

**UNWED FATHERS AND FRAGILE
FAMILIES**

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INTRODUCTION

Nearly a third of all births in the United States today occur to parents who are not legally married. The proportions are even higher among poor and minority populations, 40% among Hispanics, and 70% among blacks (Ventura et al. 1995). Out-of-wedlock childbearing is occurring with increasing frequency in nearly all western industrialized countries. Indeed, the proportion of children born outside marriage is even higher in the Scandinavian countries than it is in the U.S. (McLanahan and Casper 1996). However, the U.S. is somewhat unique with respect to the involvement of unwed fathers in the lives of their children. Whereas in the western European countries, the vast majority of unmarried parents are living together when their child is born, in the U.S. only about 25% of unwed parents are cohabiting (Bumpass and Sweet 1989). At first glance, these figures would seem to suggest that American men who father children outside marriage are less attached to their children than European men. This impression is further reinforced by research which shows that a substantial proportion of never married fathers have virtually no contact with their children (McLanahan and Sandefur 1994).

There are several reasons for believing that the current image of American unwed fathers as disinterested and uninvolved with their children may be incorrect. First, much of the research on unwed fathers lumps these men together with divorced and separated fathers, whose connection to their child (both physical and economic) is known to drop off sharply during the first few years after divorce (Mott, 1990; Seltzer 1994, 1996). A second reason for the possible misperception is that much of the research on unwed fathers has focused on teen mothers and very young fathers whose relationships are likely to be more tenuous than those of older couples (Mincey 1994, Johnson 1994). And finally, there is both qualitative and quantitative evidence that at least some unwed fathers *are* highly involved with their children. Ethnographic studies

report that many unwed fathers see their children on a regular basis and contribute both money and in-kind support (Waller forthcoming; Furstenberg et al 1992; Edin and Lein 1997). Quantitative studies also report that unwed fathers' involvement is quite high during the first several years after during the child's birth (Lerman and Sorensen 1997; McLanahan and Sandefur 1994). Unfortunately, the qualitative studies are based on very select samples, and thus they cannot be generalized to the population of all unwed fathers. Similarly, although Lerman and Sorensen use nationally representative data (the NLSY), their sample is based on men who self identify as unwed fathers and who are likely to overstate their level of involvement (see Garfinkel, McLanahan, and Hanson, forthcoming). In addition, the quantitative studies are based on cross-sectional samples and do not examine the stability of individual father's involvement over time.

In this paper, we utilize mothers' reports in the NLSY to examine the level and stability of children's involvement with unwed fathers during the first few years after birth. We find surprisingly high levels of involvement and stability of fathers' involvement among these children. Our findings raise a whole host of questions about the characteristics and capabilities of the unwed fathers and the nature of the relationships between the unwed parents that cannot be addressed with the NLSY data. In the second part of the paper we describe a new longitudinal study of unwed parents – *Fragile Families* – and present a brief description of some of the findings from two pilot studies in Philadelphia and Chicago and from initial data collection in Oakland.

DATA AND MEASURES

NLSY - Sample and Variables

The first part of our analysis is based on data from the *Child Supplement to the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY-CS)*. The NLSY is a probability sample of over 12,000 individuals born between 1957 and 1964 and first interviewed in 1979. African-American, Latino, and poor white youth were over-sampled.¹ NLSY respondents have been re-interviewed annually since 1979. Starting in 1986, a Child Supplement interview was added to assess the children of NLSY women. Data on NLSY mothers and children have been gathered every other year since 1986.

The children in the NLSY-CS are not a nationally representative sample of children; rather they are a sample of children born to a particular cohort of women. Moreover, since these women were only 14 to 21 years of age in 1979, the child supplement data over-represent first births and children born to young mothers (Chase-Lansdale et al. 1991). Over time the sample has become more representative of births to all NLSY women who become mothers.

The data we use for our analysis is based on a sample of children born to unmarried parents between 1984 and 1992. A total of 4,243 births occurred during this period, 908 (or 21%) of whom were to unwed mothers. We start with births in 1984 because prior to that date mothers were not asked specific questions about the biological father of their child. Beginning in 1984, mothers were asked whether the biological father was living in the household, and if not, how many times a year he had contact with the child. Information on father's involvement is not available in all years (e.g., father's residential status is missing in 1991 and father's contact is

missing in 1987, 1989, 1991 and 1993), and therefore we further restrict our sample to children for whom we have complete information on father's involvement during the first year after birth (year 0) and the third year (age 2). Our final sample contains 537 children, all of whom were born to unmarried NLSY mothers between 1984 and 1992.² Sixty-one percent of these children are African-American (329 cases), 23% are white (124 cases), and 16% are Hispanic (86 cases). Forty-eight percent are boys and fifty two percent are girls. Thirty nine percent are first births. Only 3 percent are born to mothers younger than 20 years of age. The latter is due to the fact that we restrict the sample to births that occur after 1983 when nearly all the women in the NLSY were 20 or over.

