

September 23, 2004

**Do Unmarried, Non-Resident, Low-Income Fathers Provide Support for their Children?  
Evidence from a Low-Income Inner City Population**

Irma T. Elo<sup>1</sup>

Laryssa Mykyta

Population Studies Center  
Department of Sociology  
University of Pennsylvania  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

and

Jennifer F. Culhane  
Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology  
Drexel University  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Population Studies Center, University of Pennsylvania, 3718 Locust Walk, Philadelphia, PA  
19104, email: popelo@pop.upenn.edu.

Abstract submitted to the 2005 Population Association of America Annual Meeting,  
Philadelphia, PA

## **ABSTRACT**

In this paper, we examine the types of support unmarried, non-resident, low-income fathers provide to their children's mothers. We use prospective, longitudinal data from an inner city population to (1) describe the types of support these fathers provide; (2) examine factors associated with the provision of different types of support; and (3) explore changes in the level and type of paternal involvement and support through the first two years of the child's life. We contribute to the literature on father involvement by incorporating measures of prenatal expectations of paternal involvement and by analyzing the impact of the presence of maternal kin on fathers' involvement with their children. Preliminary findings indicate that relationship status, father's employment status, and mother's prenatal expectations are key determinants of paternal support and suggest that the presence of maternal kin in the household may reduce father involvement.

## *Introduction*

Today, about one-third of all children and 40% of Hispanic and 70% of African American children are born to unmarried parents (Carlson and McLanahan 2003; Cohen 2003; Ventura et al. 1997; Waller 2001). The high poverty rates of single parent households place these children at a risk for poor health and developmental outcomes (Brooks-Gunn and Duncan 1997; Brooks-Gunn et al. 1999; Miller and Korenman 1994). In recent years the plight of these families has become the focus of public policy discussions, as demonstrated in the very language of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 initiating welfare reform and in President's Bush's recent initiative to devote governmental resources to the promotion of marriage among low income parents (New York Times 2004).<sup>1</sup>

Recent research is beginning to shed light on the role unmarried fathers play in the lives of their children and the types of support unmarried fathers provide, particularly in low income families (Carlson and McLanahan 2003; Cohen 2003; Danziger and Radin 1990; Nelson et al. 2003). For example, there is some evidence that active paternal investment in children has a positive impact on child well-being, positive behavior and school performance (Lamb, 1997; Amato and Gilbreth, 1999). Similarly, economic support provided by non-resident fathers has been found to improve child well-being. (Greene and Moore, 2000; Furstenberg, et al. 1987; McLanahan, et al., 1994; King, 1994; Knox, 1996). An understanding of the factors that influence nonresident father involvement and of the dynamics of paternal involvement over time is therefore central to shaping policies to support and encourage the types of positive paternal involvement that benefit child outcomes.

While earlier research suggested that most nonresident fathers did not provide regular support, recent studies have found more involvement even among nonresident fathers (King, 1994; Furstenberg, 1995; Hofferth, et al. 2002). For example, results from the Fragile Families and Child Well-being Study (FFCW), a nationally representative birth cohort study of unmarried parents in 20 large US cities, suggest that a sizable percentage of unmarried fathers provided financial and other forms of support to the mother at least during pregnancy and around the time of their children's birth (Carlson and McLanahan 2003). Johnson (2001), for example, found that 81% of fathers had provided financial support to the mother during pregnancy based on retrospective reports obtained at the time of the birth of the child, and 75% of fathers had visited the mother in the hospital when she gave birth. Using data from the National Evaluation of Welfare to Work Strategies (NEWS) Child Outcome study, Greene and Moore (2000) found that while only 17% of fathers provided formal child support, 43% provided informal child support and 67% had visited their child in the past year. While these levels of involvement are lower than those found in the Fragile Families sample, the average age of the child in the NEWS study was roughly 4.5 years of age (ranging from 3 years, 2 months to 6 years, 4

---

<sup>1</sup> The Act sets forth the following four goals: (1) provide assistance to needy families so that children may be cared for in their own homes or in the homes of relatives; (2) end the dependence of needy parents on government benefits by promoting job preparation, work *and marriage*; (3) prevent and reduce the incidence of out-of-wedlock pregnancies...; and (4) encourage the *formation and maintenance of two-parent families*. U.S. Congress, (1996, OL 104-193, Title I, Section 401). (authors' emphasis); See also, Hays (2003).

months) and previous evidence has shown that the involvement of nonresident fathers tends to decline over time (Averett et al. 2002; Furstenberg, et al 1983; Lerman and Sorenson, 2000).

