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Abstract:	Based on an ethnography carried out in 2015 and in 2016 in a DNA testing center located in New-York this article will focus on the different costs (economic, emotional, symbolic and political) of a result of a paternity test. Whether a mother is trying to defend her son's interests or a man wants to check the genetic authenticity of his parentage, the ethnographic material drawn upon here reveals the issues at stake in situations understood as enigmas that can be solved. What is the value of these enigmas, at the heart of family histories? In other words, what uncertainties do people want to resolve by identifying a biological father? Rather than taking a reductive approach framing the relationship to secrets as relating to a deep-seated or even imperative "need to know", this article intends, instead, to problematize the current preoccupation with "truth making".

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'Are You Paying for Somebody Else's?'
The value of secrecy in the uses of DNA paternity tests in USA

For Review Only

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3 September 2016, DNA Lab, Brooklyn, New York²
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5 The Indian summer's midday heat has plunged Jacob's office into a gentle state of torpor. This
6
7 Tuesday in the DNA testing center, clients are few and far between. They succeed each other
8
9 at irregular intervals, leaving the waiting room empty. The day before, Jacob had warned me
10
11 not to come in. He was worried I'd have nothing to observe or listen to other than him giving
12
13 instructions to Toinette, his assistant, on the backlog of files. I had insisted. So now here I am,
14
15 counting the squares in my notebook in a silence that is highly unusual for this center usually
16
17 bustling with people and noisy children. We are therefore awoken all the more brutally from
18
19 our torpor by the rapid approach of a man who appears in the doorway, visibly out of breath,
20
21 without bothering to knock. In his arms, he is holding a baby, not yet a year old, sporting only
22
23 a nappy. He apologizes for bursting in like this and explains why he is in such a hurry: "His
24
25 mother's asleep next door. I've not got much time before she wakes up. I want to know if he's
26
27 my son". The man lives two streets away from the lab, in a neighborhood in the heart of
28
29 Brooklyn. He was born in Jamaica 34 years ago and was 12 when he moved into the house in
30
31 which he still resides today with his widowed mother. He works as an electrician and decided
32
33 that he wanted his "girlfriend", unemployed and pregnant with their first child at the time, to
34
35 move into the family home. He has come to do this DNA test in secret, while his partner sleeps,
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37 at his mother's behest. I understand better why he is so agitated. The two women live together
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39 but do not get on. The mother suspects the girlfriend of lying about her son being the baby's
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41 father. She intends to prove this with DNA so as to "free" her son from his unjustified
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43 obligations... and get the "intruder" out of her home.
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[except from field notes]

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3 At the entrance to the DNA Lab, located on a particularly busy street in the Flatbush
4 neighborhood in Brooklyn, visitors are greeted by a poster. A man, facing away from the lens,
5 is holding a baby at arm's length. This affectionate gesture signals family intimacy but also
6 suggests the need for recognition: does the man in the photo recognize the child before his eyes
7 as his own? The poster also features a slogan: "Are you paying for somebody else's?"³ Who is
8 this question addressing and to what kinds of expenses does it refer? It would be tempting to
9 answer that it is mainly about child support, one of the key issues at stake in divorce and
10 declarations of paternity. However, the costs and responsibilities cited as the reason for lifting
11 uncertainty can be completely different, as illustrated by the field notes above: family conflicts,
12 morality, inheritance, respectability, or living arrangements can all be in play. This article will
13 focus on these different costs, examining both the ties between individuals who are affected by
14 such DNA paternity testing, and also the power relations that are established or reinforced as a
15 consequence of their results. Whether a mother is trying to defend her son's interests or a man
16 wants to check the genetic authenticity of his parentage, the ethnographic material considered
17 here reveals the issues at stake in situations commonly understood as enigmas for which
18 paternity testing may provide solutions. What is the value of these enigmas, which often lie at
19 the core of family histories? In other words, what uncertainties do people hope to resolve by
20 identifying biological fathers, and how does the resolution of such uncertainties constitute an
21 affirmation of power within the family and beyond? Rather than taking a reductive approach
22 framing the relationship to secrets as relating to a deep-seated or even imperative "need to
23 know", this article intends, instead, to problematize the current preoccupation with "truth
24 making".