For our analyses, we pool the data on nonmarital births from all years between 1984 and 1992. Since our sample is based on 9 different birth cohorts, we cannot use any of the sampling weights provided by the NLSY (for reasons, see CHRR, 1997). Thus, our descriptive analysis is not representative of any particular population. However, taken in conjunction with the other studies of father involvement, we believe these data provide useful information about a very special, rapidly growing population about whom very little is known.

Father's involvement is measured by two questions: whether the father lives with the mother, and, if not, how often he had contact with the child during the past year. We use these two questions to construct a measure of father's involvement that is coded (1) if the biological father lives with the child, (2) if the father sees the child at least once a week, (3) if the father sees the child less than once a week, and (4) if the father never sees the child. Father's

¹ Following the 1984 survey round, 456 women who were in the military at that time were dropped from the sample. Following the 1990 survey round, 901 economically disadvantaged ("poor") white women were also dropped because of financial constraints.

² Nearly all of the missing data is a result of entire cohorts not being asked the relevant questions rather than individual non-response.

involvement is measured during the first year of the child's life (birth year) and again two years later (age 2).

FRAGILE FAMILIES – Sample and Variables

The *Fragile Families Study*³ follows a new birth cohort of children (and their parents) born in seven large American cities: Austin, Baltimore, Detroit, Newark, Oakland, Philadelphia, and Richmond. Funding for the 7 cities comes from a variety of foundations.⁴ (A proposal to extend the sample to 20 cities and make it representative of all nonmarital births in cities with populations of 200,000 or more is currently under review at NICHD.) Within each city, we sample 250 nonmarital births from up to 5 hospitals. An additional 75 marital births from the same hospitals are sampled to serve as a matched control group.

Mothers are approached and interviewed in the hospital, and fathers are interviewed, either at the hospital or as soon as possible after the birth of the child. We plan to conduct follow-up interviews with both parents at nine months, 18 months, 30 months and 42 months after the birth of the child. In-home child assessments will be conducted at the time of the 30 month interview. Data collection is now underway in one hospital in Oakland, California and is scheduled to begin in Austin, Newark and Richmond during the spring and early summer.

³ The Fragile Families Study has been designed and pretested by the principal investigators -- Sara McLanahan and Marta Tienda at Princeton University and Irwin Garfinkel and Jeanne Brooks-Gunn at Columbia University -- as well a network of junior scholars, including Sheila Aards at Benedict College, Waldo Johnson at the University of Chicago, Lauren Rich at the University of Pennsylvania, Mark Turner at the Urban Institute, Maureen Waller at the Public Policy Institute of California, and Melvin Wilson at the University of Virginia.

⁴ The study is designed to provide previously unavailable information on: (1) child health and development in fragile families, (2) the economic and social conditions of unwed fathers and mothers, (3) relationships between parents and between parents and children, (4) the factors that encourage and discourage fathers' involvement in their children's lives, and (5) the role of government and community programs in promoting good parenting and healthy child development.

Prior to beginning data collection in Oakland, both the method of interviewing new parents in the hospital and the parents' questionnaires were piloted in a number of cities and hospitals, first by members of the research team and more recently by professional survey firms. The results we report today are taken from the two most recent pilots, conducted in Philadelphia and Chicago, and from 23 nonmarital births in Oakland, California.

In the Philadelphia pilot, the sample consists of 40 births (or pregnancies)⁵ and the response rate was 90% for mothers and 55% for fathers. In the Chicago pilot, the sample consists of 20 births with a 90% response rate for mothers and a 74% response rate for fathers. In the Oakland sample, the sample consists of 23 births with response rates of 100 % for mothers and 57% for fathers. (The fathers' response rate in Oakland is low because we only had time to include fathers who were interviewed at the hospital.) In the Chicago and Philadelphia pilots, about 2/3 of the interviews with the fathers were conducted at the hospital. Thus, the strategy of interviewing mothers and fathers at the hospital soon after birth appears to be an efficient way of securing high response rates for both mothers and fathers.

