried", "annoyed", "surprised", and "scared". The majority of the reactions that the adolescents refer to are around unacceptance or non-commitment towards the pregnancy.

However, various recent studies have revealed much more positive reactions to pregnancy among young men than seem to be commonly assumed. González's 2003 Chilean study found that 60 per cent of adolescent men surveyed reacted positively to the news that they were going to be fathers. A qualitative study with eight sets of adolescent parents and their families in central Santiago similarly observed that "adolescent gestation often is not feared, it is actually desired, and, to a certain extent, planned" (Aguayo & Sadler 2006, 43).

Also, there seems to be increasing evidence of similarities in the reactions of Latin American adolescent and adult men to news of a pregnancy. A 2006 Brazilian study by Levandowski and Piccinini did not identify significant differences between the two groups in terms of readiness for, and expectations of, fatherhood. And Aguayo and Sadler's 2006 Chilean study similarly suggested that "the differences between adolescent fathers and adult fathers may not be as great as often assumed" (cited in Barker & Verani 2008, 35).

I felt compelled to ask, then: what were our (mine and much literature and policy's) concerns about people under 20 getting pregnant, actually based on? A critical glance at some of the definitions of adolescence in the literature granted me considerable insight into the above. As mentioned in Chapter Three, I decided against calling the men I spoke to 'adolescents' because of the implications of immaturity and incompleteness it seemed to carry. However, given that the term is frequently used to refer to people in the age-band that my participants were in when they became fathers, it makes sense to explore in more depth some of the meanings attached to it.

The etymological root of the word 'adolescent' is the Latin verb *adolescere*: *ad* meaning 'toward' and *alescere* 'to grow.' So, according to Buechner (2006, 205), "the word designates human beings who are in the process of growing up." Aguayo and Sadler (2006, 16) define adolescence as a "stage of development" and a "particular period in the life cycle." They acknowledge sociocultural variability, but claim there is "relative consensus" (ibid) that identity definition, including gender and sexuality identity, is a central and generalisable element of this period. The implication of such an interpretation is that, until a young person has 'defined' their identity (and hence passed into the period of adulthood) it is 'too early' for them to become parents.

But many post-structural and feminist writings hold that identities are fluid and shifting, and are in fact being reconstructed and renegotiated (Foucault 1972) *throughout* people's lives. Duarte (2006, 3) described the idea of 'reaching adulthood' as an illusory developmental hierarchy, a "myth of becoming complete at some point." Buechner (2006, 206) explored this idea rather colourfully with reference to his own life (in his eightieth year):

[To] call me an adult or grown-up is an oversimplification at best and a downright misnomer at worst... I am not a having-grown-up one but a growing-up one, a groping-up one, not even sure much of the time just where my growing and groping are taking me or where they are supposed to be taking me.

A deeper delve into the origins of the category 'adolescence' affirms its status as a somewhat Eurocentric, culturally-specific invention, which Ratcliff (2003, 1) traced to the Industrial Revolution. According to this researcher, the motives for doing so included making the "prolonged education deemed necessary for a literate society" (ibid.) more readily accessible, and taking teenagers out of labour markets in times of high unemployment. Chatterjee et al. (2001, 8), for their part, criticised lifespan development models that view adolescence as a concrete category, as being centred on the experiences of "either European or North American white middle class populations" and as inapplicable to many kinds of human behaviour. The Mapuche people, for example, refer to an alternative model of human and cultural development, which holds various parallels with post-structuralist feminist understandings. I learned about this model by chance, when I asked Kolectivo Poroto member Francisco about the development of the collective over time; he explained that the group tried

not to use the logic of stages, but to rather use, spiral logic. And that spiral logic is what comes for example, from the Mapuche people. Because the logic of how time is

understood, in more Western logic, is like that, in stages. And that supposes for example, that a young person would be pre-adolescent, adolescent, adult... and I think that other logic is something that we use here, I mean, we don't go through stages, they're moments, we don't make, we like the idea of a spiral more. And there, I think that's a challenge sometimes.

Monica: Yeah. Of genuinely, not seeing it like we're climbing a staircase...

Francisco: Yeah. Because, it's like going, from a state of less development to more development. And we don't think that it's like that (2009 pers. comm., 25 Mar.).

So, given the socially-constructed, culturally-specific nature of 'adolescence', perhaps there is nothing intrinsically problematic about pregnancy that occurs within the age-band that it describes. However, it can certainly be a 'bad fit' with the structures that surround it, which may explain links in the literature between this phenomenon and high secondary-school drop-out rates, for example, and with poverty (Aguayo & Sadler, 2006). Papai (2001, 35) postulated to this end that social and institutional pressure not to have children 'too early'

reflects a social suspicion that young maternity and paternity could create obstacles to the economic growth of developing countries, generating additional difficulties for the governments of these countries.

In Chile, a country that flaunts its status as an "economic miracle" (Friedman 1982 cited in Cypher 2004, 1) thanks to rapid (and highly unequal) economic growth brought about through aggressive neo-liberal restructuring initiated under Pinochet (ibid.), such pressure might be particularly strong. And of course, in a land so heavily influenced by Catholicism, economic motivations intertwine in complex ways with moralistic ones. Sexual behaviour outside of wedlock is frowned-upon by many, and people in this particular age-band are less likely than older people to have 'tied the knot' (Rajević 2000). As Palma (1991) pointed out, in practice many Chilean families that subscribe to such beliefs opt to turn a 'blind eye' to such behaviour rather than openly condemn or condone it; but when pregnancy occurs this is decidedly more difficult!

So, in line with participants' stories as well as post-structuralist feminist and 'spiral logicist' positionings, it seems appropriate to surmise that people may simply be *differently-prepared* for parenthood at different points in their lives. As Duarte (2006, 17) explained, "each moment of development in life has in itself its own identity, its process of knowing and its own development of values, and hence, its own maturity". And, as thirty-something Chilean social worker Rodrigo reflected after hearing part of Ángel's story, being a socially-ordained 'adult' does not necessarily make the idea of parenthood any easier to deal with, and being older can in fact present its own

complications:

You know, if you don't have children when you're young, you don't... after that you don't have children. I mean, it's that extreme, because after that, I mean I'm full of judgements, full of manias on top of that, for example... I'm not completely against the idea of having a child, but I think that I have so much freedom... that I have so many options and on top of that I have so much time to do things, that, that I, that if I became a father I couldn't create, a *cable-tierra* that I don't want to have (2009 pers. comm., 24 Jun.).

At this point, then, it's tempting to paint these men's reactions to 'finding out' as purely inspiring examples of agency and optimism, flying in the face of stiff social mandates. However, comments such as Rai's (2009 pers. comm., 14 Apr.) in Story Section One that his girlfriend was “really afraid” when she found out she was pregnant – and *he wasn't* – suggest that very gendered 'larger stories' about the nature of motherhood and fatherhood also coloured their responses. It is important to pay attention to these kinds of comments in my analysis: after all, the tales told here are not only those of their tellers, but also of those whose stories sit in the shadows of their spoken ones. While I am anxious to listen to and honour men's views on an issue so often feminised, this kind of work can no more be 'just about men' than work with women can be 'just about women'. As Cleaver (2001, 1) pointed out, “gender is relational”, so in order to think usefully about the understandings of masculinity that influence these men's constructions of fatherhood, these “must be connected to the system of gender relations within which (they) arise” (Berg & Longhurst 2003, 351). In the commentary below, for example, Gopal noted stark differences in social perceptions and expectations of responsibility for 'young' mothers and fathers:

The old people see an eighteen-year-old, seventeen-year-old woman pregnant and... “ay, this girl's a whore, she's pregnant and so young and all and...” and the other people, “what are you going to make of your life, now you won't be able to study, you won't be able to do anything...”

and on the other hand for the man, it's a lot simpler because it's always been like that historically. Like, they get the girl pregnant one day and, they go, and, and you're not going to have this huge stomach, I mean you're not going to be, your physical appearance isn't going to change, you're not going to have problems finding a job... in the end, it's much more, naturally, it's much more simple for the man. And that's the nature of it. It's easier. Socially, the burden is much, much smaller (2009 pers. comm., 6 May).

Gopal's interpretation of what “it's always been like” seems to reference colonial larger-stories of 'absent fathers' as described in Chapter One. As mentioned, motherhood was conversely portrayed as an obligatory kind of self-sacrifice for women, and was frequently associated with the figure of

the Virgin Mary (Cheater 1999) in a tendency sometimes termed 'marianismo'. Recent studies showing that adolescent mothers are much more likely than their male counterparts to take responsibility for their children (Aguayo & Sadler 2006) suggest such stories stay powerful. The reactions of some of participants' mothers to the news they were going to be fathers reveal some of the ways that these gendered stories are understood and reproduced, and serve to remind that "women may play just as troubling a role as men" (Cornwall 2000, 24) in this process. Luis' mother, for example, seemed extremely blasé in her response, suggesting that fatherhood was not something to worry too much about: "it was like, I called her, and I said, "I'm going to have a daughter", and she was like, "Oh, cool." But it wasn't like a very big deal to her" (2009 pers. comm., 9 Apr.). And Gopal's mother was quite explicit that the parenting expectations on Gopal would be much lower than if he were the mother of the child, although he himself was skeptical:

I mean, even my mum said to me, she said "hey, you're, you're a man, after all, so it's not so much that you..." and I was like, "but, how could it not be so much?" To me it was, the same responsibility, right? (2009 pers. comm., 6 May)

Such disparities were also hinted at when participants spoke about their goals and dreams, and those of the mothers of their children. The men often seemed disappointed about these women 'selling out' on ideals once held in common. Despite this, Gopal also acknowledged that staying true to such ideals was very difficult for women in the face of the huge expectations that motherhood seemed to entail:

The mother of my child and I shared [a particular vision about life], but suddenly it was like, society made her change, it seemed, it wasn't like she wanted to change, but rather, there's a lot of social pressure when you have a child (ibid.).

Rai commented similarly that while

the mother of my child didn't share such, closed ideals as her family... she didn't have the strength either, or like the motivation, to resist them. And I find that totally understandable too. Because it's hard to think about being a young mother, and without your family's support, to be with, a little boy (2009 pers. comm., 14 Apr.).

Group discussion participants also spoke of the relative freedom that men seemed to be granted when confronted by a pregnancy: as Daniela remarked,

I think that the father can do whatever, but the mother I don't know, she does what she can,

she believes in your ideal but, she doesn't know if she can do it.

Rodrigo: Yeah, and there you have like the same old myth of, the father who comes and goes, and leads this amazing life... (2009 pers. comm., 24 Jun.)

So, it is important to point out that while participants' eagerness to 'take on fatherhood is certainly admirable in some respects, dominant gendered assumptions that fatherhood is 'not such a big deal' might have influenced their responses somewhat. Fathers' involvement in their children's lives is often painted as ideal but optional (Tamis-LeMonda & Cabrera 1999), in a way that the involvement of mothers is not. As group discussion members commented:

Victoria: If [the father] takes it on... (applause)

Daniela: That's right, weren't you lucky, like, wasn't this mother lucky that the father isn't your average one (2009 pers. comm., 24 Jun.).

However, I aim *not* to imply through the above “a notion of gender as ultimately a zero-sum game, one which can only be won by either men or women, not both” (Whitehead 2007, 468). As I go on to explore, the comparative 'freedom' these men were granted when confronted with parenthood was in many ways a rather ambivalent, discouraging and indeed *disempowering* thing. This theme of “men's contradictory experiences of power” (Kaufman 2003, 14) is a familiar one in work on masculinities. Such work has emphasised “the costs to men of certain forms of masculinity” (Whitehead 2007, 468), particularly in emotional, domestic and familial realms (Aitken 2009) in which many men feel out-of-place and powerless (*ibid.*). The gendered and age-related configurations of power in such realms are thus explored further in the following section.

Being Arranged

How did the 'larger stories' described above, and the power configurations that they authorised, intervene in the ways that responsibility for the children-to-be in these stories was arranged? Perhaps most obvious is the fact that in several cases, the 'adult' women in the family of the mother-to-be seemed most in control of such arrangements. This corresponds to Rozas' (cited in Rajević 2000, 199) observation that despite strong “machismo” in Chilean public terrain, “there's an obvious matriarchy in the private world”. Men in these families seemed to be steered toward 'enforcement' roles, such as the older brother who in Rai's story “went around trying to smash me up”. As he observed:

The impression that I got... the image that was transmitted, was that, that the aunts were very important. The aunts. Like the mother and her sisters. As a group of, of women... I never heard much, of the father's voice for example... (2009 pers. comm., April 29).

So, what kinds of arrangements were made? I had imagined that, in a society so drenched in Catholicism, pressure to marry would be paramount – and members of the focus group shared this assumption (2009 pers. comm., 24 Jun.). However, Luis was the only participant for whom that occurred. As he explained below, he agreed to do so (under considerable duress!) and was in fact still legally married at the time this fieldwork took place, but it was not something that he took very seriously. He *did* maintain an obstinate sort of respect for the *idea* of marriage, but in circumstances different to his own:

Monica: Did you get married? When she got pregnant?

Luis: By the *Civil*.

Monica: What's the *Civil*?

Luis: It was, it's like, a marriage on paper. But not in the church. Which is like... to me, that, is like signing a piece of paper and, it's not something serious. To me. And... and something serious is like getting married in the church, for love, and, and all that. But, all that about getting married by the *Civil* is because, her parents threatened me that, if I didn't marry her by the *Civil*, they weren't going to let me be with her ever again. It was like, everything on top of me. Because at that time, at that moment it was like I still loved her a lot, and I wanted to be with her.

Monica: And did that commit you to, do something...?

Luis: No, just do that, sign the piece of paper (2009 pers. comm., 23 Mar.).

In Rai and Ángel's cases, marriage was not an option. They were told quite simply that their involvement was both unnecessary and undesirable, and asked simply to slip into the waiting and well-worn stereotype of 'absent father', as Rai's response below makes clear:

Monica: Was there any talk of marriage, like to make it...

Rai: No, they never talked about that. That is, they didn't want to see me at all. Because, I was younger, like, the way I looked, no way. It couldn't be, her family couldn't imagine that I could be his father, the father of her son. They thought it was better for him not to have a father, than to have me as his father (2009 pers. comm., 29 Apr.).

Such comments resonate considerably with the centuries-old dualistic discourses I mentioned in Chapter One, about fathers being either as all-powerful in, or entirely absent from, family life. These men, for a variety of reasons, were deemed ill-suited for the role of all-providing patriarch, so seemed to be expected, rather, to disappear entirely. After all, little more seemed to be expected of 'young fathers': as Gopal (2009 pers. comm., 6 May) mentioned, "here it's very common that, that

the women get pregnant at a young age, and that the men disappear... they all go, so it's all left up to the woman". Such pronouncements were commonplace to the point of cliché. Olavarria's (2001, 13) condemnatory characterisation of Chilean men who 'get women pregnant' from one-off sexual encounters, shows clearly how this story tends to be told in dominant discourse:

He doesn't even feel obligated. It is regarded as the fruit of a 'conquest'. The man can justify not assuming responsibility by characterising the situation as an attempt by the woman to "trap him", a trick, it won't be his son, but that of another man, and he wants to blame this other man. In these situations the man, often an adolescent or young adult, tends not to feel committed to the partnership, and even less towards the possible child. For this reason, he doesn't see any reason to respond to a paternity which he feels is uncertain and diffuse... He can behave in this way, though it might be blameworthy, because he knows (he feels) that the mother of his children will take charge of them and they will be protected. He transfers his responsibilities towards them to the mother, and he slips away.

This gendered story seems damaging for both women *and* men. It tells women that men can't be trusted, especially if they are young (Barker & Loewenstein 1997), and that they should prepare themselves to raise their children without them. Men, meanwhile, seem almost *expected* to play the "nasty macho" (Alonso cited in Cupples 2002, 88) to these women's "stoic martyr" (ibid.); to be irredeemably irresponsible (Papai 2001, 27) and completely uncaring about the situations that they leave behind them. It is easy to see how such stories become self-fulfilling prophecies: if a quiet exit is all that a 'young father' is considered capable of, it may feel "awkward and incoherent" (Aitken 2009, 230) for him to choose otherwise. As Lyra (1998, 185) expanded, "the act of socially negating adolescent paternity... ends up legitimising paternal absence, because it makes it difficult for an adolescent to think about, prevent or assume his status as a father." On this note, group discussion member Beatriz observed when discussing Rai's story that

he couldn't escape from the stereotype, I mean, he wanted to, assume his paternity, and all that, like, from what I understand he wanted to be with his partner, he loved, his little boy, but no, he became the *desgraciado*,²⁰ he was treated, like the *desgraciado*...

Daniela: Like he feels like that was the expectation, I don't know, like, that he's fulfilling his role (2009 pers. comm., 24 Jun.).

However, as the above implies, the stereotyped subject-positions that participants were pressured toward, while certainly affecting Luis, Rai, Ángel and Gopal's decisions around and understandings of their paternities, did *not* fit with what they *felt* about their approaching fatherhoods. Even when they were explicitly reassured that they were 'not needed', slipping away didn't sit right with any of

²⁰ *Desgraciado* is a very insulting term that could be translated as 'scoundrel', 'schmuck' or 'bastard'.

them; their emotional responses and intentions were clearly much more complex than the majority of discourse and research on this topic even attempts to describe.

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted fundamental misalignments between participants' emotions around their oncoming fatherhoods and the ways these kinds of fathering situations are characterised in much literature and in 'common wisdom'. It has suggested that such misalignments are related to dualistic 'all or nothing' hegemonic understandings of fatherhood, and demonstrated how these contributed to arrangements being made that 'didn't feel right' to some of the men I spoke to. The following story section and chapter track participants' feelings when they first met their children, and the chapter considers biological, social and spiritual interpretations of those feelings, drawing from participants' commentaries, social discourse and academic literature.

Story Section Two: Forays into Fatherhood

Luis:

I was at home, heating up a, making myself some food I think it was, and well, her parents came to find me, and they were with the aunts and uncles and everyone. They arrived in a car and they said to me, “Did you go and see her yet?” and I had been there about, four hours before, yeah, four hours ago, yeah, and they told me, she had a baby. “What?” and I started running...

and there, and, at first they didn’t want to let me see her, because, she was only just born, and, and [the mother of my child] was just coming out of, they were just putting her in another room. And there, she had tubes everywhere, and, and she was awake. Like, “ahhh”. And I said, “Hello.” And she said to me, “Hello, the baby was born already.” “And where is it?” “I don’t know...” And she fainted.

And they told me, you can’t see her, you can’t be here, best you just disappear. And, “Ahh, don’t be such a pain, and where’s the baby?” “I don’t know.” And just then there was a nurse who knew me. And she told me, “Look, in that room, on the second floor, there she is.” “Ok, thanks.” “And I’ll give you this baby’s bottle to take with you, so that they let you see her.” And I said “Oh OK.”

And I went there, and said I was looking, for the daughter of [the mother of my child], and they said “Ahh and who are you?” “The father.” “No, you can’t see her.” “And why not?” “Because you can’t.” “No, it’s just that they told me to bring her this [baby’s bottle].” “Oh OK”. And then they showed her to me, and, “Ohhh!” (2009 pers. comm., 18 April)

Ángel:

I recovered from the separation from [the mother of my second son], and I stayed with [my second son]. And that was where I made a pact that I was never going to leave him. And I never left him. But I always missed my first child. And I always talked to [my second son] about him, and I had the whole issue of whether he was my son or not, I wanted to find out but there was no money, and then one day I got a little bit of money together. I had enough money to travel.

And just then there was a friend who helped me out a lot.... And he's a father and he told me, "You know what Ángel?" He said to me, "Your son is going to feel really bad. Imagine that he is your son. If he's your son, and you don't go and see him, he must be suffering right now. And if you're going to wait till you have [more] money to see him, maybe you'll never have that money and you'll never see him, you'll lose him. And if he's not your son, still, that's not his fault. I mean, if he's not your son, accept him just the same."

And that was something that helped me a lot in that moment. And I set out with my [second] son to see him. I mean, I did make some money but you know that life is expensive here in Chile...

Monica: Mm. And you felt like you needed more money, so you could give it to your child?

Ángel: Yeah. And even then, giving him money just one time, it wouldn't be like stability for always, like every week or every month. Because I didn't make so much money. So I travelled like that with, just the coins I needed to travel... and but the most important was to see him, you know. And... I went with [my second son] to ask for his forgiveness. [My second son] was four years old. And [my first son] was five. And so that was the most amazing moment of my life. The happiest... The two of them together, and me, asking forgiveness and recognising him and loving him whether he was my son or not. And it was incredible. And I was with him, for his birthday party, we went out on a boat...

(2009 pers. comm., 9 Apr.)

Rai:

And when he was born, they called me on the phone, and things started to improve in the relationship. With the family, and, and with her, we could see each other again. So like, we tried to be a couple again...