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56 ***Mater semper certa est; pater autem incertus***⁴
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59 Does the power to establish a tie between two people by analyzing their DNA offer a
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3 way of removing uncertainty about the identity of a biological father or does this new
4 possibility, instead, mean that something that used to be unknown, uncertain, or perhaps even
5 unimportant or insignificant, is now framed as a secret? Even without being directly concerned
6 ourselves, we have all heard of tales of “revelations” among those around us. When these family
7 histories are not experienced as traumatic, they are at the very least presented in terms of a
8 “critical moment” testifying to the shock that ensues when a “secret” comes out about a
9 biological father’s identity, kept hidden by a mother. The father who discovers decades later
10 that he has been “tricked”, the siblings who learn that they actually have “different fathers” –
11 in all these tales, the moment of “revelation” is the point when the “truth” is finally exposed.
12 Viewing the moment of “revelation” as an upheaval in terms of both family and subjectivity is
13 part of an on-going preoccupation that has its own genealogy. The question of “family secrets”
14 invites us to examine the question of “subjects’ belonging, their past, their memory, and, more
15 broadly, the contemporary forms through which biographical truth is established” (Roux,
16 2017a). Far from not having a history, the notion of “family secrets” is part of a very clear
17 history, particularly in terms of the evolution of parentage laws.
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39 While parentage law has varied considerably across historical periods and geographical
40 contexts, it seems to have emerged as the juridical compensation to the Roman adage “the
41 mother is always certain; the father is always uncertain”. Within European and American
42 society, studies in both classical canon law and contemporary family law show that paternal
43 filiation is based on a conception of “shared blood” within the institution of marriage (Fine and
44 Martial, 2010). This is the case in French law, for example, where paternity was long defined
45 within marriage and strictly linked to the mother. The mother’s husband was declared the
46 legitimate father and it was not possible to legally challenge his paternity. Profound changes to
47 the family—due to divorce and separation, but also legislation that has eliminated the
48 distinction between “legitimate” children (born from married parents) and “natural” children
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3 (born from unmarried parents)⁵ —have all contributed to separating paternal filiation from
4 marriage. The law on shared parental authority has been one of the most significant ways in
5 which these changes have been written into law.⁶
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11 Studies conducted in other societies also reveal laws and customs aimed at fostering
12 stable social paternities capable of circumventing the vicissitudes of reproduction (male
13 infertility, uncertainty about the identity of a biological father). Anthropologist Françoise
14 Héritier has shown how the predominance of patrilineal systems can be understood as a
15 symbolic, legal, and political way of taking filiation in hand so as to compensate for the
16 uncertainty of paternity (Héritier, 1996). For example, among the Samo in Burkina Fasso, there
17 can be no “fatherless” child. In the absence of a husband, the mother names a man as the father.
18 This designation is rarely rejected insofar as a child is considered a blessing for the patrilineal
19 group. When a legitimate union has not produced any children, women can call on “secondary
20 husbands” and then ascribe the children to their first husbands. In this case, the group is
21 perfectly aware of the biological father’s status and identity “But, in line with the *idée-force*
22 that filiation derives from words as much as it does from bloodlines, these different forms of
23 knowledge produce no visible effects on the child’s insertion within the lineage. Nevertheless,
24 the angry words of a third party publicly and explicitly naming the biological father is enough
25 to interrupt it.” (Héritier, 1996: 14). Legal and customary conceptions of filiation do not ignore
26 the biological facts; quite the contrary—they are part and parcel of a social narrative in which
27 they are “diluted”. This narrative provides an acceptable and accepted version of a nonstandard
28 arrangement: a married couple obtains a child via a third party; a young mother names a man
29 as the father of her child to give that child a lineage and to avoid being disowned by her group.
30 In these different cases, knowing what has happened has no truth value. The biological story is
31 not hidden, it is simply secondary. In such cases, would it not be an anachronism or an
32 extrapolation to refer to “family secrets” surrounding the father’s identity? These questions
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3 challenge the very category of the “secret” in its relationship to knowledge and truth.
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7 8 **Relative secrets** 9

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12 In anthropological¹, sociological, and psychoanalytical terms, the “secret” is tied to its
13 etymology as a “secretion” or the trace of something that has existed: a secret is what remains
14 of a past event kept hidden (by the group or by the subconscious) (Simmel, 1906, Zempléni,
15 1996; Rashkin, 1992; Winnicott, 1971). In all cases, its value lies in its power to explain a
16 present that can only be partially understood without it. Uncertainty surrounding the father’s
17 identity is a constitutive element of parentage law (Strathern, 1992; Carsten, 2000; Gavanas,
18 2004). In the absence of technology to verify a biological link, the father was identified at the
19 mother’s discretion. Now, genetical identification of the father is a key component in exposing
20 “family secrets” which can have important emotional and psychological consequences for those
21 who have been kept in the dark. The key to many a family enigma can be found in a mother’s
22 omission or “lie” about the father of her child, resulting in a husband realizing he has been
23 betrayed, a former partner finding out he has a child after many years have passed, children and
24 grandchildren discovering a filiation of which they were previously unaware... These stories
25 are envisaged today as the node of traumatic situations that might prevent individuals from
26 accessing their true “selves”. Mothers are therefore enjoined to tell the truth lest they wreak
27 psychological harm upon their family, sometimes across several generations. This historical
28 process can be seen in the claims for the “right to origins” that have emerged in converging
29 medical, psychological, legal, and sometimes anthropological discourse about people’s need to
30 know “where they come from” in order to become “fully-fledged” individuals—if not entirely
31 fulfilled then at least spared the “trauma” of a buried secret. Research has focused on the
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59 ¹ Recently in 2014, a paper in the *Annual Review of Anthropology* has been devoted to the question of secrecy (Graham,
60 2014).