In this paper, we examine the types of support unmarried, non-resident, low-income fathers provide to their children's mothers. More specifically, we use prospective, longitudinal data from an inner city population to (1) describe the types of support these fathers provide, including financial and in-kind support and child care; (2) examine factors associated with the provision of different types of support, including relationship status, socio-demographic characteristics of the mother and the father, to test whether determinants of various types of support differ, and (3) explore changes in the level and type of paternal involvement and support through the first two years of the child's life. We contribute to the literature on father involvement by incorporating measures of prenatal expectations of paternal involvement, by analyzing the impact of the presence of other kin and household structure on fathers' involvement with their children, and by examining changes in father support over time..

### *Literature Review*

Prior research suggests that several paternal characteristics are associated with father involvement and the provision of support. For example, educational attainment, employment status, and income may be correlated with higher levels of paternal involvement (Doherty et al. 1998; Johnson 2001; Carlson and McLanahan 2002). Higher educational attainment, stable employment and higher income signal more resources and a greater ability to provide consistent financial support. These characteristics may contribute to other measures of paternal involvement, such as paternal contact with their children or other forms of support (e.g. providing transportation and visiting the hospital at birth) (Carlson and McLanahan 2002; Johnson 2001). Qualitative research also highlights how employment status and the (in)ability to perform a "breadwinner" role impacts the extent to which low-income fathers' are engaged with their children and how changes in employment status reduce paternal involvement (Jarrett, Roy, and Burton, 2002). It has been further suggested that the father's inability to provide financial support contributes to parental conflict and influences the nature of the parental relationship, which itself is a significant predictor of paternal involvement and support (Edin and Lein 1997; Carlson and McLanahan, 2002; Johnson 2001; Gavin, et al. 2002). In addition, if the father has additional children with (an)other women, it could limit the extent of his involvement with the child and also impact his relationship with the mothers of his children.

Maternal employment status may also influence the extent and amount of paternal involvement. Maternal employment may reduce the need for economic support or it may increase the need for economic support to cover additional expenses (e.g. child care). Maternal employment could also increase the need for other forms of support, such as child care, and thus facilitate greater paternal involvement. Fagan (1998) found higher levels of involvement among minority fathers were positively related to maternal employment and hours worked.

Many studies of the determinants of paternal involvement, especially among unwed fathers focus on relationship status between the mother and the father. Indeed, it is more likely that a nonresident father will be involved with his child if he is still in a relationship with the child's

mother. In contrast, a mother may be less willing to encourage paternal involvement if she is no longer involved with the father, especially if she has other resources and support. Fewer studies have examined the potential role of additional social and contextual influences on paternal involvement. For example, the role of kin and other sources of support could impact the extent of paternal involvement and will be examined in this paper. In their study of young fathers using multiple respondents, Gavin, et al. (2002) found evidence that the father's relationship with the maternal grandmother also impacted father involvement, as these women may have the ability to act as gatekeepers (as do mothers themselves), permitting or limiting access of nonresident fathers to their children. Moreover, qualitative research sheds light on how fathers negotiate kin networks and how such networks facilitate or restrict their involvement. (Jarrett, Roy and Burton, 2002). The process by which kin networks shape paternal involvement is likely to be determined in large part by the status of the father's relationship with the mother of his child. If the relationship is amicable or intimate, maternal kin are more likely to support paternal involvement than if the relationship has ended or if they do not approve of it.

