Please cite the Published Version

Hadley, Robin (2014) "I quite like people to know that we did want a family": the experiences of older involuntarily childless men. In: Men, Health, and Wellbeing: Critical Insights Conference 2014, 7 July 2014 - 8 July 2014, Leeds Beckett University, UK. (Unpublished)

Version: Presentation

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Additional Information: Slides of a presentation given at: Men, Health, and Wellbeing: Critical

Insights Conference 2014

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"I quite like people to know that we did want a family": the experiences of older involuntarily childless men



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Background

- Based on qualitative PhD research project:
 - 'Life without fatherhood: a qualitative study of older involuntarily childless men.'
- Aim to explore the experiences of involuntarily childless men aged over 50.
- Methodology draws on Chambers (2002) 'feminist life course
 perspective' informed by: social gerontology, feminist, & life
 course approaches. Underpinned by social constructionism and
 focus on life history.
- Broad Thematic Analysis. (Braun & Clark, 2006)

The Sample

- 14 men were interviewed in 2012
- 27 semi-structured individual interviews in total
- Interviews via: face-to-face, Skype (1), telephone (1), email (1).
- Age range: 49 82
- 2 non-heterosexual, 12 heterosexual
- 7 single, 7 in relationships,
- 13 White-British; 1 Anglo-Celtic Australian
- Nationwide recruitment: Twitter, website, local radio interview, regional newspaper & 'Oldie' magazine advert, bussiness cards, flyers, personal & professional network email.

Childlessness

- Most societies are pronatalist: childless labeled as 'other.'
- Childlessness typically divided into binary: 'voluntary' and 'involuntary.'
- Most research focuses on the 'involuntary' as it is based on those pre, participating in, or post infertility treatment.
- Difficult to assess the level of involuntary childlessness.
- Recently involuntary childlessness seen as a continuum: events,
 over time, may change people's status e.g. relationship
 formation/breakup, choice of new partner, family
 dynamics.(Letherby, 2002)

Ageing and childlessness

- Older childless adults: 'rendered invisible in social science literature.' (Dykstra and Hagestad 2007: p. 1275)
- Most gerontological research has focussed on older women, as they lived longer, had high chronic co-morbidities, received more state benefits, and occupied the majority of the home care sector. (Arber 2004, Arber et al, 2003)
- Survey data indicates older childless adults have an increased risk of loneliness, social, isolation, depression, and ill health. (Dykstra and Hagestad, 2007)
- Formerly married childless men showed poorer physical health, excessive drinking and smoking, depression, and sleeping difficulties than men with partners. (Kendig et al, 2007).

Social context

'I always imagined I would have children.' Harry (70)

'I just naturally, in growing up, rather assumed I would leave school, do university, get a job, get married, and have a family.' David (60)

'I think from about like 15 years old I knew I was gay, so in my mind even then I knew I would never get married. So I suppose I didn't even think too much about children because you don't get married them days you didn't have children.' Raymond (70)

Pathways to childlessness

- Economics: 'The bloody interest rates hit 13% so that made me delay, you know, overtures in those directions.' John (59)
- Social clock: 'Nobody wants a 70 year old father when you're 20.'
 Martin (70)
- Biological clock: 'We just don't want to let time go by and let nature take the decision for us.' John
- Health: 'IVF was very stressful for my partner so, after two cycles, we called it a day basically.' Edward (60).
- Relationship: 'She said, "I never thought you are responsible enough to have children" Which, I guess, is the time I started drinking seriously.' John.