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3 anonymity of sperm donors as a key locus for understanding the relationship to secrecy and
4 exploring its effects on a person's sense of self and future (Turkmendag, 2012; Pennings, 1997).
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6 In France, where sperm donors' anonymity has so far been maintained, those campaigning to
7 lift it emphasize the substantial impact that secrets have on formation of self (Delaisi de
8 Parceval, 2006; Théry and Leroyer, 2014). Within this current paradigm, where subjects' truth
9 is to be found in their historical and biological past (Roux, 2017b), few studies in the social
10 sciences have examined the value of family secrets in the formation of subjectivities (Fonseca,
11 2018). Family secrets are often considered in their ontological dimension—i.e. the fact they
12 exist—without their performative dimension being examined—i.e. looking at what they
13 themselves bring into existence.
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26 Although she does not go back on the term “secret”, which she uses to refer to her
27 ethnographic examples, Françoise Héritier does show the relative value of secrets about
28 parentage in producing filiations and individuals: “concerning secrets and donor anonymity,
29 examining what happens in other societies shows that it is perfectly possible, when there is an
30 established social consensus and when filiation is defined by law, to live in perfect harmony
31 with oneself and others while entirely dissociating the function of the biological father from
32 that of the *pater* [...]” (Héritier, 1996: 20).
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42 The relationship to secrecy as an originary truth does not derive from one stable
43 conception and its value depends entirely on the place ascribed to it by a given society. The
44 enigma of paternity is not a fixed question. If this enigma is posed so forcefully today, it is
45 perhaps because it is now technically possible to provide biological proof of a father's identity.
46 This hypothesis follows on from the work of Carlo Ginzburg—one of the pioneers of micro-
47 history—who views the rise of certain sciences and techniques (history of art and art valuation,
48 psychoanalysis, forensic science) as the advent of a new paradigm based on the possibility of
49 following the traces of objects and people. It entails collecting a body of evidence based on
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3 which one can trace the trajectories of objects and individuals such that their provenance can
4 be certified and it becomes possible to determine who they *are* and what they have done, or
5 even to uncover what they might do (Ginzburg, 1979). One of the examples Ginzburg uses is
6 fingerprinting (its contemporary extension would be DNA fingerprinting), which enables
7 irreducible individual identification. By allowing the production of new knowledge about
8 individuals, can biotechnologies be said to transform subjects' relationship to truth and to their
9 past? The Samo case offers a potential answer. Recent studies have shown a certain break with
10 the act of naming a father in the absence of a husband. Traditionally this practice allowed
11 mother and child to remain in the group without this designation generating any suspicion.
12 However, with the advent of blood tests and DNA tests introduced by social services with a
13 view to "checking" paternity and halting the rise in youth pregnancies and pregnancies outside
14 of wedlock, mothers are seeing their word being challenged. Before, naming the father was a
15 way for them to protect themselves; now, it is a source of shame and leads to their social
16 relegation (Bertho, 2016). They are framed as mercenary liars looking to exploit one of their
17 unfortunate partners, who is not necessarily the biological father. The Burkina Faso social
18 services present these DNA tests as benefiting very young mothers dealing with pregnancy
19 alone, but the tests in fact risk backfiring on them. Similar situations have also been observed
20 in another geographical context, namely the favelas in Porto Alegre studied by Brazilian
21 anthropologist Claudia Fonseca (2002). Here "fatherless" children and mothers with scant
22 financial resources begin paternity searches, sometimes several decades after the child's birth,
23 asking for DNA tests through legal services specializing in women's rights. These organizations
24 aim to help these vulnerable populations obtain the child support owed to them—a right to
25 which they sometimes do not even know they are entitled. In practice, however, the
26 anthropologist wonders whether this biotechnology—on the pretext of helping women—might
27 not have an insidious side-effect, namely that of paving the way for a new form of sexual, moral,
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3 and economic control? On the pretext of lifting family secrets to bring clarity to everyone, might
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5 DNA tests not make something public that previously remained private to women? And, in the
6
7 name of “the right to know”, might carrying out a DNA test not in fact dispossess mothers of
8
9 their power of discretion?
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12 These different ethnographic examples, historically and socially situated in different
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14 places and times, testify to “family secrets” being taken on board in ways that are entirely
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16 relative. Relative insofar as their value and effects depend on the social relationships within
17
18 which they are construed. Who is targeted by the result of a DNA paternity test? The child?
19
20 The mother? The father? The paternal bloodline? The maternal bloodline? Relative, also,
21
22 insofar as “family secrets” can be more or less important depending on social situations. They
23
24 have become a key issue in contemporary family policies and practices⁷—particularly evident
25
26 in discourse about origins and lifting anonymity (Théry, 2014)—but, in other situations, they
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28 can in fact be a secondary concern or even of no interest whatsoever to those involved, who
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30 dispense with the need to know the father’s identity or enroll it within a reproductive history
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32 that is focused on designated/declared paternity.
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40 **Looking for the father. Genealogy of DNA use in the United States**

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45 With a view to examining changes in the relationship to family secrets, this article draws
46
47 on a study conducted in a center specializing in DNA paternity tests in New York.⁸
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49 Since 2005, the DNA Lab has been part of a medical center in the heart of Brooklyn that
50
51 offers free treatment and care¹¹. For a fairly modest price, the DNA Lab rents two rooms here
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53 (an office and a storage room).⁹ Three chairs in a row in the corridor mark out the waiting area.
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55 Due to its location in a historically African-American, Caribbean, and Hispanic neighborhood,
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60 ¹¹ In New York City, there is another center specializing in DNA paternity testing located on Mahattan Island.