Moreover, the presence of other male figures in the child's life may also impact the involvement of the biological father, particularly if this male takes on a parental role as a "social father."<sup>2</sup> For example, the presence of a social father, particularly if that social father is the mother's current romantic partner, may inhibit the biological father's involvement with the child. In this paper, we will examine whether the presence and the support provided by potential social fathers has an impact on paternal involvement. However, the causality is difficult to discern—the social father may step into the paternal role if the biological father is not filling that role.

### ***Data and Methods***

We use data from a prospective, longitudinal study of inner-city, low-income mothers in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Women were enrolled into the study at the time of their first prenatal care visit at public health centers located throughout the city of Philadelphia between February 1, 2000 and March 31, 2002. English and Spanish-speaking women with singleton, intrauterine pregnancy were eligible to participate in this study. We will utilize data from four surveys, the first of which was conducted at the time of the first prenatal care visit. The second, third and fourth interviews were conducted in the women's homes at about 3-4 months, 12 months, and 22-24 months following the birth of the child. Eighty-four percent of enrolled study participants with known live births completed the first post-partum interview and 85% of these women subsequently completed the second and third post-partum surveys. There were no significant differences with regard to race/ethnicity, education and marital status between study participants who were followed and those who were not.

The purpose of this prospective longitudinal study is to investigate racial/ethnic and neighborhood disparities in infant and child health and the role of maternal stress in birth outcomes and infant health. At the time of each data collection trained female interviewers collect detailed information on sociodemographic characteristics, psychosocial factors, health

---

<sup>2</sup> A social father has been defined as "a male relative or family associate who demonstrates parental behaviors and is like a father to the child" (Jayakody and Kalil, 2002).

behaviors, maternal health, housing and neighborhood conditions, and infant and child health and development. In addition, information about the mother's relationship status with the father was obtained at each data collection point. Information about the father's socioeconomic characteristics was obtained in the first post-partum interview. Data on whether and how often the father provides money and/or various forms of in-kind support (diapers, clothing, childcare, groceries etc) were collected in the first, second and third post-partum interviews. We also obtained information on how often the father sees the child and mother's satisfaction with the father's support and involvement. One of the limitations of these data is that the reports of father involvement come from the mother. We do not interview fathers in this study and thus cannot corroborate maternal reports.<sup>3</sup>

Below we provide preliminary results from analyses that utilize data from the prenatal and first post-partum interviews. These preliminary results examine determinants of (1) whether the father provides financial support at least once a week; (2) whether the father provides child care at least once a week; (3) whether the father provides in-kind support at least once a week (diapers, clothing or other items, including groceries and transportation); and (4) whether the father sees the child at least 5 times per week. In these analyses, we have restricted our sample to unwed non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black and Hispanic mothers, who were not living with the father full-time at the time of the first post-partum visit and who were living with the study child (N=743).<sup>4</sup>

We include several explanatory variables that have been hypothesized to influence paternal support in previous literature. These include socioeconomic characteristics of the mother and the father, relationship characteristics at the time of the prenatal care visit and at the time of the first post-partum interview, and the mother's report of whether the father's name is on the birth certificate. In addition, we consider the effect of household characteristics (specifically whether the maternal grandmother or adult men live in the household), maternal prenatal expectations of paternal involvement, and the father's promised intention to provide financial support on paternal involvement. In the paper we will extend these analyses to examine mother's satisfaction with this support, and how paternal support among nonresident fathers changes over the course of the child's first year two years of life by incorporating data from the two additional post-partum interviews conducted approximately one and two years post-partum.

### *Preliminary Findings*

Table 1 presents the sample characteristics. Our sample was predominantly comprised of African American mothers (81%). Most mothers were younger than 25 years (71%) and most (86%) did not have schooling beyond high school. At the time of the first post-partum interview, roughly one-fourth (24%) of mothers were employed either at a regular job or off the books. The majority of fathers (56%) were between the ages of 20 to 30 years, and few fathers (16%) had

---

<sup>3</sup> The literature suggests however, that although fathers report more paternal involvement than mothers report, fathers' and mothers reports of paternal involvement are similar. Parents' relationship status and nonresidence were among factors related to greater disparities in reports of father involvement (Coley and Morris, 2002; Seltzer and Brandreth, 1994).

