The Other Half: Views of Fatherhood in the Organization

Jamie J. Ladge, Beth K. Humberd and Jeanne McNett

Abstract This chapter addresses fatherhood in the context of the workplace and family. We begin with a review of the current literature on fatherhood to consider the primary theoretical perspectives that are relevant to understanding men's transitions to fatherhood: gender, identity, and work-life integration. Then we discuss the transition to fatherhood in the context of various fathering views, organizational life, and family life. We also discuss methodological considerations in studying the transition to fatherhood both in relation to mothers and independent of mothers. We conclude with a summary of practical implications and recommendations for organizational action.

Keywords Involved fathers · Identity · Work-life integration

While most of the focus on parenting concerns in the workplace has been largely on women's experiences as they transition to motherhood, navigate maternity leave and venture back to work, fathers have often been left out of the discussion. Only recently have scholars in management, sociology, law and psychology disciplines begun to draw attention to the experiences of fathers in the workplace (e.g., Burnett et al. 2011; Cooper 2000; Dowd 2000; Gregory and Milner 2011; Harrington et al. 2010, 2011; Humberd et al. 2014; Levine and Pittinsky 1997). With more working mothers advancing in their careers, fathers need to become part of the work-family conversation as they take on more equal parenting. In particular, as men are now expected to be more involved, nurturing and present in their children's lives (Burnett et al. 2011; Gregory and Milner 2011; Wall and Arnold 2007), they too have to navigate the work-family struggles in relation to the transition to parenthood. The stigma of being a working parent is beginning to be shared among mothers and fathers (Mundy 2012). Therefore, in this chapter, we focus specifically

J.J. Ladge (✉) · J. McNett
Northeastern University, Boston, USA
e-mail: j.ladge@neu.edu

B.K. Humberd
University of Massachusetts, Lowell, USA

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on the other half of the equation in women's transitions to motherhood—the fathers who take this journey alongside of them.

In the work domain, fathers face a number of unique circumstances that are distinct from those of mother's transitions to becoming a working parent. First, men's increased involvement in parenting places them at odds with the notion of the "ideal worker," one "whose life centers on his full-time, life-long job, while his wife or another woman takes care of his personal needs and children," leaving him free to focus with commitment and dedication on his work (Acker 1990: 149). While research has long acknowledged that images of the ideal worker are problematic for women (Williams 2001), men now too face the challenge of role conflict as they desire to be involved as fathers and as workers. Secondly, while research documents the scrutiny and stigma that women experience as mothers in the context of work, recent work suggests men may experience both challenges and benefits as fathers in the context of work (Cooper 2000; Humberd et al. 2014; Ranson 2001). Finally, while work-family policies and programs have become the norm in organizations today, men are often constrained from utilizing such benefits because of the greater penalties they suffer—formally (in terms of pay) and informally (in terms of stigma and backlash)—for doing so (Allard et al. 2007; Coltrane et al. 2013; Halrynjo 2009; Rudman and Mescher 2013).

Many studies explore the work-family conflict concerns of both mothers and fathers and have added greatly to our knowledge of this process (e.g., Hill 2005; Winslow 2005; Milkie and Peltola 1999; Bond et al. 1998). Yet, our knowledge about how men navigate the transition to fatherhood in the context of their organizations and careers is still relatively limited. In particular, with changes in the structure of the traditional family, women's increased presence in the workforce, and the rise in dual-career couples, it has never been more important to understand the changing expectations on both mothers AND fathers. Therefore, in this chapter, we bring attention to the complexities associated with how men experience fatherhood in the context of their work and family contexts.

This chapter is organized as follows. First, we first review the current literature on fatherhood to consider the primary theoretical perspectives that are relevant to understanding men's transitions to fatherhood. Next, we discuss the transition to fatherhood in the context of various fathering views, organizational life, and family life. We also discuss methodological considerations in studying the transition to fatherhood both in relation to mothers and independent of mothers, which may foster future research directions. Finally, we conclude with a summary of practical implications and recommendations for organizational action.

Theoretical Perspectives Relevant to Fatherhood

Three primary theoretical lenses are relevant to the study of fatherhood: gender, identity and work-family integration. In this section, we review this literature in order to draw insight into men's experiences navigating the transition to fatherhood.