Monica: Why did the, the family change?

Rai: I think it was an economic decision. The fact that, they realized that... it was going to be hard to support her, with all that. And, the more support they could get, in this case mine, my family's, the better. I think that's why. I think that's why, because in the beginning, it was like, it was a big effort for them to accept me. Now, now there's no problem. Now it's like it's all fine. But, in the beginning, they didn't want to see me, and after [my son] was born they did want to see me but it was something very tense. It was really unpleasant actually...
(2009 pers. comm., 14 Apr.)

Gopal:

And they... and they pass him to me! In my arms, just like that, bah! ... And it's like I look at him, this thing about this big, it was really crazy like, ohh, and like I told you, in spite of that, obviously I don't feel this tenderness towards him, which is also a strange kind of tenderness, because it's also a little bit of reticence, because [the newborn baby] is not all that pretty either, like it's not like in the movies when it comes out and it's all clean, no, it comes out like this, with the placenta over here, and they say to you, "it's your son," and I think, far out, how is that my son, you know, I just met him, what's going on?

And, my god, I held him, I looked at him, and he made a gesture like that with his face, and it made me laugh, and yeah, and I held him... Then with the injections, they put lots of things in him, and... and I looked at him, and it was like I couldn't quite believe that, that it was my son, you know...

(2009 pers. comm., 29 May)

Chapter Five: Babies, Bodies and Feeling like a Father

Here, I focus on participants' experiences of meeting their children for the first time. As shown in the preceding story section, Gopal, Luis and Rai met their children at the time of – or soon after – their births, while Ángel did not do so until this child was five years old. This chapter highlights the complex mix of emotion, embodied experience and spiritual and societal beliefs that influenced the ways these men developed and understood their relationships with their children, and their senses of themselves as fathers alongside. In exploring the above, I engage with debates in feminist literature around biological determinism and the contested materiality of bodies, and offer some suggestions for work with young fathers that touches on such topics.

Magical meeting-points?

A recurrent feature of participants' stories (except perhaps in Ángel's case) was the awkwardness that they seemed to feel initially about relating to their children. Luis' description of the tender-yet-apprehensive way he interacted with his daughter in these early moments reflects this well:

Luis: And when she was very small, I didn't like holding her. Because, I was scared that I would hurt her (haha).

Monica: You felt, like, clumsy?

Luis: Yeah, like, "oh no, I dropped her!" (hahaha). Yeah, because of that, I was scared to hold her, like I just did it like this, "little one, little one" (patting imaginary baby on the head.)

Monica: And then you got used to it?

Luis: Mmm. Yeah, when she was about, eight months old I held her for the first time! (hahaha). Because I was scared (2009 pers. comm., 18 Apr.).

These kinds of comments surprised me, although perhaps they shouldn't have. I realised that I had imagined, and perhaps hoped for, a special kind of connection and 'natural' sense of affinity between participants and their newborns. I was perhaps expecting to locate some kind of magical, transcendent quality to fatherhood, which did not always make sense to the men I spoke to. At one point in our first interview Luis, bored I think with my incessant questioning about the impacts of fatherhood on every edge and aspect of his life, reminded me with a hint of frustration that "having a baby isn't anything out of this world" (2009 pers comm., 17 Mar.). The 'naturalness' of men's bonds with their biological children was also brought into question by Ángel's story. At the time this fieldwork took place, he remained unsure of whether he was actually his first child's biological

father, but was clear that whatever the outcome of the DNA test he planned to take, “he's already my child” (2009 pers. comm., 9 Apr.). His comments suggested a much more socially-constructed kind of bond than I had formerly conceived of, and I was forced to reflect on my own perceptions of fatherhood, which were perhaps more idealising and essentialist than I had previously imagined. Such romanticising of a particular version or experience of fatherhood, as Williams (1996, 815) noted, is “a quite different enterprise than just appreciating fatherhood” and can serve to “eliminate from public view much of the real-life presence of men” (ibid.). Rai, for example, did not glimpse a specific 'fatherly' quality to his relationship with his child, and saw it rather as something that the two of them had built together:

Actually I've never considered myself like very much of a father really. When I'm with my son I think that, I don't think about being a dad. Even though he calls me dad and I call him my son, I see it more like, a relationship between one person and another, that's all... Sure, it has to do with what we spoke about last time, when I said to you, of course, the mother has a much more intimate, close relationship with the child, because she had it inside her, because she breast-feeds it. With the father, it's something else, it's a relationship that, I think, I think naturally it would just be more... distinct. Like, I don't think it's the same as the mother's (2009 pers. comm., 29 Apr.).

Importantly though, Rai also suggested in the passage above that *mothers'* connections with their children seemed to have some kind of unique quality to them, because of the 'biological fact' of carrying them inside their bodies and breastfeeding them. In his analysis, “I don't think it's a social thing, I think it's something, natural” (2009 pers. comm., 14 Apr.). Gopal gave a similarly sociobiological interpretation of differences in mothers' and fathers' connections with newborn children:

I do think that that's natural, that men, as a species, don't feel the same affinity with a newborn child, as the mother does. It's something, physical. I mean, because the mother had the child inside her, because she gave birth to it, because of a million things, and if you, after all, don't experience those things, then you don't love your child when it's just born, and if someone says that they do, I truly think that they're lying. Because you don't know your child then...

So it's hard to love it just like that, to say, “Oh, I love him, I adore him, he's my son.” I think for women it's different, I think because already that relationship is much stronger. And... and after that you start, like, to create bonds with them. Gradually, like, as you get to know them, when you see that they have your genes, they act like you, and... that's where you start to build a relationship. You know? (2009 pers. comm., May 29).

Ángel's understandings, presented below, also followed comparable lines. Like Gopal, however,

and based on his own experience of bringing up his second child alone, he also claimed that after a certain period of time, parent-child connections *can* become more “psychological” and consciously-constructable (and by implication less 'physical') in nature:

The difference is that the baby is inside the mother. And, with her heartbeat, with all of her vibrations. So the father, the father plants the seed, and he will have a connection with the child as well, later on... And it'll be my turn, after a little while, [my daughter] is going to be able to be just with me, without her mother there, and no worries. When the moment comes to replace the maternal milk, it's more something, psychological, you can replace that attachment. My [second] son became my whole world when his mother wasn't there, and it was fine (2009 pers. comm., 9 Apr.).

Initially, and (I thought) in line with my feminist leanings, I was quick to brand these men's interpretations of their awkwardness and hesitancy around fathering as 'biological determinism'²¹ (though not, interestingly enough, my own romanticised notions of 'natural' bonds between fathers and children!) Much recent commentary has emphasised that men *can* form similar bonds to women with newborn babies (see Falceto et al. 2008), and as such should be encouraged to do so. At the Global Symposium for Engaging Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality, the Norwegian Minister for Gender Equality and Children went so far as to say that her government would not be satisfied with its policies until in exactly 50 per cent of births in Norway, fathers rather than mothers took paternity leave to look after their newborn child (Huitfeldt 2009).

However, in many ways these fathers' comments made sense to me. I could *understand* how they found building bonds with their children to be strange and difficult, and *especially* given that they did not have access to the taken-for-granted spaces and moments of physical connection (gestation, giving birth and breastfeeding) that the mothers of their children all enjoyed. In my quest to conceptualise such comments, I found it necessary to step away from Foucauldian conceptions of bodies as “blank pages on which cultural messages are written” (Wedgwood 2009, 334) and toward Connell's (1995, 64) visible, “flesh-and-blood bodies” (ibid.), which are “addressed by social process and drawn into history, without ceasing to be bodies. They do not turn into symbols, signs or positions in discourse.” Taking the materiality of bodies into account in this way does not imply the existence of biological destinies which cannot be escaped (Mattes 1990). Such an interpretation, indeed, would clash with Gopal and Ángel's assertions that after a period of time they were able to create substantially similar connections with their sons, to those of the mothers of their children.

²¹ Biological determinism is a theory holding that human character is determined by physical, biological characteristics, which are inherited. It has become something of a perjorative term, particularly in literature on gender, and tends to be attributed to thinkers rather than claimed by them (Humm 2003).

But Connell's approach *does* allow for this materiality, *as well as* powerful social structures, to be perceived as a legitimate contributor to lived experience.

In my view, the above suggests that researchers and practitioners working with young men on gender issues might do well to acknowledge, legitimate and respect the feelings of awkwardness and anxiety such men may have around relating to their newborn children, *whatever* their interpreted origin. As mentioned, much GAD literature seems to suggest that these men *should* feel an equal kind of connection to that which the mother of their child might feel; and much social discourse continues to convey that they *shouldn't*. These two suggestions, both of which have universalising tendencies and are somewhat dismissive of men's diverse lived experiences, resonate with Aitken's (2009, 25) concern “that the idea of the father is constituted in parallel or in opposition to the idea of the mother, and as such does not account for the imprecise and hesitant day-to-day work of fathering...”

Of course, and to refer back to the stories-in-the-shadows of these men's tales, it is also important to emphasise that while many men may not feel instantly connected to their children, it doesn't follow that the mothers of these children necessarily do either. As previously noted, the men I spoke to often idealised and romanticised mother-child bonds in much the same way as *I* had done with fatherhood. However, I also noted hints that some of the mothers in these stories might have felt awkward and uncertain about relating to their children too. For example, when Gopal's son was born, he “gave him to (the mother of his child) for a little while, but she didn't want to hold him, she didn't want to see him” (2009 pers. comm., 29 May). Ángel (2009 pers. comm., 9 Apr.) also mentioned at one point that the mother of his daughter disagreed with his claim that women have a special kind of connection with newborn babies. So, in taking new fathers' uncertainties into account, it is crucial that people working in this field do not presume that connections with children always 'come naturally' to new mothers either. To do so is to run the risk of “reinforcing the idea of reproductive work and childcare as being primarily responsibilities of mothers and women in general, forgetting or deligitimising the father and other carers” (Aguayo & Sadler 2006, 66).

So, what might the kinds of nuances and variabilities explained above suggest for future GAD research, and for policy and practice? In Pancho's (2009 pers. comm., 29 May) view, such work should not be framed as a quest to “make the numbers match up, fifty-fifty”, as is commonly done on issues around men's and women's involvement in parenting. Rather, he claimed, it should focus on providing the conditions for fathers *and* mothers to negotiate more freely and equally the

parenting roles and responsibilities they take on; conditions that he claims don't currently exist in Chile:

It's a pseudo-freedom here, because men get paid more, because men participate more in the global labour market, because women's jobs are more fragile, because there's this ideology that says that it's the women who, do more caregiving. So, if we could change all this structural stuff, this, symbolic, meaningful stuff, after that, sure, in a genuinely egalitarian society, people could choose to do it however they liked, right? (ibid.).

And participants' stories similarly suggested that this “structural stuff” as it stood provided little space for negotiation to occur, or for them to create the kinds of bonds they hoped for with their children. Aguayo and Sadler's 2006 (66) study noted social and institutional “barriers against the participation” of young fathers in their children's lives, and several of participants' descriptions of meeting their children for the first time seemed to concur with that observation. For example, Ángel and Rai were completely barred (by the families of the mothers of their children) from being present in the birthing process. Luis, for his part, only managed to see his child in the hospital on the day of its birth because of his cheekiness and connections (as he described in Story Section Two), illustrating clearly how despite Chilean Ministry of Health campaigns since 1995 to involve fathers more in childbirth in public hospitals (Sadler 2004), they may still be shrugged off as irrelevant obstacles in the birthing process by some institutions and staff.

Conclusion

Both the bodies they inhabited, and the societies that surrounded them, contributed to the emotional dynamics of participants' experiences of meeting their children for the first time and forming connections with them. But the above contributors did not *constitute* these experiences in their entirety, or construct them in ways that could not be tampered with (Hilsdon 2007). Participants often found spaces and opportunities, limited though they sometimes were, for what Aitken (2009, 25) described as “fathering as resistance and negotiation”, exemplified particularly vividly in the way Luis managed to 'sneak in' to see his newborn daughter in the hospital (see Story Section Two). This space-seeking suggests, in line with my epistemological embrace of agency (outlined in Chapter One), a kind of self that is distinct from its body *and* the social structures with which it interacts. Rai, perhaps, alluded to such a self when he spoke above about his connection to his child being simply a relationship between two people, rather than having a specific cultural or biological 'father-son' quality to it. Gopal, below, eloquently explored what he saw as a spiritual bond between

himself and his child that transcended the bodies and societies they resided in, and that he experienced as intense emotion, a kind of love and tenderness that he didn't feel with anyone else:

That kid gives me something, something strange, like he doesn't give me anything, I still can't put my finger on it, I don't know what it is, I don't know if it's love, I don't know what the hell it is, but, he gives me something that (haha), that's really crazy.

It's like, when you do exercise and you always excite this muscle, and suddenly you excite this muscle, like that, oh, I had never felt that thing before, you see, it's like I don't experience it with, with other things, I don't experience it with, with my partner's love, I don't experience it with my mother's love, or with my brother. It's beautiful, it's crazy.

And that suggests that there's a relationship there. And I also think that our relationships come from much before this life, that is (haha) if we get into something deeper, I think that, our relationships come from much before, that is, it's not, nothing happens by chance, you know. Nothing.

Monica: You already have like your, your muscle, your organ...

Gopal: That's right, I have something that moves me like that, somewhere. And which is exclusively his. And that's a beautiful thing. Because that seems to suggest that, this was somehow a part of me. And I didn't know that until he was born, and then he made me realise, but it was already within me. This thing was already in me. This tenderness, or this, this love. I just developed it when I met him, like, 'hello', 'ehh, that's what it is!' That's the love that I had been feeling, you know? That's it! (2009 pers. comm., 29 May)

So, perhaps there *is* space for some kind of magic – non-essentialist and un-generalisable of course – in participants' understandings of fatherhood after all. Whatever the case, my experience suggests that acknowledging, rather than judging, men's and women's wide-ranging responses to meeting their children could be key to successful future GAD research and practice in this area. The following story section and chapter explore some of participants' challenges around negotiating 'fathering spaces' in the years following the birth of their children. In doing so, they reference considerably the 'larger stories' about gender that Chapter Four introduced in depth, particularly with regards ideas around romantic relationships and income generation.

Story Section Three: Searching for Space

Luis:

And... I don't know, in the beginning it was like, all good... like, we didn't have problems as... as a couple. And then as time passed, perhaps, I think we were very young, we made decisions really fast... and... and we had problems between us, like... fights over jealousy, and things like that. After that, like, one day...

like it all ended, because we had a big fight, in which her family got involved, and I had a physical confrontation with her father, her brothers, and...in which I ended quite definitely the relationship with her... and also, in which her parents threatened me, that if I came near her they were going to kill me, and (deep breath)...

So, I ended up leaving town, and this was when I had been living in Cauquenes for two years... and I had to quit my job, and, and go home to San Javier, return to San Javier...

and I stayed there, like, three months, four months, and then I decided to leave and look for my destiny, because I was sure that it wasn't in San Javier. And I grabbed my backpack and a few clothes, and left home. And I went northward, with no particular destination, just somewhere where I could find my, my destiny. And I arrived in Valparaíso...

one day, about (haha), about twelve at night... and, I came to a, a police station, where, there happened to be someone there, who was my friend from when we were young, in San Javier, who was a policeman, and he helped me, he found me a job, and he... and he gave me a place to stay for a week. And, I began to work, and that week, the owner of, of, of a mattress factory here, which was where I was working, he paid me my salary in advance, because he saw that I needed to start renting a room somewhere, and... so he paid me, he paid me in advance for that month, and from there on I rented a room, bought some things, and started my life here.

And after that, I, because I had kept on being in contact with the mother of my daughter, calling her, telling her to let me talk to [my daughter], and she did that. And I talked with my daughter on the phone, and one day I asked [the mother] if she'd like to come and live with me, here, in Valparaíso (clears throat). It was the first year that I was here, like the first period of time. And she told me, that she was going to think about, and all that...

and after a week she gave me an answer, and she said yes. And I, I paid, I paid for her bus fare, and she came to live with me, but not as a girlfriend, but rather as... as a friend... And we were living together, and we began getting on well together again, as... friends...

and we began to revive a relationship again, like to rebuild the relationship and, try to be together again... and... in that relationship, she began to behave badly, like for example I, I worked, and brought the money home, and I didn't spend money on anything because I don't have any vices, no... I only spent money on food, that's all... So, I'd take all the money and bring it home, and we spent it together, like on food, I bought things for her, I bought things for, for the baby...

And then she, it was like every time I got home, it was in a mess, like she was lazy, she used to get up really late, sometimes I got home and there wasn't even any lunch to eat... so I would get home, I had to make the lunch myself, tidy up, and her excuse was that, that the baby didn't let her do anything, like the, our daughter didn't let her do anything...

And... so, it was like, I began to get sick of it, and began to not, not tell her off, but to... to say things to her like "hey, you have to do these things, because it's like your obligation, because I'm fulfilling mine, of bringing money home, of working," and sometimes she wanted me to stay home with her, and not go to work, to stay with her, because she said she felt lonely.

So I, I said to her that if she wanted, because we always had some money saved, that if she wanted she could take the money and go, I don't know, to a mall, to walk along the beach, to do something and not spend all day at home doing nothing. And she said no, she didn't like going out, and she didn't want to go and see anything. And, I had friends, who I introduced to her, guys and girls, so that she could go and visit them and not feel lonely. And still she, kept on doing the same thing...

After that... the relationship kind of became more distant, and one day, I got angry, and, and I said to her "You know what, I'm sick of this, and if, you have to try to change, because, the idea is that we push this thing the two of us together, and not just me, because if not, it's going to be too heavy for me." So she, she got angry, and she said "You know what, idiot? I'm leaving tomorrow... because I'm sick of you", and I don't know what, and I said to her, "Well you know what, you're not tied to my side, you, it's your decision if you want to leave," and all that, and I, I thought she wasn't going to do it, and the next day I got up, went to work, and said goodbye to her and she, she said goodbye just like normal... and...

and then when I got home at night she wasn't there. And I called her and asked her where she was, and she was in, in Cauquenes. She'd gone home, to, with the baby and with all of her things.
(2009 pers. comm., 17 Mar.)

And a few months later:

I, went to recuperate [from an injury] in the south for three months, and I began to work, and whenever I was paid for the job I was doing, I gave a little bit of the money to my mum, and I took the rest to Cauquenes... and I gave [the mother of my daughter] all the rest of the money and kept about ten thousand pesos²² for me. To get back home, and have, a little bit of money for myself. And I gave them all the rest of it... and still, the father would say, putting me down, that I was, a bad man, and he didn't know why I kept doing that and...

And her sister, was always on my side... And I, I used to meet up with them when they were in her sister's house, because her sister is married, and the brother-in-law, I mean, her husband, was a good friend of mine when I was there. So, they agreed that I could meet up with [my daughter and her mother] in their house... So I would go over to their house, we'd put on a barbecue, I'd spend the whole day there. And we'd have a good time, just chatting... and, [the mother of my daughter] would tell me about her life and I'd tell her about what I was doing. At that time. And, and then when the evening came I'd go back to my house, and the next day I'd have to get up early and go to work, and again, like, until,

²² Around NZ\$30.

because every fifteen days I got paid, and every fifteen days I'd return.

And... one day she said to me, why not, why don't we try again. But...when we tried to, I don't know, make it work as a couple, the same old stuff would happen again. Like, conflict and... and one day we were chatting, and the parents show up, hers, to the house, and they start to accuse me, that I, that I, and like, I said to them again, the same, "you know what I'm leaving," and from there... I just got fed up with all of it and I said to her, "never again"... and I left home, I left home again and I went here to the south... to the north... To live here. I forgot, more than, no, no, I didn't forget, because, I think I'm never going to forget that. Because it's something, that's not in my mind, but in my, in my heart.

(2009 pers. comm., 23 Mar.)

Rai:

With the mother of my child, she and I had problems because, she, wanted to be with me, like as a couple, and by then I, I wasn't thinking about that. So, err, we argued, we fought, and... she banned me from seeing [my son]. And from there on we couldn't see each other, and, that is I couldn't see him, so she made me, she made an alimony demand, and... the lawyer told me that because of that, what I had to do was ask for visiting rights. To be able to see him...

And I did it, because I did want to see him. But it felt really, really dodgy to me, I didn't like it at all, because, I didn't understand why she had to treat, why we had to treat things in that way. And... and it was really sad because the first few times that we could meet up, that I could be with my son again, had to be in the tribunal. We had to meet in the, in the tribunal. Because I couldn't, the judge hadn't decided whether [my son] could spend time at my house. So it had to be somewhere that was neutral terrain. And that terrain, was the tribunal.

Monica: With people, watching?

Rai: With people, yeah, doing their, doing their own legal errands.

Monica: Mmhmm. Like in the waiting room?

Rai: In the waiting room. That's right.