<sup>4</sup> A small number of children in this study had died or were living in foster care at the time of the first post-natal visit.

schooling beyond high school education. Slightly more than one-half (53%) of the fathers were working at a regular job and an additional 11% worked off the books. Twenty-six percent of fathers were not working for pay at the time of the first post-partum interview. Mothers reported that nearly half (46%) of the fathers had children with other women.

At the time of the first post-partum interview, nearly half the mothers (47%) reported that their mother resided in their household. Forty-two percent reported the presence of an adult male in their household (who was not the father of the child, since this paper only examines paternal involvement among unwed, nonresident fathers).

About a third of the mothers reported at the time of the prenatal care visit that there was a “pretty good” or “almost certain” chance that they would marry their child’s father. Nearly half (46%) of the couples had been together for 2 or more years. The vast majority of mothers (93%) wanted the father to be involved in raising the child and 89% reported that the father had promised financial support after the child’s birth. However, by the time of the first post-partum interview, almost half of the women were no longer in a romantic relationship with the father, and only 65% of the mothers reported that the father’s name was on the birth certificate. At the time of the first post-partum interview, 9% of mothers were involved in a new relationship.

The dependent variables in our analyses measured whether the mother reported (1) that the father provided financial support at least once a week; (2) that the father provided child care at least once a week; (3) that the father provided in-kind support at least once a week; and (4) that the father saw the child at least 5 times per week, measured at the time of the first post-partum interview which took place at about 3-4 months post-partum. Mothers reported that about 48% of fathers provided financial support at least once per week; about 31% of fathers provided child care at least once a week; about 51% of fathers provided in-kind support at least once a week; and about 40% of the fathers saw the child 5 or more times per week.

Table 2 presents preliminary results from multivariate logistic regression predicting paternal provision of various forms of support and for whether the father saw the child at least 5 times per week. Odds ratios greater than 1 indicate an increased likelihood of involvement and odds ratios less than 1 indicate a decreased likelihood of involvement relative to the omitted category. In the adjusted models, we did not include the measure of mother’s desire for father involvement during pregnancy because of its high correlation with the father’s promise of financial support. Similarly, we did not include the variable reflecting whether the mother was in a new relationship at the time of the first post-partum interview because of its high correlation with the variable reflecting whether the mother and father were still involved in a relationship.

Of maternal characteristics, we found a significant association between maternal age and paternal in-kind support. Compared to older mothers, mothers less than 20 years of age were more likely to report that they had received in-kind support from the child’s father. Maternal race/ethnicity was also a significant determinant of financial support, with non-Hispanic black mothers being about twice as likely to report that they received such support as non-Hispanic white mothers. The size of the odds ratio for Hispanic mothers was similar to that of non-Hispanic blacks but it did not reach statistical significance at the 0.05 level. In addition, maternal employment was significantly associated with the provision of child care. Fathers of children

whose mothers were employed were 1.7 times more likely to provide child care than other fathers. In contrast, maternal education was not associated with any form of paternal support in the multivariate models.

Consistent with the expectation that the father's ability to play a "breadwinner" role is an important determinant of father involvement among non-residential fathers, we found father's employment status to be a significant predictor of all forms of support – financial, in-kind, and child care. Fathers who reported that they had a regular job were over two times as likely to provide financial and in-kind support and close to two times as likely to provide child care as unemployed fathers. Employed fathers have access to resources that enable them to provide monetary or other forms of support. At the same time, father's employment status was not a significant predictor of how often the father saw the child, although the sign of the coefficient was in the expected direction, i.e., more frequent contact with the child. These results suggest that employment status is a key determinant of support, but is not as closely associated with frequency of contact with the child. Father's educational attainment, which may also reflect the father's ability to assume a "breadwinner" role, on the other hand, was not a significant predictor of paternal support or the frequency of contact with the child. Neither fathers' age nor the variable reflecting whether the father has additional children with other women were significant predictors of support as seen in Table 2.