Fatherhood Through a Gender Lens

In the past few decades, scholars have recognized that men's gender identity and masculinity is important area that is worthy of scholarly attention in its own right (Ely and Meyerson 2008). For individual men, masculinity refers to how the expectations and norms of the gender system are incorporated into how men see and present themselves as *men* (Meyerson and Ely 2010). At a broader level, hegemonic masculinity considers the dominant view of masculinity to which men are compared to and judged by others in any given time and place (Connell 1987). Relevant to considerations of fatherhood, then, is the idea that assumptions about men as workers have traditionally been encompassed within this hegemonic masculine standard; that is, providing for their family is something that men are expected to do as fathers (Townsend 2002). Yet, as more women take on positions of power and leadership and men and women share in the home-based responsibilities, this dominant view of masculinity may be shifting. Recent work highlights the discourse of "involved fatherhood", which suggests that men are more involved in fathering today than ever before (Harrington et al. 2011; Wall and Arnold 2007). In contrast to the traditional narrative of the "breadwinning father" who is primarily expected to be a financial provider for his family, "involved fathering" suggests that the ideal father is one who "should be flexible enough to both earn a wage and be able to help fix dinner and read a bedside story" (Burnett et al. 2011: 164). Yet, even if such involvement is espoused as part of the expected standard for today's fathers, scholars suggest there is little evidence of whether and how individual men actually incorporate these new expectations into their fathering practice (Coltrane 1996; Gregory and Milner 2011; LaRossa 1988; Loscocco and Spitze 2007). Thus, although newer perspectives of fathers are emerging, traditional notions of fathers as providers still exist and seem somewhat resistant to change, particularly given broader institutional structures and arrangements that entrench such traditional expectations (Gerson 2009).

Importantly, as all hegemonic standards are necessarily situated within a particular time and place, it is notable that this discourse of "involved fatherhood" is primarily a Western conceptualization associated with white, middle-class men (e.g. Cooper 2000; Finn and Henwood 2009; Griswold 1993; LaRossa 1988; Plantin 2007; Plantin et al. 2003). Research suggests that it is among this group of men—well-educated, working professionals—that disparate models of fatherhood are most evident (Ranson 2001). As Griswold (1993) suggests: "*For these men, pushing a pram becomes less of the sign of a wimp than a public symbol of their commitment to a more refined, progressive set of values than those held by working-class men still imprisoned by outdated ideas of masculinity* (p. 254)." In addition to the United States, other developed nations with rising numbers of dual career couples (e.g. United Kingdom, Sweden) similarly discuss the degree to which men are grappling with the question of how to be both a good worker and involved father (Burghes et al. 1997; Plantin 2007). This population of men in particular faces multiple and potentially conflicting dimensions of masculine standards.

Given these conflicting expectations, recent work considers more specifically how fathers experience the "involved father" discourse in the context of their work (e.g., Cooper 2000; Miller 2010; Ranson 2001). Collectively, this work discusses men's decisions to utilize flexible work arrangements (Bailyn 1993; Shockley and Allen 2012) and reduce their schedules (Vandello et al. 2013), how men behaviorally manage the competing domains of work and family (Greenhaus and Beutell 1985), and how paternity leave can enable a more involved fatherhood (Miller 2010). Beyond this, scholars have recently begun to consider what it means to be fathers in the context of their particular work and home lives from an identity lens, which we discuss next.

Identity and Role Transitions

Identity has been an important construct in understanding role transitions, which involve both the psychological and physical engagement and disengagement between roles (Ashforth et al. 2000), and thus is a relevant theoretical perspective to considering the transition to parenting. Broader research on role transitions focuses on role transitions involving permanent and sequential movement (e.g. leaving an old job) of one role to another (e.g. transitioning into a new job) (Ashforth 2001). Additionally, other research on role transitions focuses on more frequent and recurring transitions between two distinct role identities, such as between home and work, (Ashforth 2001; Ashforth et al. 2000). Recent work on cross-domain identity changes considers how the transition to a new identity alters an existing identity, such as when becoming a mother shifts one's professional identity (Ladge et al. 2012). We expect that much of these cross-domain effects would in some respect be similar in men's transitions to fatherhood but that they may have their own unique experiences based on gendered norms and expectations which we explore later in the chapter.