Monica: Wow. And they had to check you over to see if he could stay at your house?

Rai: That is, see if... eh... if I was a reliable person. A reliable person, because... after all [the mother of my son] and I did fight a lot. She was really angry with me.

Monica: Because you didn't want to be with her?

Rai: That's right. Because I didn't want to be her.

Monica: Did you still go around like a punk?

Rai: Yeah... but, but quietly. More quietly. In fact when, when I had my son, I did change a lot. I, I drank alcohol, since I was really young, and when, [the mother of my son] got pregnant I stopped drinking, and I only started drinking again, once I got to university. I stopped drinking, I painted my room, because it was all, graffittied, before that, it was like I neatened myself up quite a lot in order to, above all to... to give the tribunals a good impression. The painting and all that. Stopping drinking was because by then I didn't want to harm myself. That is, I wanted to see, I wanted to live really consciously of what was happening to me.

Monica: Sure. And from there...

Rai: And from there, I ended up with visiting rights seeing my son. Until we, until I finished high school, and... I wanted to stay there, and live in Punta Arenas. Because I wanted to be with my son. But my whole family was coming here.

Monica: Oh that's right...

Rai: Yeah. I wanted to stay there in Punta Arenas. So, somehow, it was like, my mum persuaded me, along with the lawyer, who was the person who was dealing with the case of my son, to apply to the universities around here. And well, the fact is I, I paid attention to them because, because I didn't want to complicate things for my family either, but for me, what I wanted was to stay there. But that was going to be much more complicated for my family.

(2009 pers. comm., 14 Apr.)

Ángel:

But there was always that variability with the family [of my first son's mother]. In the beginning not so much, because sometimes they said to me that, they could feel my absence in [my first son]. [He] felt it. And when I arrived, he was already someone totally different... Children need their parents, and that they tell them the truth... that they don't lie to them. And they lied to him. They always lied to him.

Monica: What did they tell him?

Ángel: They always said oh, your dad... he left or your dad was this person, he was that person... and children get confused, people think that children are stupid, and they don't tell them the truth. A child has the power to know the truth, from the most disgusting truth to the most beautiful truth. They have the power to know. And it was like...

I just told him the truth. I didn't care, I told him you know what, this is what, happened to me, I told him the truth. I mean, given he was only four he didn't understand much but... little by little he was going to assimilate it, and after that he could figure out his own way if it was really the truth. And I, gave him that truth, which was mine... And so... and so I made a big effort with him, and, we hung out together, and this... and that time was very limited but still, I'm grateful for it. (2009 pers. comm., 9 Apr.)

Gopal:

And we were together for a year, sharing everything, and my god, it was a really beautiful experience for me with my son, you know?... And... and well I changed him, I looked after him, that is, I worked and looked after him and his mum worked too and, given that she worked more than I did, she spent less time with him, and I spent more time with him.

And my god it was a really beautiful, wonderful experience. After that, it all, because of our own issues, because of things about... it went... we separated in the end, and (my son) went with his mum, and all that. After that we were really close for a while, like, and after that we had a, phase where we were more distant. After all I, because of what I do, and because of the way that, that I live life, I travel a lot, I do lots of things, so it's like, maybe the, like, physical relationship, isn't, isn't really there. But, but there are other things, right?...

There are some things that, like I said, are like the drawing of what it is to be a father. There's a f**king society that tells you how you have to be a father, and what's a good father, and what's a bad father. The, the bad father, is the father who didn't give money to his child, first off, I mean, it's all, based on money. Right? And he beats him up, or something like that, I don't know. And a good father, is the father who works all day, who comes home in the evening, he brings a present for his child and tells him that he loves him, and plays with him, these are like the iconographic models of good and bad paternity.

I think that paternity can be lived in many ways, I mean, we can't all assume our paternity in the same ways, we are all individuals, we are all different. Each person, in the end, develops their stuff according to their own reality as well. That is, I can't assume a model paternity, given that I have never come from a model family, and my parents are not models, or, anything, and I don't have any close examples of that kind of a father. That's one of the things that makes me laugh the most. Because people say "No, but in the end, this is what it is to be father", and, and I look around, and my father was never like that. I look at my grandfather, he was never like that. I look at the father of my mother, he was never like that. And, and, and the truth is I've never met anyone who is a father like that.

And I met one once, who was the father of my cousins, because I lived with them for a while, because of that whole thing about my father leaving, my mother coming back, and, coming and going... ehh, so for a while I lived with them, and they were like the ideal family, where the father worked, and was the breadwinner, and he brought money to the mother, and she waited on him, cooking him nice meals and all that.

And sure, that worked for a while, until they realised that the whole thing was a farce. And until my aunt discovered that my uncle had another lover, and that after all, because it's kind of logical you know, I can't think of anything more boring, how could you not get bored of being like that your whole life, man, from home to work, from work to home, it's horrible, man, it's like a prison. So it's like, somewhere something has to give. It has to break open somewhere, so like, that happened, and that's when I realised that that was the only example I had, like, ahh, is it possible? Can you really do it? And then I began to grow up, I began to understand and to realise that, it doesn't, it doesn't work.

Chapter Six: For Love or for Money

This chapter explores some of the challenges that participants faced around negotiating space in which to 'be fathers' as their children grew older. While the “biological facts” of parenthood are frequently emphasised in policy, literature and discourse (Ruxton & Baker 2009, 352), Aitken's (2009, 6) description of fatherhood as “emotional work” seems to fit better with participants' accounts of their situations. As previous chapters have shown, in many cases these fatherhoods were contested rather than taken-for-granted, whatever their genetic 'truths'. These men's searches for fathering space, inspired in part by powerful emotional impulses, thus suggested a very active process: what Aitken (*ibid.*, 182) called “the doing that is fathering”.

Two key issues for participants in negotiating fathering space were, as the chapter title suggests, love and money. The central sections of this chapter are organised around these two issues, and examine the nature and impacts of rigid and very gendered institutionally-ordained 'larger stories' whereby fathers are conceived of in relation to intact nuclear families, and as financial providers for those families. The chapter also points out, however, that as powerful as such stories might have been in these men's external worlds, they had little hold on participants' understandings of their own fatherhoods, given they were so different from their lived experiences. The above raises a key point with regards the agency of 'young' fathers, often-forgotten in GAD research (as explored in Chapter Two), to critically reflect on dominant discourses and their own realities in relation to them (Barker & Loewenstein 1997).

Love stories

As Chapter Four explored in depth, reproductive work in Chile is highly feminised (Rajević 2000), and heterosexual nuclear families are the exalted ‘norm’ (Olivarría 2000), although in practice – as participants' stories demonstrated – extended families often continue to act as powerful units when pregnancy occurs, particularly in situations that do not fit with such ‘normalised’ familial structures. Relatedly, powerful discourses exist around fathers being able to participate in their children's lives *insofar as* they are in romantic relationships with those children's mothers. Luis' description of his various attempts to “recuperate my family” (2009 pers. comm., 17 Mar.) through 'getting back together' with the mother of his daughter, speaks to this assumed link between being the partner of

the mother, and being the father of the child. Literature on the topic often appears to idealise parents who 'stay together': Barker and Verani (2008, 40) cited Guzman's (2001) study as finding that one of the 'benefits' of fatherhood was that it "led (men) to... accept and invest in relationships (with the mothers of their children) that they might consider less than ideal." According to that author, such actions "suggest maturity" (ibid.). Social worker Rodrigo's reflection (provided below) on the 'snippets' of participants' stories that I shared in the presentation and group discussion in Santiago revealed similar values. He seemed critical of the men for not trying harder to maintain romantic relationships with the mothers of their children:

I'm still dubious about, if the guys in your interviews, if issues came up after that about how, they confronted conflictive situations... whether they didn't, they mightn't have seen the relationship like something disposable, like I've got a problem with the in-laws, and on top of that I've got a child, and ahh, so many problems, I'm off... (2009 pers. comm., 24 Jun.)

However, Rai, Gopal and Ángel were somewhat skeptical of the kinds of discourses described above, which didn't fit with their own experiences, as Gopal's comments in the preceding story section exemplified. Rai explained how he began to see 'traditional' (which I understand in this instance to mean 'hegemonic models of') romantic relationships and families as false and contrived, after being banned from seeing his pregnant girlfriend by her own rather 'traditional' family:

I used to be like very, very traditional in my way of seeing romantic relationships, the family, before I was going to have a child. Then when, I couldn't be with my child, or with, with the mother, while, while [my son] was growing, inside her, it was like I began to, to question a lot of things. And I began to like, because of the fact that her family didn't want me to be with her. And it was like, from there I began to question, the idea of the traditional family. And... so, by then I was really, quite unbelieving in romantic relationships, and the family... And so after that when we tried to be together again, it didn't work. It didn't work.

Monica: Because you'd changed?

Rai: Because I'd changed. That's right. I didn't feel good. I mean, I didn't believe in it. I didn't believe in it, and on top of that it seemed so false to me that now we could be together, after... after when they didn't want to see me, and when they went around looking for me so that they could beat me up (haha). I saw it as all so, I don't know, I didn't believe in it. So, it didn't work out. It didn't work out, so from there... umm... we had problems... (2009 pers. comm., 14 Apr.)

Gopal described how his relationship with his girlfriend changed so fundamentally when she became pregnant that they were unable to retrieve the love they had previously shared. He understood this to be a chiefly 'biological' issue, although his emotional response to it is also evident:

The first stage of the pregnancy was really beautiful... to see – well, for me, actually, it was hell. I mean, in terms of, of the ways women's behaviour changes a lot when they get pregnant, especially in the first three months. Because they're like, just beginning, that whole hormonal thing and all that, and they're really changeable, and [the mother of my son] couldn't stand me for example. That is, she didn't like my smell. That was it, that was what she didn't like. And I kind of maybe, instead of, I didn't use cologne, it was something, and I think that's something really instinctive, like she already has her puppy and she doesn't want the dogs to get close, right?

And I was there, like kind of understanding it all, and all that, and also really gutted, sometimes, from knowing that, s**t, that this woman isn't this woman anymore but she's, she's the mother of, of a being that you don't even know, that, essentially, your relationship has already changed, for ever, that, I'm never going to be with that woman again, and I, loved that woman. And after that I did have a lot of affection for her. But, it was like for me when she got pregnant, for me, that woman that I loved, that woman, disappeared. Like as if they had taken my girlfriend and put another woman in her place (2009 pers. comm., 5 Apr.).

Whatever their interpreted reasons for 'things not working out' romantically with the mothers of their children, Ángel, Gopal and Rai all seemed to have established a clear sense of separation between romantic relationships and responsible fatherhood, which contrasted with the discourses and literature mentioned above. Ángel's description of what he said to the mother of his first child when she suggested that they 'get back together' makes this quite apparent:

I said to her right away, you know what, I can be responsible for my child, but not for you. I mean, don't think that... that because we've got a son we're going to repeat the adventure. The adventure could be repeated. But it has to be for feeling and not for the child (2009 pers. comm., 9 Apr.).

These men's detachment from dominant discourses around romance and family made a lot of sense given the situations they described to me. Yet the tones of bitterness and sadness that inflected their commentaries, and their obvious struggles to find space in which to 'father' in the ways they wanted to, suggest that relationships and responsibilities can be much more difficult to disentangle in practice than to deconstruct in theory. As previously mentioned, motherhood in Chile is socially conceived of as more important than fatherhood, and this is reinforced by laws that grant mothers sole custody of their children in the case of a separation (Pancho 2009 pers. comm., 29 May). So, for participants, maintaining or constructing harmonious relationships with these mothers when they stopped being 'romantically involved' was critical to the kinds of relationships they were able to develop with their children. This idea of mothers as gatekeepers of fathers' involvement is frequently referred to in Latin American research on participation in parenting (Lewis & Lamb

2007); Barker and Verani (2008, 33) confirmed that “in most of the region, the father-child bond and ongoing relationship is nearly always mediated or filtered through the father’s relationship with the mother”.

Keeping such relationships friendly and functional often seemed a difficult task, particularly in a society that in Rajević's (2000, 107) words, “can't conceive of anything different to life in couples”; and in which, in my own experience, ex-lovers can be treated with extreme jealousy and suspicion by current partners. In such a context, it is easy to imagine the complexities of maintaining a healthy relationship with a former partner *with whom one has a child*, particularly whilst negotiating new romantic relationships. Further to this, the nature of the Chilean justice system, which disallows shared custody and makes it “very easy for women to put barriers in place so that fathers don't see their children” (Pancho 2009 pers. comm., 29 May), seems only to encourage polarised, with-us-or-against-us kinds of arrangements. In the previous story section, for example, Rai (2009 pers. comm, 14 Apr.) described how the courts instructed that he meet with his son in “neutral terrain” when seeking visiting rights, clearly demonstrating how custody issues are often constructed as battles rather than potentially mutually beneficial negotiations from the outset.²³

However, Ángel and Rai were quite explicit that learning to deal with the complexities of changing relationships, *without* recourse to such simplified polarisations, was both possible and a very good idea. When I asked Rai what could be done to make things easier for fathers in situations like his, he replied that better education about emotions and relationships could make a big difference – as he elaborated,

I think that, I don't know, if people were like more, more secure in themselves, and more conscious of their emotions, I think lots of problems would be avoided. Knowing how to say when you don't want to be with someone, but I'm not going to hate them because of that (2009 pers. comm., 14 Apr.).

This is not to suggest a kind of clinical detachment from love and other complex emotions, but rather a commitment to work with them more constructively; Rai clarified that

²³ In 2005 (*after* Rai's experience with the courts took place) a specialised system of Family Courts was established, which aimed among other things to “promote people solving their conflicts themselves, voluntarily and through peaceful agreements, especially by means of mediation” (Ministerio de Justicia 2005) – in my view a sound step toward more functional and equitable arrangements. However, as Pancho (2009 pers. comm.) pointed out and the second section of this chapter explains, without substantive reform to custody and child support laws it is in practice quite difficult to achieve these kinds of agreements, particularly in an institutional setting.

...people tend to see it as something two-sided. You're either dependent, emotional, a mummy's boy, or you're cold, distant and super independent... So, of course, neither of those two sides really, they don't seem very good, really... I mean, I think that all two-sided conflicts are false... And I think that, being independent, doesn't mean being cold. Self-regulation, being free, doesn't mean not being tender or affectionate (2009 pers. comm., 29 Apr.).

As Ángel understands it, learning to love and let go, rather than clinging to happily-ever-after stories and resenting partners who don't play their roles right in such fantasies, is very important:

I see a lot of unhappy people... they think that love is just one person in one moment and they love and love and, after a while, they hate each other... They say, that it's something scientific, that when you create in your mind, images of the future and you go along creating things, and suddenly you cut those things, it shortcircuits things, and it stays there, and then you'll suffer illness, old age, suffering, and it shortens your life. You create unhappiness. And I try not to create that unhappiness (2009 pers. comm., 9 Apr.).

The above seems to suggest that providing constructive mediative support for mothers and fathers, and relationship education for young people more generally that emphasises emotional awareness and non-violent communication rather than 'staying together at all costs', might be very valuable in such a context. According to Barker and Verani (2008), initiatives of this kind are currently very scarce in the Latin American region. As noted in Footnote 23 above, the Chilean Family Courts *do* provide mediative services that aim to facilitate peaceful, co-operative arrangements (Ministerio de Justicia 2005), but 'youth-friendly' support *outside of* the courts could perhaps prove much more accessible for people in situations such as these men's. The following section explores another, similarly significant obstacle to participants' negotiations of fathering space: money.

Money stories

As mentioned, the idea that fathers should be first-and-foremost financial providers for their children is a key feature of dominant discourses around reproduction and gender roles (Whitehead & Barrett 2001). Hence, fathers' capacities to 'bring in money' are considered in much literature as perhaps the most determinant factors in whether and to what extent they can play other kinds of roles in their children's lives (Davies 2009 conference presentation, 1 Apr.) In the Chilean context, Pancho (2009 pers. comm., 29 May) commented that "that's an ideological issue which is very strong here... the idea that caregiving issues are women's issues. And men, what's their issue? Cash. Money. Nothing more than that." As a result, he maintained, Chilean men tend to be "still very

attached to their role of provider” (ibid.). In line with such ideas, prior to beginning fieldwork in Chile I was concerned that talking about this issue might be particularly sensitive for participants. I was aware of the financial situations of the men I had thought about interviewing, and did not want to awaken feelings of guilt or embarrassment about not playing their socially-ascribed roles correctly.

To this end, all participants certainly mentioned that the time they were able to spend with their children was often dependent on the money that they could pay to support them. Gopal commented rather cynically that “it's like he's a commodity, you know, it's like, I pay you so you give my son to me for two weekends” (2009 pers. comm., 6 May), and Ángel described his situation similarly: “It's like, [my son] shows up with a backpack on, and I give you the money. Like that. Trading. It sucks” (2009 pers. comm., 9 Apr.).

Under Chilean law, fathers who don't live with the mothers of their children have the right to regular visits, but also legal obligations to pay child support. While child support and visiting rights are not contingent on each other by law (Michea 2009), in practice they often become so, because a legal demand by one parent tends to be countered with a corresponding demand by the other (Pancho 2009 pers. comm., 29 Mar.). Formal child support was very costly relative to the earnings of the men I interviewed,²⁴ and they could be imprisoned for not paying it. So, the women (and their families) in the situations they described seemed to hold rather powerful negotiating positions in this respect, while these men's options were limited.

The above seems to me to be a prime example of one of the “experiences of powerlessness (that men can have) in their relationships with women” (Cornwall 2000, 20), which are overshadowed in much GAD work by stories of men's oppressiveness in such relationships (ibid.). Informal agreements, whereby whenever fathers came up with what mothers (and/or their families) decided were acceptable financial contributions they could see their children (with recourse on the mothers' part to legal action if this was not fulfilled), seemed particularly common among the people I spoke to. However, in Rai's case the issue *was* settled in court: he gained visiting rights, and his parents, at the time fieldwork took place, continued to help him pay the monthly fee.

²⁴ The minimum sum for formal child support in Chile is 60,000 pesos (approx. NZ\$160) per month; more if the mother's socio-economic status is high (Michea 2009). Given that the men I interviewed often struggled to pay their monthly rent - in all cases well under half that sum - it is understandable that coming up with such a fee on a regular basis would have been very difficult for them.

Of course, given that the women (and their families) in these stories were doing the majority of caregiving *and* economic provision for their children, it is absolutely understandable that they might seek financial assistance for this from the children's fathers, *particularly* in a country that, true to the neoliberal reforms it underwent in the 1970s-80s, provides little in the way of state support (Rajević 2000). What I see as problematic, however, is the idea that if these men don't or can't contribute with money, “then not with anything else, that is, they're punished when they don't give money” (Pancho 2009 pers. comm., 29 May). Rather contradictorily, then, this role of financial provider seems to be both expected of all fathers, and unreachable for many, especially given increasing unemployment and underemployment in the region over the last few decades (Barker & Verani 2008).

Importantly, though, the men I spoke to seemed quite unattached to 'provider' roles, in contrast to Pancho's earlier comments and my own assumptions. They were all eager to *take care of* their children, not just earn money for them; to play a range of roles in their lives, using their creativity and the resources that were available. Rai, for example, was confident he could take care of his son for much less money than that which he was demanded as child support, if given the chance:

Money is a, is an obstacle as much as you want it to be an obstacle. Because, because actually, I don't need so much money, and a child needs less money than I do. So, it's like, this thing that money is so important is because, really, it's a consumerist way of looking at life. That all kids have to have new clothes all the time, that they have to have new toys all the time... So, in that sense the money issue is an obstacle when that ideal is there, but if that ideal is not there, there's no reason for it to be an obstacle (2009 pers. comm., 14 Apr.).

Sergio, a Valparaíso solo father, self-proclaimed activist for fathers' rights and friend of mine, similarly suggested that fathers who were unable to pay high child support fees should have opportunities to negotiate alternative parenting arrangements:

I've lived through the experience of, child support, separation, of not being able to see my dad because sometimes the father doesn't have money to give to his children, and he just can't see them, and that's it. So, as a solo father myself, I'm an activist that, there should be other kinds of payment. Not only with money, because it could also be with resources. That is, I could feed him one week, and you another week, or I look after him one week, or one month, and you the next month, come to agreements of that nature... it's a logical issue of coming to agreements and, to what's really fair, because, a man if he doesn't have any money, he could still live with his child. And, instead of sending him to preschool, he could look after the child himself (2009 pers. comm., 13 May).

These men's comments suggest much more gender-equitable attitudes than people in their situations

are commonly characterised with (Beattie 2002). While the 'provider role' idea might continue to have very real consequences for the kinds of fathering they are able to do, it was not a 'believable' model for many of them, as Gopal's story in the previous section, and Ángel's description (below) of his grandfather's parenting, makes clear:

My grandfather was violent. He used to beat up his children, he thought all he had to do was give them a roof over their heads and feed them. And... he didn't give them the tools, I mean he did own a bakery, they were all well-fed, but it's not like children just need food and nothing else (2009 pers. comm., 22 Apr.)