Of household characteristics, we found a significant association only between the presence of the maternal grandmother in the household and the frequency of father visits. Nonresident fathers were less likely to see the child 5 or more times per week if the maternal grandmother resided in the household. This finding lends support to the hypothesis that maternal kin may act as gatekeepers to father involvement. The presence of adult men in the household did not have an impact on paternal support or visitation.

Our results are consistent with previous findings that have shown relationship status to be a key determinant of father involvement. We found that relationship status, whether measured prenatally or at the time of the first post-partum interview, exhibited a significant association with most forms of paternal support and how often the father saw the child. In addition, father's prenatal promise of financial support was significantly associated with the provision of support after the child's birth. Not surprisingly, post-partum relationship status was most consistently associated with all forms of support and the frequency with which the father saw the child. However, it is noteworthy that many prenatal characteristics retained a significant association with paternal involvement even when current relationship status was considered. Finally, nonresident fathers named on the child's birth certificate were significantly more likely to provide child care and in-kind support and to visit their child at least five times per week than other fathers.

### *Preliminary Conclusions*

Our preliminary results for this low-income inner-city sample are consistent with expectations and findings from previous studies. Father's employment status was a significant predictor of whether unmarried fathers provided, or were able to provide, financial and other types of support to the unmarried mothers of their children. Similarly relationship status, and paternity



establishment (father's name on birth certificate) were significant predictors of paternal involvement following the birth of the child.

Our results also suggest the key role of mother's prenatal expectations in predicting the level of post-partum paternal support. Both father's promise of financial support and mother's prenatal expectations of involvement were significant in the models for support. Mothers are not under any illusions with respect to what they can expect from the father -- they clearly and accurately anticipate whether a father will support the child before they give birth.

While father's employment status was an important determinant of whether the father provides support, it did not have a significant impact on the frequency of father visits. In the multivariate model for frequency of father visits, only the relationship status variables and the presence of the maternal grandmother in the household proved significant, suggesting that paternal and maternal characteristics are not as important as relationship quality in predicting how often the father sees the child. This is not surprising since any visitation necessitates interaction and negotiation between the mother and the father. The quality of this interaction and the outcome of the negotiation are likely to be shaped by the status of the relationship. Similarly, the quality of the relationship is also likely to impact whether the maternal grandmother plays a gatekeeper role suggested in the literature and supported in our preliminary findings. Therefore, we will further explore the interaction between relationship status and the maternal grandmother's presence in the household.

As noted above, we will extend these analyses to examine (1) change in types and intensity of father support over the first two years of the child's life; (2) mother's satisfaction with this support, and (3) changes in relationship status and its influence on various forms of support and father involvement over time. In these analyses, we will incorporate information from the second and third post-partum interviews to take advantage of the longitudinal nature of these data.

**Table 1. Sample Characteristics (N=743)**

---

	<b>Percent</b>
<b><i>Father Involvement/Support at First Post-partum Interview</i></b>	
Father Provides Financial Support At Least Once a Week	
Yes	47.5
No	52.5
Father Provides Child Care At Least Once a Week	
Yes	31.2
No	68.8
Father Provides In-Kind Support At Least Once a Week	
Yes	51.0
No	49.0
Frequency Of Father-Child Visitation	
Less than 5 times a week	59.6
5 to 7 times a week	40.4
<b><i>Maternal Characteristics</i></b>	
Mother's Race/Ethnicity	
Non-Hispanic White	7.9
Hispanic	10.6
Non-Hispanic Black	81.5
Mother's Age	
<18 years	11.2
18 – 19 years	17.1
20-24 years	42.9
25-29 years	15.1
30 or more years	13.7
Mother's Education	
Less than high school	44.8
High school or GED	41.2
Beyond high school	14.0
Mother's Employment Status	
Not currently employed	76.0
Currently employed	24.0
<b><i>Paternal Characteristics</i></b>	
Father's Age	
<20 years	16.0
20-30 years	56.0
30 years and older	28.0
Father's Education	
High school/GED or less	78.9
Beyond high school	15.9
Don't know or Missing	5.2