When a transition involves taking on a new role, an individual is likely to be engaging in a process of figuring out who they are and want to be in that role (Ibarra 1999). Although identities may stabilize as the transition process is completed, events or cues from the environment may trigger destabilization or shifts in the meaning or content of a given identity (Ashmore et al. 2004; Ladge et al. 2012). This has been shown to be the case for women as they initiate the transition to motherhood (Ladge et al. 2012; Ladge and Greenberg forthcoming). However, less scholarly work has focused in-depth on men's transition to fatherhood even though men too may experience cues or events that trigger a destablization or questioning of their identity. For example, when their spouses return to work, being a father may take on a new meaning as there is now a shared responsibility assumed by both parents in caring for an infant.

Given that men must navigate gender expectations of what it means to be a man, a worker and a good dad, they, too, likely experience identity shifts as they transition to fatherhood. In line with this, a recent study finds that that new fathers hold

multiple images within their fathering identities—provider, role model, partner, and nurturer—which are invoked via various norms and expectations from their work and home lives (Humberd et al. 2014). This research suggests that new fathers, particularly those who have working spouses, are pushed and pulled in many different directions as they take on the fathering role amidst broader shifts in cultural ideals of fathering (Humberd et al. 2014). For example, if a father desires to be heavily involved in the care of his child but the demands and flexibility of his work (e.g., working long hours, traveling, and/or staying late in the office) prevent him being the kind of father he aspires to be, he must redefine who he is and can be as a father. In a similar vein, other work suggests that some mothers prevent their husbands from participating in the primary caregiving activities, a concept known as maternal gatekeeping (Allen and Hawkins 1999). This too may be a force for altering a man's self-construction as a father. This push and pull that men experience may explain why so many fathers are experiencing greater work-family conflict than ever before (Galinsky et al. 2013). Given this, the final stream of literature we explore next focuses on work-family integration issues as they relate to men's transitions to fatherhood.

Work-Family Integration

Work-family research in the management and organizational research domain has proliferated over the past several decades (Eby et al. 2005). Several studies point to distinct differences in the effects of work on family and of family on work domains for men and women. Evidence is mixed as to whether men and women experience different levels of work-family conflict, with some scholars finding minimal differences (Duxbury and Higgins 1991; Eagle et al. 1997) and one study finding that men report higher levels of work-family conflict than do women (Parasuraman and Simmers 2001). However, some researchers have found that, although mothers and fathers who experience work-family conflict have lowered job satisfaction, the long-term effects of work-family conflict were greater for women then they were for men (Grandey et al. 2005). We surmise that this may be a result of the identity threat that mothers experience over men in their workplace in response to societal roles and expectations (Pleck 1977).

More recent studies looked at the importance and prioritization of work and family among mothers and fathers. These studies suggest that individuals who are more family oriented are more likely to experience increased work-family conflict, which will have negative career implications (Carr et al. 2008). Thus, fathers who are less traditional and more involved would be expected to experience greater levels of work-family conflict. Conversely, the integration of work and family domains has also been shown to influence one another positively, through work-family facilitation (Frone 2003), but these outcomes vary by sex (e.g. Duxbury and Higgins 1991; Rothbard 2001) such that men's work enriches family while women's family enriches her work (Rothbard 2001). However, these studies are limited in that they do

not consider differences in parenting values and expectations. Further, the samples in these studies tend to be homogenous focusing on men in professional and managerial roles where expectations may differ from those men working who may be employed hourly or engaged in shift work. Lastly, the ages of children must be considered because of important differences in fathers' experiences based on their children's ages. For example, fathers with children ages 6 and under spend more than twice as much time with their children than fathers with children between the ages of 6 and 18 (http://www.bls.gov/tus/tables/a6_0711.htm). Thus, there are likely systematic differences in fathering views between new dads and more established fathers.