In line with the above, it appears that important opportunities exist for further GAD research to investigate whether these men's desires to *do things differently* from that which hegemonic models of fatherhood propose are widespread in the region. Much research in this field emphasises the importance of pointing out the “cracks and fissures” (Whitehead & Barrett 2001, 19) in hegemonic models of masculinity in order to “expose their contradictions and complications” (ibid.); exploration of the ways that men would *like* to father given the opportunity might be a useful place to start.

Conclusion

This chapter has revealed some clear structural parameters to participants' 'fathering spaces' that are based on dominant discourses around men's and women's roles in families and childrearing, and that are reinforced in institutional arenas such as the justice system. However, it has also shown that such parameters, and the assumptions they are based on, have little in common with these men's own understandings of what constitutes 'satisfactory' fatherhood, which are rather more egalitarian and flexible than tends to be imagined.

The following story section and chapter refer to the rhythms and relationships that characterised these men's fatherhoods at the time fieldwork took place, when their children were aged between seven and thirteen. The chapter focusses particularly upon the benefits and challenges that participants referred to with respect to their particular stories of fathering.

Story Section Four: Finding the Rhythm

Luis:

I, after all I tried to be responsible, tried to, to change my way of life because, you know that I'm more, like a wanderer, like I like to, be in, like, if I'm in one place for a long time, like now, I feel suffocated, like drowned here, and I need to be like in another environment, in another, in another city, to, like get my energy back... and return here after that. So, I kind of, left all that to one side to try to get my family back and have a normal job and, and live with them; but in reality, it didn't work. All the times I tried it didn't work. So...

I mean, even so, three times? I think that's nothing, but... at least I tried. For someone like, like, like me with this way of life, I think that it was definitely, it was definitely a sacrifice, what I've done. But I don't, after all, saying that, I'm thinking more about myself than, than in my daughter... but... I don't know, I don't have... a way... like a way to explain it so that this sits ok.

Rather (clears throat), I just am, that's my way of being, I still don't know why, because, I don't know, my mum isn't like me, my grandfather isn't like me, my family isn't like me, and so it's like... I don't know where I got this personality from, this way of living life. Maybe it's because I brought myself up alone, out in the open, like, without limits, without anyone telling me "hey, that's not done, hey, don't do that, hey, you have to go over there, hey..."

So it was like, ok I'm going to do this today, I'm going to... like they were my decisions, not other people's decisions. Because most children, like, have to, go by other people's decisions, and they, they don't get to do anything else. (2009 pers. comm., 23 Mar.)

Monica: And how, how would you like it to be with them, now? What would the ideal situation be for you?

Luis: For me?

Monica: Like, not necessarily, being with [the mother of your daughter], but...

Luis: No, of course, of course not, not being with her, but yes, having contact with my daughter, for example I'd love to have her, like in the weekends, and to do things with her. (2009 pers. comm., 17 Mar.)

Ángel:

I try... to be happy myself so that I can give that happiness to my children. You know? Start by loving ourselves, and from there love my children. And, and that they are not worth more than I am, nor I more than they are. We're worth the same, but happiness is your own first of all. And my son, when I'm with my son... his mother, to make herself happy, to make him happy, does everything that he wants. Sometimes without loving herself...

But I'm not, I don't believe in that policy. I'm honest with my son, I say to him, today we're not going to play. We're not going to play whatever he wants to play. Because sometimes he wants me to be a clown the whole time with him, and I don't let him. I play the clown when I want to be a clown... but I say to him, the fact that we're together doesn't mean that we're together every moment. It's good for each person to have their own space, for him to make up his own games... (2009 pers. comm., 22 Apr.)

Now I have to do... first a house for my partner. And after getting a house for them, a house for me. In Chile with two hundred thousand pesos,²⁵ you can get a loan for a house. And I want her to get a house, that will be hers, [my daughter's] mother's, and that I apply for mine that will be mine and my children's...

And having that, those resources, I think that the justice system won't have a reason to deny me my children. Because, like, look, where are my children going to live? They already have a legal place to live...

For me though, actually, I don't care whether my children have that house. Although sure, one day we'll use it. But what I'd most like to do with them is travel. Travel, live a life that, I don't know, that they don't live the kind of life that most people live which is, go to work all day, get home, turn on your Notebook, go on the Internet, that they, that they'll live a, special life, that might be, traveling on horseback, you know? Just set off with a few clothes, and, and learn that way, from nature, get to know children from other cultures, other people... that, to me, is the best education. (2009 pers. comm., 9 Apr)

Rai:

Then, when I came here things began to change, because with me being further away, it was like the, the passion faded. And from there I started seeing my son in the summer holidays. Sometimes I'd go there, other times he would come here with his mum. She took her holidays here as well, made the most of me being with him, we'd have holidays together. Errr... normally once a year I see him for two months, a month, I don't see him a lot.

Monica: Mmhmm. And you still do it like that, like, in the summer?

Rai: Yeah, in the summer. And sometimes, when I have to travel for some reason to Punta Arenas, in winter too. But that's very occasional. And... yeah. For example this summer has been, it was a summer in which I didn't see him. I used to see him every summer, and this summer I didn't see him because... err...because his mum had a problem, she'd told me that she was coming here with her partner and she had a problem, and she ended up with no money and had to work all summer. But she had the bus fares and everything. And, my son didn't want to come by himself. And in fact he's never come by himself. He's always come with his mum and I don't know if he'll come by himself one time. I'd like that. Mmm... We hardly talk at all on the phone.

Monica: It must be pretty hard to communicate that way...

Rai: Yeah... because I don't like talking on the phone, and neither does he, he'd rather be playing, he'd rather, like he tells me what he's doing at that moment, and suddenly, ah, he gets bored, so he doesn't want to...and I don't really like talking on the phone either. So we have a really, distant relationship all year, but when we see each other, it's like we just pick up from, the last time we saw each other and, it's like really close. But during the year, the relationship is almost non-existent. Until we see each other again. But when we see each other we get on really well.

Monica: And how is it for you, like being, suddenly a father, suddenly, really far away?

Rai: It's like... like I try like to not, I don't know like I don't, I try not to give much importance to that. Because it's like to be honest I don't, I don't like it... Like I forget that I'm a father. I forget that I'm a father, when I'm not with him. (2009 pers. comm., 14 Apr.)

Rai: I love being with him. Because... well, it must be because he's my son too. Because, but not in the sense that he's my own flesh and blood, but rather in the sense that because, I'm seen him since he was little, I've watched him grow up his whole life, I've been with him, I've seen how he grows, so, it's something that I really enjoy, because, I don't know. I like to play, and you can't play much with adults...

Rai & Monica: hahaha

Rai: So playing with him is awesome. Although, it's weird because, the more he grows, the less fun I have with him. Like, he's more and more grown up, so it's like he somehow forgets, what it is to play... But, being with him is really good for me. Whatever the case. Playing with him, sharing things, and... learning things. And teaching things too. It's really good for me and, I don't know, it's strange because I actually get that with all children. But with him, it's like I have a much tighter relationship. But it must be, because we allow it. Because we're father and son. Because we open ourselves to one another, and with other children it's like you don't open up because, you just don't allow yourself to.

Monica: Mmm... Do you think you could make that kind of a link with anyone?

Rai: I think that if you allowed it, yes. But we're not formatted to, to open up with just any child. Or, not every child opens up to, to you. Because, we talk about strangers and family. So you open up with your family, and you don't open up with strangers. So I think it could be like that with any child. But, I have that relationship with my child. And so I enjoy it, I mean, when I'm with him I enjoy it. (ibid.)

Gopal:

What's good about (the mother of my child), what I kind of like about her, is that she doesn't do things by halves (haha). Like if things are bad between us, they're bad. And if we're fine, we're fine. So, in that sense it's good. And also the fact that we say what we think. I mean, if she does something that annoys me, I say it, even if it's going to create conflict, but more than anything, we're, we're friends. You know?

I mean, after so much time together, so many issues together, we went through what I think is the most complex stage of human existence together, so it's like, there's, there's, it's part of your biography, right? So you can't, like, eliminate her from your life. There's a child for a reason, too. I mean I'm, completely conscious that, it's not by chance that she and I have a child together. I wouldn't have had a child with just anyone, you know?

Now, I've managed to find the, like the rhythm in the thing. When I was younger, sometimes it made me sad, sometimes it made me angry, sometimes it made me frustrated, and all that. But now I understand that things are actually, very cyclical. That all things are circular, that everything, that at one moment we're here, ok, fine, let's leave it, we're going to be here again, and that's how we've managed to have a relationship...

I was with [my son] on Monday. I went to pick him up from school. And we went out to eat somewhere, I was with my sister too, and my mum. We walked around, we went to a few different places, we went to buy toys, something, and I took him back to his house.

And... and he was really great, I like that... he's happy to see me, you know? And, and it makes me happy when he's happy to see me, and the truth is, I won't say that we have a father-son relationship, like that, it would be like, it would be something that I'd never want to have with him, I'd hate that, I find that something like very acquisitive, like, I'm your father, you're my son, and already immediately that makes a difference between us. When you create that difference, right away you can't relate directly with him. Because you start from a point of, I'm the one who knows, I'm the one who teaches, I'm the one who says, yes or no. You know? Or, or you can go this far, but you can't go that far.

So, to me, it's like, when you apply that stupid label of father and son, it's like you determine the roles, and I hate that, so when I'm with him, we actually just play, just that, throw rocks, you know, and run around, fall over, we play in the grass, I don't know, we do whatever.

And that's my relationship with him. Not (haha), it's not like, well, I do try to pass on to him certain things that have helped me in my life, and not to impose them, but rather to tell him, like say, it's often good to tell the truth (haha). It's not bad to lie, we all lie, all the time. But, it's good to tell the truth too, because that keeps you out of a whole lot of problems, and it's incredible how he understands stuff, like he understands it just like that, like, suddenly, profoundly. He made me laugh the other day, he said to me (haha), we've got to go real quick along this street, Dad, and I look at him and, "why?" "Cause they told me the human flu has been hanging around here and he might catch us." (2009 pers. comm., 29 May)

Chapter Seven: Dads in the Distance

The previous chapter explored constraints to participants' 'fathering space'. It showed how dominant discourses, particularly around family structures and men's roles within these, did not necessarily determine Luis, Ángel, Rai and Gopal's understandings of their fatherhoods but certainly limited the kinds of actions they were able to take 'as fathers'. This chapter explores in more depth these men's evaluations of the spaces that they *did* find, the forms that their fathering found (Aitken 2009). It firstly addresses some of the benefits participants noted around fathering in such ways. Then, I consider how their experiences might relate to commentaries in the literature about 'new' kinds of families and relationships in Latin America, and offer some suggestions for GAD work around these issues. Lastly, the chapter notes some of the challenges participants identified around 'being fathers' in ways that fulfilled their own expectations and emotional needs.

Benefits

Luis, Ángel, Rai and Gopal all noted at some point in our conversations that being unable to participate in an 'orthodox' manner in their children's lives had brought certain benefits both to them and to the children themselves. Gopal observed in Story Section Three that his emotional connection to his son remained significant even when “the physical relationship, isn't, isn't really there” (2009 pers. comm., 29 May); regional research suggests that this kind of emotional proximity can indeed be more important than physical presence from children's points of view (Barker & Verani 2008). Luis considered that, had he not been 'pushed away' by the family of the mother of his daughter, he would have ended up in a more conventional job, and would not have continued to follow his passions: “I wouldn't have, continued practising capoeira, I would have been, I would have been working doing who knows what” (2009 pers. comm., 18 Apr.). Rai similarly evaluated his being persuaded to leave Punto Arenas (where his son lived) and move to Valparaíso:

It's strange, because I wanted to stay there, but now, ok, it was really good for me to come here (haha). I mean, I would rather have come here than stayed there, but at that stage I wanted to stay there whatever the cost (2009 pers. comm., 14 Apr.).

As previous chapters have alluded to, these men's non-normative experiences of fatherhood seemed to have provoked them into thinking critically about dominant discourses in their lives more generally, and to search for different ways of doing things that felt more authentic to them. Each

one valued personal autonomy, equality and the ability to construct and maintain 'alternative' lifestyles very highly, and at the time of this study all lived in flexible, communal and relatively gender-equitable arrangements (which group discussion members in Santiago assured me was something only “artistic people do” (Rodrigo 2009 pers. comm., 24 Jun.), although in Valparaíso I found it to be relatively commonplace). They all hoped that their modelling of 'unconventional' ways of life would represent a kind of “difference that makes a difference” (Davis 2005, 85) for their children. That is, they aimed for their lifestyles to serve as “reference points” (Gopal 2009 pers. comm., 6 May) that would disrupt the dominant discourses their children were likely to be exposed to (see Laidlaw 2006), and hence imbue these children with notions of choice and flexibility that they might not otherwise have been aware of. As Gopal elaborated,

I try to... show (my son) that there are options. That the way he lives his life, the way in which, he exists in this moment, is not the only way. That there are many other forms, and that, he can choose one of these other ways when he's older.

Of course, right now he's conditioned, because he's only little, and he lives with his mother, but at some point, he's going to have a choice. In his life. And if, and if there's one thing that stays with him, I hope that, maybe he goes around for a long time without remembering, and then he can still say, shit, actually, I could do something else. You know? I can live my life in a different way. It doesn't just have to be this, or this, or this, or I'm screwed. And... and s**t I think that's really important...

I think that, the more experiences you acquire throughout your life, the more, different realities you see, different ways of life, you're going to be someone with much more, discernment. When you're grown up. You're going to be able to make your own decisions...

And he himself might say to me one day, “you know what, I don't like this way of, how you live your life, and I'm going with my mum.” And I would love for that to happen one day, like that... that he made the decision himself, you know? (2009 pers. comm., 6 May).

As noted previously, being 'different to the rest' was certainly a point of pride with all participants. I wondered, though: how rare or radical *were* these men's attitudes toward parenting and family? Did they speak perhaps to wider movements in the region, away from rigid hegemonic models and toward more diverse, flexible and egalitarian arrangements?

Gopal's stated values certainly resonate somewhat with Colombian social scientist Palacio's (2008, 7) claim that Latin American family structures are increasingly evolving into “affective and emotional construction(s) based on personal autonomy and shared responsibility.” In her view, such constructions represent “a new order that proposes a distinct pact of co-existence between human beings” (ibid.). Many Latin American social scientists have claimed that this transformation is

linked to the region's purported progression toward “modernity” (see Arraigada 2002, 148). Some have also related it to processes of democratisation, initiated chiefly in the 1980s and 1990s, which many Latin American countries have experienced following periods of military dictatorship (Olavarria 2000). They have deemed such processes to have influenced a range of arenas, including family life (Waylen 1994).

However, Kolectivo Poroto member Francisco (2009 pers. comm., 25 Mar.) maintained that while different ways of doing and understanding fathering and family might be particularly visible at this point in time, they are perhaps not as novel as they are often depicted. While much, for example, is made in some literature and media about 'new' and 'better' forms of masculinity (Rowan 1996), Francisco took issue with such portrayals, because

what it assumes, is like, [this new, more gender-equitable man] comes from somewhere else. Like someone discovered him, and he appears, and they put him here. And we believe that, within what, within the different experiences of masculinity that already exist, there are experiences that have survived the hegemonic model. And they're there, it's just that they've been made invisible, you know? (ibid.)

This analysis made sense to me, particularly in a Chilean context where as Rajević (2000, 18-19) explained, “The dominant discourse is paternalistic, punishing, moralist, but it represents a minority and life is most definitely somewhere else.” In the previous story section, Ángel described his intention to buy a house – not to use, but so that the justice system would grant him visiting rights - and Luis in Chapter Four spoke ambivalently of getting married 'on paper'. Such examples show clearly the kind of space that commonly exists between 'larger stories' and the institutions that reinforce them, and *what is actually done* in people's everyday lives.

So, rather than push for fathers' adoption of wholly 'new' kinds of perspectives and behaviours, this work suggests that future GAD work might usefully promote a kind of revaluing of the more egalitarian practices and experiences that already form part of many men's (and women's) lives, as several Latin American gender-equity NGOs already advocate (de Keijzer 2004; Papai 2001). Such an approach reflects the 'spiral logic' perspective that infused this research: it implies that 'progress' on gender issues might not need to signify moving forward and away from where we started. Rather, it could involve revisiting other moments from different perspectives, seeing them otherwise and learning from them anew.

Challenges

Importantly, though, while participants observed benefits to the kind of fathering that they had done so far – for both themselves *and* their children – they often seemed uncertain about whether what they did was actually 'enough' (see Marsiglio et. al., 2000). Luis' emotional account of his fathering situation at the time this research took place was threaded with notions of anxiety and inadequacy, as below:

I haven't been in any contact with the mother of my child since... (clears throat) about a year and a half ago. More or less. Since I've had, zero contact with her. Because, I don't have her cellphone number, and, it's not, whenever I go to the South, I've only been going to my mum's house... Actually (clears throat), it's like... it's like for me, bad to say that she's my daughter, because... I didn't raise her, to tell the truth, but rather I was just the guy who, who happened to... So it's bad to say that... because actually...err... it's her daughter... it's... hers (2009 pers. comm., 17 Mar).

As Marsiglio et al. (2000) claim is common for fathers who do not have strong physical presences in their children's lives, Rai sometimes seemed similarly dubious as to his 'legitimacy' as a father. His frustration with his limited involvement in decision-making in his child's life, which he linked to his geographical distance from his child for most of the year, was also quite apparent:

I have, ideas like, I don't know, after all, it might be something egotistical, but, I have like ideas about like education, about childhood... that I don't, like... that when I'm with him, I can, I don't know. I can, like practice them in some way. But all the rest, all year long, I know that it's something else. And it's like that disheartens me a lot. Because, because I'd like him to be more free, that he were more, I don't know, that he had a more healthy and free childhood. But, in reality, his life is, normal, nothing more. Like, in how things are done, in how things are practiced. For example about medicine. [My son] gets sick a lot. He's always sick when I call him on the phone. In bed, and with, they give him lots of antibiotics, lots of medicine. And of course, those are the things that are making him sick. And it makes me sad that, that he has to undergo that kind of treatment for example.

Monica: Yeah. But you couldn't, for example his mother doesn't, you can't like, help her with decisions like that about, upbringing and...

Rai: No, no, not at all, because I have no voice. But, I'm not like the father. I'm like, I'm the father but... I'm not present, so it's like, that doesn't allow me to have much of a voice (2009 pers. comm., 14 Apr.)

These men's feelings seemed to relate not only to residual guilt about not fulfilling more 'conventional' fathering roles, but also to a sense that being more involved in their children's lives would be emotionally fulfilling for them themselves. Rai described how he was affected by being unable to see his newborn son:

You know, back then... I got really depressed. I got really depressed because I couldn't be with my son, and I wanted to. I wanted to see him and, I don't know... I wanted to be a father so much, and so it was really sad for me that I couldn't see him, and that it was so difficult, that there were so many problems. Having that thing with the courts and all that... And that, that put me in a really bad place. Emotionally. So much so that I didn't leave the house much. I hardly ever went out (2009 pers. comm., 14 Apr.).

The above is significant, because while much literature on fatherhood has observed that “men's involvement as fathers is positive for women and children” (Barker & Verani 2008, 39), there is little that speaks to their *own* desires to be involved fathers. That which exists, however, seems largely to correspond with what participants' comments suggest: that “involved fatherhood is good for men themselves” (ibid.). Of course, as Gopal acknowledged, being an 'involved' father, especially in an inorthodox manner, will inevitably entail complex negotiation (with others *and* oneself), and it can be difficult to reconcile 'being true to oneself' with bringing up a child in a world that is not arranged according to one's own values:

I was basing my life around him when he was first born. And soon, I began to say, like, I began to say, damn, I do have a life philosophy too, independent of the fact that, sure, I have to, I know I have to sacrifice certain things for my son's wellbeing. But, my intrinsic things, my, fundamental values, I can't compromise, not for anyone, not just for him, but not for anyone, so there I find myself, in conflict. You know? In the conflict of me having my things that I still have very clear, you know, of what I have to do and what I'm going to do, right? and the circumstantial day-to-day things (2009 pers. comm., 29 May).

Still, even bearing in mind such complications and conflicts, it seems to me to be very important that men who *want* to be more involved in their children's lives are supported in finding fair and functional ways to do so (McLanahan 1999).

