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**WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A GOOD FATHER:
A TEST OF IDENTITY THEORY**

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**WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A GOOD FATHER:
A TEST OF IDENTITY THEORY**

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Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

May, 2008

Dedication

To Minako and So

Acknowledgements

Completion of this dissertation puts a period to one of the most difficult challenges I have ever faced. Without support from so many people, I could not have made it through all the struggles. Above all, I would like to express a sincere appreciation to my supervisor, Nancy Hazen-Swann, for her continued support, boundless patience, and incredible responsiveness. During my entire graduate career, you have always been available to me. I have always admired your student-centered stance and that is the biggest thing I learned from you. I am also grateful to my committee members for their invaluable insight and feedback throughout the dissertation process.

I would like to acknowledge my colleagues at the lab school. I had never thought I would become a Master Teacher when I started teaching as a single male international student. Thank you for being good friends, for always being supportive, and for fulfilling my appetite. I felt like I had so many moms and grandmas for my son.

My deepest gratitude goes to my parents, Haruki and Minori, who gave me a chance to challenge myself and allowed me to leave the country. Becoming a parent myself, I now understand how you felt when you sent me off at the train station 10 years ago. Thank you for believing in me. Your willingness to sacrifice your own needs to further my educational endeavor is a debt I can never repay.

And last but not least, I owe the utmost gratitude to my wife, Minako, who is a steadfast supporter of my life and gives me endless love. Since I first met you, you inspired me to greater efforts. When the road ahead sometimes seemed impossible, you did everything possible to make the process easier and less stressful. Thank you for understanding me. Having our son, So, who sailed into this world as I prepared this dissertation, has been the most rewarding experience of my life. Our joyful family we have been building together fills my heart with pride.

WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A GOOD FATHER: A TEST OF IDENTITY THEORY

Publication No. _____

Takayuki Sasaki, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2008

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There is a dearth of research focusing on fathering in families of color. The present study argues that ecological factors, especially SES and neighborhood quality, exert a strong influence on racial and ethnic differences in fathering role identity, which in turn affect fathering role performance. The primary goal of the present study is thus to investigate the impact of ecological factors on what it means to be a good father among African American (n = 308), Latino American (n = 598), Asian American (n = 580), and white fathers (n = 2813) by using a nationally representative sample from the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study, Birth Cohort (ECLS-B), and to test identity theory by examining fathering identity as a primary determinant of fathering role performance.

The core premise of identity theory is that society is the main source in shaping self (i.e., identity), and in turn, contributes to the way people behave (Stryker, 1968). The present study tested identity theory by examining the associations between domain-level psychological centralities and domain-specific fathering performances, and also to test

whether effects of psychological centralities and contextual factors override those of race and ethnicity. Overall, the results from this study considerably buttressed identity theory.

Consistent with the cultural-ecological model (Ogbu, 1981), which posits that ecological conditions shapes culture-specific socialization goals, racial and ethnic differences in the fathering psychological centrality were found because fathers in the same group historically share similar circumstances. However, the heterogeneity of the psychological centrality within each group was remarkable because their current conditions are vastly multifarious. Specifically, the lower their SES, the more likely that they believe that providing for their children is central to their identity as a father.

In studying fathers of color, previous approaches often resulted in the unwitting spread of stereotypical images by contrasting minority fathers from at-risk population with middle-class white fathers, because such approaches failed to consider the effects of contextual factors on fathering and to include multiple forms of father involvement. The results from this study clearly show that racial and ethnic differences are subtle once contextual factors are taken into account.

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Introduction

By 2050, racial and ethnic minority groups who have immigrated from Central or South American countries, Asian countries, African countries, and Pacific Islands, and those who are indigenous to the U.S. are projected to account for half of the U.S. population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004). Nevertheless, there is a dearth of research focusing on fathering in families of color. To better understand the unique challenges that fathers of color face, the present study will strive to examine whether and how the meanings of fathering differ across racial and ethnic groups by using a nationally representative sample.

Due to high rates of unemployment, poverty, and separate residences among racial and ethnic minority families, fathers of color have often been depicted as irresponsible, uninvolved men (Burton & Snyder, 1998; Marsiglio, 1995; McAdoo, 1993; McLoyd, Cauce, Takeuchi, & Wilson, 2000). However, results from nationally representative data of resident fathers typically contradict such portrayals. Data from the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH), indicate that African American and European American fathers do not differ in their frequency of engagement in activities (e.g., breakfasts, dinners, recreation, and academic and personal assistance) with their children aged 5 to 18 (Mosley & Thomson, 1995), while Latino fathers from the same dataset engaged in shared activities more than did European American fathers (Toth & Xu, 1999). Data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) have revealed that African Americans, Latinos, and fathers of other minority racial and ethnic groups with children aged 0 to 12 take on more caregiving responsibilities than White fathers