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3 as yet unaffected by gentrification, the issues faced by the DNA Lab are different from those in
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5 other centers in Manhattan, for example, where the target clientele is drawn from the
6
7 neighborhood's middle- and upper-class inhabitants. In this context, where the local population
8
9 has a high unemployment rate and often poor health insurance, DNA paternity tests have
10
11 economic stakes ranging from child support payments to whether someone remains in a family
12
13 home or whether a child is enrolled on a health insurance plan. In all cases, the results of a DNA
14
15 test have a direct effect on the subsistence of those involved.
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21 **Field study in a DNA testing center in New York**

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23 Far from offering the sterile environment commonly associated
24
25 with genetic testing, the premises of the DNA Lab are
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27 particularly cramped and run down. Appointments, sometimes
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29 involving as many as four people, take place in a room less than
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31 ten square meters into which is fitted an imposing desk
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33 (belonging to Jacob, the director), a workstation (belonging to
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35 his assistant, Toinette), as well as a chair, squeezed into the
36
37 door recess, allocated to me for my observations. The close
38
39 quarters make my presence a potential obstacle to appointments
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41 unfolding in the usual way. For this reason, at Jacob's request,
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43 I wear the regulation white coat, less for reasons of hygiene
44
45 than to blend in with my surroundings. This associates me with
46
47 the medical team and makes it easy for me to interact with the
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49 clients, however this confusion about why I am there raises a
50
51 certain number of ethical issues. The first concerns the
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53 confidential nature of highly sensitive genetic material.
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55 However, I do not have access to identifying information in the
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3 DNA—and would not be capable of understanding it even if I did—so
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5 my analysis focuses instead on the value placed upon this data.
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7 The second ethical question also relates to sensitive data, this
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9 time in terms of personal information. What is the right stance
10
11 to adopt when information relating to “family secrets” is in
12
13 play? There is no standard answer to this question. My approach
14
15 was to explain why I was there at the beginning of each
16
17 appointment in order to give the clients the option to refuse.
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19 The rare times in my study when I was asked to leave the office,
20
21 by both Jacob and the clients, were during negotiations about
22
23 the cost of the DNA tests. The economic side to the process was
24
25 in fact what was considered “embarrassing”, far more than the
26
27 significance of genetics or of personal/family stories. The data
28
29 collected during my observations and drawn from individual
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31 interviews have all been anonymized (names and places have been
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33 changed) so that the narratives reported here cannot be connected
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35 to the people I met.
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44 The DNA Lab carries out three types of paternity tests. So-called “Peace of Mind” tests,
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46 Legal Court Screening tests, and Immigration tests. The first cost 250 dollars per person
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48 sampled. They do not require consent from all parties and can therefore be done without all
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50 sampled persons knowing about it. Contrary to statutory saliva or blood samples, which require
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52 the consent of the person directly concerned by the result, DNA can also be collected from
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54 “alternative” samples taken from a hairbrush, toothbrush, razor blade, nail clipping, cigarette
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56 butt, used condom, tissue, or piece of chewing gum. The nature of these samples means that the
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58 person whose DNA is being analyzed has not given prior consent, whether they have refused
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3 or have simply been kept outside the process by those concerned by the test results. For this
4
5 reason, while “peace of mind” tests are legal, they have no legal value; in other words, they
6
7 cannot be used as evidence in court proceedings.
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10 As for the legal tests, they are carried out for expressly judicial purposes and require the
11
12 consent of all parties concerned. For this reason, they are more expensive (400 dollars per
13
14 sample).
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17 In addition to these two tests, the DNA Lab offers a third, more recent, type of analysis.
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19 For almost five years now, the lab has specialized in “immigration tests”, in response to the
20
21 demands of an increasingly lucrative emerging market: such testing represented more than 70%
22
23 of the DNA Lab’s turnover in 2015, according to Jacob, its administrator. Such commercial
24
25 decisions are encouraged today by bills looking to systematize these sorts of practices in
26
27 increasingly common situations. This is the case for the DNA tests required as part of the
28
29 procedure for family reunion. Although, for legal reasons, these tests cannot be made
30
31 mandatory, they are nevertheless subject to an administrative form of imposition (Mazouz,
32
33 2015) insofar as they are presented to applicants as an administrative formality that is necessary
34
35 to finalize their applications (Gourarier, 2017). Despite this obligation, the tests are not
36
37 subsidized by the public administration, and it is the responsibility of the applicant to pay the
38
39 full amount necessary, i.e. approximately \$400 per person. Since 2008, in the State of
40
41 Tennessee, a second measure has given rise to substantial controversy.¹⁰ Senator Tate has
42
43 sponsored a bill¹¹ that would make DNA paternity tests mandatory in order for a father to be
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45 declared on a birth certificate, irrespective of the relationship between the two parents. This
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47 measure would apply to all births, involving both married and unmarried couples.
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53 The different paternity tests on offer at the DNA Lab illustrate the increasingly diverse
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55 fields in which genetics are applied, extending more and more to ordinary users (Nelson, 2016;
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57 Rose, 2007; Palsson, 2007). Both Frédéric Keck and Paul Rabinow (1996; 2004) have attested
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3 to this democratization of genetic knowledge, which began with a moment of euphoria in DNA
4 use at the end of the 1980s and has risen consistently ever since. This craze took concrete form
5 with the invention of DNA home tests in the mid 2000s. DNA sample “kits” or “boxes” are
6 easy to use as they require no technical knowledge—a cotton swab is rubbed inside a person’s
7 cheek and the sample sent away for analysis. The results are then mailed back, expressed in
8 percentages that are comprehensible to non-experts. Whereas genetic expertise was previously
9 only accessible to forensic police and legal/preventive medicine (Vailly, 2017; Heinemann and
10 Lemke, 2014), from 2006 onwards it became marketable knowledge and various companies
11 began selling DNA tests directly online, such as 23andMe or Pathway Genomics. Based on a
12 saliva sample sent in by post and then analyzed in a lab, these companies offer their clients an
13 assessment of their predisposition to certain illnesses or behavioral traits, as well as analysis of
14 their ethnic origin and genealogy. The scientific relevance of these tests is regularly subject to
15 controversy, particularly in terms of the ideological presuppositions that lead laboratories to
16 reify genetic characteristics in order better to classify ethnic groups, suddenly fixed outside
17 historical considerations of history or population migration patterns (Rajagopalan and
18 Fujimura, 2012). These tests are subject to specific regulations concerning ownership of genetic
19 data and how they are used. Legislation regulating DNA testing varies considerably from one
20 country to another according to bioethics laws and national political and economic contexts. In
21 France, for example, it is illegal to sell or carry out a DNA analysis without a medical
22 prescription or legal decision. Most users therefore use the services of companies located
23 abroad, some of whom directly target the French market through their websites, such as the
24 British website of the DNA Diagnostic Center,¹² with its very telling domain name. In the
25 United States, however, tests are freely accessible and legal. Any person over 18 can go to a
26 DNA center, order a DNA test online, or buy one in a drugstore without any restrictions, with
27 the exception of the State of New York which requires a medical prescription. The leading firm
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3 on the US market estimates it had over a million clients in 2015, as opposed to “only” 100,000
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5 in 2011.¹³ In this context, the expanding use of genetics translates into both more users and
6
7 more diversified fields of application. In the field study in question here,
8
9 the varied uses and users of DNA paternity tests call for close
10
11 attention to be paid to two specific features. First, the fact
12
13 that, while the aim of a paternity test is to confirm or
14
15 contradict a genetic tie between two people (or several people
16
17 when siblings are concerned) by comparing their DNA, this is not
18
19 the only relationship in play. Often a test is conducted as a
20
21 result of broader family discussion and its results affect a
22
23 much wider kinship network than just the direct link between a
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25 parent and a child. Second, and consequently, there can be
26
27 various aims to a DNA test depending on the family situation. By
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29 paying attention to why users decide to carry out a DNA test, it
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31 becomes clear that the value of exposing family secrets depends
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33 on the potential benefits of divulging the “truth” about a
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35 biological tie for those concerned.
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46 **In the name of the father**