RESULTS – NLSY

Children's Contact with Fathers During their First Year

We use the NLSY data to examine two questions: first, what proportion of children born outside marriage see their fathers on a regular basis during the first year after birth? And second, how stable is children's involvement with their fathers during the first few years of life? Table 1 provides answers to the first question.

⁵ Half of the Philadelphia sample was selected from prenatal clinics prior to the birth of the child.

[Table 1 about here]

According to the top panel (last column) of Table 1, over 72% of children born outside marriage have fathers who are *highly* involved during their first year of life. About thirty three percent of these children are living with their fathers, and another 40% are seeing their fathers once a week or more. Only 14% of children born outside marriage have no contact with their father during the first year.

These results are similar across all three race and ethnic groups. If we define high involvement as either living with the child or visiting on a weekly basis, 72% of African American children have fathers who are highly involved as compared with 75% of Hispanic children and 72% of white children. The major difference among the three groups is that African American children are much more likely to have a visiting relationship with their fathers, whereas Hispanic and white children are more likely to be living with their fathers. At the other extreme, 19% of white children never see their fathers as compared with 13% of Hispanic and African American children. White children who are born outside marriage are about 1.5 times as likely as Black and Hispanic children to never see their fathers.

The bottom panel of Table 1 reports children's contact with their fathers during the third year of life (age 2). Again, the numbers indicate that most children born to unmarried parents have a good deal of contact with their fathers. Nearly 61% are either living with their biological fathers or seeing their father on a weekly basis. Again, the race and ethnic differences are minimal. Fifty nine percent of African American children have fathers who are highly involved, as compared with 58% of Hispanic children and 67% of white children. Again, white children are the most likely to experience both high contact and "no contact" with their fathers, followed by African American and Hispanic children.

Stability of Children's Contact with their Fathers

[Table 2 about here]

The estimates presented in Table 1 are only snapshots of the prevalence of father involvement at two points in time. That is, they tell us what proportion of children are in contact with their fathers during the first year after birth and again in the third year (at age two). They do not, however, tell us whether the 60% to 70% of children who see their fathers frequently at both points in time are the same children. To answer this question and to determine the degree of stability in children's contact with their fathers, we cross tabulated the information on children's contact with their fathers at both points in time (Table 2). The numbers on the diagonal in Table 2 tell us what proportion of children are in a particular category at *both* points in time, the numbers above the diagonal tell us what proportion of children experienced a *decline* in fathers' involvement between birth and age two, and the numbers below the diagonal tell us what proportion of children experienced an *increase* in fathers' involvement during this period.

Looking first at the numbers on the diagonal, we see that 71% of children who were living with their fathers during the first year are still living with their fathers two years later (column 1, row 1). Nearly half (46%) of the parents of this group of children had married by the time their child was age 2 (results not shown in table). The rest were continuing to cohabit. These numbers show that there is considerable stability in fathers' involvement among parents who are cohabiting when their child is born. They also indicate that about half of children whose fathers move out of the household during the first few years continue to maintain a visiting relationship with their father. In short, approximately 85% of children who were living with their fathers at birth continue to see their fathers on a regular basis two years later.

The visiting relationship is somewhat less stable than the cohabiting relationship (column 2, row 2). About 47% of children who saw their fathers on a weekly basis during the first year are still doing so two years later. More importantly perhaps, another 24% of these children are living with their fathers by age 2. Thus nearly 71% of the children who started out in a visiting relationship are continuing to maintain high contact two years later. Only 29% of the children in this arrangement have experienced a major reduction in their father's involvement and only 9% never see their fathers.

The last category – children who never see their fathers – is also quite stable, although not as much as we might have expected. Sixty five percent of the children who never saw their fathers during the first year of life are in the same position two years later, whereas 35% have increased their contact with their fathers. Among the latter, most children have moved from “no contact” to “irregular or infrequent contact” with their fathers, although about 23% have moved into one of the more involved arrangements.

When we look at the figures separately by race and ethnic group, we find some differences in stability and change. White children have the most stable arrangements (65%), especially those whose parents either cohabit (77%) or never see each other (78%). African America children have somewhat less stable relationships with their fathers overall than white children (54%), but those in a visiting relationship actually have more stability (51% versus 38%). Hispanic children appear to have the least stable arrangements (48%), but here the instability is limited to the noncohabiting relationships. Nearly 70% of Hispanic children who live with cohabiting parents during their first year of life are still living with their fathers two years later. (We should note that the sample sizes for these estimates of race and ethnic differences are very small, and thus we should not make too much of these differences.)