(Hofferth, 2003). Data from another national sample, the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study Birth cohort (ECLS-B), have indicated that African American fathers of 9-month-olds were more engaged in routine child care, such as feeding, bathing, and dressing, than non-Hispanic White, Latino American, and Asian American fathers, and no significant differences in the amount of routine child care done by Asian, Latino, and non-Hispanic White fathers have been found (Sasaki & Allen, 2006). Taken together then, when resident fathers are sampled using nationally representative techniques, fathers of color are found to engage in more shared activities with children and more caregiving tasks than White fathers, negating the negative image typically associated with fathers of color.

Given the negative and inaccurate portrayals of minority fathers resulting from simple mean comparisons between racial and ethnic groups, more attention needs to be paid to the causes of such racial and ethnic differences. In the present study, I argue that ecological factors, especially socioeconomic status (SES) and neighborhood quality, exert a strong influence on racial and ethnic differences in fathering role identity, which in turn affects fathering role performance. The primary goal of the present study is thus to investigate the impact of ecological factors on what it means to be a good father among African American, Latino American, Asian American, and non-Hispanic White fathers, and to test identity theory by examining fathering identity, instead of race and ethnicity, as a primary determinant of fathering role performance.

CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF FATHER INVOLVEMENT

Father involvement in childrearing is not unidimensional. More than 30 years ago, Lamb, Pleck, Charnov, and Levine (1985, 1987) developed a tripartite topology of father

involvement: (a) engagement—father’s direct interaction with the child in one-on-one activities (e.g., playing, feeding, and diapering); (b) accessibility—father’s physical and psychological availability regardless of actual interaction with the child; and (c) responsibility—father’s supervision over the care of the child (e.g., selecting child care arrangements, making appointments with the pediatrician, and providing resources).

Despite endorsement from a number of scholars, only a fraction of this tripartite has often been operationalized in most existing studies, namely the amount of time fathers spend with their children and the number of activities or caregiving tasks fathers performed.

Recent scholars (Day & Lamb, 2004; Parke, 2000) have emphasized the importance of comprehensive assessments of father involvement by including qualitative and cognitive aspects of father involvement (e.g., affection, parenting commitment, decision making), rather than focusing exclusively on the quantitative and behavioral domains of father involvement (e.g., the amount of caregiving tasks, time spent with the child, shared activities). Palkovitz, Hawkins, and colleagues (Hawkins et al., 2002; Hawkins & Palkovitz, 1999; Palkovitz, 1997) have repeatedly attempted to conceptualize the multidimensionality of father involvement by identifying such forms of involvement as teaching, monitoring, planning, showing affection, and providing. Although those forms of father involvement have been omitted from many previous studies, such in-depth assessments of father involvement not only advance our knowledge, but also are more likely to be sensitive to culture-specific definitions of father involvement.

Many existing studies have presumed that the ideal father figure is universal, and that fathers who perform a large amount of physical caregiving are highly valued in all families (Palkovitz, 1997). However, the *meanings* of paternal involvement are likely to

vary depending on the individuals' ecological contexts and cultural beliefs and values. Thus, in the present study, I will measure multiple forms of father involvement (i.e., both qualitative and quantitative forms) and how those forms of father involvement are associated with ecological contexts and cultural beliefs and values. In the following sections, variations in ecological contexts, cultural beliefs and values, and parenting practices within each group will be addressed to recognize how contextual factors in which families of color have been embedded and their beliefs in parenting contribute to their parenting practices.

AFRICAN AMERICAN FATHERS

Authoritarian parenting styles such as punitive and harsh disciplinary practices have been identified as a characteristic of African American parenting (Baumrind, 1972; Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 1996; Roopnarine, 2004). African American fathers have been also stigmatized as remote and uninvolved (Burton & Snyder, 1998; Marsiglio, 1995; McAdoo, 1993; McLoyd, Cauce, Takeuchi, & Wilson, 2000), mainly because their rate of father absence is higher than that of most other racial and ethnic groups (Kreider, & Fields, 2005). Instead of accepting negative illustrations of African American fathers based on White middle-class standards, however, it is important to recognize how contextual factors in which many African American families have been embedded and their beliefs in parenting contribute to their parenting practices.