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51 **This attention paid to the multiple actors involved in carrying out a DNA test is the**
52
53 **result of a surprising ethnographic discovery: the men who came to carry out a DNA**
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55 **paternity test at the DNA Lab were almost always accompanied by a woman from their**
56
57 **family (mother, sister, wife, or daughter). Far from offering silent support, these women**
58
59 **from the family circle usually spoke out in order to “manage” the process. This**
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3 **management of DNA testing by the women of the family is part of the “work of kinship”**
4 **conceptualized by the anthropologist Micaela di Leonardo in 1987 (Leonardo, 1987). In**
5 **addition to domestic work, linked to maintenance and care activities for home, children**
6 **and spouse, there is a work that is as invisible as it is captivating – in a literal sense : that**
7 **of the work of family ties.**
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17 Three specific cases, which I will use here as examples, show how women were engaged
18 in managing filiation within what could be described as their family clan, in the sense of a group
19 with shared interests. The first case concerns a white woman of around 50 years of age, who
20 came in with her 19-year-old son. Both were of United States nationality. He had returned home
21 four month earlier from a year spent in Costa Rica, training with an American company. After
22 his arrival he moved in with his mother, who, after a divorce, had been living alone. The mother,
23 an expert accountant, voiced her intent to preserve not only the emotional interests of her son,
24 but also his economic interests as well. She expressed concern about her “son’s future”. In Costa
25 Rica he had met a young woman, slightly older than himself, who was a waitress at a bar which
26 he frequented, and who had apparently “seduced him”. The young woman, aged 25, was now
27 7 months pregnant and had just announced her pregnancy to her former partner back in the
28 States. She wanted the young man to return to Costa Rica to declare his paternity and accept
29 his responsibilities. As far as his mother was concerned, by this she meant that he should give
30 her money. His mother believed that the young woman, who was unemployed, was exploiting
31 her son’s gullibility and trying to make him believe he was the father of the child she was
32 carrying for the plain and simple reason that, as an American citizen, he had the means to
33 support her and her future child:
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3 - It's obvious to me, it's a big scam. It is not the first time I see it, it happens all
4 the time there. Women throw themselves at the first American guy they see.
5
6 Then, they pretend that they are the father of their kid. Sometimes it's even
7
8 worse than that, women get pregnant on purpose to trap them. They do it for
9
10 the child support ! Those women are really nasty, yes, that's what I think...
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12
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14
15 nasty girls.

16
17 - Nasty girls?

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19 - Oh you know what I am talking about.

20
21 - Not really.