Conclusion

This chapter has explored participants' perceptions of positive impacts of their 'unconventional' fathering for them and on their children. It focussed chiefly on the critical perspectives on dominant discourses that such experiences seemed to encourage in these men and their hopes to instill in their children similarly critical viewpoints. It has argued that such critical perspectives and non-normative experiences are not necessarily 'new' in Latin America, but may rather have been historically under-valued and seldom listened-to. In this respect, it seems important to acknowledge

the role that future GAD research might usefully play in exploring the *diversity* of men's lived experiences of fathering (Marsiglio et. al., 2000), as opposed to reinforcing existing norms or creating new ones. The chapter has also noted how despite the benefits that participants spoke of, they all remained unsatisfied to some extent with the 'fathering spaces' that they had managed to negotiate in their children's lives. This might have been partially due to continued attachment to dominant discourses around what fathers 'should' do and be. However, it seemed also linked to their own sensations of pain and loss around not being more involved, and convictions that greater involvement would be good for *them* as well as for their children.

The following chapter looks more closely at the emotions that are evident in the above and many other parts of participants' stories and discussions with me. It observes how the 'surfacing' of such emotions in the research process impacted upon this process itself, and on our perceptions of ourselves and each other more generally.

Story Section Five: Coming into each other's stories

Luis:

Monica: OK, here we are, in an exotic location...

Luis: The town of San Javier...

Monica: Yesssss....

Luis: Birthplace of the man you're interviewing, the great sensual incredibly incredible man, alright. Let's get started and stop talking nonsense.

Monica: OK. Alright, first off, how was it, to read it, the second [transcript]?

Luis: It was... now it was kind of more relaxed... I mean it's not something, it's already like, like (haha) like bread-and-butter to me (haha). It's not something like, what's going to happen? It's like, I don't know...

Monica: Like, normal?

Luis: Normal. That's right.

(2009 pers. comm., 18 Apr.)

Monica: If I were a Chilean woman, asking you these things, how would it be different?

Luis: I don't know, I don't think there's much difference. It would be, like... (haha), instead of six days of transcription, it would be like one, or two... That's all.

Monica: You wouldn't feel different, talking with a Chilean woman?

Luis: No. With a man I think it would be different. But with a woman I don't think so. Because, with the man it would be more, like more, like more serious, more... because men... no, actually I don't know, it's tricky, it would be more like, more like joking around. But, with a woman it's like more, because, I think that the majority of women are much more organized than men, for doing this kind of, of thing. And men like joking around more, and, and they would be for example, when I began to talk about the women I've been with and all that, they'd begin to say more about it, like "hey, and what did you do with her..." but with women it's like more, it's like more just what's necessary. Yeah.

Monica: Cool. And... how was it for you, revisiting those things, like more deeply than the other time?

Luis: Ehh... mmm... it's more, I don't know after talking with you the other day, I did start feeling like, more calm about it, and... and it makes me think that, after all I did do a lot of things, for example, with the whole thing about my daughter. I did a lot of things to be with her. Independent of what had happened, and what she and I had lived. So I feel comfortable about the issue, because I'm not... I'm not an exemplary father, or... or someone who a woman deserves either. But, on the other hand, I didn't just abandon my daughter. Because I tried to, to make it work. And I tried more than once. So... although at the same time I think that, I don't know, a thousand times is not enough to... but, I can't do, anything more about it.

(2009 pers. comm., 23 Mar)

Ángel:

Monica: How is it, for you, talking with, someone who isn't Chilean, a woman, about all this, these topics of, paternity, of your life... how has it been for you?

Ángel: It's been, surprising, a surprise, because I didn't, I don't tend to tell this to just anyone. I told my friend, you're not the first foreign girl I've told my story to. I've got a lot of friends from a lot of places, I've had lovers from, from Europe, from other countries, and I've told them my story, and it leaves them in a state of shock. But what surprised me about you is that you do, you see it in a different way, from a different perspective...

Monica: Do you think that, it would have been different if I were, a Chilean woman for example, talking with you about these things?

Ángel: Yeah, of course.

Monica: In what way?

Ángel: It would be different with, Chileans are different from Europeans. Like they're different from Peruvians, like they're different from Argentineans, they're different ways of thinking. Each one is different. Like there must also be Australians who aren't the same as you. But above all I think of you as a, a lovely friend. And a woman, like, like very, mature. Without prejudice. Who, who's going to have a good understanding of what I spoke to you about.

Now, I want to ask you a question. What do you think after having... it's just that you know me, but not many people know all that. Now that you've got to know me, what do you think? Have I been the same person, all along?

Monica: Well... the truth is, it surprised me, because, you always impressed me with, the way you seem, how you live life, it's like in a way that's very, happy and, in some ways kind of very light, like, nothing bothers you, you walk along the streets smiling, making friends with everyone, like really free, and it surprised me, that you had like, a really complicated family, all over the show, a, like, a really complicated challenge to move through, and that you're doing the best you can, given a situation that's so complicated. And it impresses me, that you can do that...

Ángel: It's because I don't plan things, but, did you think my story was different?

Monica: Hahaha, yeah. Because...

Ángel: Yeah, sure, like I say, there are cases and cases. This is a case in which, in which I was lucky enough to be born in this body and be different. And not to keep going in the chain. Because everyone goes along in chains...my sister, she continues with my grandfather's doctrine. And my brothers are violent... My aunt follows the same example. They're, they're in the system. All of them. And they're all about, watching television, having toys...

and why am I so happy? Because I detached myself from all of it. I detach myself. I live my life responsible for what I have to be responsible for... Hey, but that's enough! How great. That you got to know me as I am.

(2009 pers. comm., 22 Apr)

Rai:

Monica: How is it for you, talking about that, like being interviewed, about those things?

Rai: It's weird, I was nervous.

Monica: And now?

Rai: Now I'm more relaxed. But, but it's, I don't know, like I don't talk about my son much in, in normal life.

Monica: Sure.

Rai: In my life I don't, I hardly ever talk about him. Hardly at all. In some ways it's like I said to you, like, I avoid, thinking about how I'm a father when I'm not with him. Because, I don't know, it doesn't do me good. I don't know, it affects me, it affects me badly. It affects me negatively. So because, now it's like, the fact of being specifically dedicated to talking about that, it was like, I got really nervous about the fact that I don't, I don't normally do that.
(2009 pers. comm., 14 Apr.)

Gopal:

You know when [my girlfriend] told me, you know what, she's a friend, who's doing a study, and all that, I said, no, you know what, first of all people who go round doing studies really annoy me (haha), people who go round analyzing things as if they were a, I don't know what, you know? And on top of that someone from overseas, especially someone from Europe, so it was like, or from Oceania in this case, like, s**t, I was really reluctant.

But, all that reluctance is over for me when I get to know somebody. That's why I had all this reluctance, and said no, and all that, but then I said ok, cool, bring her here. Let me talk to her. Right? Let me figure her out. And when I talk with someone and figure out that in the end they are someone really cool, someone who has noble motivations for what they are doing, it's fine.

And from there, straight away, a direct relationship is created. That is, to me, when I'm talking with you, you stop being a New Zealander, you stop being a woman, you stop being everything you could be physically, materially, and I start to talk with you directly. Like, you are you, you are not your body, nor anything else, so (haha), you aren't either a New Zealander or a woman to me, but someone who is sharing something. That's all.

(2009 pers. comm., 29 May)

Chapter Eight: Moving Encounters

Following Aitken (2009), in previous chapters I've written about fathering as an 'emotional work'. As such, I've drawn attention to participants' emotions as evidencing aspects of their impulses to 'do fathering' that are perhaps not easily reducible to either biological *or* social explanations. In a study that also aims to offer insights for GAD research with men in similar situations, reflection on the emotional dynamics of the research process itself is important too. The chapter thus considers the following questions: what kinds of impacts did those dynamics have on this process and the relationships that were developed within it? How might they have interfered with the ways we 'positioned' each other in this environment? And what might have been the impacts of this process for participants and me *beyond* the 'research arena'?

Impacts on the research process and the ways we positioned each other within it

In keeping with the feminist and PAR approaches that inform my work, and particularly given the multiple 'axes of difference' between participants and me, I embarked on this project with a lot of concerns about issues of positionality within it. The identities and experiences of the men I spoke to seemed so different to my own that I often felt unsure about whether it was appropriate for me to even try to understand or interpret them (see Bourke et al. 2009). These concerns were reinforced by a comment from a development practitioner in New Zealand who I explained my project to before I left for Chile: "I think it's really important research to do. But I don't think you're the right person to do it" (2008 reflective diary, 28 Nov.).

As a result, I felt compelled to make explicit my awareness of 'who I was' and 'who I wasn't' when I began engaging with participants. My approach in this respect was similar to Cahill's (2007a, 302) in her research with young urban women of colour, in which she noted that it was necessary early on in the process to "openly address my positionality and identify my standpoint, paying special attention to my whiteness and related privileges." However, as Sparke (1996, 213) criticised, "bold identarian announcements" of this nature can serve to paint positionalities as static: as knowable objects that, once discovered, named, and checked-back about, either matter or don't. At that stage in my research, particularly following critiques such as that of the development practitioner referred to above, I was certainly anxious for reassurance from participants that I was 'ok' to be doing what I was doing, as some of my questioning in the previous story section makes particularly clear. I

sought, perhaps, the “badges” of reflexive-researcher legitimacy that Wolf (1997 cited in Nagar 2002, 180) skeptically described, which Sparke (1996, 213) claimed “seem only to provide a mantra of relief from the more detailed and difficult task... of examining the complex contradictions constituting one's positionality.”

As the project progressed, it became clear – as Sparke had warned – that issues of positionality were much more complicated than ascertaining whether I was 'the right person' or not to carry out the project that I had chosen. Letherby (2003, 131) noted to this end that while there seems to be a trend in feminist research toward working on issues close to one's own experiences and identities, “roles and relationships are complex and identification is not always possible or even desirable”, even when researchers appear to have a lot in common with participants. Also, being slightly 'out-of-place' in research settings can actually create “unexpected possibilities for dialogue” (Vanderbeck 2005, 395) as people often feel compelled to explain and articulate things in ways they might not when speaking to someone with whom they consider themselves to have more in common. For example, I was often told by people that I interviewed, “You see Monica, what happens here in Chile is that...” (2009 reflective diary, 28 May), which gave me considerable insight into how dominant discourses were constructed and understood in the context I was working in - a key focus of my research.

In fact, I sometimes felt that 'naming' my positionality encouraged people to see me for my outside shells, and to interpret them in ways that were not necessarily their own. This resonates somewhat with Nagar and Geiger's (2000, 8) response to pressure to 'name' their positionalities within their research, that “uncovering ourselves in these terms contradicts our purpose of problematizing the dominant meanings attributed to pre-destined social categories.” In my situation, I felt compelled to 'declare' myself in relation to the stereotypes I felt most uncomfortable with – as a 'blonde' 'rich' 'Westerner'. But a lot of Chileans had already formed quite different perceptions of me: for example, some assumed New Zealand was a 'Third World' country because it was geographically in the 'South'; and I was much too short and scruffy to fit into many people's imaginings of a 'Western woman'.

Further, and most centrally for my analysis in this chapter, both Rai and Gopal noted that once they had formed a connection with me, my declared characteristics seemed much less important than they might have initially. Gopal's comments in the previous story section encapsulated this particularly well; Rai's comment, when I asked him what he thought the research process might

have been like with a Chilean male researcher, was similar:

I think that the difference isn't about being male, Chilean or foreign. But about whether it was someone I knew or a stranger. If it were a Chilean guy who I didn't know, it'd be really uncomfortable (2009 pers. comm., 14 Apr.).

This is not to imply that once we get to know someone, all notions of distance in our positionings permanently and unconditionally disappear. At some points in the research process I felt “too far away from [participants'] experiences to be able to say anything” (2009 reflective diary, 3 Jun.); and at others, so close that I seemed to carry their pain in my own body. With the 'potential participant' I referred to in Chapter Three – a man who, superficially at least, seemed to have a lot in common with the men I spoke to in this study – the positional distance between us actually seemed to *increase* as we talked to each other. This experience forced me to think carefully about why my circumstantially-similar interactions with the men who *did* participate had turned out so differently.

Here, Bondi's (2003) notion of empathy as a process of imaginatively entering another's experiential world is useful. It suggests that positional 'barriers' may be put aside if researchers and participants allow emotion, not just thoughts and words, to move between them; if they “feel understood emotionally and experientially as well as cognitively” (ibid., 71). When this kind of empathetic engagement occurs – when we 'touch' each other –, notions of difference are “placed elsewhere” (Aitken 2009, 61). On that note, Ángel commented to me at one point (referring to my imperfect command of Spanish) that “I do think you understand me, right? Or like, you misunderstand too, because, in fact the language, like I said to you...” (2009 pers. comm., 22 Apr.). This suggests that differences do not evaporate entirely when we engage empathetically with someone, but other kinds of understanding and identification can become – momentarily at least – more important.

Empathy, then, seems a useful notion for understanding research relationships in a more holistic and relational manner than positional analysis of the identarian characteristics of their members might provide. However, as my experience suggests, while the mobilisation of empathy may be a common occurrence in research relationships (Bondi 2005a) it is by no means automatic or inevitable. Rather, it requires a sometimes-frightening kind of “surrender” (Aitken 2009, 61) on behalf of researchers *and* participants to intense emotional experiences, and the subjective shifts that these experiences may provoke. When I spoke to the 'potential participant' described earlier in this section, for example, that kind of engagement did not occur. The man in question made it clear that he was 'fine with' telling his story to me, but he didn't expect to get anything out of it himself.

And I was guarded too – I felt threatened by this intelligent, opinionated person who didn't seem to think much of me, so I tried not to show my nervousness and uncertainty about the project, and pretended to be clever and in-control. Our hearts weren't in the interaction, because neither of us was prepared to put them there.

Clearly then, it is important not to portray empathy as a tool at researchers' disposal, but rather as something that *can* occur in a research interaction when people allow it to. However, reflecting on empathy when it *does* emerge seems helpful for researchers navigating issues of positionality and representation, which are important but can also become immobilising, as feminist researchers such as Besio (2005) and Nagar (2002) have noted. Still, while as noted in Chapter One our subjectivities in research relationships are composed of and contingent to those relationships (Gibson-Graham 1994), they can also 'seep out' and affect how we feel and who-we-think-we-are *beyond* the research arena (Cahill 2007b). I wondered, then: what might be the nature of these subjective 'seepages' for participants and researchers; and, what could be the ethical implications of such occurrences?

Wider impacts on participants and myself

As I mentioned previously, 'surrendering' to intense emotional experiences can be a risky and frightening business (Weiner & Auster 2007), whether or not it occurs within the bounds of a research relationship. In this project, several participants mentioned that they did not often talk about their children because of the difficult emotions it brought up for them. Luis confessed that

the truth is, I don't really talk about, this topic much. With... with people like [my friend who is also a father], for example, I talk about it more but, with everyone else I don't... The truth is that not many people know that, I have a daughter and... but it's because, one day they'll ask me and I'll answer, "Yes, I have a daughter, and..."

Monica: Sure. But you'd rather, I don't know...

Luis: The truth is it's because, it makes me remember, bad things.

Monica: Sure.

Luis: Yeah.

Monica: But we're OK?

Luis: Hmm?

Monica: But we're OK, right now?

Luis: Yeah, we're fine (2009 pers. comm., 23 Mar.).

I became aware that asking these men to identify themselves as fathers at times when they were geographically distant from their children was particularly challenging and potentially painful for

them. Rai, for example, explained in Story Section Four that he “forgets” (2009 pers. comm., 14 Apr.) that he's a father when he's not with his child. His comments made me wonder whether perhaps it was better for his emotional well-being to continue with this 'forgetting', rather than be provoked through my questioning into uncomfortable remembering. After all, it seemed unlikely that our conversations would change his situation outside of the “carefully managed arenas” (Kesby 2005 cited in Cahill 2007b, 286) of our research encounters.

However, Luis also mentioned 'forgetting' about his fatherhood in Story Section Three, but went on to correct this statement, claiming that whatever his mind 'did with' the story of his fatherhood, it would remain in his heart. That is (in my interpretation), that particular story would continue to form a part of his emotional landscape, whether his conscious mind allowed it to or not. He also reported, as shown in Story Section Five, “feeling more calm about” (2009 pers. comm., 23 Mar.) this story after telling it to me. The above suggests, similarly to many feminist studies, that feeling pain in a research process “is not necessarily damaging and can have a therapeutic effect” (Blackman 2007, 704) for participants that *does* reach beyond the boundaries of formalised encounters. Also, as Bondi (2005a, 241) noted, telling stories about events in one's life (as participants were invited to do), *particularly* those that one is emotionally invested in,

is an ordinary and necessary practice in many cultures. Most of us feel the need to do this in relation to many kinds of events... whether as a result of trauma (Brison 1997) or for more ordinary processes of confirming, sustaining and creating our identities (Giddens 1991). And so it is worth remembering that if people freely consent to participate in research interviews, they probably really do want to make use of the opportunity to talk that it affords them!

In line with the above, given these men seemed to have had few opportunities to tell their fathering stories to people who were willing to engage empathetically with these, this research – as noted elsewhere – may have been particularly useful in terms of providing space for them to confirm their identities 'as fathers'.

Still, despite such suggestions of positive impacts of the process for participants, I remained somewhat anxious about the 'counsellor' role that my empathetic engagements with participants sometimes pushed me towards. I was often unsure about how to 'deal with' the intense emotions that emerged in many interviews, similarly to Bennett (2008), whose concerns to this end I explored in Chapter Two. As Bondi (2003, 67) noted, it is ethically suspect for researchers to suggest that “participation in research relationships would yield (or be likely to yield) therapeutic benefits.” But

once empathy had been mobilised and interviews became emotionally-charged, I found it difficult to keep my role so clear, particularly given that participants were also friends of mine. I felt responsible for 'bringing up' what-was-being-felt because of my questioning, and I wanted everyone involved (including myself!) to 'be OK' by the end of our research encounters.

Some scholarship - particularly that linked with Rosenberg's work on non-violent communication, to which the 'awakening' of empathy is central (Cunningham 2008) - maintains that sharing emotional experiences with other human beings is a valuable end in itself, whether or not it leads to concrete solutions (Duchscherer 2004). Still, like Bennett (2008, 249), I am uncertain about the impacts of opening up to powerful emotional experiences in research settings, with which participants and researchers alike may be later "left alone". Given my friendships with participants, and a methodology that involved multiple interviews and plenty of informal hang-out time, I was certainly able to 'check up with' other people in this project, in ways that the focus groups informing Bennett's concerns perhaps did not allow (see Browne 2003). However, I still had to leave my field site eventually, and I for one often felt 'alone with' the empathetic emotions I continued to experience as I worked on the project. My experiences in this respect paralleled Bennett's (2008, 248) comments about how far feelings can "grow" or 'develop' beyond meetings through dreams, reflecting, writing and relating experience to others."

In a study that privileges agency, it seems useful here to reflect not only on what I *felt* as a result of my circumstances, but what I *did* with those feelings too. My initial responses were directed towards taking action to help change the situations that saddened me (see Mrs C Kinpainsby-Hill 2010). But the kinds of actions that I had hoped to instigate had not been possible. As Chapter Three noted, my PAR-inspired ideals of collective action were thwarted by the fact that participants were so reluctant to speak of their situations with other men. In line with my post-structural feminist leanings, I had also hoped to 'help' participants to unravel the gender-inequitable social structures that contributed to their situations, but found them to be already quite aware of, and distanced from, such ideas (see chapters Four, Six and Seven particularly), and clear about their agential roles in constructing and negotiating their 'fathering situations' (see chapters Five and Seven).

As I lost faith in my capabilities to instigate change through the kinds of actions described above, I became increasingly convinced of the value of embodied practices that aim to set aside rather than deconstruct notions of identity, such as yoga and meditation. As I wrote in my reflective diary (2009, 16 Jun.), "OK-ness doesn't start from realising you've been ripped off by patriarchy..."

However, I struggled to see how this research could fit with my shifting perspectives. Not only was I unsure about its impacts on participants, but also, as I became more aware of my emotions and other embodied experiences through engagement with the practices described above, the intense impact that the project was having on me became increasingly difficult to deny. As I wrote to my supervisor:

Mostly, I just feel a big heaviness in my chest about all of this at the moment, and I don't know how to get it out of me. And I know I have to keep going because I am obligated to the people I have involved in it, and the scholarship people too, but I don't like being on a course that I've created but that now I feel like it's not doing me good (2009 pers. comm., 3 Jun.).

Then, after I returned to New Zealand and began going back through the transcripts, *and* exploring literature on emotions and empathy in research relationships, I started to realise that what I had felt (and continued to feel) was in fact key to interpreting my research experiences: for the project's sake *and* my own. By being emotionally *as well as* intellectually present as I analysed participants' stories, by noticing and naming the feelings they brought up within me, I could work in a way that felt authentic to my shifted perspectives, *and* to what I had 'set out to do'. I was able to challenge opinions and judgments I'd previously clung to, things that I'd thought I was expected to 'prove'; to work in a "state of care and acceptance" (Bentz & Shapiro 1998, 54) suggest, and thus allow myself to 'spiral' back to other points in the process and see them in different ways. As Bentz and Shapiro (*ibid.*) described:

This attitude allows the Beings of the participants of the study to shine forward, to reveal themselves to the inquirer... Such openness can only be allowed, not forced. In the absence of this kind of openness, all the inquirer can find out is what he or she already knows.