When we first looked at our results, we were surprised at both the level and stability of unmarried fathers' involvement with their children. Based on previous research on nonresident fathers, including our own studies, we expected contact between fathers and children to drop off sharply over time. On further reflection, however, we realized that we were ignoring a very important difference between unwed fathers and divorced and separated fathers; namely, many unwed fathers are still romantically involved with the mothers of their children. Taking this insight one step further, we reasoned that once the relationship with the mother ends, contact between the father and child may drop off sharply, as it does among divorced and separated fathers. Alternatively, it is possible that the visiting relationship, which probably involves fewer expectations on the part of both partners, may be easier to sustain once the romantic relationship is over. If this were true, the drop-off in father child contact that is commonly found among divorced and separated fathers may be less pronounced among this particular group of children. Unfortunately, neither the NLSY nor any other existing data set enables us to examine this question very well which is one of the factors that motivated us to design a new study, *Fragile Families*.

RESULTS - FRAGILE FAMILIES

The next six tables provide a sample of some of the questions that the new fragile families study will be able to address. The analyses we present are not intended to be exhaustive. Rather, they reflect the particular interests of the members of the research team.

Romantic Involvement and Probability of Marriage

[Table 3 about here]

Our preliminary results suggest that there may be some interesting variation

across sites in levels of romantic involvement. As reported in Table 3, in Philadelphia and Chicago close to 60% of the mothers report some kind of romantic involvement, whereas in Oakland, over 90% of the mothers report a romantic involvement, 77% on a steady basis. Of course, the samples are small so these results are at best suggestive. Consistent with the proportions reporting a continuing romantic relationship, about half of the mothers in Chicago and Philadelphia and nearly 70% of the mothers in Oakland report that their chances of marrying the father are 50 percent or higher.

Attitudes Toward Marriage

Previous qualitative research suggests that both economic and cultural factors shape parents' decisions about marriage (Waller forthcoming, Edin and Lein 1997, Anderson 1989). Often, parents characterize marriage as risky or futile and talk about their decisions in terms of minimizing the high likelihood of divorce. Some mothers end their relationships with their child's father because of abuse or infidelity. Both African-American and white parents considered young men less emotionally "ready" for marriage than young women. The *Fragile Families* data will allow us to examine the extent to which these attitudes towards marriage and fidelity are common amongst unwed parents of different racial and ethnic backgrounds.

[Table 4 about here]

The data in Table 4 indicate that unmarried parents in Chicago do not perceive great advantages to being married over being single. In fact, about 60% of mothers in Chicago agree with the statement that there are more advantages to being single whereas about 71% of fathers agree. In Oakland, however, the picture is somewhat different. Only 35% of the mothers and 39% of the fathers agree that being single has more advantages than being married. While nearly half of the mothers in both Chicago and Oakland agree or strongly agree that men cannot be

trusted to be faithful, the proportions of fathers who agree with this statement is much lower, 14% in Chicago and 8% in Oakland. Finally, the proportion of fathers who report having another romantic partner differs quite dramatically across the two sites—36% in Chicago vs 8% in Oakland. The contrast between the Chicago and Oakland data underscores the danger of generalizing from small local samples.

Paternity and Involvement with Children

Perhaps the most important reason for concern about the increase in unwed parenthood is the belief that the children are at risk of growing up without the economic, emotional and social support that is provided by a father. Recent welfare legislation attempts to address this problem by increasing the expectations for unwed fathers. Specifically, low-skilled and often unemployed, unwed fathers are expected to establish paternity and pay child support. As we have seen, however, unwed fathers are more involved with their children than we had previously thought. Yet we know little about the fathers' motivations. Do they want to be recognized as the father of their child? Do they want the child to have their name? Do they value fatherhood? Do they want to be involved in raising their children? To what extent do the fathers provide economic support for the children?