Low educational levels, unemployment, and high poverty rates are disproportionately prevalent among African American fathers (Hernandez & Brandon, 2002). As a result, African American families often reside in neighborhoods where direct

and indirect exposure to violence is common (Letiecq & Koblinsky, 2004). Such unfavorable environments accumulate stressors and may distract fathers from forming positive relationships with their children (McLoyd, 1990). Also, lower economic resources (Roopnarine, Fouts, Lamb, & Lewis-Elligan, 2005) and the unavailability of public assistance (Smith, Krohn, Chu, & Best, 2005) have been linked to fathers' nonresident status. Thus, limited opportunities to gain resources among African American men may create barriers to being involved fathers to their children. However, many African American families who have ample economic and social resources have often been excluded from research. Thus, it is unclear whether the parenting styles of African American fathers are derived from cultural values or socioeconomic constraints.

For example, although African American families' socialization goals have often been found to include a strict parenting style, the generalizability of this finding is uncertain. Compared to European American parents, African American parents are more likely to emphasize children's obedience to adults and compliance with parental rules (Smetana & Asquith, 1994; Smetana, 2000). Some scholars suggest that African American parents endorse strict parenting practices to protect their children from adverse and dangerous environments and to prepare them for the reality of racism and discrimination (Kelley, Power, & Wimbush, 1992; R. J. Taylor, Chatters, Tucker, & Lewis, 1990), but the extent to which adverse environments lead to parental beliefs in strict parenting cannot be known unless parental values and beliefs from families living in more favorable ecological conditions are measured. Regardless of their socioeconomic status, however, African American men were found to be more likely than European American men to hold traditional views toward women's roles in the family (Blee &

Tickamyer, 1995; Ransford & Miller, 1983). When African American men from a diverse group of ages and occupational statuses were interviewed, the family domain, including family connectedness, equity in relationships, and fulfillment of family role expectations, was highlighted as important to being a man (Hunter & Davis, 1992).

Thus, stereotypical images of punitive and uninvolved parents are not sensitive to the diversity within African American fathers. Abundant recent studies challenge those negative images. In studies including families across all socioeconomic levels, African American fathers vocalized more and displayed more affection to infants than did their wives (Roopnarine et al., 2005), and did not use more physical or verbal punishment than European American fathers (Ferrari, 2002). Among low-income families, although the mean parental warmth has been found to be lower and the mean inconsistent discipline practices higher for African American parents toward their first-graders compared to European American parents, these differences disappeared once neighborhood characteristics, including poverty rates, residential stability, availability of public services and social networks, and neighborhood safety, were controlled (Pinderhughes, Nix, Foster, Jones, & The Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 2001). A study that examined interrater agreement in the assessment of parent-child interactions in African American families (Gonzales, Cauce, & Mason, 1996) also found that non-African American coders rated parents as more controlling and the parent-child dyads as more conflictual than African American coders, suggesting potential biases among outgroup observers. When resident fathers were compared across racial and ethnic groups, African American fathers were more engaged in routine child care for their 9-month-old children than non-Hispanic White, Latino American, and Asian American fathers (Sasaki & Allen,

2006) and carried out more responsibilities for their children aged 0 to 12 than European American fathers (Hofferth, 2003). Even among nonresident young fathers, the proportion of African American fathers who maintained weekly physical contact with their first children and who provide financial support was not significantly different from that of European American and Latino American fathers (Smith et al., 2005).

Most importantly, it is imperative to focus on the uniqueness of African American fathers. In disadvantaged communities, African American fathers were found to demonstrate distinctive approaches to protecting their preschool-aged children by shielding preschoolers from potential dangers (e.g., constant supervisions, neighborhood contact restrictions), educating preschoolers about safety, and confronting community issues (Leticq & Koblinsky, 2004). Many nonresident African American fathers not only maintain close contact with their children (Coley & Chase-Landsdale, 1999), but also have supporting networks of relatives and peers who help fathers physically and emotionally (Davies et al., 2004). Also, even when biological fathers are not available, alternative male figures, including extended family members, stepfathers, and maternal partners, commonly undertake childrearing among African American families (Coley, 2001). However, the roles of social fathers have significantly been understudied. Thus, a simple negative description does not fairly represent African American fathers as a group.

LATINO AMERICAN FATHERS

The portrayal of Latino American fathers has been inconsistent. In various studies, they have been depicted as hostile, strict, and authoritarian (MacPhee, Fritz,

Miller-Heyl, 1996; Varela et al. 2004), as responsive, nurturing, and warm (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; De Von Figueroa-Moseley, Ramey, Keltner, & Lanzi, 2006; Fagan, 2000), and as permissive and indulgent (Chilman, 1993; Martinez, 1993). This lack of consensus about Latino American parenting behaviors may result from variations in their contexts and values, as well as variations in the beliefs about division of gender roles.