Lastly, there is a body of research that explores the ways in which both work and family factors may inhibit men's desires to be more involved parents (or mothers' desires to be less involved at home). For example, a number of personal and organizational factors have been linked to a father's attitudes and experiences of work and family conflict (Duxbury and Higgins 1991; Greenhaus et al. 1989; Loerch et al. 1989; Wallace 1999). First, having a working spouse may pose a threat to a husband's work and life satisfaction (Staines et al. 1986). It is no surprise that there is greater work-family conflict for men in dual-career versus traditional marriages (Higgins and Duxbury 1992). Perhaps having a working spouse lessens the time men can devote to work, thereby weakening the masculine, bread-winning self-perceptions that subsequently lower work and life satisfaction (Eby et al. 2005; Parasuraman et al. 1989). It is also not surprising that men who are highly invested in their careers, who work long hours and long days, and who have great work demands tend to have higher levels of conflict (Carlson and Perrewé 1999; Greenhaus et al. 1987; Nielson et al. 2001; Shamir 1983; Parasuraman and Simmers 2001; Tenbrunsel et al. 1995; Yang et al. 2000; Ford et al. 2007). Lastly, supportive organizational workplaces and supervisors aid in reducing work-family conflict for men and women (Allard et al. 2007; Carlson and Perrewé 1999; Greenhaus et al. 1987; Thompson et al. 1999). In dual career couples, high work involvement and less schedule flexibility was strongly related to work family conflict for both men and women, yet greater family involvement predicted women's work-family conflict but not men's (Hammer et al. 1997). However, working mothers are more likely to restructure their work conditions to meet family needs than are their male counterparts (Karambayya and Reilly 1992), and consequently benefit more (both psychologically and logistically) from supportive work-environments (Staines and Pleck 1986).

Together, this scholarly work demonstrates differences in work-family experiences among men and between men and women, and underscores the perception that men are not immune from experiencing conflict and pressures between the two domains. However, it is important to note that much of the aforementioned research was conducted a number of years ago, begging the question of to what extent these dynamics still hold for today's men and shed light on current issues. In 2011, the Families and Work Institute published a report titled "the New Male Mystique" in which they noted that work-family struggles have worsened for men over the years, making the issues facing men across work and family domains particularly salient

for individuals and organizations (Aumann et al. 2011). In their study, they discuss: "*although men live in a society where gender roles have become more egalitarian and where women contribute increasingly to family economic well-being, men have retained the "traditional male mystique"—the pressure to be the primary financial providers for their families. As such, men who are fathers work longer hours than men the same age who don't live with a child under 18. However, men are also much more involved in their home lives than men in the past, spending more time with their children and contributing more to the work of caring for their homes and families. In other words, men are experiencing what women experienced when they first entered the workforce in record numbers—the pressure to "do it all in order to have it all.*" (Aumann et al. 2011; p. 1)

Views of Fatherhood and Implications for the Transition to Parenthood

The aforementioned review of the literature calls attention to the enduring conflicts inherent in expectations of fatherhood. While notions have evolved from the traditional father as a disciplinarian and breadwinner that is absent much of the time, to a more contemporary father that is involved in daily family life and is emotionally available and actively parenting, ideals still abound from all perspectives. What, then, does this mean for men's transition to fatherhood today? Here we explore in more depth the expectations associated with these varying views of fathering, and later, the implications they have for individual men's transition to fathering in relation to their organizations and families.

The traditional model of fatherhood in the context of the organizational life has been described in various ways. The most oft-used description of traditional fathering is "*breadwinner*", with its appealing aptness—bread, the very staple of life is combined with victory. The view of father as breadwinner links to a "provide and reside" model of fathering, which assumes that fathering exists within a marriage-like relationship comprised of heterosexual partners (Aryee and Luk 1996; Coltrane 1997). Neatening up reality by ignoring the many modifications to the family structure that result from family changes, a view of father as breadwinner does not consider the impacts of separation, divorce, remarriage, cohabitation, and single parenthood. The term "*organization man*", which draws from Whyte's eponymous study (1956), has been used to capture the domestic absence of traditional fathers, describing them as: "the ones of our middle class who have left home, spiritually as well as physically, to take the vow of organization life, and it is they who are the mind and soul of our great self-perpetuating institutions." (Whyte 1956: 3). In a more recent article, fathers are depicted as "*ghosts*" (Burnett et al. 2013) to traditionally ignored paternity in the workplace. As these terms suggest, traditional views of fathers involve gender roles that divide work and home life into male and female spheres. Thus, within an organizational context, such views remain

consonant with the concept of "the ideal worker" as one who is unencumbered by outside obligations and can be fully and singly devoted to his work (Williams 2001).

