Manchester Metropolitan University

e-space

Manchester Metropolitan University's Research Repository

Please cite the Published Version

Hadley, Robin (2014) The Impotence of Earnestness and the Importance of Being Earnest: recruiting older men for interview. In: Studies of Ageing Masculinities: still in their infancy? The Representation of Older People in Ageing Research Series (14). The Centre for Policy on Ageing, London, pp. 68-83. ISBN 9780904139235

Publisher: The Centre for Policy on Ageing

Version: Accepted Version

Downloaded from: https://e-space.mmu.ac.uk/634172/

Usage rights: © In Copyright

Additional Information: This is an accepted manuscript of a chapter which appeared in final form in: Studies of Ageing Masculinities: still in their infancy?, published by The Centre for Policy on Ageing

Enquiries:
If you have questions about this document, contact openresearch@mmu.ac.uk. Please include the URL of the record in e-space. If you believe that your, or a third party's rights have been compromised through this document please see our Take Down policy (available from https://www.mmu.ac.uk/library/using-the-library/policies-and-guidelines)

Author's pre-publication copy (may contain typographical errors).

Hadley, R. A. (2014). The Impotence of Earnestness and the Importance of Being Earnest: Recruiting Older Men for Interview. In A. Tarrant & J. H. Watts (Eds.), *Studies of Ageing Masculinities: Still in Their Infancy?* (pp. 68-83). London: The Centre for Policy on Ageing.

Chapter 6

THE IMPOTENCE OF EARNESTNESS AND THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING EARNEST
Recruiting Older Men for Interview

ROBIN HADLEY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on some of the challenges I encountered when recruiting participants for a study about the involuntary childlessness of older men. In particular I reflect on the different methods and strategies I employed to respond to the challenges I faced when trying to access and recruit participants. Integral to that examination are my reflections on the experience of the different approaches taken as well as the power dynamics inherent within the process and how they influenced it.

The chapter begins with a brief outline of the research topic and the personal and academic motivations that inspired it. The discussion that follows focuses on my experiences of accessing and recruiting the men and is chronologically ordered to give context to the actions taken. I conclude with some reflection on the successes and failures of accessing and recruiting men for the research, providing critical discussion of sensitive qualitative research with older men.

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

As well as representing a significant gap in academic knowledge, my background of counselling involuntarily childless men, and my own involuntary childlessness, strongly motivated my interest in this topic. I reflect on my experiences of counselling involuntary childless men elsewhere (Hadley 2008, 2009) but at this time I became fascinated by the distinct viewpoints that clients of different ages held, and expressed regarding their respective situations. I am also a childless man who has, at times, been desperately affected by 'broodiness' – the desire to be a father. My reactions to my 'broodiness' over the years have included: anger, elation, depression, relief, guilt, isolation, jealousy, sadness, yearning, and withdrawal (Hadley 2008).

Further investigation of the academic literature reveals that men's experiences of childlessness are often overlooked. Traditionally family configuration has been correlated with motherhood, with the fertility or fertility intentions of men not collected (Greene and Biddlecom, 2000; Letherby, 2002; Gillespie, 2003; Jamieson et al., 2010). This is despite the fact that the majority of people (including men) view having a child as a natural progression and within the cycle of life and death (Daniluk, 2001). Recent research has challenged the stereotypes that parenthood is more important to women than men, that potential loss of parenthood affects men less and that men accept childlessness more readily (Hadley, 2009; Fisher et al., 2010; Hadley and Hanley, 2011). However the psycho-social effects of involuntary childlessness are under-researched and childless men have been generally excluded from the work that has taken place (Dykstra and Keizer 2009).