In 2002, Latinos were estimated to represent 13.3% of the U.S. population (Ramirez & de la Cruz, 2003), which denotes that Latinos are the largest minority group in the country. The Latino population is two-thirds of Mexican origins, 14.3% of Central and South American origins, 8.6% of Puerto Rican origins, 3.7% of Cuban origins, and 6.5% of other origins. Latino fathers tend to be young, live with multiple children, and have little formal education (Hernandez & Brandon, 2002). Latinos' family income is notably lower than non-Latinos, although Latino fathers work longer hours (Hofferth, 2003), and they are two or three times more likely to live in poverty than non-Latinos (Hernandez & Brandon; Ramirez & de la Cruz). However, these demographic characteristics significantly vary based on Latino subgroups, with Mexican Americans having the lowest rates of high school graduates (46.5%) and the highest household size (3.86 people); Puerto Ricans having the highest poverty rates (33.2%) and percentages of female-headed households (41.2%); and Cuban Americans having the highest rates of high school graduates (64.7%) and the lowest poverty rates (13.6%) and household size (2.56 people; Baca Zinn & Wells, 2000). Considering the effects of family circumstances on parenting (McLoyd, 1990; Pinderhughes et al., 2001), such dramatic contextual disparities among Latino families may contribute to differences in parenting practices. A study comparing the impact of economic hardship on families and their 5th-grade

children between Mexican Americans and European Americans (Parke, et al., 2004) found that economic pressure was associated with parental depressed mood, which in turn predicted marital problems and hostile parenting practices for both group. Thus, these results imply that inconsistent findings on Latino Americans' parenting behavior accrued from difference in ecological factors.

At the same time, however, Latino American families share some similar values. Familism is one of the Latino's central values that place great stress on an emotional support system within the family (Vega, 1990). Puerto Ricans (Zayas, Canino, Suárez, 2001), Mexican Americans (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; Garcia, 2001), and Cuban Americans (Bevin, 2001) often promote family unity and interdependence between family members and a sense of obligation to the family over the individual. These family-centered beliefs can be observed among Latino families in which large close-knit networks support their immediate kin in difficulties, whereas Anglo families are more reliant on their close friends (MacPhee et al., 1996).

It is also notable that parental roles are believed to be gender specific among Latinos. Influenced by Catholic beliefs about the Virgin Mary, Latinas have been highly idealized to sacrifice themselves for their children based on *Marianismo* (Confresí, 2002), which expects mothers to be modest, virtuous, and subordinate to their husbands without complaining. Thus, placing priority on maternal care of the family and children before their own wishes is highly regarded in the community. For men, *Machismo* emphasizes a sense of masculinity, nobility, strength, and toughness, and expects men to maintain the role of head of household. Frequently, however, these values have led to researchers to hold oversimplified perceptions of gender roles in Latino families. Latino

fathers have often been erroneously viewed as avoiding intimacy and enforcing tyrannical practices, and such positive characteristics as protecting and providing for the family have sometimes been overlooked (Cabrera & Garcia Coll, 2004; Mirande, 1991).

Indeed, Latino fathers are inclined to bolster traditional values in marriage, mothers' caregiving roles, and the divisions of household tasks relative to White fathers, and most likely to live in a male breadwinner-female homemaker family (Hofferth, 2003). Nevertheless, resident Latino fathers not only spend longer hours with their children (Yeung et al., 2001) but also engage in more shared activities (Toth & Xu, 1999) and caregiving responsibilities (Hofferth) than White fathers. These results clearly contradict the stereotypes of callous and uninvolved Latino fathers.

Recent studies investigating within-group differences have revealed that level of acculturation influences parental attitudes and practices. Mexican American individuals with less acculturation, measured by their language usage and immigration status, more strongly believed that men should provide for the family than highly acculturated Mexican Americans (P. L. Taylor, Tucker, & Mitchell-Kernan, 1999). When responding to child misbehavior, U.S. born Latino American parents believed threatening, time out, withdrawing privileges, and yelling to be more effective, and explaining why the behavior is unacceptable as less effective, than foreign born Latino American parent (Caughy & Franzini, 2005). As acculturation increases, marital problems have been found to increase and hostile parenting to decrease among Mexican American parents, (Parke, et al., 2004). Thus, depending on their immigration status, length of U.S. residence, English proficiency, and embracement of their original culture, fathers' behavioral, cognitive, and social manifestations have been found to vary.

ASIAN AMERICAN FATHERS

Notwithstanding that, or perhaps because, the Asian American population is growing at the fastest rate of all minority groups in the U.S., the amount of literature concerning Asian American fathers is remarkably scarce. Within this limited literature, Asian parents have been repeatedly labeled as restrictive, controlling, and authoritarian (Lin & Fu, 1990; Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992). Especially, Asian fathers have been characterized as being strict, coercive, and emotionally distant more so than Asian mothers (Berndt, Cheung, Lau, Hau, & Lew, 1993; U. Kim & Choi, 1994; Yang et al., 2004; Shwalb, Nakazawa, Yamamoto, & Hyun, 2004). Cultural values that are shared to some degree across Asian cultures may have shaped these images of Asian fathers.