---

**Table 1 (cont). Sample Characteristics (N=743)**

---

	<b>Percent</b>
Father's Employment Status	
Does not work	25.6
Works a regular job	53.2
Works only off the books	10.9
Don't know or missing	10.4
 <i>Household Characteristics</i>	
Maternal Grandmother lives in Mother's Household	
Yes	47.2
No	52.8
Other Adult Men live in Mother's Household	
Yes	41.9
No	58.1
 <i>Relationship Characteristics at First Prenatal Care Visit</i>	
Mother's Perception Of Future Marriage Prospects	
No chance	32.9
Some chance	31.9
Pretty good/almost certain chance	35.1
Years In Relationship	
Less than 2 years	53.8
2 years or more	46.2
Mother Wants Father Involved In Raising Child	
Yes	92.9
No	7.1
Father Will Provide Financial Support	
Yes	88.8
No	11.2
Father Has Other Children With (An)other Women	
Yes	46.2
No	51.4
Don't Know or Missing	2.4
 <i>Relationship Status at First Post-partum Interview</i>	
Mother Is Currently In Relationship With Father	
Yes	52.1
No	47.9
Mother is Currently in a New Relationship	
Yes	9.0
No	91.0
Father's Name Is On Birth Certificate	
Yes	64.5
No	35.5

---

**Table 2. Adjusted Odds Ratios from Logistic Regressions Predicting Paternal Support At First Post-partum Interview (N=743)**

Characteristic	Financial Support OR (SE) <sup>2</sup>	Child Care OR (SE) <sup>2</sup>	In-Kind Support <sup>1</sup> OR (SE) <sup>2</sup>	Father Saw Child 5+/week OR (SE) <sup>2</sup>
<b>Maternal Characteristics</b>				
Mother's Race/Ethnicity (White)				
Hispanic	2.24 (0.99)	1.54 (0.69)	1.85 (0.82)	1.29 (0.57)
Non-Hispanic Black	2.21* (0.76)	1.31 (0.47)	1.71 (0.59)	1.20 (0.42)
Mother's Age (20-24 years)				
<18 years	2.00 (0.75)	1.30 (0.50)	2.44* (0.93)	1.49 (0.56)
18 – 19 years	1.07 (0.28)	1.01 (0.28)	1.74* (0.47)	1.16 (0.31)
25 - 29 years	0.87 (0.24)	0.83 (0.23)	1.08 (0.30)	1.09 (0.30)
>30 years	0.88 (0.28)	0.95 (0.31)	1.14 (0.37)	0.78 (0.26)
Mother's Education (Less than HS)				
High school or GED	1.15 (0.24)	1.21 (0.27)	1.12 (0.24)	0.94 (0.21)
Beyond high school	0.69 (0.21)	0.86 (0.28)	0.59 (0.18)	0.76 (0.24)
Mother Is Employed	1.18 (0.25)	1.67* (0.35)	1.40 (0.31)	1.13 (0.24)
<b>Paternal Characteristics</b>				
Father's Age (20-30 years)				
<20 years	0.94 (0.28)	1.47 (0.44)	0.97 (0.29)	1.50 (0.44)
30 years and older	1.33 (0.33)	1.26 (0.32)	1.49 (0.37)	1.11 (0.28)
Father's Education (HS/GED or less)				
Beyond high school	1.22 (0.31)	1.39 (0.36)	1.11 (0.29)	0.98 (0.26)
Don't know or Missing	0.58 (0.30)	1.22 (0.69)	0.60 (0.30)	0.72 (0.42)
Father's Employment Status (Does Not Work)				
Works at a regular job	2.73**(0.61)	1.75* (0.41)	2.50**(0.57)	1.32 (0.30)
Works off the books only	1.67 (0.52)	1.44 (0.47)	1.77 (0.57)	1.38 (0.45)
Don't know or missing	1.25 (0.47)	0.86 (0.39)	1.15 (0.43)	1.00 (0.41)
Father has other kids	0.99 (0.01)	0.99 (0.01)	0.99 (0.01)	0.99 (0.01)
<b>Household Characteristics</b>				
Maternal grandmother lives in household	0.97 (0.18)	1.01 (0.19)	0.83 (0.15)	0.62* (0.12)
Presence of adult men in household	1.10 (0.20)	0.98 (0.18)	1.33 (0.25)	1.05 (0.20)
<b>Relationship Characteristics at 1<sup>st</sup> Prenatal Care Visit</b>				
Future Marriage Prospects (No chance)				
Some chance	1.07 (0.25)	1.97** (0.50)	1.57 (0.37)	1.14 (0.28)
Pretty good/almost certain chance	1.14 (0.27)	1.84* (0.47)	1.87**(0.45)	1.61 (0.40)
In Relationship 2 years or More	1.45* (0.26)	1.35 (0.25)	1.34 (0.25)	1.52* (0.28)
F Will Provide Financial Support	5.34**(2.29)	4.29** (2.38)	3.02**(1.16)	2.05 (0.81)
<b>Relationship Status at 1<sup>st</sup> Post-partum Interview</b>				
M and F Currently In Relationship	4.95**(0.94)	3.51** (0.72)	4.93**(0.94)	6.13**(1.22)
Father's Name Is On Birth Certificate	1.35 (0.26)	1.75** (0.36)	1.75**(0.34)	2.09**(0.42)