In contrast to these traditional images, the evolving view of fatherhood that has received attention in recent popular media and some scholarly work is referred to as the "involved father." This view of fathering modifies the gendered assumptions underlying the traditional depictions discussed above. In popular media we now see advertisements of more "involved fathers" taking their children to school, dealing with Clorox in the laundry, getting up at midnight to eat cookies with their kids, and changing diapers. Further, the fathers depicted in television programs such as "Modern Family," "Parenthood," and "Up All Night" offer viewers multiple approaches to fatherhood beyond the traditional depiction of Ward Cleaver, the father in "Leave It to Beaver." These changes in popular accounts echo the desired shift in broader discourses toward a more involved sense of fathering.

Russell and Hwang (2004) define involved fathering in terms of three dimensions: engagement with the child (both time and affective aspects), accessibility (being available to the child), and responsibility. Such fathers are emotionally present for their children (Cabrera et al. 2000; Pleck and Pleck 1997; Burnett et al. 2011), and are increasingly involved at home (Bianchi et al. 2006; Burnett et al. 2011; Gregory and Milner 2011; Wall and Arnold 2007), contributing, for example, to the cooking of meals, reading of bedtime stories, and coordination of children's drop off and pickups at daycare. Importantly, the involved father shares responsibility for *both* the domestic life of his family *and* for its economic well-being. Involved fathering thus suggests that today's father may be liberated from the traditional responsibility of shouldering the burden of the economic responsibilities on his own as he presumably now shares this responsibility with a working spouse.

Given these shifting perspectives on fatherhood, how might the transition to fatherhood for individual men differ, depending on the dominantly held fatherhood perspective? Indeed, men's degree of involvement will vary in relation to the work status and aspirations of their spouses. For example, a non-working spouse who is able to devote much of her time to engagement with the child is likely to reduce the father's involvement, while a working spouse who is fully engaged with her career is likely to lead to a relatively more engaged father (Lamb 2000). Further, the liberation from traditional notions of fathering could involve a more difficult transition to parenting if the expectations for fathers are aligned more with typical expectations for women in the parenthood transition. Specifically, being a more involved father often means sharing in the parenting responsibilities (Doucet 2004), which means that personal and work-related adjustments are inevitable. Making these adjustments will likely challenge men to think more intricately about all of their life roles than they have traditionally had to do in the past. Thus, involved fathers today are likely to experience greater role strain in both their work and family domains (Galinsky et al. 2013). On the other hand, fathers who remain in a more traditional role (likely because they have a spouse who remains in the home full-time) may experience the transition to parenting as a smoother process because they are absolved of much of the primary parenting responsibilities, unless their

spouse expects more involved parenting from them. Yet, there may still be challenges in this transition for traditionally-oriented fathers, because they now bear even more responsibility for supporting their family. In some respects, these fathers may resolve any guilt they feel by using their breadwinner status as an emotional shield of defense—that is, their work becomes an excuse for what may be perceived as a lack of involved fathering. Together, these ideas emphasize that new fathers do not make the transition to fatherhood in a vacuum; rather their work and personal contexts, as well as their own view of fathering will shape the transition.

Regardless of the dominant fatherhood perspective, the transition to fatherhood is a period of change, for men may begin viewing themselves differently and viewing others around them differently, as well. As Palkovitz (2007) points out, "*As men make the transition to fatherhood, they take on a new status not only in their own eyes, but their families, friends, coworkers, and neighbors view fathers differently than they do men who are not fathers. Fathers are regarded as having greater responsibility and therefore are expected to exhibit different qualities and character than men who are not fathers…As they become fathers, men are challenged to rise to a new, higher level of functioning in relationships, work, and personal conduct* (2007: 28)." Given these various views and experience of fathering, we explore next how becoming a father is experienced in relation to work and home life.