Thousands of years of social exchanges between Asian countries have exerted a strong influence on childrearing goals of the majority of Asian cultures, which have been intricately interwoven from the doctrines of Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, to name a few. Consequently, respect for elders, child obedience, obligation to the family, and a dominant father figure have been reported as common components of the childrearing beliefs of Chinese Americans (Chao, 2001; Wu, 2001), Korean Americans (E. Kim, Cain, & McCubbin, 2006; U. Kim & Choi, 1994), Vietnamese Americans (Cheung & Nguyen, 2001; Kibria, 2000), and Japanese Americans (Shibusawa, 2001). In fact, empirical studies have consistently buttressed these parenting values among Asians. For instance, both mothers and fathers of Chinese origin rated themselves higher on parental control over their kindergarteners to second graders than European American parents (Lin & Fu, 1990). Also, Chinese American adolescents rated their parents as stricter and as less accepting than did European American adolescents (Chao, 2001). Nonetheless, these

parenting practices quite possibly have different meanings for Asian families compared to non-Asians.

Asian American youths often excel in academic performance and rarely exhibit behavioral problems (Fong & Shinagawa, 2000). Yet, it is quite puzzling to observe that parental authoritarianism predicts positive child adjustment among Asian Americans, considering past studies on European American families have found associations between authoritarian parenting styles and negative child outcomes (Baumrind, 1991; Dornbusch, Ritter, Liederman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987; Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, & Dornbusch, 1994). However, the construct of “authoritarian” parenting may have a different meaning in Asian American families than in European American families. Chao (1994, 2001) argues that authoritarianism may represent such negative characteristics as unreasonableness, hostility, and aggression among European Americans, whereas Chinese parents “train” and “govern” their children’s behaviors as a sign of their strong beliefs about the importance of hard work, child obedience and self-discipline. Also, a study examining Korean American parenting practices found strong positive associations between paternal behavioral control and paternal warmth and affection (E. Kim, 2005), suggesting that Asian fathers may strictly monitor children’s behavior as a way to express their affection and love.

Similar to Latino Americans, both quantity and quality of paternal involvement have been found to change as a function of acculturation. Asian Indian American fathers who carried on traditional attitudes and behavior were more likely than those who assimilated American values and lifestyles to be clustered as disengaged fathers who exhibited lower levels of caretaking, playing, teaching, and disciplining their children

aged 18 to 44 months during home visit observations (Jain & Belsky, 1997). When college students were asked to describe their relationships with parents, Vietnamese-born immigrants rated these relationships as more distant but also more conflictual than American-born Vietnamese, particularly in father-son dyads (Dinh, B. R. Sarason, & I. G. Sarason, 1994).

Furthermore, demographic gaps between subgroups are worth attention. Asian Americans as a group are more likely than non-Hispanic Whites to attain higher education and have higher family incomes (Reeves & Bennett, 2003). However, heterogeneity within Asian Americans should not be ignored. Due to a recent influx of immigrants, only a quarter to a third of Asians are American-born, except for Japanese Americans, of whom 60.5% are American-born (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004). Additionally, while more than half of Asian Indians (63.9%) and Pakistani Americans (54.3%), and nearly a half of Chinese Americans (48.1%) of 25 or older obtained a bachelor's degree or higher, 59.6% of Hmong Americans, 53.3% of Cambodian Americans, and 49.6% of Laotian Americans did not complete a high school education. In addition, whereas only 6.3% of Filipino Americans, 9.7% of Japanese Americans, and 9.8% of Asian Indian Americans were living in poverty, which is well below the national figure of 12.4%, very high poverty rates were reported for Hmong Americans (37.8%) and Cambodian Americans (29.3%). Thus, it is critical to bear in mind both similarities and differences within Asian American groups.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS CONCERNING FATHERS OF COLOR

As described above, fathers in each racial and ethnic group have been given stereotypical portrayals, whereas fathers in the same group exhibit different parenting practices. Thus, it is critical to disentangle the predictors of the within-group variations in parenting practices. Ecological perspectives (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1979) have emphasized the uniqueness of social contexts in which minority families are embedded. Ogbu's cultural-ecological model (1981) extended this perspective and proposed that each cultural group possesses beliefs about what a "successful" person is based on the economic, social, and political resources available to meet their specific cultural-ecological demands. In other words, Ogbu postulated that the social contexts in which families of color are embedded shape culture-specific socialization goals. McLoyd's family stress model (1990) suggested that economic hardships contribute to parental psychological distress due to negative life events, undesirable chronic living conditions, and a lack of marital bonds, which in turn thwart those parents from being supportive, consistent, and involved. Taken together, these three frameworks postulate that both contextual factors and cultural values and beliefs about parenting should affect fathers' parenting performance.