There are some notable exceptions however. Dykstra and Hagestad (2007: 1288) describe the childless as '...at risk for social isolation, loneliness, depression, ill health and increased mortality', a contention that is corroborated by the few studies looking at the experiences of involuntarily childless men. Kendig *et al.* (2007) for example found a correlation between the elderly childless and poor health citing that, when compared to men with partners, formerly married childless men's behaviour's included, excessive smoking and drinking, worse physical health, depression, and sleeping difficulties. In a Swedish study, Weitoft *et al*. (2004) found that lone childless men were at an increased risk of death through suicide, addiction, injury, poisoning, lung and heart disease. Peronace *et al.* (2007) demonstrated that men who had unsuccessful fertility treatment showed deteriorating mental health, low social support, and increased negative social stress directly resulting from their continued infertility. Webb and Daniluk (1999) reported that childless men who did not adopt, reported needing to find ways of reframing their sense of identity.

MASCULINITIES AND AGEING

The literature outlined above, therefore, indicates that involuntary childlessness is a gendered experience but is not analysed through a gendered lens, connecting parenthood and childlessness with women, at the expense of men. Feminists point out that, historically, philosophers have not scrutinised the meanings and understanding of reproduction for men (Westmarland 2001) and how it relates to identity. Moreover, fatherhood seldom features in

material on masculinity, including Connell's (1995) seminal book *Masculinities* (Lupton and Barclay, 1997; 1999; Throsby and Gill, 2004; Dermott, 2008; Miller, 2011).

Traditionally masculinity research has concentrated on younger men in education, crime, unemployment, the body and sexuality (Arber *et al.* 2003: 4). Leontowitsch (2012: 106) reports that recent studies have encompassed older men's experiences on a range of subjects including: widowers, identity, positive ageing, sports, and sexuality. In comparison there has been a wide-ranging debate in feminist literature regarding reproductive technologies, family, motherhood and non-motherhood (Woollett, 1985; Oakley, 2005). Tong (2009) notes that feminisms embrace a whole gamut of perspectives on reproduction: ranging from those who view reproductive technology as a means of liberation and control, to those who believe that '…biological mother-hood is the ultimate source of women's power' (Tong 2009: 4). However, men have reported that either in, or post, infertility treatment, the experience had an intense effect on their views of their masculinity, beliefs about themselves, and their place in society (Webb and Daniluk, 1999; Throsby and Gill, 2004; Fisher et al., 2010). The men described feelings of inadequacy, humiliation, and being held up for ridicule by peers and this may be viewed as hegemonic and subordinated masculinities that support the concept of potency and virility proved by fertility; the 'fertility–virility link' (Lloyd 1996: 434). Dudgeon and Inhorn's (2003: 45) review of male infertility studies concluded that those who '… fail as virile patriarchs are deemed weak and ineffective'. As such, research into men's involuntary childlessness is classed as sensitive because the subject has the potential to access highly personal and emotional experiences (Lee, 1993; Liamputtong, 2007; Dickson-Swift et al., 2008b)

Age, however, also adds an additional layer of complexity. Biggs (1999; 2004) for example argues that there are implications in negotiating the complexity of societal stereotypes and personal identity in everyday life for older people. Research into ageing has also shown that the existence of relationships and social support is as important as physical health and opportunities for personal development (Bernard et al., 2004; Victor and Scharf, 2005; Scharf and Bartlam, 2008). Ginn and Arber (1995) argue that gender and ageing need to be understood in relation to biography and social history in addition to the political economy of ageing approach (Heaphy 2007). Men have, in the past, been mostly invisible in gerontological research (Thompson, 1994; Perren et al., 2004) and although there has been a recent increase,

Leontowitsch (2012: 104) argues that 'qualitative research into the experiences of older men is still a rarity'.

Researchers in the fields of gerontology, infertility, and health have reported both the absence of men in research and the difficulty in recruiting them for studies. Lloyd (1996: 451) suggested that, as the reasons for men's non-participation are not recorded, their absence has been 'condemned to be meaningful'. I explore the factors that may affect recruitment of men in the remainder of the chapter.