22
23 - What I mean is that these women are liars and my son is a victim of one of
24
25 these liars. And I can tell you that they don't know who they are messing with,
26
27
28 I am not going to let this go.
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33 During Jacob's discussion with the two clients, only the mother spoke—for her son and
34
35 in his place. When Jacob addressed the boy, she was the one who answered, referring to him in
36
37 the third person as though he were not even there. He remained mute, eyes glued to the ground,
38
39 clearly embarrassed by the situation. When the young woman had announced her pregnancy,
40
41 his mother had turned to the DNA Lab to find out about the possibility of taking and storing a
42
43 DNA sample from a newborn child. She intended to go with her son to Costa Rica when the
44
45 baby was born, take a hair sample without the mother's consent, and send it off to the lab. Her
46
47 aim was to defer her son's declaration of paternity until after the results came back, convinced
48
49 they would be negative. By taking in hand the process of paternity declaration, which she in
50
51 fact hoped to avoid, the mother was defending her own family interests via her son's alleged
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53 paternity. Faced with the prospect of what she perceived as an unjust and unjustifiable
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3 attribution of paternity, she intended “not to let this go” and so, implicitly, to defend her
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5 “lineage” from unwarranted expense, a ruined reputation, and an unwanted child.
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8 A second case testifies to a similar process. This time, it was a wife who suggested that
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10 the DNA test be carried out when it was alleged that her husband was the father of a child born
11
12 from his relationship with another woman. The couple, who are in their forties, are Pakistani
13
14 nationals. Together they run a grocery store in south Brooklyn. The young mother, also a
15
16 Pakistani national, is just 20 years old. She still lives with her parents, and plans to do so until
17
18 she finishes her studies in marketing. At the wife’s behest, the two women therefore found
19
20 themselves each sitting on either side of their husband and lover, in the appointment room at
21
22 the DNA Lab. The 6-month-old child remained in his mother’s arms as they waited for a sample
23
24 to be taken. Everyone tensed up, avoided each other’s gaze, and remained tight-lipped. The
25
26 silence that weighed on this appointment as it unfolded testified to the conflict dividing the
27
28 various parties brought together reluctantly in this cramped office. Given that they remained
29
30 mute, Jacob filled me in on the situation afterwards. A week earlier, the wife had met Jacob to
31
32 find out what her rights were. A woman had contacted her, claiming to have been her husband’s
33
34 mistress until he left her upon discovering she was pregnant. This woman was now demanding
35
36 rights, namely a father’s name for her newborn child. On the telephone, the wife had expressed
37
38 disbelief towards the alleged mistress. She said she believed her husband was faithful and
39
40 wanted to do everything possible to protect her family. More specifically, she refused to pay
41
42 any compensation. If this woman had had her husband’s child, then she would have to prove it.
43
44 This is how wife, mistress, husband, and child came to be in the same room at the DNA lab.
45
46 Both women were motivated by the need to defend their own interests and those of their
47
48 respective families. They intended to force the man to clarify his situation and responsibilities
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50 depending on the results of the paternity test.
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3 A third case illustrates that DNA paternity tests are above all women's business. A
4 young girl, aged around twenty, arrived with her mother. They had called the day before to ask
5 for an appointment, insisting on the urgency of the matter. Jacob therefore saw them between
6 two appointments. The case was sensitive because it involved a sample from a deceased man.
7 They had to act quickly before the body was removed from the hospital and embalmed. The
8 man in question had just died of a heart attack aged sixty. The young woman claimed he was
9 her father. He had had an affair with her mother while living with another woman, whose three
10 children were officially declared as his. There is a significant economic gap between the two
11 families. When they met, the young woman's mother was working for the man as a secretary in
12 the law firm he headed. While both women live in a working-class neighborhood in Queens,
13 the father's legitimate family owns a large apartment near Central Park in Manhattan.

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28 Although he presented himself as the young woman's father, providing regular
29 financial support and visiting her every week, his legitimate partner had apparently forced him
30 not to acknowledge his paternity officially. This was now problematic insofar as it precluded
31 the young woman from any inheritance. When her father had died, his three children had
32 contacted her, wanting to keep her away from both the funeral and the inheritance. This, in fact,
33 was how she had found out about his death. Alerted by this attempt at dissuasion, the young
34 woman's mother had consulted a lawyer to discuss what she could get from a DNA paternity
35 test. As the person directly concerned could not consent to a legally mandated genetic test, in
36 this case consent would fall to the legitimate partner who would clearly refuse. The two women
37 did not want to bring about legal proceedings, which they felt would be too expensive.
38 Nevertheless, they did not want to give up either. They decided they would make the most of a
39 moment when the family was not by the deceased man's side to take a hair or nail clipping.
40 They were counting on the performative effect of the test results and on future changes in the
41 law to, one day, obtain "compensation".
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3 These three cases show how, although paternity tests are carried out on men, the whole
4 process is overwhelmingly handled by women related to these men. These mothers, wives, and
5 daughters decide that the test will be done, take the initiative of contacting the DNA Lab, choose
6 the date and time of the appointment, bring together all the protagonists, collect the results,
7 decide whether or not to pass them on to those concerned, and, often, pay for the process itself.
8 How can we explain this female monopoly over processes determining paternity? On the one
9 hand, fairly unsurprisingly, it is the women of the family who deal with administrative matters
10 and appointments more generally. This division of domestic labor is even clearer in the cases
11 at hand insofar as they relate precisely to the issue of filiation and more broadly of family. A
12 mother is worried about whether a future child is really her son's; a wife wants to restore her
13 husband's honor; when the man she considers her father dies, a young woman wants to stake
14 her claim to similar rights as his officially declared children. In the name of the father, far
15 broader family interests are actually in play: honor, money, care-work, living arrangements,
16 etc. DNA tests are used to preserve the "family line" from undesirables who might have an
17 adverse impact on its financial and emotional "economy" or, conversely, who might assert their
18 right to also benefit from it. In most cases, there are underlying financial stakes—sometimes
19 even openly and vehemently stated—motivating the request for a DNA test. Whether it is about
20 claiming or denying rights, DNA tests are used to arbitrate situations in which filiation is
21 problematic. In other words, the cases outlined here are not so much indicative of biological
22 conceptions of paternity winning out over social conceptions (Porquerès and Wilgaux, 2009;
23 Franklin, 2013) as they are indicative of how biotechnologies are used to resolve family
24 conflicts and protect threatened interests. Similarly, revealing a biological father's identity can
25 be explained less in terms of providing reassurance to incomplete or traumatized selves and
26 more in terms of preserving, or conversely transforming, the family order.
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3 In this context, the fact that many of these tests are carried out without the consent of all
4 sampled parties raises questions. Why resort to a DNA test—and a costly test at that (\$250 per
5 person)—when its results will not translate into any legal rights (to child support or an
6 inheritance)? In these cases, what are the actual stakes of knowing the truth? Beyond the
7 possibility of gaining legal results, the women seem to be organizing these DNA tests as part
8 of the continued female management of secrecy surrounding the identity of biological fathers.
9 This analysis makes even more sense given that the new ability to establish a genetic link
10 between two individuals has created an unprecedented break in mothers' monopoly over
11 keeping the identity of biological fathers a secret. As the ethnographic examples mentioned
12 above illustrate, the loss of this monopoly is often detrimental to the mothers' interests.
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28 **Against mothers**