More specifically, the social contexts in which families of color are embedded shape culture-specific socialization goals in intricate manners, which in turn affect the ways fathers of color interact with their children. Thus, these frameworks emphasize the development of competence in fathering among minority groups and the importance of investigating the processes through which sociohistorical contextual factors shape culturally specific socialization practices. These frameworks also suggest that although

individuals in the same racial and ethnic group may share their socialization goals, their socialization goals can diverge due to their surrounding contexts.

Moreover, it is especially important to investigate the impact of contextual factors on fathering given the uniqueness of the father's roles in the family. Observational and survey data have provided evidence for distinct styles of interactions in mother-child and father-child dyads (Lamb, 1997). In American culture, women are often seen as naturally better suited to caretaking roles, but men's roles in childrearing is less scripted (Major, 1993; Parke, 1996; Thompson & Walker, 1989). Because of this ambiguous construction of fatherhood, father-child dyads may be exceptionally sensitive to ecological obstacles to fathering, whereas mother-child dyads are more likely to be resilient to contextual influences (Doherty, Kouneski, & Erickson, 1998). Fathers' withdrawal from their children in couples out of wedlock (Aquilino, 2006; Coley, 2001), after divorce (Hetherington & Stanley-Hagan, 2002; Schwartz & Finley, 2005), in unhappy marriages (Bonney, Kelley, Levant, 1999; Volling & Belsky, 1991), and in marital unions with gatekeeping wives who restrict their husbands' collaboration in child care (Allen & Hawkins, 1999; De Luccie, 1995) demonstrate the vulnerability of father-child relationships to surrounding factors.

Likewise, many men, especially working-class fathers, believe providing for the family is the primary way to be involved in their children's lives (Griswold, 1993). Hence, inability to fulfill the provider role may give those fathers a sense of inadequacy, which in turn likely influences both their quantity and quality of fathering. For example, in a study examining the consequences of economic adversity on family functioning in a small Midwest city, the relation between economic pressure and children's negative

outcomes was mediated by parental irritable and hostile behavior for fathers much more than for mothers, suggesting that fathering behavior is more vulnerable to economic adversity because the provider role is more central to fathers (Elder, Conger, Foster, & Ardel, 1992). Considering the fathers' susceptibility to contextual sources, placing a central emphasis on ecological influence on fathering may have important implications for cross-cultural variations.

Although Ogbu's cultural-ecological model explicitly delineates contextual factors' contribution to beliefs in fathering, the model lacks clear description of the relation between socialization goals and fathering performance. Identity theory aptly complements theoretical considerations of the current study because identity theory clearly outlines the effect of socialization goals (i.e., identity) on fathering performance.

IDENTITY THEORY

Derived from the perspective of symbolic interactionism, which seeks to explain people's behavior by asserting that social interactions provide meanings to behavior, identity theory has been evolved to empirically test the concept of society and self, and relationships between the two (Stryker, 1968). The core premise of identity theory is that society is the main source in shaping self (i.e., identity), and in turn, contributes to the way people behave. In understanding social behavior, Stryker and his colleagues (e.g., Stryker, 1968; Stryker & Serpe, 1994) place a large emphasis on the ways in which external social structures affect decisions in selecting specific behavior over alternatives, while Burke and his colleagues (e.g., Burke, 1980, Burke & Reitzes, 1981; Burke &

Stets, 1999) concentrate on the ways in which internal dynamics of self-processes affect people's behavioral choices.

Identity theory suggests that a collection of identities is constructed through social interactions within which individuals occupy different *statuses*, such as students, friends, and employees. Individuals assign meanings to these statuses in the form of identity, defined as "internalized sets of role expectations" (Stryker, 1987, p.90; Burke & Reitzes, 1981). As a result, identities give individuals information regarding how they should enact roles attached to certain statuses. Although there are multiple identities within the self contingent upon the extension of one's social networks, these identities are organized in a hierarchical fashion (Stryker & Serpe, 1982). That is, the likelihood of performing roles associated with the identity shifts according to the position of these roles in the identity hierarchy. The higher an identity stands in the identity hierarchy relative to other identities, the greater the chance that the identity's behavioral manifestation will be exhibited based on the person's cognitive schema.