THE SAMPLE

I anticipated that participants would be difficult to access for several reasons: because of a) the sensitivity of the subject, b) the lack of records on men's fertility history, c) the view of childlessness as a loss, and d) I am not an 'insider' to any organisations such as social services, charities, or health services. In order to explore the different dimensions of older involuntarily childless men, a qualitative study was selected using two, in-depth, semi-structured interviews per participant. The original sample asked for respondents that fitted the following criteria:

- You must consider yourself involuntarily childless.
- You are a man aged between 50 and 70 years old who does not have children.
- You have been aware of a desire to be a father, either now or in the past.
- You are not a biological father.
- You are not about to become a father.
- You have never been in a father role to adopted, foster, step-children or children of a partner.

In order not to restrict recruitment, the sample was not stratified by other criteria such as ethnicity, or social class. The age range was selected to cover the increase in live births between World War Two and the early 1960s (Goldstein 2009). Ethical permission for the study was granted with a period of nine months for the fieldwork. However, due to issues in recruiting and interviewing participants, a two-month extension was permitted. The fieldwork took place between January and mid-November 2012. The final sample consisted of 14 men, whose ages ranged between 49 and 82 years.

RECRUITMENT METHOD

Although there is a vast amount written on sampling strategy in the sociological and psychological literature, there is very little on how to locate participants (Butera 2006). Butera (2006) highlights that the few works that deal with respondent resistance, concentrate on issues in the interview (Adler and Adler 2001; Kvale and Brinkman 2009) and handling sensitive research (Renzetti and Lee, 1993; Dickson-Swift et al., 2008a; 2009). Miller (2000: 76, 79) notes that in order to reach difficult or dangerous groups researchers need to exercise 'presence of mind' and 'ingenuity'. As the study required access to a latent population, the 'snowball' method was selected as the most appropriate. This recruitment approach entails asking respondents to become recruiters and to pass the details of the study onto others and it is viewed as one of the best approaches to accessing hidden populations (Miller, 2000; Bryman, 2001). Moreover, the use of the networks of third parties such as colleagues, friends, partners, acquaintances have been recommended as a particularly effective means of recruiting male participants (Oliffe and Mróz, 2005; Butera, 2006; Oliffe, 2009). The main methods used were letters (via emails and post), leaflets and posters. Business cards were also produced and widely distributed.

First recruitment phase

The university campus and local town cafés, shops, and theatre were leafleted, as were similar areas in Manchester. The local networks accessed were those related to Keele University such as the Valuing Older People (2013) of Manchester City Council. My personal networks included my family, friends, and former colleagues – including trade union officials. Strategic organisations such as Age UK, Age Concern, Beth Johnson Foundation, and University of the Third Age (U3A) were contacted at local and national levels. My professional network included Infertility Network UK (2008) and Mensfe (2008) that specifically attend to issues related to involuntary childlessness and infertility. More-to-Life-UK Infertility Network (MTL) positively responded and agreed to circulate details of the study in exchange for a piece written for their newsletter. I also contacted the British Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy (BACP), British Society of Gerontology (BSG), and the British Sociological Association (BSA) and all circulated details of the study.

During this first phase, I was surprised by the lack of uptake from both organisations with whom the university had established links, as well as the ones with which I had had previous

connections. I had hoped these would lead to successful recruitment, but following Wright Mills '…this turned out to be an illusion' (1959: 210). After six weeks, I had no participants and the only suitable respondent had withdrawn. At that point, it seemed best practice to review progress of the study.

Second recruitment phase

In reviewing the recruitment strategy I gathered feedback from critical friends (Koo, 2002), peers, friends and re-visited field notes taken after contact with respondents. In discussion with my supervisors and, using the information gathered, a number of creative tactics were put in place. However, I was conscious not to be too pushy: Adler and Adler (2001: 525) warn '… if researchers are too aggressive in their requests, they may scare or threaten respondents'. Therefore the following initiatives were taken:

- The wording of the original participation criterion raised doubts for potential respondents regarding their eligibility for the study. Consequently the wording was changed from ***'never** been in a…'* to ***'not presently** in a…'* in the information sheet, leaflet and poster material.
- To reach a wider audience I contacted, and was interviewed for approximately 10 minutes, on BBC Radio Manchester (Hadley, 2012). Conscious of the length of my email address, and believing it would be difficult for a listener to copy down, I set up a website with a memorable address: www.wantedtobeadad.com. The website was a 'virtual' shop window where interested parties could read the background to the study and/or download the information sheet and contact details. No participants were recruited either through the interview or the website. However, a number of participants viewed the website before joining the study and, overall, it received very positive feedback.
- The approach to recruitment was broadened to be one of a more personal and direct nature by increasing face-to-face contact on both the individual and organisational levels. For example, when distributing publicity material, particularly with charities, I would ask if I could help in some way. I also regularly attended local keep fit classes for the over-50s in order to build up a new network of 'recruiters'. I also distributed publicity material at academic seminars, workshops, and conferences and asked organisers to send details of the study to their distribution lists. This latter approach generated one participant.

- The reach of the study was extended by the decision to advertise in the print media. Cost of advertising meant that I could not follow Ives *et al.* (2008) and use a national newspaper. Instead, I focused on three local papers and a specialist magazine. The former were: *The Sentinel* (11 April); *The Manchester Evening News* (1 May) and *The West Midlands Metro* (25–29 June). The latter was *The Oldie* (May and June editions). Only *The Oldie* was successful, providing three participants.
- I increased the range of local venues that I distributed leaflets and posters to, to include libraries, barbers, shops, churches, sports clubs, social clubs, and health centres. Unfortunately, most of the local groups contacted failed to reply or to see the relevance of research. One U3A coordinator informed me that her group were all women, widows, aged over 70, and not likely to be interested in hearing about my research.
- I tried to recruit 'champions' to promote the project and this was only successful with the staff of Valuing Older People. VOP organises, and coordinates, many activities involving older people with business, charity, education, health, social care, and housing, at local and national levels. Its staff helped promote the study, not only by distributing leaflets and posters, but also by regularly including an advert in their 'E-bulletin' newsletter. By attending their events, I was able to meet end-users, field workers, managers, and policy makers from a whole gamut of organisations. Through VOP, I was able to recruit two participants from an LGBT group.
- To increase the social media and online presence I set up a 'Twitter' account linked to the study's website. Compared to Facebook and other social networking media, Twitter users are generally older, professional, with approximately 20 per cent of users aged between 35 and 60 years (Cheng and Evans 2009) and includes many diverse groups, for example, steam train enthusiasts through to modern fashion. Although no participant was recruited through this method, the study's profile was raised and several contacts requested posters for display.

WHAT WORKED?

The recruitment drive was launched in January 2012 and the first 'first' interview was conducted in late March with both April and May recording only one interview each. Two interviews took place in June and just one in July; however, four interviews were conducted in August, and two each in September and October. The final second interview was held in mid-November with four weeks being the average time between first and second interviews. The

final sample consisted of 14 participants and 27 interviews: one participant chose not to participate in the second interview. The shortest interview lasted 59:33 minutes and the longest 4:45:52 hours. My personal network was the most successful recruitment method followed by the advertisement in *The Oldie* magazine that generated three participants from a dozen respondents. Two participants were generated through VOP and poster display while the written piece for MTL, the online response reply, and an off campus seminar each produced one participant each.

REFLECTIONS ON THE RECRUITMENT PROCESS

The main theme arising from the recruitment experience was that of the very personal nature of the subject and the difficulties surrounding crossing that boundary. On a personal level, particularly, in the first three months I often felt my earnestness was impotent. However, motivation – the importance of being earnest – was one of the key lessons of the recruitment process.

Although snowball sampling is highly recommended for generating respondents in areas of sensitive research, feedback from both participants and third parties highlighted the issue of how to actually broach the subject. Many of the participants at the end of the first interview offered to pass on details of the study – usually to a specific friend. Aware of how this may be difficult I supplied leaflets as a method of introducing the subject. However, without fail the participant would relate that they found it to difficult to raise the subject. Third party recruiters also reported this dilemma: one fellow researcher informed me that although he knew three potential participants, actually asking them face-to-face was a difficult task. Moreover, he had contemplated it for months and was relieved when I ended the fieldwork phase. Another recruiter had enquired about a potential participant through his partner. However, this led to a personal disclosure that may have had a long-term affect on their relationship. This highlights the unknown dynamics between third-party recruiters and potential participants. Therefore, it is almost impossible to know the full dynamics of the relationship between the third-party recruiter and the participant.