Fatherhood Transitions in Relation to Organizations

As we have already established, it is evident that for middle-class men in Western societies, being a good father and a good worker are part of what it means to be a man (Townsend 2002). Within this, the concept of "ideal worker" suggests a worker whose primary focus is allocated to and identity derived from work involvement (Williams 2001). Research has addressed the negative impact of expectations tied to the ideal worker (e.g., Hochschild 1997; Williams 2001, 2010), and some studies have begun to focus on the experiences of working fathers in light of the shifting ideologies of fathering from traditional to involved (e.g. Cooper 2000; Humberd et al. 2014; Miller 2010; Ranson 2001). Yet, despite some recent attention, we still know surprisingly little about the experience of fatherhood in the context of work. Further, little seems to have changed within organizations to support the shifting expectations of fathering. Though depictions of the involved father abound in popular culture, it seems to be less of an experienced reality within the organization. In the U.S., for example, there is no national-level requirement for paternal leave, and only 17 percent of organizations offer paternity leave (SHRM 2015). Further, when paternity leave is offered, it is usually, at most, two weeks' time, and studies confirm that most fathers take one to two weeks off after the birth of their child (Harrington et al. 2010). From a global perspective, only two major nations offer no paid paternal leave: the U.S. and China (World Policy Forum, Catalyst 2012). Other countries appear to more readily acknowledge the need

for leave during the shift to fatherhood. For example, many European countries require organizations to offer generous paid leaves to their male employees upon the birth of a child, such as Sweden at 61 weeks, Germany at 52 weeks, Norway at 48 weeks, the U.K. and France at 28 weeks, and Italy at 26 weeks. Additionally, Canada offers 38 weeks. Although in the United States no federal requirement for paternity leave exists, some states—such as California, New Jersey and Rhode Island—recently have required organizations to offer paid paternity leave benefits (Catalyst 2013). There is also the option of unpaid paternity leave, but such a choice reduces family income at a time when expenses increase, a difficult decision for a family in transition to parenting to make.

In addition to paternity leave and other formal policies, research suggests that organizational culture also plays a role in the gap between the ideals of involved fatherhood and organizational reality. Even when there are parental leave and work-family policies in place, fathering is often not recognized as a serious and time-consuming role in the informal culture of the organization. For example, studies report on the backlash faced by fathers who have taken parental leave (e.g., Wayne and Cordeiro 2003). One study found that men who took leave for birth or eldercare were rated more negatively than their male counterparts who did not take leave. The same study also indicated that male evaluators were more judgmental of male leave-takers than were female evaluators (Catalyst 2012). Other studies similarly demonstrate that men are perceived as poor workers and are rewarded less when they request family leave or flexible hours to care for a newborn child, or when they report high levels of caregiving (e.g., Berdahl and Moon 2013; Vandello et al. 2013). Consistent with these research findings, a recent *Wall Street Journal* article addressing the issue of why men do not use available paternity leave suggests that they fear losing status at work, and that they are influenced by lingering stereotypes about the traditional father's role in a family (Weber 2013). Therefore, more typically, men end up adopting informal or stealth methods for managing their work and family demands (Harrington et al. 2010; Reid 2011). For example, a qualitative study of new fathers found that when these men used flexibility to be available for childcare responsibilities (e.g., drop or pick-up at daycare; attending a child's physician appointment), they did so by informally asking their managers on occasion or in a more secretive manner, rather than via a formal arrangement (Harrington et al. 2010).

Research suggests that age plays a role in how fathers view their own responsibilities as fathers, with older fathers (40 and up) significantly more likely to see their responsibilities as fathers in a traditional breadwinning sense than those under the age of 40 (Harrington et al. 2011). According to the National Study of the Changing Workplace (Galinsky et al. 2013), women and men's views about work and family roles converged to a point where they were not significantly different. These results were strikingly different in 1977 suggesting drastic generational shifts in attitudes and values around parenting. The study also revealed the most significant shift occurred in men in dual career relationships. Additionally, it was revealed that millennial fathers spend more time with their children today (4.1 average hours per week) as compared with older generations of fathers

(2.4 h per week) (Galinsky et al. 2013). Perhaps as newer generations of "millennials" grow in influence in their organizations, the stigma placed on the use of paternity leave and other flexible arrangements may be reduced.