Affect of childlessness

Regret: 'I've never discussed it (IVF). If people ask if we have children I say "regrettably no." I quite like people to know we did want a family. 'Edward (60)

Peer network: 'It is noticeable that friends who have children drift away.' Edward

Existentialism: 'I think having kids is a way of producing a sense of continuity. Otherwise, death feels very final. If you're leaving kids, you've left something of yourself.' David (60)

Advantages: 'The advantages then, of course, are not having to plan and worry about others.' Edward

Alienation and Isolation

Alienation: 'When couples get older, they have a whole raft of experiences, you know, first day at school - if you haven't had those experiences you're shut out along with everything else. You're on the fringe - you haven't experienced: that is alien to you.' Russell (55)

Isolation: 'People have no conception of just how isolated someone who hasn't got kids in middle age is. That's point number one to get through in your <u>bloody</u> PhD.' Russell

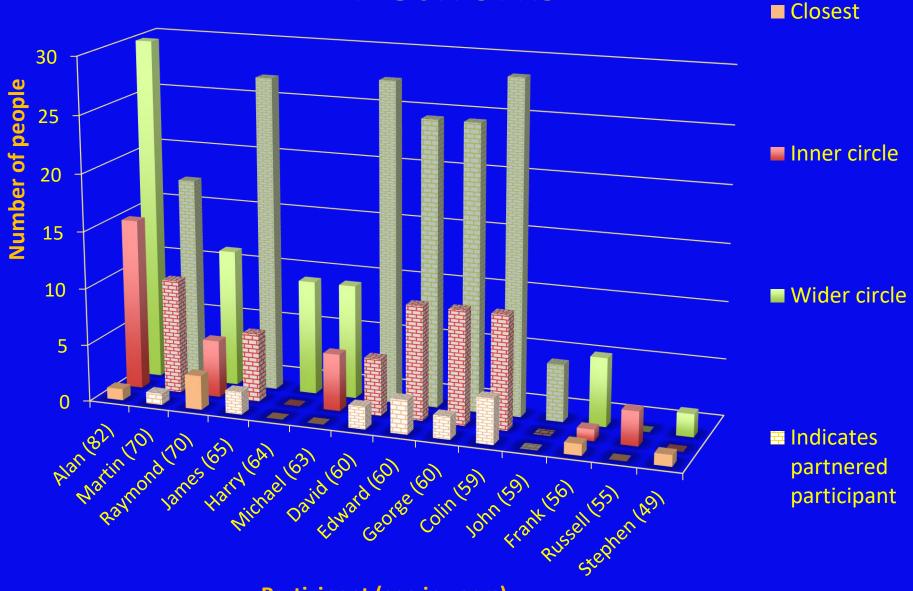
Negotiating discontinuity

'I seem to think more and more I think, now and again, it would suddenly hit me "Ah" you know? I would see the relationship between a father and son, or or a father and a daughter, and I was thinking "Ah" I'm never really going to get that, you know ... I miss that.' George (60)

'I'm never going to be able to say this is my grandson am I?' Harry (64)

'How is a man supposed to be a man?' Frank (56)





Participant (age in years)

Future

Health: 'Who's gonna take us to the hospital? Who's gonna push us? When we fall on the floor, who's gonna pick us up? Michael (63)

Threat: 'I don't want people saying, "Oh, he's a bit of a paedophile, this one, looking at the kids." Raymond (70)

Lineage: 'If you don't have children, you're not gonna have grandchildren.' Frank (56)

'I cannot recall having any thoughts about being a Granddad because there was, or is, no possibility of it.' Michael

Grandfatherhood 1 & 2

Latent: 'I mean I think in a way of the two little ones in the pub as the grandchildren I've never had. I don't say that in the pub to anybody, I don't even let them know it, or their Dad.' Raymond (70)

Adopted: 'They asked if they could adopt me as a granddad. That lasted 3 years - it was great. I felt I belonged - that's what I miss.' Alan (82)

Grandfatherhood 3 & 4

Proxy: 'Liz's grandchildren appeared on the scene - I discovered what a pleasure that is, you know? I'm keenly interested in them, as I would be if they were my genetic grandchildren, I think. Liz's exhusband, he's 'Granddad', I am 'Pappus' - the Greek word for Grandfather.' James (65):

Surrogate: 'I said to the parents, "You know, this baby when it comes hasn't got a paternal grandfather. Can I be a surrogate grandfather?" Which I am. They call me 'Sgrampy', which is an 'orrible word, but its surrogate grandfather, surrogate grampy. Pat is 'Gruntie' because she's actually a great aunt.' Martin (70)



Thank you for listening. Any questions?





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