Nunkoosing (2005) suggests power starts with the seeking of consent; however, power was also held in the symbols and words of the material promoting the study (Cameron 1985). The initial publicity material had been produced in line with the ethics of transparency and confirmation of the study as a serious and professional piece of research. For example, an

early leaflet used the heading 'Male volunteers needed for a research study' under the university's icon and also used the word 'Father' throughout. I also changed the design and wording of the leaflets and posters in response to feedback. Most of these adaptions were to 'de-power' and 'humanise' the material without misleading the participant about the purpose of the material. Changes included: re-wording 'Father' to 'Dad,' reducing the size of the Keele University icon and name, and – on the advice of a visiting American speaker - the inclusion of my photograph in the publicity material. This idea was favourably commentated on by a number of participants.

Butera (2006) suggests five explanations for her struggle to recruit men to her study of friendship. Firstly, men are not used to participating in research and feel no obligation to do so. Secondly, taking part in research is not typically part of performing a masculine identity. Thirdly, a central element to the performance of masculinity is the partitioning of roles and the need for privacy, conditions that are challenged by an interview. Fourthly, potential participants may have viewed the study as threatening or a topic more associated with women. Finally, she acknowledges that the language used in her recruitment material might have put male respondents off by not providing an opportunity to perform a masculine identity. All these have, probably, to some degree or another, contributed to my struggle to recruit participants. However, I wonder if more men would have been participated had I declared my own involuntary childlessness in publicity material. Adler and Adler (2001: 527) suggest that shared membership or expertise legitimises 'entry into the setting.' In order not to bias any respondent, I had not referred to my own involuntary childlessness in any material. Without exception, and usually at first contact, all the interviewees enquired if I had children. My feeling was that their request was important and I willingly self-disclosed my insider status as my intuition led me to believe it would help build rapport in the research relationship.

Previously Adler and Adler (1987) had suggested that there is a continuum of insider membership in research fieldwork that ranges between:

- Peripheral-member-researcher (PMR): The researcher interacts 'closely, significantly, and frequently' (Adler and Adler 1987: 36) with a group but does not become involved in any central or functional role.
- Active-members-researchers (AMR): The researcher 'assumes a more central position'

(Adler and Adler 1987: 50) and moves from social activities to contribute to core roles.

- Complete-membership-researcher (CMR): The researcher 'immerse themselves fully in the group.' They are equal with the group and share 'a common set of experiences, feelings, and goals' (Adler and Adler 1987: 67).

The ability to occupy any of the above roles is limited by the researcher, the topic, and setting. In this study, I would have found it difficult to achieve CMR status, as there is no organisation solely representing the involuntarily childless. Moreover, there would be issues regarding duration in, and disengagement from, the field.

CONCLUSION

The recruitment of men to my study of male involuntary childlessness was beset with difficulties. I believe that the paucity of respondents was a combination of issues, not least the very sensitive nature of the subject matter itself. Many societies set great value by virility, strength, and vitality as symbolically concomitant to masculinity, and acknowledged '... by the production of children' (Elliot 1998: 4). Thus there is a complex relationship between masculinity and identity, virility, fertility, biological fatherhood, and social and cultural capital (Hadley 2008). However, since there is no biological link between fertility and virility (Lockwood, 2008) the value placed on it can be seen as a social construction of masculinity.

Men's lack of participation may also be a display of the stoicism often allied with masculinity. Male emotional behaviour is typically associated with detachment, lack of acknowledgement of feelings, restrictive and emotional inexpressiveness, and repression of sharing feelings socially (Fischer and Good, 1997; Vogel et al., 2003; Wong and Rochlen, 2005). Therefore, researchers need to be aware of the need for flexibility, creativity, and persistence in recruiting, and accessing, men for studies on sensitive topics.