Working in such a way, my analysis changed considerably. For example, as Chapter Four explored, I initially felt compelled to deem participants' interpretations of their awkwardness upon meeting their children 'biologically determinist'. However, when I recalled the empathy I had felt for them when they told me those stories, I was able to move towards a 'Connellese' rather than Foucauldian analysis, in which bodily materialities as well as social structures could be taken into account. Extending empathy to analysis of my own actions 'as researcher', I was also able to accept and celebrate my research encounters for what they (sometimes) were: moments of "communion" (Aitken 2009, 61) where difference dissipated and feelings were understood. For participants who knew me already, the fact that I had come back to Chile and spent time with them was possibly the most important part of the research experience. For me, too, perhaps it was enough to have 'been

there'; to have (unwittingly) entered into 'empathetic space' with participants, and to have learned so much about myself and my ideas around research, therapy, self and social change as I sought to process the emotional impacts of that engagement.

Behar (cited in Pelias 2004, 9) said that scholarship that “doesn't break your heart just isn't worth doing anymore.” My work suggests that intense emotional experiences can certainly provoke important (if painful) shifts in understanding – especially when they are reflected on as part of analysis – and such shifts may be valuable for researchers both within and beyond their research. In saying the above, of course, it is important not to imply that researchers should fling themselves into emotionally-intense research processes and expect to come out the other side unscathed. Rather, I urge researchers to be aware of the potential emotional impacts on themselves of research of this nature are common, and to seek resources that will help them to work with such impacts in ways that are productive for themselves *and* for their projects. I also hope that more researchers will see fit to share such experiences with others, in the interests of both the theoretical enhancement and embodied wellbeing of the 'academic community'.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the mobilisation of empathy can prompt profound shifts in the nature of research relationships and the subjective understandings of the people who constitute them. It can cause positional differences to become less important, and the 'communion' that occurs in this kind of exchange can be a positive experience for both researchers and participants. In this case, participants seemed to enjoy being emotionally understood (for once!) 'as fathers', and perhaps more fundamentally as people doing the best they could given their situations. For my part, being recognised as something other than a 'rich-white-blond' researcher was both refreshing and reassuring. However, empathetic space can stretch beyond the bounds of interviews in ways that can be difficult to know how to 'deal with'. In my experience, reflecting on such space as part of analysis certainly helped me to process and 'find peace with' my experiences, and pushed me to interpret the information I had gathered in new ways. I am very interested in other researchers' experiences to that end: while it seems there is growing literature on the *methodological* benefits of engaging with and reflecting on researcher emotions, little appears to speak to their impacts on researchers in their own right (Bennett 2008). If we are to take seriously feminist researchers such as Wise and Stanley's (1983, 1994 cited in Finch 2004, 64) calls for “banish(ing) the myth of a

dispassionate and unemotional scientific observer, by locating the feeling subject at the centre of all intellectual endeavour,” consideration of such issues seems especially important. Here, perhaps, is where further dialogue between counselling and psychotherapeutic literature, and more general social science scholarship, could be particularly fruitful.

The following and final chapter summarises this work, reflecting on what it has done and considering its potential implications for future GAD and emotional research.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

Here, I summarise the study chapter-by-chapter, and explore what the findings presented here suggest for future GAD and emotional research. I consider areas for further research and possibilities for policy and practice, before offering some final reflections on the overall significance of the project.

What has each chapter done?

In Chapter One, I 'set the scene' for this work, briefly explaining its historical, political geographical and academic context, and noting how I personally became aware of challenges and contradictions in the fatherhood experiences of a number of young men in Valparaíso, Chile. I explained how the project has taken a '*bricolage*' epistemological approach, drawing variously on feminism, poststructuralism, structuration and PAR in framing the work, as well as ways-of-knowing held by some Latin American indigenous groups, while recognising that being explicit about all the epistemologies that inform this research is an impossibility.

In Chapter Two, I established significant literature gaps with regards my two key foci in this research (as encapsulated in my research questions, aims and objectives): experiences and understandings of 'young' fathers in Chile who do not live with or near their children, and impacts of emotions and empathy on research relationships and the people who constitute them.

Methodologically (as outlined in Chapter Three), and in line with the key foci mentioned above, I have attempted to work in ways that prioritised the quality of my research relationships and the holistic integrity of the stories told here. These features of my work are particularly evident in the amount of time I spent with participants (through interview series' and informal 'hanging out'), and the story sections I present between the 'analytical chapters' (Four to Eight). I also acknowledged that, as much space as I gave participants to self-represent, this work remains very much my own interpretation/fabrication of the 'world between' them and myself.

The 'analytical chapters' of this work attend most specifically to my research questions on the potential implications of participants' stories for GAD theory, and of the research process itself for emotional research more generally. Chapter Four concluded that significant gulfs existed between

participants' reactions to finding out they were going to be fathers, and the ways that the reactions of men in similar situations are predominantly portrayed in literature and social discourse. Several participants mentioned their desires to be 'involved' fathers, but were pushed against their will into stereotypical 'absent father' roles that negated the kind of participation they had hoped for, even before their children were born.

Chapter Five was centred on participants' emotions upon meeting their children for the first time. It acknowledged that both biological and social factors contributed to their experiences, but also emphasised these men's agency in interpreting such experiences and finding ways to 'become fathers' that felt authentic to them.

Chapter Six focussed on dominant discourses around 'what fathers do', particularly with regards to romantic relationships with the mothers of their children, and the role of 'provider'. The chapter showed how such discourses impacted upon the 'fathering spaces' participants were able to negotiate as their children grew up. It drew attention to differences between social expectations of fatherhood and what participants would like to offer 'as fathers' if given the chance.

Chapter Seven noted participants' perceptions of the benefits and disadvantages of the kinds of fathering that they did at the time fieldwork took place. It showed that they all valued the non-normative nature of their fathering experiences, and hoped that such experiences would also inform their children's perceptions of dominant discourses around families and lifestyles. However, the chapter also noted lingering dissatisfaction amongst participants with their 'fathering spaces', and the emotional impacts this had on them themselves.

Chapter Eight discussed how sharing empathetic space shifted participants' and my understandings of ourselves and each other in the research relationships we developed. It considered the ethical implications of mobilising empathy in this way, and noted concerns about participants and researchers being 'left alone with' the powerful emotions they may experience in such processes, particularly given such relationships are often somewhat transient and are not explicitly therapeutic in nature. The chapter also drew on my own experiences of 'dealing with' the emotional impacts of the research process to illustrate how remaining 'emotionally present' after I had left the field helped tweak my assumptions, deepen my analyses and find peace with this process and my role in it.

Overall, it is important to emphasise that this research has called forth stories and analyses from

four men who *wanted* to father. Powerful emotions compelled them to do so, even as the bodies they inhabited, and the social meanings attributed to those bodies, made that 'doing' complex and contested. As such, participants' 'wanting' seemed seldom to be considered when arrangements were made by families and courts for children's upbringing, although they often found spaces in which to 'father', in spite of or around the edges of those arrangements. Such desires and 'doings' have been similarly ignored in much current GAD literature, policy and practice on the topic.

In the interests of legitimating knowledges and their associated 'doings' that have been marginalised by gender- and age-based inequalities, this research has acknowledged and celebrated the often-invisible 'emotional work' of fathering that participants were clearly *doing* from day to day, whether or not they were able to be geographically 'present' for their children for extended periods of time. It has pointed to evidence that this kind of 'work', while often difficult to locate, can be valuable for fathers *and* for their children. The project has also shown how in becoming empathetically engaged with powerful emotions such as those mentioned above, researchers and participants come to inhabit a shared space that seems not to be constituted by their physical forms *or* the stereotypes that surround them. In moments of co-habitation in such spaces, the emotional work of these men's fathering became tangible to me-the-researcher. When I experientially understood that work, participants could recognise themselves 'as fathers' in new ways, which reached outside the bounds of the research relationship. In those same moments, *I* could also recognise *myself* as a fellow-being, whatever my identarian characteristics: as “someone who is sharing something. That's all” (Gopal 2009 pers. comm., 29 May).

What might be the implications of this work?

The above observations raise important points for how Latin American men's experiences of fathering are framed in GAD theory. If such men continue to be portrayed either as all-powerful all-providing heads of intact nuclear families or as “seed-spewing” (Williams 1996, 814) *desgraciados*, it can be difficult for 'actual men' to negotiate authentic-feeling ways of fathering that fall outside of the above dualism, as these men's stories have clearly illustrated. My experience also suggests that such men can be quite capable of deconstructing and distancing themselves from hegemonic understandings of masculinity and fatherhood. However, doing so may not necessarily change their situations, particularly given the 'sense of powerlessness' that men, especially young men, can experience in domestic and reproductive realms, and the fact that other people in more powerful

decision-making roles in such situations may subscribe to more hegemonic assumptions about fatherhood and parenting.

The work has also shown, as mentioned in the previous section, how the idea of fathering as a spatially-enacted emotional work that Aitken (2009) used to conceptualise fathering in the United States, can be useful for understanding fathers' experiences in other contexts in the 'global South'. However, as noted in Chapter Two, work on fatherhood and masculinities can not be taken from one context and applied uncritically to another, so this project has attempted to ground Aitken's concepts in 'foreign soil' by considering their contrasts and resonances with literature from Chile and Latin America. It seems pertinent to point out, for example, that the word 'emotional' in the phrase 'emotional work' might be particularly radical for a North American analysis of fathering, because as noted in Chapter Three, hegemonic models of masculinity in that place tend to allow less space than in Latin American contexts for men's emotions to be safely and legitimately expressed. In Chile, though, the word 'work' might be the more radical one in such a phrase, given particularly powerful discourses that define fathers' work as consisting chiefly of income generation (see Chapter Six). Such discourses are supported by large disparities in men's and women's access to and remuneration for paid employment (Pancho 2009): disparities that, while certainly existent, are currently much less marked in the United States.

Also, Aitken's analysis appeared to skirt around the edges of 'spiritual' elements to fathering – though they certainly seemed somewhat silent-but-present in his work. This study, by contrast, was able to touch on such issues (albeit lightly) because of their visibility in participants' stories and analyses (in Story Section One and Chapter Five particularly). In a part of the world where the mundane and the magical often seem to merge quite comfortably (Kakutani 1995), perhaps the above is unsurprising. Whatever the case, such differences speak to the importance of documenting fathering stories in a range of settings, and considering the significances of both the parallels and divergences between them.

Importantly though, and similarly to Aitken's (2009) work itself, this study cannot and does not claim to have unearthed definitive notions of Chilean fatherhood, but rather to have highlighted the commonalities and contradictions in *some* men's experiences and understandings of fathering. Aside from its small scale and qualitative nature, the spatial specificity of this study makes any kind of generalisation about 'Chilean fathers' particularly inappropriate. Valparaíso is well-known as a particularly diverse and 'liberal' part of Chile, and it is unclear whether the relatively gender-

equitable attitudes of the men I spoke to are widespread in other parts of the country. Luis, in particular, mentioned that in Valparaíso he was given the freedom to “do what I loved” (2009 pers. comm., 18 Apr.) and felt much more pressure to conform to traditional norms around work and family in his hometown of San Javier. As mentioned in Chapter Seven, members of the group discussion in Santiago deemed participants' communal living arrangements at the time fieldwork took place to be something only 'artistic' people did, while in Valparaíso such configurations were, in my experience at least, quite commonplace. Gopal, below, attempted to describe the 'something' that set Valparaíso apart from other parts of Chile, which he believed encouraged a kind of tolerance and indeed embracement of diversity in that place:

The fact that it's a port means that, you always meet people from many different places. That's reflected, you know how, in the art and the music. If you listen to music from this port, even a *cueca*,²⁶ from this port, you realize that it's got something crazy in it. A good piano for example, emmm, things that come from other places, you know? So, there are lots of things that come to ports, that, in that there are always people from all over the world, they always came here from, this used to be the most important port in the world before the Panama Canal, you know? So, all that experience, all that, you notice when you walk around the neighbourhood. That's what people say, Valpo's got, something, Valparaíso has something, I think it's that, it's a party, it's a party, with all these people from all different parts of the world that... in fact I'm sure that if you walk along the street watching people, you're going to see that there's a gringo, there's a German, there's a Swede, there's a, dude... that there are dudes who, Argentineans playing in the street, there's another dude, Brazilian, that's not the case, in many parts of Chile. There are always people, circulating, circulating, circulating (2009 pers. comm., 6 May).

Even within Valparaíso, though, several people claimed that considerable differences existed in how parenting was understood and enacted, depending on peer groups, socio-economic conditions and places of residence within the city. As Valparaísoian Kolectivo Poroto member Miguel (2009 pers. comm., 7 May) commented,

Sure, there are, lots of bohemian people live around here, maybe in this area, artists, but, this is not Valparaíso. It's not just a port. It's all the hills, the centre, the market, the football fields. It's all that. All that. And, within that, there's also, there are these different, ehh, these different people, with different social conditions, and that affects how each person assumes their responsibility. Of being a father, of when separation happens, of how one assumes the role of, a separated father...

So, much wider research would be necessary to confirm the generalisability - or not - of the experiences and understandings of the men I spoke to, and of what they and I experienced in the

²⁶ *Cueca* is Chile's official national dance. It is commonly interpreted as a parody of a courtship ritual between a rooster and a hen (Knudsen 2001).

research process itself. On this note, key areas for this kind of research to focus on in future – particularly in Chile and possibly in Latin America more generally – could be:

- Exploring on a broader scale the different ways that men negotiate ‘fathering spaces’ and ‘do fathering’; and how such negotiations and doings are viewed by their children, the mothers of these children, and both mothers’ and fathers’ extended families.
- Investigating how widespread participants’ purported ambivalence with regards the role of financial provider might be among men in similar situations.
- Examining the different kinds of ‘family’ structures and other living arrangements that exist in this context, and considering their gendered dynamics.
- Continuing to ask questions about men’s ‘hidden’ stories that *don’t* fit into dominant discourse, paying particular attention to the aspects of their lives in which they may *not* be powerful, and their related emotional experiences.

Again, it seems important to emphasise the importance of carrying out such research *in Chile* and *in Latin America*, because its potential practical and policy-related implications must be grounded in local experiences and conditions. For example, promoting fathers’ uptake of paternal leave when their children are born could be a useful step towards more gender-equitable parenting in many contexts, as Huitfeldt (2009) noted in her presentation at the Global Symposium that I attended. However, Mexican and Namibian attendees at the Symposium disputed the efficacy of such a move in their particular situations. As they pointed out, paternal leave means little for the many fathers in their countries of residence who earn their money *outside of* the formal economy, as was the case for three out of four of my participants at the time this study took place.

On the basis of *this* research, of course, I can make only very speculative suggestions as to reforms in GAD policy and practice, and am quick to emphasise the importance of further research such as that which has been suggested above. Tentatively, then, I offer the following insights that *could* enhance work with and policy related to fathers in situations similar to participants’:

- Acknowledging men’s desires to be ‘involved fathers’ (where such desires exist), at whatever age fatherhood occurs.
- Making ‘youth-friendly’ pre- and post-natal support accessible to fathers *as well as* mothers.
- Encouraging and facilitating fathers’ involvement in birthing procedures.
- Drawing attention to the gender-equitable practices that men already do, and their non-

hegemonic understandings and experiences more generally, when confronting dominant discourses around fatherhood that impact upon their lives.

- Providing 'youth-friendly' mediative support for fathers and mothers (and perhaps for their extended families too!) to help them negotiate involvement and responsibilities in their children's lives in peaceful, equitable and mutually-beneficial ways.
- Making shared custody possible when parents separate.
- Working to create egalitarian labour conditions for men and women so that a range of childrearing arrangements are feasible and no way is inevitable.

To refer back to the 'emotional research' strand of this work, and as stated in Chapter Eight, I also call for more accounts of how researchers work with *their own* emotions in research processes, for their own well-being as well as for the purposes of their analyses. It seems fitting to suggest, too, that support resources be made available and accessible for researchers *and* participants in emotionally-intense research processes.

Final reflections

The stories, observations and analyses provided in this work will, I hope, inform how young fathers are characterised and conceptualised in future GAD research, particularly in Chile and the surrounding region; and also contribute to the continued exploration of processes of emotionally-intense research more generally. However, as clarified in Chapter Three, the 'proof' of the research lies not in the justifiability of what has been written here, but in whether or not these writings resonated with you-the-reader; whether they *touched* you as these men's stories touched me. When we engage empathetically with another human being, stereotypes don't make sense; we make "space, a clearing, for new 'beings' to emerge" (Bentz & Shapiro 2008, 51). So, if you've 'felt for' Luis, Ángel, Rai or Gopal in the course of reading this work, perhaps it is already serving a purpose.

Epilogue

Two: Has been raining when I went

Él come pan con cuchara
 mezcla jugo de manzana con café, y luego lo bebe
 destruye teléfonos celulares
 con el manubrio de su automóvil azul plástico
 besa espontáneamente a un gran oso de peluche blanco
 Él me sonríe y yo le sonrío a él

*He eats bread with a spoon
 mixes apple juice with coffee, and then drinks it
 destroys cell phones
 with the steering wheel of his blue plastic car
 spontaneously kisses a big white teddy-bear
 He smiles at me and I smile at him*

(Rai pers. comm., 1 Jun 2009)

:

Appendix One: Accompanying tracks

(attached to this PDF file and referred to in Chapters One and Three)

1. *Triste* - Ángel
2. *II* - Rai
3. *Alegre* - Ángel
4. *Two: Has been raining when I went* - Rai

Lyrics and Translations of Ángel's Songs:

Alegre/ Happy

Quiero disfrutar tu alegría
 Contemplar tu inocencia
 Como la belleza de un bosque/de Arica
 Estar en armonía contigo
 Lo único real de pertenencia este ser
 Como el fruto de un árbol
 Como el amor, el deseo
 Estar contigo hasta tu madurez

*I want to enjoy your happiness
 To contemplate your innocence
 Like the beauty of a forest/of Arica
 To be in harmony with you
 The only real belonging is this being
 Like the fruit of a tree
 Like love, the desire
 To be with you until you grow up*

Triste/ Sad

Que ganas me da, de querer contigo estar
 Estrellas fugaces me hacen, desmayar
 Pesadillas me asustan cuando tu no estas
 La gente me distrae, me confunde más
 Mas de lo que hay allí, en mi mente ermitaña
 Dicen que una araña suporta mis entrañas
 Dicen que una araña suporta mis entrañas

*I want so much to be with you
 Shooting stars make me faint
 Nightmares scare me when you're not here
 People distract me, they confuse me more
 More than what's already there, in my hermit's mind
 They say that a spider sits in my stomach
 They say that a spider sits in my stomach*

(Ángel 2009 pers. comm., 28 Apr.)

Appendix Two: Participant Information Sheet (Spanish)



Explorando las experiencias de Padres Jovenes que no tienen contacto frecuente con sus hijo/as, en Valparaíso, Chile

Investigadora: Mónica Evans: Escuela de Geografía, Medio Ambiente y Geología, Universidad de Victoria, Wellington, Nueva Zelanda.

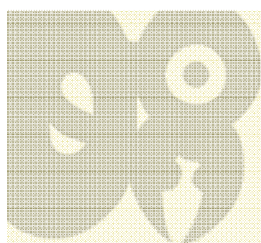
Soy candidata del Magíster en Estudios del Desarrollo Comunitario de la Universidad de Victoria, Wellington. Como parte de aquella carrera, estoy haciendo un proyecto de investigación que culminará en una tesis, en lo cual pretendo explorar lo que signifique ser un padre joven en Valparaíso que no tiene contacto muy enseguido con su(s) hijo/a(s). La Universidad de Victoria se ha dado aprobación ética para este proyecto.

Entrevistaré a un máximo de doce padres que se encuentran en tales situaciones, individualmente, una vez por cada dos semanas, durante un período de tres meses. También entrevistaré a académico/as y miembro/as de grupos de reflexión sobre las masculinidades, con el fin de ayudarme a contextualizar este proyecto. Grabaré las entrevistas en un pendrive Dictaphone, pero se lo puedes apagar en cualquier momento, sin ninguna explicación. Cada entrevista demorará una hora, más o menos. También me gustaría actualizar un grupo de discusión con los participantes, que también demorará más o menos una hora, si es que se sientan cómodos con la idea de hacerlo. Espero también poder consultar contigo, especialmente acerca de los asuntos de representación, durante el periodo de análisis y escritura, si es que quieras ser involucrado en aquello. Si te sientes la necesidad de retirarte, o cualquier dato u opinión que hayas proveído, del proyecto, puedes hacerlo sin explicación hasta dos semanas después de la entrevista.