Collectively, existing research emphasizes that fathers are involved in a continuous series of shifts as they transition to fatherhood and navigate the formal and informal context of their organizations as fathers. Reflecting this, a recent study of new fathers discusses the ways in which organizations can both enable and constrain men's new roles as fathers as men try to figure out who they are and can be as fathers in the context of their work (Humberd et al. 2014). Father involvement has been operationalized as time-based, that is the number of hours spent during the work-week on childcare (Hill 2005; Raley et al. 2012). Complicating this are the espoused shifting of ideals toward involved fathering, which are not fully realized in day to day life of fathers and organizations (Mescher et al. 2010). Thus, as men transition to fatherhood in the context of their work, they may want to be more involved at home, yet they find themselves in organizations where the traditional ideal of fatherhood is deeply embedded, if not in the formal policies, then in the culture.

Fatherhood Transitions in Relation to the Family

One of the more significant changes men make when they become fathers is reducing involvement in leisurely and social activities so that they can spend more time with their kids (Palkovitz 2007). Research suggests that father involvement is positively related to the psychological well-being of other family members. One such study found that spouses and children of involved fathers report higher levels of health and well-being (e.g., Twamley et al. 2013). Another study found that daughters who grew up with involved fathers had higher levels of life satisfaction and self-esteem (Allgood et al. 2012). There are also several important spousal benefits. When men share in the caregiving and other family responsibilities, it allows women to advance in their careers, which consequently benefits organizations in their employee retention efforts (Mundy 2012, 2014). Many organizations continue to struggle with what's been coined the "hidden brain drain" where highly successful women opt out of their careers to care for the children (Hewlett et al. 2005). Having involved fathers may also offers societal benefits as it shifts the stigma and gives way to shared parenting habits while reducing the second shift burden that tends to fall largely on mothers (Hochschild 1989). Fathers themselves benefit and reportedly live longer, healthier lives than non-fathers Gray and Anderson (2010).

Just as mothers have to navigate the transition to motherhood, fathers face similar challenges but often in relation to his spouse's work status. Men's transition to fathering involves a process of learning to navigate the disparate fathering images that are often shaped by personal and organizational contexts (Humberd et al. 2014). There are some aspects of men's transitions to parenthood that are similar to

those of women, but differences exist as well; and consideration of these differences could be addressed through an array of methodological considerations which we describe next.

Methodological Considerations in Studying the Transition to Fatherhood

Despite the vast amount of work that is relevant to understanding men as fathers, current research on fatherhood transitions, particularly in relation to organizational life, is quite limited. Further, the work that does exist focuses on samples that lack demographic and racial diversity, and primarily consider the experience of fathers that are middle-to-upper class, highly educated individuals, and working in professional roles. Although it is argued that these individuals may be the most subjected to expectations of involved fathering, there are likely important differences in the transition experiences of fathers from diverse demographic backgrounds and working class occupations that need further exploration. Additionally, cross cultural samples are limited, as most recent work on fathering in the workplace is conducted within particular countries, and even regions of those countries. Further, the above discussions emphasize that fathering is a context sensitive role that is likely experienced differently across the domains of home and work. Therefore, methods should be designed to gain insight from a variety of contexts (both at work and home related).

Another significant methodological concern with existing research on fathers is that it tends to be single source data, most often reported by the fathers themselves. Specific to fathers' time-based involvement, it may be important to consider a fathers' time spent with children in light of the spouses' involvement. Further, research might better consider the implications of what it means when the father feels as though they are very involved in the family but the rest of his family feels that he could be more involved, based on competing reports of a fathers' time-based involvement. Overall, future research could usefully take a family "systems" perspective in an effort to gain perspective from the entire family unit as opposed to a single source of self-reported data.