REFERENCES

Adler, P. A. & Adler, P. (1987). Membership Roles in Field Research. SAGE Publications, Inc: Thousand Oaks, CA

Adler, P. A. & Adler, P. (2001). The Reluctant Respondent. In Gubrium, J. F. & Holstein, J. A. (Eds.), Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method (pp. 515-535). SAGE Publications, Inc: Thousand Oaks, CA.

Arber, S., Davidson, K. & Ginn, J. (2003). Changing Approaches to Gender and Later Life. In Arber, S., Davidson, K. & Ginn, J. (Eds.), Gender and Ageing. Changing Roles and Relationships (pp. 1-14). Open University Press: Maidenhead.

Bernard, M., Bartlam, B., Biggs, S. & Sim, J. (2004). New Lifestyles in Old Age: Health, Identity and Well-Being in Berryhill Retirement Village. The Policy Press: Bristol
Biggs, S. (1999). The mature imagination: Dynamics of identity in midlife and beyond. Open University Press: Buckingham
Biggs, S. (2004). Age, gender, narratives, and masquerades. Journal of Aging Studies, 18(1), 45-58.
Bryman, A. (2001). Social Research Methods (Third ed.). Oxford University Press: Oxford
Butera, K. J. (2006). Manhunt. Qualitative Inquiry, 12(6), 1262-1282.
Cameron, D. (1985). Feminism & Linguistic Theory (Second ed.). Palgrave: Basingstoke
Cheng, A. & Evans, M. (2009). An In-Depth Look Inside the Twitter World. Inside Twitter: Sysmos Resource Library. Retrieved: 22 February, 2013, from: https://http://www.sysomos.com/docs/Inside-Twitter-BySysomos.pdf
Connell, R. W. (1995). Masculinities (Second ed.). Polity Press: Cambridge
Daniluk, J. C. (2001). Reconstructing Their Lives: A Longitudinal, Qualitative Analysis of the Transition to Biological Childlessness for Infertile Couples. Journal of Counseling and Development, 79(4), 439-449.
Dermott, E. (2008). Intimate Fatherhood: A sociological analysis. Routledge: Abingdon, Oxon
Dickson-Swift, V., James, E. L., Kippen, S. & Liamputtong, P. (2008a). Risk to researchers in qualitative research on sensitive topics: Issues and strategies. Qualitative Health Research, 18(1), 133-144.
Dickson-Swift, V., James, E. L., Kippen, S. & Liamputtong, P. (2009). Researching sensitive topics: qualitative research as emotion work. Qualitative Research, 9(1), 61-79.
Dickson-Swift, V., James, E. L. & Liamputtong, P. (2008b). Undertaking Sensitive Research in the Health and Social Sciences. Managing Boundaries, Emotions and Risk. Cambridge Univesity Press: Cambridge
Dudgeon, M. R. & Inhorn, M. C. (2003). Gender, masculinity and reproduction: anthropological perspectives. International Journal of Men's Health, 2(1), 31-56.
Dykstra, P. A. & Hagestad, G. O. (2007). Roads Less Taken: Developing a Nuanced View of Older Adults Without Children. Journal of Family Issues, 28(10), 1275-1310.
Dykstra, P. A. & Keizer, R. (2009). The wellbeing of childless men and fathers in mid-life. Ageing & Society, 29(8), 1227-1242.
Elliot, S. (1998). The Relationship between Fertility Issues and Sexual Problems in Men. The Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality, 7(3), 1-8.
Fischer, A. R. & Good, G. E. (1997). Men and Psychotherapy: An Investigation of Alexithymia, Intimacy and Masculine Gender Roles. Psychotherapy, 43(2), 160-170.
Fisher, J. R. W., Baker, G. H. W. & Hammarberg, K. (2010). Long-term health, well-being, life satisfaction, and attitudes toward parenthood in men diagnosed as infertile: challenges to gender stereotypes and implications for practice. Fertility and Sterility, 94(2), 574-580.
Gillespie, R. (2003). Childfree And Feminine: Understanding the Gender Identity of Voluntarily Childless Women. Gender Society, 17(1), 122-136.
Ginn, J. & Arber, S. (1995). 'Only Connect': Gender Relations and Ageing. In Arber, S. & Ginn, J. (Eds.), Connecting Gender and Ageing. A Sociological Approach (pp. 1-14). Open University Press: Buckingham.
Goldstein, J. R. (2009). How Populations Age. In Uhlenberg, P. (Ed.), International Handbook of Population Aging (Vol. 1, pp. 7-18). Springer: Houten.
Greene, M. E. & Biddlecom, A. E. (2000). Absent and Problematic Men: Demographic Accounts of Male Reproductive Roles. Population and Development Review, 26(1), 81-115.
Hadley, R. A. (2008). Involuntarily Childless Men: Issues surrounding the desire for fatherhood. MA Dissertation, The University of Manchester, Manchester.