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33 Whether the intention is to confirm or deny a biological link between a person and his
34 or her putative father, wanting to carry out a DNA test means casting doubt on the mother's
35 word. Mothers are suspecting of hiding the truth about their past or of choosing a "father" for
36 mercenary reasons, despite what they know about what happened. While the key issue is often
37 determining biological filiation, in reality the mother's morality is also at stake. During my
38 study, three men aged around twenty came into the DNA Lab with children under a month old,
39 without the mothers, to check their paternity. They were soldiers and marines on leave and
40 wanted to check that the mothers had not been unfaithful to them due to their long periods away
41 from the marital home. Via the issue of paternity, the women's probity and faithfulness to their
42 husband or partner was also being verified. Claudia Fonseca, in particular, has identified this
43 interpretation of the use of DNA paternity tests in the Brazilian context:
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3 "My impression is that, in general, DNA tests suddenly brought a whole host
4 of jealous husbands out of the woodwork. These men who used to keep their
5 doubts to themselves now want to "know the truth". The director of the
6 laboratory has revealed that 24.6% of the tests he conducts lead to paternity
7 claims being annulled." (Fonseca, *ibid.*)
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17 In the cases from the DNA Lab mentioned above, mothers' assertions were called into
18 question by their husbands but also by the mothers and children of alleged biological fathers
19 and sometimes there was discussion about whether a relationship had even been consummated.
20 In such cases, mothers are accused of making libelous claims and of being promiscuous and
21 shameless: how can anyone believe a woman, sometimes a single mother, when it is hard to
22 know how many partners she has had? When women trying to assert their rights at a particular
23 point in their lives find that their word is challenged on these particular grounds, the other
24 person usually occupies a higher social position. The case of the young American man on a
25 work placement in Costa Rica is particularly telling in this regard. Upon his return, after a year's
26 absence, he had to answer to the paternity of the child carried by a woman he had been seeing
27 there. The young man lived alone with his accountant mother in Manhattan and was middle
28 class. His social status was far higher than that of the young woman with whom he had a
29 relationship. This difference in resources was the source of his mother's doubts about the
30 woman's claims and the key issue at stake: it was her poverty that made her suspicious. She
31 was seen as wanting this very young American to acknowledge paternity of her child for base
32 material reasons: to extort money from his family and to use him to enter the country legally or
33 even to obtain American nationality for her child. The young man's mother rejected this plan
34 even more forcefully because the young woman would make an unwelcome and undesirable
35 addition to the family due to her class and race: by bringing a young unemployed Costa Rican
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3 woman^{III} into the family (even just on a secondary level) through her child, her son would be
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5 engaging in a relationship beneath his station.
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8 Although DNA tests can be used by mothers and children who are trying to find a
9
10 biological father or have him acknowledge his paternity, they are also just as likely to be used
11
12 in ways that place the already vulnerable in an even less secure position. This risk is exacerbated
13
14 by the procedure itself: in order to consider a DNA test and then conduct one, certain resources
15
16 are necessary. These are financial, first and foremost: testing two people costs 500 dollars (and
17
18 far more if the people concerned are not in the same place, due to the transport and
19
20 accommodation costs involved in collecting the samples). However, it is also necessary to know
21
22 one's rights and to feel legitimate in asserting them (Ewick and Silbey, 1998). For these
23
24 sociological reasons, in practice, single mothers tend to be most exposed to the insidious effects
25
26 of the expansion of these biotechnologies. **In a paper devoted to "genetic citizenship", these**
27
28 **effects were considered from a feminist perspective by Deborah Heath, Rayna Rapp and**
29
30 **Karen-Sue Taussig (2004). The authors point out how the democratization of**
31
32 **biotechnologies makes it possible to continue power relations as much as to foiled them by**
33
34 **allowing new empowerment. In case of DNA paternity tests, mothers are dispossessed of**
35
36 **their former power of discretion, they find themselves forced to provide proof of their claims.**
37
38 This unprecedented act of genetic "revelation" places them under suspicion of telling lies and
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40 of mercenary intent, to which they are invited to respond by availing themselves of the very
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42 tool used to accuse them.
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51 **Conclusion: the desire to know**
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60 ^{III} Especially as she lost her job after announcing her pregnancy to her employers