Perhaps most importantly, to truly study the *transition to* parenting requires a longitudinal design that can capture the evolution of various stages in the transition process, both individually and societally. Specifically, longitudinal and multimethod research designs would be necessary to capture the changing nature of fatherhood in relation to changing workforce demographics. For example, qualitative studies could be used to capture the individual level experience men face as they transition to parenting and then as they experience subsequent transitions (additional children, milestones, etc.). An understanding of how men mentally prepare to become fathers and the capturing of any personal changes they may experience when anticipating the birth of a child may also help. Yet, while such a

design allows for the capturing of the evolution of fathering self-views and experiences over time, one of the key issues is retaining participation over time. Additionally, quantitative studies could be used as a complement to track demographic trends and factors that influence different models of fatherhood such as organizational (e.g. impact of the use of paternity leave, organizational culture) and personal factors (e.g. influence of spouse, own parents, other relationships and support systems), as well as the shifting discourses of fathering at a broader level. Lastly, consideration of different work scenarios of fathers and the role industry, job type and other factors play in influence self-views of fathers and the transition experience would be important. An understanding of the difference in men working full-time, part-time and those who decide to stay at home full-time would be worthwhile. Another consideration is to explore the timing of becoming a father. Most of the current literature on timing childbirth is focused on mothers, but men play a large part in making these decisions.

Taking together, we have outlined several areas of opportunity in expanding our understanding of working fathers and the transition to parenting. Studying a range of demographic characteristics and occupations would serve organizations well in trying to determine the level of support that fathers need to be successful both at home and in their work roles. In particular, generational differences, race, sexual orientation and cross-cultural differences would provide insights into understanding factors that shape fathering ideals and the daily experience of fathering across competing ideals. Also, future research should seek to gain perspective on understanding differences among occupational choices of men and the extent to which they consider their work-family needs in making such choices. Lastly, we know little about the impact of having subsequent children for fathers. For example, do men experience a re-definition of fatherhood or further identity conflict upon the birth of a second child? How do children's age impact father involvement? Alternatively, how does career stage, industry, and organizational factors intersect with these familial factors? Much of the current research in this area pertains largely to women, and as such, there is much room to contribute to our understanding of the experience of fatherhood over the life course.

Practical Implications and Recommendations

Research has long supported the idea that perceived organizational support strongly influences job satisfaction (Holtzman and Glass 1999) and overall employee health and well-their organizations in order to feel confident, identify with their multiple roles, and successfully navigate the transition. When employees do not feel supported, they are more likely to lower their career aspiration and change or quit their jobs (Eisenberger et al. 2002; Allen et al. 2003). In addition, research shows that when fathers spend more time with their children, positive work outcomes are present, such as greater job satisfaction and commitment (Ladge et al. Working paper). Involved fathers also report reduced intentions to withdraw from work.

Turnover is costly to organizations, so it is in the organization's best interest to create conditions that allow fathers to be involved at home and at work.

While organizations have made significant progress in the quest for work-life balance, they need to keep pace with changing employee needs. Work-life programs need to continue to strive to be gender-neutral and flexible. The informal areas of many organizations offer the greatest yet most difficult to access opportunity for improvements. The informal social context at work plays a large role in shaping how men experience themselves as fathers in the context of their work. Leadership can attempt to influence these informal norms by showing the leaders' support for the organization's commitment to involved fatherhood. In addition to expanding flexible work programs, the organization can support the existence of informal arrangements, and fathering can be reconsidered in light of the needs of working fathers. Working fathers are the best source of information about the help they need.

Within most organizational cultures, there is still a strong cultural perspective that when men become fathers, little will change on the work front. However, as fathers take on more equal responsibility for care giving and other family responsibilities, workplace norms must change, as well. Organizations should recognize and appreciate that fathers may want to reduce their workload temporarily, based on their new responsibilities. Employers would do well to consider fatherhood as a more serious and time consuming role than they have previously.

In addition to having positive effects on men, enlightened paternal policies also support women. They increase a father's participation in domestic roles, support women's participation in the labor force, and promote gender equity across both domains (Mundy 2014). It is important that organizations recognize and appreciate that parenting has evolved to a dual-partner process. Much like many mothers, fathers should not be held to ideals that are based on outdated gender norms and expectations. Employers need to consider fatherhood as serious and time-consuming role.

In closing, we know little about how men experience the role of father with the organizational context. What we do know suggests that fatherhood is a time of tension and ambiguity in this context. Within the organization, there is pressure toward more traditional understandings of fatherhood, which conflicts with men's desire and need to be more involved at home,. At the same time, there is an opportunity for organizations to offset these effects through formal and informal support for the transition to fatherhood.

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