Hadley, R. A. (2009). Navigating in an Uncharted World: How does the desire for fatherhood affect men? MSc Dissertation, The University of Manchester, Manchester.
Hadley, R. A. (2012). The Heather Stott Show, 02 February 2012. BBC Radio Manchester: British Broadcasting Corporation.
Hadley, R. A. & Hanley, T. S. (2011). Involuntarily childlessmen and the desire for fatherhood. Journal of Reproductive and Infant Psychology, 29(1), 56-68.
Heaphy, B. (2007). Sexualities, Gender and Ageing. Current Sociology, 55(2), 193-210.
Infertilitynetworkuk. (2008). More to Life. Retrieved: 15/12/2008, from: http://www.infertilitynetworkuk.com
Ives, J., Draper, H., Pattison, H. & Williams, C. (2008). Becoming a father/refusing fatherhood: an empirical bioethics approach to paternal responsibilities and rights. Clin Ethics, 3(2), 75-84.
Jamieson, L., Backett-Milburn, K., Simpson, R. & Wasoff, F. (2010). Fertility and social change: the neglected contribution of men's approaches to becoming partners and parents. The Sociological Review, 58(3), 463-491.
Kendig, H., Dykstra, P. A., Van Gaalen, R. I. & Melkas, T. (2007). Health of Aging Parents and Childless Individuals. Journal of Family Issues, 28(11), 1457-1486.
Koo, M. (2002). The missing Critical Friends' voices: An angel's heart or a beautiful mind? Paper presented at the Australian Association for Research in Education Annual Conference 2002. from http://www.aare.edu.au/02pap/koo02139.htm
Kvale, S. & Brinkman, S. (2009). Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing (2nd ed.). SAGE Publications Inc: Thousand Oaks, CA
Lee, R. M. (1993). Doing Research on Sensitive Topics. SAGE Publications Ltd: London
Leontowitsch, M. (2012). 'Interviewing Older Men'. In Leontowitsch, M. (Ed.), Researching Later Life and Ageing - Expanding Qualitative Research Horizons (pp. 104-123). Palgrave Macmillan: London.
Letherby, G. (2002). Childless and Bereft?: Stereotypes and Realities in Relation to 'Voluntary' and 'Involuntary' Childlessness and Womanhood. Sociological Inquiry, 72(1), 7-20.
Liamputtong, P. (2007). Researching the Vulnerable. A Guide to Sensitive Research Methods. SAGE Publications Ltd: London
Lloyd, M. (1996). Condemned to be meaningful: Non-response in studies of men and infertility. Sociology of Health & Illness, 18(4), 433-454.
Lockwood, G. (2008). Biopsies/Sperm Retrieval. Paper presented at the National Infertility Day, 18th July 2008, London: New Connaught Rooms.
Lupton, D. & Barclay, L. (1997). Constructing Fatherhood: Discourses and Experience. SAGE Publications: London
Lupton, D. & Barclay, L. (1999). The experiences of new fatherhood: a socio-cultural analysis. Journal of Advanced Nursing, 29(4), 1013-1020.
Mensfe. (2008). Men's Fertility Forum - MENSFE MATTERS. Retrieved: 15/12/2008, from: http://www.mensfe.net/
Miller, R. L. (2000). Researching Life Stories and Family Histories. SAGE Publications Ltd: London
Miller, T. (2011). Making Sense of Fatherhood. Gender, Caring and Work. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge
Nunkoosing, K. (2005). The Problems With Interviews. Qualitative Health Research, 15(5), 698-706.
Oakley, A. (2005). The invisible woman: sexism in sociology. In Oakley, A. (Ed.), The Ann Oakley Reader: Gender, women and social science (pp. 189-205). The Policy Press: Bristol.