Note: Omitted category in parentheses; \* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01

<sup>1</sup> Fathers provided any form of in-kind support at least once a week (diapers, clothing or other items, groceries, transportation or other forms of support reported by the mother.

<sup>2</sup>OR= Odds Ratio, SE= Standard Error

## REFERENCES

- Amato, P.R. and Gilbreth, J.G. (1999). "Nonresident fathers and children's well-being: A meta-analysis." *Journal of Marriage and the Family*. 61: 557-573.
- Averett, S. L., Gennetian, L. A., and Peters, H. E. 2000. "Patterns and Determinants of Paternal Child Care During a Child's First Three Years of Life." *Marriage and Family Review* 115-136.
- Brooks-Gunn, J., P.R. Britto, C. Brady. 1999. "Struggling to Make Ends Meet: Poverty and Child Development." Lamb, Michael E., editor. *Parenting and Child Development in "Nontraditional" Families*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Brooks-Gunn, J. and G.J. Duncan. 1997. "The Effects of Poverty on Children." *The Future of Children*. 7(2): 55-71.
- Carlson, Marcia J. and Sara S. McLanahan. 2002. "Characteristics and Antecedents of Involvement by Young, Unmarried Fathers." Center for Research on Child Wellbeing. Working Paper #02-09-FF
- Carlson, Marcia J. and Sara S. McLanahan. 2002. "Fragile Families, Father Involvement and Public Policy." *Handbook of Father Involvement: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*. Catherine S. Tamis Le Monda and Natasha Cabrera, editors. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Cohen, N.E. 2003. "Unmarried African American Fathers' Involvement with Their Infants: The Role of Couple Relationships." Center for Research on Child Wellbeing. Working Paper #03-13-FF
- Coley, Rebekah Levine and Morris, Jodi Eileen. (2002). "Comparing Father and Mother Reports of Father Involvement among Low-Income Minority Families." *Journal of Marriage and the Family*. 64, 4: 982-997.
- Danzinger, S. and N. Radin. 1990. "Absent Does Not Equal Uninvolved: Predictors of Fathering in Teen Mother Families." *Journal of Marriage and the Family*. 52: 636-642.
- Doherty, W.J., E.F. Kouneski, and M.F. Erikson. 1998. "Responsible Fathering: An Overview and Conceptual Framework." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 60: 277-292.
- Edin, K and L. Lein. 1997. *Making Ends Meet: How Single Mothers Survive Welfare and Low-Wage Work*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- England, Paula and Folbre, Nancy. 2002. "Involving Dads: Parental Bargaining and Family Well-Being." In *Handbook of Father Involvement: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*. Catherine S. Tamis Le Monda and Natasha Cabrera, editors. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Fagan, Jay. 1998. "Correlates of Low-Income African American and Puerto Rican Fathers' Involvement with Their Children" *The Journal of Black Psychology* 24, 3: 351-367.
- Furstenberg, F.F., Jr. 1995. "Fathering in the Inner City: Paternal Participation and Public Policy," In *Fatherhood: Contemporary Theory, Research and Social Policy*. William Marsiglio, editor. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Furstenberg, F.F., Jr., Morgan, S.P., and Allison, P.D. (1987). "Paternal participation and children's well-being after marital dissolution." *American Sociological Review*. 52: 695-701.
- Furstenberg, F.F., Jr., Nord, C.W., Peterson, J.L. and Zill, N. (1983). "The life course of children of divorce: Marital disruption and paternal contact." *American Sociological Review* 48: 656-668.
- Gavin, L.E., Black, M.M., Minor, S., Abel, Y., Papasm M., Bentley, M. (2002). "Young, Disadvantaged Fathers Involvement with their Infants: An Ecological Perspective." *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 31, 3: 266-276.