The readiness of an identity being invoked in a given situation has been conceptualized differently by different scholars, namely, as identity salience (Stryker, 1968), prominence (McCall & Simmons, 1966), or psychological centrality (Rosenberg, 1979). For instance, a male adult may have a collection of status identities, including father status, husband status, and employee status. If his employee status is at the top of his identity hierarchy, he would be engaged in work-related activities at home even when his child and wife are around. The concept of identity salience presumes that individuals are not necessarily conscious about organizing the order of their identity hierarchy, whereas the concepts of prominence of identity and psychological centrality presume that

individuals subjectively prioritize the importance of their identities. However, the function of identity salience, prominence, and psychological centrality is quite similar as they all regulate the order of identities with one's identity hierarchy. The major determinant of the hierarchical order is *commitment*, defined as "the costs of giving up meaningful relations to others should alternative courses of action be pursued" (Stryker, 1968, p. 560), or "the sum of the forces that maintain congruity between one's identity and the implications for one's identity of the interactions and behaviors in the interactive setting" (Burke and Reitzes, 1981, p244). In other words, the degree to which one strives to maintain relationships promoting particular identities determines the location of various identities in the hierarchy.

In the process of understanding how a particular identity will be activated in a form of behavior, Burke and Reitzes (1981) suggest that *self-verification* functions as a filter through which individuals seek to patch a discrepancy between their internalized identity standards and their behavior by altering the situation or creating new situations so the meaning of the identity corresponds to the meaning of the behavior. For example, a man whose identity standard as a father requires spending time with his child should verify whether the number of hours he is with his child reaches his identity standard. If not, he may quit playing golf or find a different job so his fathering behavior meets his internalized standard. Consequently, a failure to verify congruence between identity standards and actual behavior creates negative emotions, while minimizing the discrepancy creates positive emotions (Burke & Stets, 1999). In summary, identity theory suggests that the commitment to a certain social network that supports one's identity role

boosts the standing of that identity in one's cognitive hierarchy, and thus the person is more likely to enact the identity so it matches with one's internalized standards.

STUDIES CONNECTING IDENTITY THEORY AND FATHERING

As a response to criticisms regarding a lack of theoretical guidelines among fatherhood studies, identity theory has been increasingly applied to empirical approaches to understanding fathering behavior. For example, in an attempt to develop theory to understand postdivorce fathers' disappearances from their children's lives, Ihinger-Tallman, Pasley, and Buehler (1993) conducted preliminary analyses with a convenience sample of nonresident fathers of children aged 18 or younger and found that parenting role identity was related to nonresident father contact with the child, measured as a composite of visitation frequency, writing letters, and child support payment. The parenting role identity was also related to involvement with child-related activities (e.g., helping school work, celebrating holidays, and attending school). These findings were mostly replicated by Minton and Pasley (1996) with both resident and nonresident fathers. However, Maurer, Pleck, and Rane (2001) expressed skepticism toward the results of these studies because associations found between paternal behavior and parenting satisfaction, perceived parenting competence, and parenting investment, which were used in both studies as parts of their role identity measure, could be explained without identity theory, for example, by using exchange theory and efficacy theory.

Stone and McKenry (1998) recruited well-educated, predominantly White fathers from a divorce education program and designed their study to revise the model of postdivorce father involvement introduced by Ihinger-Tallman et al. (1993), using the

same measure of parenting role identity with an addition of a father role hierarchy measure in their composite. Although they claimed that fathering role identity served a pivotal role in mediating associations between various psychosocial factors (such as positive father-child relationships, legal arrangement satisfaction, joint custody, and fathering role clarity) and nonresident divorced father behavior, the conclusiveness of the finding is unclear because they adopted the significance level at .10 with a sample size of 101 fathers, and the magnitude of the total effect of fathering role identity on father involvement was small ($\beta=.188$). Thus, additions of parental satisfaction, parenting competence, and parenting investment in composing the parenting role identity measure have caused some confusion because that conceptualization deviates from what identity theory proposes.

However, findings from studies investigating the link between paternal identity and paternal behavior have been mixed even when conceptualizations of identity theory have been employed. Some studies focused on psychological centrality which assumes that individuals deliberately assign rank order to their identities, while others focused on identity role salience which does not require consciousness in the way individuals organize their identities. In studies of White middle-class families with preschool-aged children using the Role Investments Penny-Sort Task (RIPST), in which parents sorted 15 pennies into 5 social roles (parent, spouse, worker, social, and other) according to the extent to which they invested themselves psychologically and emotionally to each role, no association was found between psychological centrality of the parental role and fathering behavior (McBride & Rane, 1997). Using mainly White middle-class fathers whose children are 18 years old or younger, however, Pasley, Futris, and Skinner (2002)

tested an identity theory model and demonstrated that the psychological centrality of the fathering role partially mediated the link between role commitment and the frequency of involvement in child-related activities.