Oliffe, J. L. (2009). Bugging the Cone of Silence with Men's Health Interviews. In Gough, B. & Robertson, S. (Eds.), Men, Masculinities and Health: Critical Perspectives (pp. 67-90). Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke.
Oliffe, J. L. & Mróz, L. (2005). Men interviewing men about health and illness: ten lessons learned. The Journal of Men's Health & Gender, 2(2), 257-260.
Peronace, L. A., Boivin, J. & Schmidt, L. (2007). Patterns of suffering and social interactions in infertile men: 12 months after unsuccessful treatment. Journal of Psychosomatic Obstetrics & Gynecology, 28(2), 105 - 114.
Perren, K., Arber, S. & Davidson, K. (2004). Neighbouring in Later Life: The Influence of Socio-Economic Resources, Gender and Household Composition on Neighbourly Relationships. Sociology, 38(5), 965-984.
Renzetti, C. & Lee, R. M. (1993). The problem of researching sensitive topics: An overview and introduction. In Renzetti, C. & Lee, R. M. (Eds.), Researching sensitive topics (pp. 3-13). SAGE: Newbury Park, CA.
Scharf, T. & Bartlam, B. (2008). Ageing and social exclusion in rural communities. In Keating, N. (Ed.), Rural Ageing: A Good Place to Grow Old? (pp. 97-108). Policy Press: Bristol:.
Thompson, E. H. (1994). Older Men as Invisible Men in Contemporary Society. In Thompson , E. H. (Ed.), Older Men's Lives. (Vol. Six, pp. 1-21). SAGE Publications, Inc: Thousand Oaks, CA.
Throsby, K. & Gill, R. (2004). "It's Different for Men": Masculinity and IVF. Men and Masculinities, 6(4), 330-348.
Tong, R. P. (2009). Feminist Thought: A More Comprehensive Introduction (Third ed.). Westview Press: Boulder, CO
Valuing Older People. (2013). Manchester City Council. Communities and Neighbourhoods. Retrieved: 18 February, 2013, from: http://www.manchester.gov.uk/info/500099/valuing_older_people/3428/valuing_older_people_vop/1
Victor, C. R. & Scharf, T. (2005). Social isolation and loneliness. In Walker, A. (Ed.), Understanding Quality of Life in Old Age (pp. 100-106). Open University Press: Maidenhead.
Vogel, D., Wester, S., Heesacker, M. & Madon, S. (2003). Confirming Gender Stereotypes: A Social Role Perspective. Sex Roles, 48(11), 519-528.
Webb, R. E. & Daniluk, J. C. (1999). The End of the Line: Infertile Men's Experiences of Being Unable to Produce a Child. Men and Masculinities, 2(1), 6-25.
Weitoft, G., Burström, B. & Rosén, M. (2004). Premature mortality among lone fathers and childless men. Social Science & Medicine, 59(7), 1449-1459.
Westmarland, N. (2001). The Quantitative/Qualitative Debate and Feminist Research: A Subjective View of Objectivity [28 paragraphs]. Retrieved 30 March 2011, from Qualitative Social Research: http://qualitative-research.net/fqs/fqs-eng.htm
Wong, J. Y. & Rochlen, A. B. (2005). Demystifying Men's Emotional Behaviour: New Research Directions and Implications for Counseling and Research. Psychology of Men and Masculinity, 6(1), 62-72.
Woollett, A. (1985). Childlessness: Strategies for Coping with Infertility. International Journal of Behavioral Development, 8(4), 473-482.
Wright Mills, C. (1959). The Sociological Imagination. Oxford University Press: New York