A no ser que quieras que tu identidad sea revelada en este proyecto, detalles personales e identificadores estarán sabidos solamente por mí y por mi supervisora, Sara Kindon. Entonces, la información y las opiniones que me des serán atribuidas bajo un pseudónimo, que tú mismo puedes elegir. Las transcripciones y grabaciones estarán guardadas en una carpeta con contraseña, y devueltas a tí cuando termine el proyecto, o destruidos si no las quieras guardar. Estarás presentado con un resumen ejecutivo de la tesis (en castellano) cuando le esté terminado.

La tesis estará entregado a la Escuela de Geografía, Medio Ambiente y Geología, y depositada en la biblioteca de mi Universidad. Mi supervisora y yo también esperamos escribir uno u dos artículos con referencia a aquello proyecto, y entregarlos para publicación en reportes académicos.

Cualquier pregunta o duda, por favor no dude en contactarme: monica.evans@hotmail.com, f. 0056 9 88124038 (Chile) o 0064 21 237 1730 (Nueva Zelanda), o mi supervisora, Sara Kindon, sara.kindon@vuw.ac.nz, SGEES, Victoria University, PO Box 600, Wellington, f. 0064 4 463 6194.



Appendix Three: Participant Information Sheet (English translation)

Exploring the Experiences of Young Fathers who don't have regular contact with their children, in Valparaíso, Chile

Researcher: Monica Evans: School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand.

I am a Masters student in Development Studies at Victoria University of Wellington. As part of this degree I am undertaking a research project leading to a thesis. I am exploring what it means to be a young father who doesn't have regular contact with his child/ren, in Valparaíso, Chile. The Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee has granted ethical approval for this project.

I will interview up to twelve young fathers in such situations individually, approximately once every fortnight, over a three-month period. I will also interview academics and members of reflection groups on masculinities, to help me contextualise this work. I will record these interviews on a Dictaphone memory stick, but you may turn this off at any point without having to give reasons. Each interview should take around an hour. You will have the opportunity to check over and discuss interview transcripts with me. I would also like to run a focus group, if you and others are comfortable with this, towards the end of the research period, which will also last for around an hour. I also hope to consult with you during the analysis and write-up period of this research, particularly on issues of representation, if you would be happy for this to happen. Should you feel the need to withdraw yourself, or any information you have provided, from the project, you may do so without question up to two weeks after an interview.

Unless you would like to have your identity revealed in this research, personal identifying details will be known only to me and my supervisor, Sara Kindon, and information and opinions you provide me with will be attributed under a pseudonym, which you yourself may choose. Interview transcripts and recordings will be stored in a password-protected file and returned to you upon the completion of the research, or destroyed if you do not wish to keep them. You will also be given a summary of the thesis (in Spanish) following its completion.

The thesis will be submitted for marking to the School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences and deposited in the University Library. My supervisor and I also aim to write one or more articles based on this work, and submit them for publication in scholarly journals.

If you have any questions or would like to receive further information about the project, please contact me at monica.evans@hotmail.com, ph. 0056 9 88124038 (Chile) or 0064 21 237 1730 (New Zealand), or my supervisor Sara Kindon, sara.kindon@vuw.ac.nz, SGEES, Victoria University, P O Box 600, Wellington, ph. 0064 4 463 6194.

Appendix Four: Potential Questions/Themes for Young Fathers in Unstructured and Semi-Structured Interviews (Spanish)

Contando cuentos:

Cuéntame algo de tu vida hasta ahora; y del hecho de llegar a ser papá.

¿Quién te cuidó cuando eras chico? ¿Qué hizo tu papá para cuidarte? ¿Tu mamá?

Paternidad y sociedad:

¿Cuáles crees que sean las calidades importantes que debe tener un papá? ¿Quién crees que influya tus propias ideas sobre cómo un padre debe de ser y actuar?

¿Qué crees que la sociedad chilena te cuenta sobre cómo un padre debe de ser y actuar? ¿Cómo se lo dice?

¿Crees tu que es distinto ser papa ahora que en el tiempo de tus abuelos? ¿Cómo/Porqué?

¿Qué piensas de Papi Ricky?

¿Qué tal común crees que sea tu situación con respecto a la paternidad, aquí en Chile?

¿Sabes si hay grupos de apoyo para hombres en tales situaciones? ¿Te interesaría ingresar a alguno, si existiera?

Masculinidad:

Describe un 'buen hombre chileno'.

¿Qué pasa cuando hombres chilenos no se comporten así?

¿Es distinto el 'buen hombre chileno' al 'buen hombre' argentino/ peruano/ boliviano/ brasileño?

¿Crees tu que la dictadura tuvo una influencia sobre las roles y relaciones del género en Chile? ¿En qué sentido?

¿Sabes algo de las ideas de los grupos indígenas de esta parte del mundo sobre hombres, mujeres y la paternidad? ¿Aquellos influyen a las ideas de hoy día sobre estas cosas?

Experiencias personales de la paternidad:

¿Cómo sentiste cuando enteraste que ibas a ser papá?

¿En qué momentos te sientes 'muy padre'?

¿Qué tipo de papá te gustaría ser?

¿Hay cosas que obstaculizan esto?

¿En qué espacios ves a tu hijo/a? ¿Quién más está allí?

¿Pasas tiempo con otros hombres en situaciones parecidas? ¿Adónde?

¿Hablas con tus amigos sobre este aspecto de tu vida, o lo mantienes separado?

El hecho de ser padre, ha cambiado:

- ¿tu manera de ver la vida?
 - ¿las decisiones que has hecho?
 - ¿las cosas que te han pasado?
 - ¿la manera en que piensas en ti mismo 'como hombre'?
 - ¿como te perciben los demás?
 - ¿tus pololeos?
 - ¿tus amistades?
- ¿En qué sentido?

¿Cómo está tu relación con la mamá de tu hijo/a?

¿Qué espera ella de tí 'como padre'?

¿Qué esperas de ella 'como madre'?

Evaluación

¿Cómo estuvo, hablar conmigo sobre este asunto?

¿Hubiera sido diferente si yo fuera hombre/chilena?

¿Qué más hay que decir sobre eso?

Appendix Five: Potential Questions/Themes for Young Fathers in Unstructured and Semi-Structured Interviews (English)

Telling stories

Tell me about your life so far; and about becoming a father.

Who took care of you when you were little? What kinds of things did your dad do? Your mum?

Paternity and society

What do you think are important qualities for a father to have? Where do you think your ideas about that come from?

What do you think the society you live in tells you about how a father should be and act? How does it say it?

Do you think it's different to be a father now than in your grandparents' time? How/why?

What do you think about Papi Ricky?²⁷

Do you think your kind of 'fathering situation' is common in Chile?

Do you know if there are any support groups for men in situations like yours? Would you be interested in joining one, if such a thing existed?

Masculinities

Describe a 'good Chilean guy'.

What happens when Chilean men don't behave like that guy?

Is a 'good Chilean guy' different from his Argentinian/ Peruvian/ Bolivian/ Brazilian counterparts?

Do you think the dictatorship influenced how men and women behave and relate to each other in Chile? How?

Do you know anything about indigenous ideas about men, women, family and parenting in this part of the world? Do you think these ideas influence how people think about such things today?

Personal experiences of fatherhood

How did you react when you found out you were going to be a father?

In what moments do you feel particularly 'fatherly'?

What kind of father would you like to be?

Does anything get in the way of that? How?

Whereabouts do you spend time with your child/ren? Who else is there?

Do you spend time with other men in similar situations? Where?

Do you talk about being a father with other men and women in your life?

Has being a father affected:

- how you look at life?
- the decisions you have made?
- the things that have happened to you?
- how you think of yourself 'as a man'?
- how other people perceive you?
- your romantic relationships?

²⁷ Papi Ricky is the main character in a Chilean soap opera that was popular at the time my fieldwork took place. He is a father who has raised his daughter alone.

– your friendships with other men and women?
If so, how?

What is your relationship like with the mother of your child?
What does she expect from you 'as the father'?
What do you expect from her 'as the mother'?

Evaluation

What was it like to talk to me about this?
Do you think it would have been different if I were a man/a Chilean?
What else is there to say about this?

Appendix Six: Potential Questions/Themes for Academics and Collective Members in Semi-Structured Interviews (Spanish)

Para Empezar

¿Cómo llegó Ud. a estudiar/trabajar con aquella tema? ¿Qué aspectos te apasionan? ¿Qué especies de desafío has encontrado?

¿Cómo es, iniciar conversaciones acerca de masculinidades con otros hombres chilenos? ¿Hay técnicas que lo hacen más fácil?

Paternidad y Sociedad

¿Cree usted que hay muchos padres jóvenes que no tienen contacto muy enseguido con sus hijos en este país? ¿Usted ve aquello como problema? ¿Porqué/ Porqué no?

¿Qué tipo de apoyo existe para hombres en tales situaciones?

¿Qué tipo de influencia cree usted que tuvo la dictadura sobre las ideas acerca de paternidad y familia, y acerca de las relaciones y roles de género en Chile por lo general?

¿Cree usted que las ideas de los grupos indígenas de la región contribuyan a los percepciones actuales acerca de paternidad, familia y roles y relaciones de género en Chile? ¿Cuáles? ¿En qué sentido?

Masculinidad

Describa cómo usted ve el modelo/ los modelos hegemónico(s) actual (es) de masculinidad en Chile. ¿De dónde viene (n)? ¿Cómo se esta(n) reproducido(s)? ¿Se esta(n) cambiando? ¿Cómo/ Porqué?

¿En este momento, cree usted que hay mas espacio que antes en lo cual los hombres chilenos pueden criticar este modelo, o actuar en desafío de aquello? ¿Cómo/ Dónde?

¿Cuáles son las semejanzas y diferencias entre los modelos de masculinidad chilenos y los de otras partes de Latinoamérica, según su punto de vista?

¿Hay aspectos distintamente 'chilenos' a los modelos hegemónicos de masculinidad que están perpetuados acá?

La mayoría de las investigaciones actuales acerca de la masculinidad proviene de Europa y Norte-America. ¿Qué tanto tiene que ver este tipo de investigación con su contexto local, desde su punto de vista?

¿Qué opina Ud. de lo que esta haciendo el gobierno en Chile para enfrentar a los asuntos del género? ¿Y los ONG qu trabajen en asuntos de equidad de género? ¿Qué hace falta todavía?

¿Cómo se relaciona el trabajo de usted con lo que hacen los grupos/académicos feministas acá en Chile?

Evaluación

¿Cómo estuvo, hablar conmigo sobre este asunto?

¿Hubiera sido diferente si yo fuera hombre/chilena?

¿Qué más hay que decir acerca de esto?

Appendix Seven: Potential Questions/Themes for Academics and Collective Members in Semi-Structured Interviews (English)

To begin

How did you come to study/work with this topic? What aspects of it are you particularly passionate about? What kinds of difficulties have you encountered?

What's it like, starting conversations about masculinities with other men in Chile? Are there techniques you've learned that make it easier?

Paternity and Society

Do you think there are a lot of young fathers who don't have regular contact with their children in Chile? If so, why? Do you see this as a 'problem'? If so, why?

What kind of support exists for men in these situations?

What kind of influence do you think the dictatorship had on ideas around parenting and family, and gender roles and relationships more generally in Chile?

Do you think that the ideas of indigenous people of this region contribute to current understandings of parenting, family and gender roles and relationships in Chile? If so, which ones/how?

Masculinities

Describe what you see as the current hegemonic models of masculinity in Chile. Where do these come from? How are they reproduced? Are they changing? How/ Why?

Do you think Chilean men currently have more space than previously to criticise/ challenge these models? If so, how/ where can they do this?

In your view, what are the similarities and differences between models of masculinity in Chile and in other parts of Latin America?

Are there specifically 'Chilean' aspects to the hegemonic masculinities that are perpetuated here?

The vast majority of masculinities research out at the moment comes from Europe and North America. How applicable do you find this kind of research in your local context?

What do you think about what the Chilean government is doing at present with regards gender issues? What about gender-equity focussed NGOs working in the region? What more could be done?

How does your work relate to that done by feminist groups/academics here in Chile?

Evaluation

What was it like to talk to me about this?

Do you think it would have been different if I were a man/a Chilean?

What else is there to say about this?

Glossary

Bricolage: In this context, Denzin and Lincoln's (2003, 5) conception of qualitative research, as a “pieced-together set of representations that are fitted to the specifics of a given situation.”

Cable-tierra: Literally 'cable to the ground', this term signifies a 'grounding force', something that brings a person 'down to earth'.

Capoeira: a “cultural art from Brazil.... developed by Africans and their descendants, enslaved on Brazil's vast sugar and coffee plantations. It is a fighting art integrated with music, movement, gymnastics, theatrics and play. It is a game played in constant dance-like motion, weaving kicks, showing off gymnastic moves, playing tricks and casting sly smiles in an atmosphere charged by percussion and song” (Capoeira Mandinga Aotearoa 2008, 1).

Capoeirista: Capoeira player (see previous entry).

Centro Cultural Ex-Cárcel: A community-initiated cultural centre in the grounds of a former prison in central Valparaíso.

Conquistadores: Leaders in the Spanish colonisation of the Americas, in the 16th century (Encyclopedia Britannica 2010).

Desgraciado: a very insulting term that could be translated as 'scoundrel', 'schmuck' or 'bastard'.

Gringa: a slightly insulting term used in Chile to describe a foreign woman, particularly a white, Anglophone woman from a 'developed' country, although definitions vary from person to person and place to place!

Paella: a Catalanian one-pan dish of saffron-flavoured rice cooked with vegetables and seafood (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2010).

Pandeirista: *Pandeiro* player (see following entry).

Pandeiro: “a tambourine with a head made of either animal (goat, calf) skin or plastic” which is “considered the Brazilian national instrument and an icon of samba” (Benevides 2006, 1).

List of Acronyms

GAD: Gender and Development

INE: *Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (Chilean National Institute of Statistics)

UNFPA: United Nations Population Fund

WAD: Women and Development

WID: Women in Development

Reference list

- Agger, Ben (1991), Critical Theory, Poststructuralism, Postmodernism: Their Sociological Relevance, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 17, 105-31.
- Aguayo, F. and M. Sadler (2006), *Gestación Adolescente y Dinámicas Familiares*, Centro Interdisciplinario por los Estudios del Género, Santiago: Universidad de Chile.
- Aguirre, R. and P. Güell (2002), *Hacerse hombres: la Construcción de la Masculinidad en los Adolescentes y sus Riesgos*, Washington: OPS/OMS/ASDI/UNFPA, Fundación W. K. Kellogg.
- Aitken, S. (2009), *The Awkward Spaces of Fathering*, Surrey/Burlington: Ashgate.
- Allen, W., and W. Doherty (1996), The responsibilities of fatherhood as perceived by African American teenage fathers, *Families in Society*, 77, 142-155.
- Anderson, E. (2009), Feminist Epistemology and Philosophy of Science, <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/feminism-epistemology/>, accessed 16 Feb. 10.
- Ángel (2009), pers. comm., 9 Apr.
- _____ (2009), pers. comm., 22 Apr.
- _____ (2009), pers. comm., 28 Apr.
- Arraigada, I. (2002) Cambios y Desigualdad en las Familias Latinoamericanas, *Revista de la CEPAL*, 77, http://www.eclac.cl/publicaciones/secretariaejecutiva/0/lcg2180pe/lcg2180e_arriagada.pdf, accessed 24 Oct. 09.
- Bailey, A. (2009), Population geography: lifecourse matters, *Progress in Human Geography* 33(3) 407-418.
- Barker, G. and I. Loewenstein (1997), Where the boys are: attitudes related to masculinity, fatherhood, and violence toward women among low-income adolescent and young adult males in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, *Youth & Society* 29(2), 166-196.
- Barker, G. and F. Verani (2008) *Men's Participation as Fathers in the Latin American and Caribbean Region: A Critical Literature Review with Policy Considerations*, Brazil: Promundo and Save the Children.
- Barter, C. and E. Reynold (2003), Dilemmas of Control, in R. Lee and E. Stanko (eds.) *Researching Violence: Essays on Methodology and Measurement*, London: Routledge, 88-106.
- Barthes, R. (1977) *The Death of the Author*, <http://social.chass.ncsu.edu/wyrick/debclass/whatis.htm>, accessed 24 Feb. 10.

- Beatriz (2009), pers. comm., 24 Jun.
- Beattie, P. (2002), Beyond Machismos: Recent Examinations of Masculinities in Latin America, *Men and Masculinities*, 4, 303-308.
- Benevides, Emiliano (2006), Pandeiro, <http://www.emiliano.com/pandeiro.html>, accessed 10 Mar. 10.
- Bennett, K. (2009), Challenging Emotion, *Area*, 41(3), 244–251.
- Bentz, V. and J. Shapiro (1998), *Mindful Inquiry in Social Research*, Thousand Oaks/ London/ New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Berg, L. and R. Longhurst (2003), Placing masculinities and geography, *Gender, Place and Culture*, 10(4), 351-360.
- Besio, K. (2005), Telling Stories to Hear Autoethnography: Researching women's lives in northern Pakistan, *Gender, Place & Culture*, 12(3), 317-331.
- Blackman, S. (2007), 'Hidden Ethnography': Crossing Emotional Borders in Qualitative Accounts of Young People's Lives, *Sociology*, 41, 699–716.
- Bondi, L. (2003), Empathy and identification: conceptual resources for feminist fieldwork, *ACME*, 2(1), 64-76.
- _____ (2005a), Making connections and thinking through emotions: between geography and psychotherapy, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 30(4), 433-448.
- _____ (2005b), The Place of Emotions in Research: From Partitioning Emotion and Reason to the Emotional Dynamics of Research Relationships, in J. Davidson, L. Bondi and M. Smith (eds), *Emotional Geographies*, Aldershot/ Burlington: Ashgate, 231-246.
- Bourke, L., S. Butcher, N. Chisonga, J. Clarke, F. Davies and J. Thorn (2009), Fieldwork Stories: Negotiating Positionality, Power and Purpose, *Feminist Africa*, 13, 95-105.
- Browne, K. (2003), Negotiations and Fieldworkings: Friendship and Feminist Research, *ACME*, 2 (2), 132-146.
- Bryant, H. (2009), Machismo in Spanish Writing?, *Trusted Translations*, <http://translation-blog.trustedtranslations.com/machismo-in-spanish-writing-2009-09-25.html>, accessed 18 Feb. 10.
- Buechner F. (2006), *Secrets in the Dark*, New York: HarperCollins.
- Burawoy, M. (1991), Reconstructing social theories, in M. Burawoy, A. Burton, A. Amett Ferguson, K. J. Fox, J. Gamson, N. Gartrell, L. Hurst, C. Kurzman, L. Salzinger, J. Schiffman and S. Ui (eds.), *Ethnography Unbound: Power and Resistance in the Modern Metropolis*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 8-27.
- Butler, J. (1990), *Gender Trouble*, New York: Routledge.

- Cahill, C. (2007a) Doing Research with Young People: Participatory Research and the Rituals of Collective Work, *Children's Geographies*, 5(3), 297-312.
- _____ (2007b) The Personal is Political: Developing new subjectivities through participatory action research, *Gender, Place and Culture*, 14 (3), 267-292.
- Cameron, J. (2005), Focussing on the Focus Group, in I. Hay (ed.), *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, Second Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 116-132.
- Capoeira Mandinga Aotearoa (2008), Welcome to Capoeira Mandinga Aotearoa, <http://www.capoeira.org.nz>, accessed 7 Mar. 10.
- Castañeda, P. and M. Pantoja (2004), La Gente de la Tierra en la Tierra de Otra Gente, *Cuadernos Interculturales*, 2 (2), 7-18.
- Chant, S and M. Guttman (2000), *Mainstreaming Men into Gender and Development*, Oxford: Oxfam GB.
- Chatterjee, P., D. Bailey and N. Aronoff (2001), Adolescence and Old Age in Twelve Communities, *Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare*, 28.
- Cheater, P. (1999), *The Anthropology of Power: Empowerment and Disempowerment in Changing Structures*, Oxon: Routledge.
- Cleaver, F. (2001), Do men matter? New horizons in gender and development, The White Ribbon Campaign Europe: Contributions, 8 January, http://www.euowrc.org/06.contributions/1.contrib_en/39.contrib.en.htm , accessed 16 Feb. 10.
- Clough, P. (2002), *Narratives and Fictions in Educational Research*, Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Coffey, A. (1999), *The Ethnographic Self*, London: Sage.
- Connell, R. (1995), *Masculinities*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Cope, M. (2005), Coding Qualitative Data, in I. Hay (ed.), *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, Second Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 223-233.
- Cornwall, A. (2000), Missing Men? Reflections on Men, Masculinities and Gender in GAD, *IDS Bulletin* 31(2), 18-27.
- Cupples, J. (2004), *Disrupting discourses and (re)formulating identities : the politics of single motherhood in post-revolutionary Nicaragua*, Unpublished PhD. Thesis, University of Canterbury.
- Cupples, J. and Kindon, S. (2003), Far from Being 'Home Alone': The Dynamics of Accompanied Fieldwork, *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 24(2) 211-228.