[Table 5 about here]

Table 5 presents data on social and legal recognition of paternity. In Philadelphia, surprisingly, all of the mothers indicated that they planned to put the father's name on the child's birth certificate and to formally establish paternity. Even more surprisingly, all of the fathers indicated that they wanted to put their names on their child's birth certificate and to formally establish paternity. (In the full study, we will use administrative data as well as responses from follow-up survey's to verify if paternity was actually established and whether each parent

actually took steps to establish paternity.) Interestingly, 16% of the parents who said they wanted to establish paternity did not plan to give their child the father's surname. In Oakland 100 % of the fathers said the baby will have his last name and that his name will appear on the birth certificate, while 83% of the mothers said the dad's name would be on the birth certificate. All told, these figures suggest much higher commitment to establishing both social and legal paternity among unwed parents than we had suspected.

[Table 6 about here]

The data in Table 6 also demonstrate that a high proportions of unwed parents value fathers and fatherhood. In Oakland 91% of the mothers and 100% of the fathers reported that the dads want to be involved in raising the child. Between 80% and 90% of mothers reported that the fathers gave them money or bought things for the baby during pregnancy. Between 70% and 85% of the men agreed that being a father is one of the most fulfilling experiences a man can have, and between 60% and 70% agreed that not being a part of their child's life would be devastating. Slightly less encouraging, however, is the fact that only 65% of mothers in Chicago and 48% of mothers in Oakland reported that the fathers were pleased or very happy when they learned of the pregnancy.

Father's Earnings and Underground Work

The ability of unmarried fathers to provide economic support to their children, and the factors which help or hinder their ability to do so, remain important, unanswered questions in the literature on child support policy. Current estimates of unmarried fathers' earnings are limited by the fact that nonresident fathers are seriously under-represented in existing national surveys such as the NSFH and the NLSY. These estimates are further limited by the fact that existing surveys generally only measure earnings from regular, paid employment, and sometimes also

from legitimate self-employment. However, it is likely to be the case that many low-income fathers combine work in the regular and irregular sectors, or cycle back and forth between the two, much as low-income women cycle between or combine welfare and work. In fact, ethnographic and other qualitative studies do suggest that many men, particularly those with low levels of human capital, generate a significant proportion of their income from sources other than regular, paid employment or legitimate self-employment. However, while these studies provide a rich description of some of the ways in which men working on the margins of the economy support themselves, they are not especially useful for understanding the prevalence of this activity or how important it is relative to regular employment or the operation of legitimate businesses.

The *Fragile Families Study* will attempt to obtain an accurate measure of the extent to which unmarried fathers, particularly those with low incomes, earn income from activities other than regular paid employment or legitimate self-employment. Measuring the extent to which *new* unmarried fathers participate in the underground economy over time will provide a basis on which to assess the impact of current child support policies on participation in the underground economy. Anecdotal evidence suggests that punitive policies, such as jailing fathers for inability to pay, may result in greater participation in underground economic activity. To the extent that this occurs, current policies may be counter-productive in that they lead to less money being available for the children of unmarried fathers, and also discourage the human capital development of fathers which could enhance their ability to support themselves and their families.

[Table 7 about here]

The proportion of fathers who report being employed in the previous week ranges from 57% in Chicago to 79% in Philadelphia, with Oakland falling in between. The mean annual earnings of this group of unwed fathers is quite low – about \$16,000 in Chicago and \$12,000 in Oakland. Involvement in “off the books” or underground employment is quite extensive. Nearly 30% of the fathers in Chicago and 46% of those in Oakland report some income from underground earnings. Activities reported included household maintenance and repairs, provision of transportation, personal services for friends and relatives, gambling and selling drugs.

Fathers’ Mental Health

Many new parents, married and unmarried, experience symptoms of depression low level of self-esteem and efficacy, and increase substance and cigarette usage (Elster & Panzarine, 1980; Minton & Pasley, 1996). Moreover, Minton and Pasley (1996) suggest that divorced, nonresident fathers when compared to nondivorced fathers feel less competent and less satisfied with their parental roles. Epidemiological data indicated that divorced men exhibited higher rates of mental health and mortality (Gove, 1972 & 1973). Fathers who live separated from their children are more likely to engage in risky health behaviors than fathers who live with their children. Unfortunately, we know very little about the psychological well being or mental health status of young, unwed, nonresident fathers.

[Table 8 about here]

The data on mental health are mixed. Only 7%-9% of the fathers report that drugs or alcohol had interfered with a job or relationship. Mothers’ reports of drug and alcohol problems were about 50% higher than fathers, in Oakland. Self-esteem is quite high. Only 8% of fathers report that they are not satisfied with themselves. In contrast, 46% of fathers said that they felt

they were being pushed around in life. Finally, fathers report a good deal of depressive symptoms, as measured by the 12 item CES-D scale.⁶ In the Chicago pilot, which is the only site where the CES-D scale was used, about 57% of the men reported one or more symptoms, 50% reported 3 or more symptoms, and 36% reported 6 or more of the symptoms during the past week. The modal symptom was "feeling bothered," followed by "things are an effort," "restless sleep," and "feeling sad." On the whole, these data suggest that many of these young fathers are experiencing symptoms related to their impending fatherhood.