- Greene, A.D. and Moore, K.A. 2000. "Nonresident father involvement and child well-being among young children in families on welfare." *Marriage & Family Review*. 29, 2/3: 159-180.
- Hays, S. (2003). *Flat broke with children: Women in the Age of Welfare Reform* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hofferth, S.L., Pleck, J., Stueve, J.L., Bianchi, S. and Sayer, L. 2002. "The Demography of Fathers: What Fathers Do." In *Handbook of Father Involvement: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*. Catherine S. Tamis Le Monda and Natasha Cabrera, editors. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates
- King, V. (1994). "Nonresident father involvement and child well-being: Can dads make a difference?" *Journal of Family Issues*, 15, 1:78-96.
- Knox, V.W. (1996). "The effects of child support payments on developmental outcomes for elementary school-aged children." *Journal of Human Resources* 31: 817-840.
- Jarrett, R.L., Roy, K.M. and Burton, L.M. 2002. "Fathers in the 'Hood': Insights from qualitative research on low-income African-American men." In *Handbook of Father Involvement: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*. Catherine S. Tamis Le Monda and Natasha Cabrera, editors. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Jayakody, Rukmaile and Kalil, Ariel. 2002. "Social fathering in low-income, African American families with preschool children." *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 64: 504-516.
- Johnson, W. E. 2001. "Paternal Involvement Among Unwed Fathers." *Children and Youth Services Review* 23(6/7)
- Lamb, M.E. (1997). "Fathers and child development: An introductory overview." In M.E. Lamb (Ed.) *The role of the father in child development*. (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.: pp. 1-18) New York: Wiley.
- Lerman, R. and Sorenson, E. 2000. "Father involvement with their nonmarital children: Patterns, Determinants and Effects on their Earnings." *Marriage and Family Review* 29, 2/3: pp. 137-158.
- McLanahan, S.S., Seltzer, J.A., Hanson, T.L. and Thomas, E. (1994). "Child support enforcement and child well-being: Greater security or greater conflicts." In I. Garfinkel, S.S. McLanahan, and P.K. Robins (Eds) *Child support and child well-being* (pp. 239-254). Washington, DC: The Urban Institute Press.
- Nelson, Timothy J., Susan Clampet- Lundquist, and Kathryn Edin. 2002. "Sustaining Fragile Fatherhood: Father Involvement Among Low- Income, Noncustodial African-American Fathers in Philadelphia." *Handbook of Father Involvement: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*. Catherine S. Tamis Le Monda and Natasha Cabrera, editors. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Seltzer, Judith A. and Brandreth, Yvonne. (1994). "What fathers say about their involvement with children after separation." *Journal of Family Issues* 15, 1: 49-77.
- Ventura, S.J. and C.A. Bachrach. 2000. "Nonmarital Childbearing in the United States, 1940-1999." National Vital Statistics Report 48(16) Hyattsville, MD: National Center for Health Statistics
- Waller, M.R. 2001. *Unwed Parents, Fragile Families: New Evidence from Oakland*. San Francisco, CA. Public Policy Institute of California.