- Cypher, J. (2004), Is Chile a Neo-liberal Success?, *Dollars and Sense Magazine*, September/October, 255, 24-36.
- Daniela (2009), pers. comm., 24 Jun.
- Davies, T. (2009), Presentation in Session 6: Fatherhood and Men's Participation in the Lives of Children, at the Global Symposium for Engaging Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1 Apr.
- Davis, B. (2005), Complexity and education: Some vital simultaneities, Proceedings of the 2005 Complexity Science and Educational Research Conference, November 20—22, Loranger, LA.
- Denzin, N. and Y. Lincoln (1994), Introduction: Entering the field of qualitative research, in N. Denzin, and Y. Lincoln (eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1-17.
- Dowling, R. (2005), Power, ethics and subjectivity in *qualitative* research, in I. Hay (ed.), *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, Second Edition, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 19-29.
- Duchscherer, D. (2004), Nonviolent Communication as Core Principle for Any Public Policy to Prevent Humiliation Dynamics, Short note prepared for the "Workshop on Humiliation and Violent Conflict," November 18-19, at Columbia University, NY.
- Enchanted Learning (2010), Outline Map of Chile,
http://www.enchantedlearning.com/southamerica/chile/outlinemap/&usg=__1PaI_czT_DRJyvysudh5bC13pPSQ=&h=780&w=413&sz=10&hl=es&start=3&itbs=1&tbnid=knksWNdK1cu9oM:&tbnh=142&tbnw=75&prev=/images%3Fq%3Dmap%2Bchile%2Boutline%26hl%3Des%26tbo%3D1%26rlz%3D1R2GGLL_en%26tbs%3Disch:1, accessed 17 Mar. 10.
- Encyclopedia Britannica (2010), Conquistador,
<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/133134/conquistador>, accessed 17 Mar. 10.
- _____ (2010), Paella, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/438102/paella>, accessed 10 Mar. 10.
- England, K. (1994), Getting personal: reflexivity, positionality, and feminist research, *Professional Geographer*, 46(1), 80–89.
- Evans, M. (2008), Research Proposal, 24 Oct.
- _____ (2008), Reflective Diary, 28 Nov.
- _____ (2009), Reflective Diary, 16 Mar.
- _____ (2009), Reflective Diary, 28 May.
- _____ (2009), pers. comm., 3 Jun.

_____ (2009), Reflective Diary, 3 Jun.

_____ (2009), Reflective Diary, 16 Jun.

_____ (2009), Reflective Diary, 21 Aug.

_____ (2009), Reflective Diary, 4 Oct.

Falabella, G. (1997), New masculinity: a different route, in Sweetman, C. (ed.) *Men and masculinity*, Oxford: Oxfam, 62-64.

Falceto, O., C. Fernandes, C. Baratojo and E. Giugliani (2008), Factors associated with father involvement in infant care, *Revista de Saúde Pública*, 42(6), 1034-1040.

Finch, Janet (2004), Feminism and qualitative research, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 7(1), 61-64.

Foucault, M. (1972), *The archaeology of knowledge*, London: Routledge (Original work published 1969).

Francisco (2009), pers. comm., 25 Mar.

Gibson-Graham, J.K (1994), 'Stuffed if I know!' Reflections on post-modern feminist social research, *Gender, Place and Culture*, 1(2), 205-224.

Giddens, A. and C. Pierson (1998), *Conversations with Anthony Giddens: Making Sense of Modernity*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Gogna, M., G. Binstock, S. Fernández, I. Ibarlucía and N. Zamberlin (2008), Adolescent Pregnancy in Argentina: Evidence-Based Recommendations for Public Policies, *Reproductive Health Matters*, 16(31), 192-201.

González, E. (2003), El Varón y la Paternidad Precoz, in R. Molina, J. Sandoval and E. González, (eds), *Salud Sexual y Reproductiva en la Adolescencia*, Chile: Mediterráneo, 596-609

Gopal (2009), pers. comm., 6 May.

_____ (2009), pers. comm., 29 May.

Grønnerød, J. (2004) On the meanings and uses of laughter in research interviews: Relationships between interviewed men and a woman interviewer, 12(1) *Nordic Journal of Youth Research*, 31-49.

Gutmann, M. (2007), Machismo (and Macho), in M Flood, J. Kegan-Gardiner, B. Pease and K. Pringle (eds) *International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities*, London and New York: Routledge, 372.

Guy, D. (1985), Lower-Class Families, Women, and the Law in Nineteenth-Century Argentina, *Journal of Family History*, 10 (3), 318-331.

- Hall, S. (2009), 'Private life' and 'work life': difficulties and dilemmas when making and maintaining friendships with ethnographic participants, *Area*, 41(3), 263-272.
- Hammers, C. and Brown III, A. (2004), Towards a feminist-queer alliance: a paradigmatic shift in the research process, *Social Epistemology*, 18(1), 85-101.
- Haraway, D. (1991), *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women*, New York: Routledge.
- Hearn, J. (1998), Theorizing men and men's theorizing: Varieties of discursive practices in men's theorizing of men, *Theory and Society*, 27, 781-816.
- Hilsdon, A. (2007), Transnationalism and agency in East Malaysia: Filipina migrants in the nightlife industries, *Australian Journal of Anthropology*, 18(2), 172-193.
- Hooper, C. (2001), *Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations, and Gender Politics*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hopkins, P. (2007), Positionalities and Knowledge: Negotiating Ethics in Practice, *ACME*, 6 (3), 386-394.
- Howitt, R. and S. Stevens (2005), Cross-Cultural Research: Ethics, Methods and Relationships, in I. Hay (ed.), *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, Second Edition, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 30-50.
- Huitfeldt, A. (2009), Presentation at Plenary Session on Including Men and Masculinities in Gender Equality Policies, Global Symposium for Engaging Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality, Rio de Janeiro, Brasil, March 31.
- Humm, M. (2003), *The Dictionary of Feminist Theory*, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- INE (2006), *Fecundidad en Chile: Situación Reciente*, Santiago.
- Jaggar, A. (1989), Love and Knowledge: Emotion in Feminist Epistemology, in A. Jaggar and S. Bordo (eds.) *Gender/Body/Knowledge – Feminist Reconstructions of Being and Knowing*, 145-171.
- Jones, A. (2006), Introduction: Worlding Men, in A. Jones (ed.), *Men of the Global South: A Reader*, London/New York: Zed Books, xii-xxii.
- Kakutani, M. (1995), Love and the Mystics: Garcia Marquez and Alice Hoffman conjure Magic and Passion, *The Sacramento Bee*, June 11, 18.
- Kaufman, M. (2003), *The AIM Framework: Addressing and Involving Men and Boys To Promote Gender Equality and End Gender Discrimination and Violence*, Prepared under a contract with UNICEF, March 31.
- Kearns, R. (2005), Knowing Seeing? Undertaking Observational Research, in I. Hay (ed.) *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, Second Edition, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 192-206.

- Kimmel, M. (2002), Forward, in Cleaver, F. (ed.) *Masculinities Matter! Men, Gender and Development*, London: Zed Books, xi – xiv.
- Kimmel, M. (2009), Moderator's Speech in Plenary Session on Dialogue with Women's Rights Movements, Global Symposium for Engaging Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 31 Mar.
- Kincheloe, J., and P. McLaren (2005), Rethinking Critical Theory and Qualitative Research, in N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, London: Sage, 303-342.
- Kindon, S. (2010) pers. comm., 18 Feb.
- Kindon, S., R. Pain and M. Kesby (2007), Origins, Approaches and Methods, in S. Kindon, R. Pain and M. Kesby (2007) *Participatory Action Research Approaches and Methods: Connecting People, Participation and Place*, London: Routledge, 9-18.
- Knudsen, J. (2001), Dancing *cueca* 'with your coat on': The role of traditional Chilean dance in an immigrant community, *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, 10(2), 61-83.
- Kolectivo Poroto (2008), Quiénes Somos, <http://kolectivoporoto.blogspot.com/2008/01/quienes-somos.html>, accessed 2 Feb. 09.
- Laidlaw, L. (2006), Learning to “Do Family” Differently: Towards More Complex Notions of Family, Culture and Schooling, *Journal of the Canadian Association for Curriculum Studies*, 4(2), 41-54.
- Larkin, P., B. Dierckx de Casterlé and P. Schotsmans (2007), Multilingual Translation Issues in Qualitative Research: Reflections on a Metaphorical Process, *Qualitative Health Research*, 17(4), 468-476.
- LeMonda, T. and C. Cabrera (1999), Perspectives on Father Involvement: Research and Policy, *Social Policy Report*, Society for Research in Child Development, 13 (2), 1-32.
- Letherby, G. (2003), *Feminist Research in Theory and Practice*, Buckingham: Open University.
- Levandowski, D. and C. Piccinini (2006), Sentimentos em Relação à Paternidade entre Adolescentes e Adultos, *Psicologia: Teoria e Pesquisa*, 22(1), 17-28.
- Lewis, C. and M. Lamb (2007), *Understanding fatherhood: A review of recent research*, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, Lancaster University.
- Luis (2009), pers. comm., 17 Mar.
- _____ (2009), pers. comm., 23 Mar.
- _____ (2009), pers. comm., 18 Apr.
- Lyra, J. (1998), Paternidade adolescente: da investigação à intervenção, in M. Arilha, S. Ridenti, S. Unbehaum and B. Medrado, (eds.), *Homens e masculinidades: outras palavras*, São Paulo:

ECOS/Ed. 34, 185-214.

Mackie, V. (1998), Dialogue, distance and difference: Feminism in contemporary Japan, *Women's Studies International Forum*, 21(6), 599-615.

Madrid, S. (2005), *Paternidades Adolescentes y ordenamiento de género en Chile*, Santiago, unpublished.

Malkki, L. (1995), *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania*, Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.

Mansvelt, J. and L. Berg (2005), Writing Qualitative Geographies, Constructing Geographical Knowledge, in Iain Hay (ed.), *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, Second Edition, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 248-265.

Marsiglio, W., P. Amato, R. Day and M. Lamb (2000), Scholarship on fatherhood in the 1990s and beyond, *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 62, 1173-1191.

Mattes, K. (1990), The Goddess Revived, The Rise of Ecofeminism, *The Amicus Journal*, Fall 1990, <http://www.holysmoke.org/fem/fem0095.htm>, accessed Mar. 10.

McEwan, H. and K. Egan (1995), Introduction, in McEwan, Hunter & Egan, Kieran (eds.) *Narrative in Teaching, Learning and Research*, New York and London: Teachers College Press, 3-23.

McTaggart, R. (1997), Guiding Principles for Participatory Action Research, in R. McTaggart, *Participatory action research: International contexts and consequences*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 25-43.

Mendoza, M. (2007), Politics and Sex in Post-Pinochet Chile, Latin America Rising issue of *Yes! Magazine*, 42, [http://www.yesmagazine.org/issues/latin-america-rising/politics-and-sex-in-post-Pinochet Chile](http://www.yesmagazine.org/issues/latin-america-rising/politics-and-sex-in-post-Pinochet-Chile), accessed 27 Nov. 08.

Michea, C. (2009), Juzgado de familia - pension minima y visitas, Reclamos, 7 Oct., http://www.reclamos.cl/recomendacion/2009/oct/juzgado_de_familia_pension_minima_y_visitas, accessed 7 Mar. 10.

Miguel (2009), pers. comm., 7 May.

Ministerio de Justicia (2005), La Nueva Justicia de Familia - Otra Gran Reforma, <http://www.minjusticia.cl/familia>, accessed 17 Mar. 09.

Mirandé, A. (2001), 'And Ar'n't I a Man?': Toward a Chicano/Latino Men's Studies, in S. W. and F. J. Barrett, *The Masculinities Reader*, Oxford: Polity Press, 341-350.

Monk, J. and R. Bedford (2005) Writing a compelling research proposal, in Iain Hay (ed.), *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, Second Edition, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 51-66.

Montecino S. (1995), Identidades de género en América Latina: mestizajes, sacrificios y

simultaneidades, *Debate Feminista* 7 (14), 187–200.

mrs c kinpaisby-hill (2010), Participatory praxis and social justice: towards more fully social geographies, in V. Del Casino et al, *A Companion to Social Geography*, forthcoming.

Nagar, R. (2002), Footloose researchers, Traveling Theories and the Politics of Transnational Feminist Praxis, *Gender, Place and Culture*, 9(2). 176-186.

Naria (2009), pers. comm., 27 May.

Olavarria, J. (2001), Ser Padre en Santiago de Chile, in *Paternidades en América Latina*, Lima: Pontifica Universidad Católica del Perú, 241-75.

_____ (2005), La masculinidad y los jóvenes adolescentes, *Reflexiones Pedagógicas*, 27, 46-55.

Olavarria, J. and Parrini, R. (1999), *Los padres adolescentes. Hombres adolescentes y jóvenes frente al embarazo y nacimiento de un/a hijo/a. Antecedentes para la formulación y diseño de políticas públicas en Chile*, Santiago: UNICEF/FLACSO-Chile.

Oliver (2009), pers comm., 25 Mar.

Oxfam (2004), Including men in gender and development: practice, experiences, and perspectives from development organisations, in *Gender Equality and Men: Learning from Practice*, http://www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/downloads/wp_mainmen/wp_mainmen_incprac.pdf 31- 40.

Pagis, M. (2009), Embodied Self-reflexivity, *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 72(3), 265-283.

Palacio, M. (2008), *La pregunta por las Masculinidades: Otra arista en la construcción de la inclusion sin discriminación y la equidad participativa en las familias contemporáneas*, El Salvador: Equinoccio.

Palma, I. (1991), El embarazo adolescente desde una perspectiva de género, En Memoria reunión de trabajo: Red de Salud de las Mujeres Latinoamericanas y del Caribe, Santiago de Chile, 23-31.

Pancho (Aguayo, F.) (2009), pers. comm., 29 May.

Papai (2001), *Paternidad y Cuidado*, Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Promundo.

Pelias, R. (2004), *A Methodology of the Heart: Evoking Academic and Daily Life*, Walnut Creek: Altamira Press.

Promundo (2007), *Young Men and HIV/AIDS Prevention: A Toolkit for Action*, Rio de Janeiro: Promundo and UNFPA.

Rai (2009), pers. comm., 14 Apr.

_____ (2009), pers. comm., 29 Apr..

_____ (2009), pers. comm., 1 Jun.

_____ (2009), pers. comm., 23 Oct.

Rajević, P. (2000), *El libro abierto del sexo y el amor en Chile*, Santiago: Planeta.

Ratcliff, D. (2003), Adolescent Spiritual Development,
<http://don.ratcliffs.net/books/adolescents.pdf>, accessed 1 Mar. 10.

Rathgeber, E. (1989), *WID, WAD, GAD: Trends in Research and Practice*, Ottawa: International Development Research Centre.

Rector, J. (2003), *The History of Chile*, Westport: Greenwood Press.

Reeves, H. and S. Baden (2000), *Gender and Development: Concepts and Definitions*, prepared for the Department for International Development (DFID) for its gender mainstreaming intranet resource, February, <http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/bridge/reports/re55.pdf>, accessed 1 Mar 10.

Rodrigo (2009), pers. comm., 24 Jun.

Rose, Gillian (1997), Situating knowledges: positionality, reflexivities and other tactics, *Progress in Human Geography*, 21, 305-320.

Rowan, J. (1996), Challenging Traditional Forms of Masculinity, *Achilles Heel: The Radical Men's Magazine*, <http://www.achillesheel.freeuk.com/background.html>, accessed 1 Mar. 10.

Ruxton, S. and H. Baker (2009), Father's rights, fatherhood and masculinity/ies, *Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law*, 31(4), 351-355.

Sadler, M. (2004), *Los hombres también se emocionan: Género y escenario del parto; participación de hombres populares en el nacimiento de sus hijos e hijas*, Unpublished Masters thesis, Universidad de Chile.

Sandelowski, M. (1994), The Proof is in the Pottery: Towards a Poetic for Qualitative Inquiry, in J. Morse (ed.), *Critical Issues in Qualitative Research Methods*, London: Sage, 46-63.

Scheyvens, R. and D. Storey (2003), Introduction, in R. Scheyvens and D. Storey (eds.) *Development Fieldwork: A Practical Guide* Sage, London, 1-13.

Sedgwick, E. (2003), *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy and Performativity*, Durham/London: Duke University Press.

Sergio (2009), pers. comm., 13 May.

Sobarzo, Sr. (2010), pers. comm., 28 Apr.

- Standing, K. (1998, Writing the voices of the less powerful: Research on lone mothers, in J. Ribbens and R. Edwards (eds.), *Feminist Dilemmas in Qualitative Research*, London: Sage, 186-202.
- Statistics New Zealand (2009), Births and Deaths: March 2009 Quarter, http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/population/births/BirthsAndDeaths_HOTPMar09qtr/Commentary.aspx, accessed 7 Mar. 10.
- Sternberg, P. (2000), Challenging *machismo*: Promoting sexual and reproductive health with Nicaraguan men, *Gender and Development* 8(1), 89-99.
- Sparke, M. (1996), Displacing the field in fieldwork: masculinity, metaphor and space, in N. Duncan (ed.), *BodySpace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality*, London: Routledge, 212-233.
- Spelman, E. (1988) *Inessential Woman*, Boston: Beacon Press.
- Sultana, F. (2007) Reflexivity, Positionality and Participatory Ethics: Negotiating Fieldwork Dilemmas in International Research, *ACME*, 6(3), 374-385.
- Talesini, A. (1999), *An Introduction to Feminist Epistemologies*, Malden/Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Tania (2009), pers comm., 8 Mar.
- Temple, B. and A. Young (2004), Qualitative Research and Translation Dilemmas, *Qualitative Research*, 4(2), 161-178.
- Thien, D. (2005), Intimate distances: considering questions of us, in J. Davidson, L. Bondi and M. Smith (eds.) *Emotional geographies*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 191-204.
- Thomson, R. (2006), Finding and Keeping Emotions in the Research Process, Paper presented at Reflexive Methodologies Seminar, October 21-22, Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, Finland.
- Thrift, N. (2004) Intensities of feeling: towards a spatial politics of affect, *Geografiska Annaler*, 86B, 57-78.
- Torre, M. and M. Fine (2006), Participatory action research (PAR) by youth, in L. Sherrod, C. Flanagan, R. Kassimir and A. Bertelsen (eds) *Youth Activism: An International Encyclopedia*, Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 456-462.
- UNFPA, Key Concepts and Definitions: Population and Reproductive Health indicators, UNFPA Lao PDR, <http://lao.unfpa.org/defcon.htm>, accessed 29 Mar. 10.
- Valentine, G. (2005), Using interviews as a research methodology, in R. Flowerdew and D. Martin (eds.), *Methods in Human Geography: A guide for students doing a research project*, Second Edition, London: Pearson Education Ltd, 110-127.
- Vanderbeck, R. (2005), Masculinities and Fieldwork: Widening the discussion, *Gender, Place and*

Culture, 12(4), 387-402.

Victoria (2009), pers. comm., 24 Jun.

Viveros, M. (2001) Contemporary Latin American Perspectives on Masculinity, *Men and Masculinities*, 3, 237-260.

Waylen, G. (1994) Women and Democratisation: Conceptualising Gender Relations in Transition Politics, *World Politics*, 46(3), 327-54.

Webb, C. (1993) Feminist research: definitions, methodology/ methods and evaluation, *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 18, 416-423.

Wedgwood, N. (2009), Connell's theory of masculinity - its origins and influences on the study of gender, *Journal of Gender Studies*, 18(4), 329-339.

Weiner, S. and S. Auster (2007), From Empathy to Caring: Defining the Ideal Approach to a Healing Relationship, *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine*, 80(3), 123-130.

White, S. (1997), Men, masculinities and the politics of development, in Sweetman, C. (ed.) *Men and Masculinity*, Oxford: Oxfam, 14-22.

Whitehead, S. and P. Barrett (2001), *The Masculinities Reader*, Malden: Polity Press.

Williams, P. (1996), Meditations on Masculinity, *Callaloo*, 19(4), 814-822.

Winchester, H. (2005) 'Introducing' Qualitative Research in Human Geography, in Iain Hay (ed.), *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, Second Edition, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 3-19.

Wincup, E. (2001), Feminist Research with Women Awaiting Trial: The Effects on Participants in the Qualitative Research Process, in K. Gilbert (ed.) *The Emotional Nature of Qualitative Research*, Boca Raton: CRC Press, 17-36.