⁶ The questions in this scale ask the respondents to report on the number of days that he experienced depressive symptoms during the past week.

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Table 1. Children's Contact with Unwed Fathers at Birth and Age 2

	<u>Black</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Total</u>
Birth Year				
Lives With Father	21.3%	42.4%	55.7%	32.6%
Sees Father at Least Weekly	50.6%	32.9%	16.9%	40.0%
Sees Father Less Than Weekly	15.6%	11.8%	8.9%	13.4%
Never Sees Father	12.5%	12.9%	18.6%	14.0%
Age 2				
Lives With Father	26.2%	42.4%	50.0%	34.3%
Sees Father at Least Weekly	32.6%	15.3%	16.7%	26.3%
Sees Father Less Than Weekly	21.7%	27.1%	9.7%	19.7%
Never Sees Father	19.5%	15.3%	23.4%	19.7%

Table 2. Stability of Children’s Contact with Fathers Between Birth and Age 2

All Cohorts

Birth Year	Age 2				Total
	1	2	3	4	
1. Lives With Father	71%	14%	10%	5%	175
2. Sees Father at Least Weekly	24%	47%	20%	9%	215
3. Sees Father Less than Weekly	6%	18%	35%	42%	72
4. Never Sees Father	5%	3%	27%	65%	75
Total	184	141	106	106	537

Table 3: Romantic Involvement and Probability of Marriage: Mother Reports

	<u>Philadelphia</u>	<u>Chicago</u>	<u>Oakland</u>
Parents Relationship			
Romantically Involved	56%	47%	77%
On and off again	na	11%	14%
Just Friends	19%	21%	0%
No involvement	25%	21%	9%
Chances that parents will marry			
50% or greater	53%	47%	68%

Table 4: Marriage Attitudes and Gender Relationships

	<u>Philadelphia</u>	<u>Chicago</u>	<u>Oakland</u>
More advantages to being single than to being married (agree or strongly agree)			
Mothers	na	60%	35%
Fathers	na	71%	39%
Men/women cannot be trusted to be faithful (agree or strongly agree)			
Mothers	na	50%	43%
Fathers	na	14%	8%
Respondent has another romantic partner (yes)			
Mothers	na	5%	4%
Fathers	na	36%	8%

Table 5: Social and Legal Paternity

	<u>Philadelphia</u>	<u>Chicago</u>	<u>Oakland</u>
Baby will have father's last name			
Mother report	84%	na	na
Father report	84%	na	na
Father's name on birth certificate			
Mother report	100%	na	83%
Father report	100%	na	100%
Plan to establish legal paternity			
Mother Report	100%	na	na
Father Report	100%	na	na

Table 6: Fatherhood: Values, Aspirations, and Behaviors

	<u>Philadelphia</u>	<u>Chicago</u>	<u>Oakland</u>
Father wants to be involved in raising child			
Mother report	na	na	91%
Father report	na	na	100%
Father gave \$ or bought things for baby			
Mother report	67%	90%	83%
Father report	na	86%	100%
Being a father is one of most fulfilling experiences			
Fathers who agree or strongly agree	na	71%	85%
Losing chance to be part of child's life would be one of worst things that could happen			
Fathers who agree or strongly agree	na	71%	62%
Father pleased or very happy when learned about pregnancy			
Mother report	na	65%	48%
Father report	na	62%	77%

Table 7: Fathers Earnings and Underground Work

	<u>Philadelphia</u>	<u>Chicago</u>	<u>Oakland</u>
Currently Employed	79%	57%	69%
Mean Regular Earnings	na	\$16,100	\$12,000
Underground Income	na	29%	46%

Table 8: Father's Mental Health

	<u>Philadelphia</u>	<u>Chicago</u>	<u>Oakland</u>
Drug/alcohol interferes w/job or relationship			
Father Report	na	7%	9%
Mother Report	na	na	15%
Low self-esteem	na	na	8%
Low efficacy	na	na	46%
Depressive symptoms (6 or more in past week)	na	na	36%