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3 The desire to find out the identity of a biological father can be explained in two ways.
4
5 First, it results from the social relationships connecting the different people involved in
6
7 determining and managing a “family secret”. In other words, genes become problematic when
8
9 various responsibilities (relating to money, inheritance, affect, and practicalities) are at stake
10
11 for protagonists with conflicting interests. Whereas “authenticating” the biological father may
12
13 not have been of particular interest to anyone before, it can suddenly take on new explanatory
14
15 importance when an unexpected individual or situation is brought into the mix. Ultimately,
16
17 divulging the secret reinforces the family unit by relegating certain individuals to its margins.
18
19 Furthermore, the desire to unveil the truth surrounding a biological father’s identity, as
20
21 expressed by the people encountered at the DNA Lab, can be explained by their concern with
22
23 restoring the authenticity of family histories and of the personal identities caught up in them.
24
25 Exposing the “secret” of the biological father’s identity means countering the mother’s word
26
27 by seeking a truth she has hidden, whether willfully or because she does not know “what
28
29 actually happened”. Whether the intention is to assert one’s legitimacy as “the daughter of”
30
31 someone, to defend the honor of one’s husband, or to “save a son’s future”, the truth finds
32
33 material expression in DNA. However, this truth is not part of an unprecedented context: it re-
34
35 signifies already existing circumstances for the benefit of those who know how to take
36
37 advantage of new biotechnologies and to the detriment of those who - because of their social
38
39 position - are kept on the margins. The borders of the family and selfhood are therefore drawn
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41 thanks to the “secretion” of genes as traces of the truth.
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¹ Slogan on a DNA Lab advert.

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³ Source: personal photograph taken during fieldwork in October 2015. For reasons of confidentiality, I have chosen not to publish the photograph as it contains information that could identify the DNA center where I conducted my research.

⁴ A principle in Roman law: “The mother is always certain, the father is always uncertain”.

⁵ Ordinance on the reform of parentage, July 4, 2005, enacted July 1, 2006.

⁶ Article 372 of the French Civil Code states that “The father and mother shall exercise parental authority in common.” Article 373-2 specifies that “Separation of the parents has no influence on the rules of devolution of the exercise of parental authority.” (see law n°2002-305 of March 4, 2002).

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⁷ The collaborative Ethopol study funded by the ANR focuses on changes in policies and practices relating to the government of the family: <https://ethopol.hypotheses.org/>

⁸ The field study took place over 4 months and was based on observations of the appointments before and after the genetic test and on a series of interviews with 30 clients after these appointments. Informal interviews were conducted throughout the study with members of staff at the center.

⁹ The director did not tell me the exact price, although he did explain that his reasons for setting up in south Brooklyn were both economic (lower rents than in Manhattan) and practical (he lived close by).

¹⁰ See, for example, the discussion on this feminist blog devoted to debating bills: <https://womenshealthnews.wordpress.com/2008/02/18/tennessee-to-require-dna-for-birth-certificates/>

¹¹ Reference: SB3717

¹² URL: <http://www.testdepaternite.fr>

¹³ URL: <https://mediacenter.23andme.com/blog/23andme>

For Review Only

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3 « Payez-vous pour celui de quelqu'un d'autre ? » La valeur du secret dans les tests de paternité
4 d'ADN aux États-Unis
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7 Basé sur une étude ethnographique réalisée en 2015 et en 2016 dans un centre de tests ADN new-
8 yorkais, cet article s'intéresse aux différents coûts (économiques, émotionnels, symboliques et
9 politiques) d'un résultat de test de paternité. Qu'une mère cherche à défendre les intérêts de son
10 fils, ou qu'un homme veuille vérifier l'authenticité génétique de sa filiation, le matériau exploité
11 ici révèle les enjeux de situations comprises comme des énigmes à résoudre. Quelle est la valeur
12 de ces énigmes, au cœur des histoires familiales ? En d'autres termes, quelles incertitudes les
13 gens veulent-ils résoudre en identifiant un père biologique ? Plutôt que d'adopter une approche
14 réductrice en considérant le rapport au secret comme relevant d'un « besoin de savoir » profond,
15 voire impératif, cet article problématise la préoccupation actuelle de « création de vérité ».
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18 Mots-clés : ADN, Secret, Famille, Paternité, USA
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3 SAAS-18-022-OA.R2 Gourarier, Mélanie
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5 ‘Are You Paying for Somebody Else’s?’ The value of secrecy in the uses of DNA paternity tests
6 in the USA
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9 Based on an ethnographic study carried out in 2015 and in 2016 in a New-York DNA testing
10 centre, this article focuses on the different costs (economic, emotional, symbolic and political) of
11 a paternity test result. Whether a mother is trying to defend her son’s interests, or a man wants to
12 check the genetic authenticity of his parentage, the material drawn upon here reveals the issues at
13 stake in situations understood as enigmas that can be solved. What is the value of these enigmas,
14 at the heart of family histories? In other words, what uncertainties do people want to resolve by
15 identifying a biological father? Rather than taking a reductive approach framing the relationship
16 to secrets as relating to a deep-seated or even imperative ‘need to know’, this article, instead,
17 problematises the current preoccupation with ‘truth making’.
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19 Keywords: DNA, Secrecy, Family, Paternity, USA
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