In a study using the same sample as Pasley et al. (2002), Henley and Pasley (2005) operationalized identity salience by asking fathers for one thing that they would tell about themselves to a person whom they met for the first time, which was consistent with Stryker and Serpe's operationalization (1994). But, they were unable to find any predictive power of identity salience on fathers' performance in child-related activities. However, in a random-digit dialing telephone survey with mostly White fathers of children age 18 or younger, Bruce and Fox (1999) found a clear link between father role salience and fathering behavior. Fathers who sought out opportunities to enact the fathering role over other roles were more likely to be engaged in child-related activities (e.g., spending time together, playing together, and teaching new skills) with their youngest children. The same measure of role salience was found to predict different fathering measures (responsivity, behavioral engagement, and fathering composite) in a later study with the same sample (Fox & Bruce, 2001). Thus, the results have been inconsistent no matter which identity concept was adopted.

It appears that it is critical to distinguish between status-level roles (e.g., father, worker, husband, and friend) and domain-level roles within father status (e.g., nurturer, disciplinarian, breadwinner, and protector) when the relative importance of people's identities is gauged. In measuring identity salience and psychological centrality, most studies have been concerned with how father status is important to them relative to alternative statuses. However, internalized role expectations of father status should be

diverse depending on the social contexts in which fathers are embedded (Stryker, 1987). Hence, even when the extent to which two fathers endorse importance of father status over other statuses is equivalent, one may work long hours and seek to provide economic resources to his child because he believes that is what is expected of a father, while another may spend a long time physically taking care of his child because he rates the caretaking role as more central to his identity relative to other roles. Thus, the same level of paternal role centrality quite possibly activates different type of paternal behavior based on individuals' internalized role expectations, which has almost certainly contributed to the conflicting results found in many of the existing studies.

When fathers' psychological centrality was assessed at the domain-level by asking them for the relative importance of the nurturing role, as well as at the status-level by asking about the relative importance of the parent status, Rane and McBride (2000) found that fathers whose parent status is more central to their identity than other statuses did not report that the nurturing role is also more central to their identity, suggesting that status-level centrality is qualitatively different from domain-level centrality. In addition, the psychological centrality of the nurturing role, but not the parent status, was significantly associated with paternal involvement with children. These results indicate that assessing relative importance of specific domains of fathering role benefits further understanding.

Using domain-level role identity, Maurer et al. (2001) took a somewhat unique approach in testing identity theory by employing the theoretical framework of self-verification that Burke and Reitzes (1981) introduced. Their idea was that if behavior changed as a function of feedback gained from interactions with others, parenting role

identity should affect role performance only when social expectations attached to the identity were clear, whereas perceived reflected-appraisals (i.e., how one perceives others evaluate him as a parent) should affect role performance only when social expectations regarding the role were ambiguous. Because men's breadwinning role, but not caretaking role, has been clearly defined in the American society (Major, 1993; Parke, 1996; Thompson & Walker, 1989), fathers' breadwinning identity was postulated to predict breadwinning behavior without confusion. On the other hand, caregiving identity, which lacks consensus regarding expected behavior, was postulated to be unrelated to caregiving behavior. Rather, perceived reflected-appraisals of the father's caregiving role from their partner was postulated to predict caregiving behavior because fathers need feedback that serves as a guideline on how they should perform caregiving tasks due to ambiguous social expectations. The results from their analyses substantially supported these hypotheses.

For the purpose of methodological considerations concerning fathering identity, Maurer, Pleck, and Rane (2003) examined two different kinds of identity measures using the same two-parent families with a child aged 2 to 5 as in their previous study. One was a questionnaire scale with multiple items assessing role identities by asking fathers how important each role was to them; the other was a pie chart assessing role identities by asking fathers to divide the pie into slices according to how important each role was to them. This study stands out among other studies because the researchers not only quantified identity centrality in both status-level (e.g., father vs. husband) and domain-level (e.g., caregiving vs. breadwinning) roles, but also they conceptually separated status-level role performance (measured by a composite of fathering behavior) and

domain-level role performance (i.e., custodial caretaking functions, such as assisting the child in bathing and preparing meals for the child). Two major implications from this study include: 1) status-level paternal identity may not be a strong predictor of paternal role enactment regardless of measure types; and 2) domain-level paternal identity may be more appropriate than status-level paternal identity in investigating relationship between identity and role performance (although caregiving identity lost its predictive value for caregiving behavior when perceived reflected-appraisals were taken into account in their previous study).

In summary, existing studies have often failed to confirm the relationship between identity, regardless of the father's consciousness of his identity hierarchy, and role enactment, when only status-level identity was measured. On the contrary, domain-level identity consistently predicted paternal behavior. Based on the results from existing studies, it seems critical to measure domain-specific identity and domain-specific paternal behavior to advance our knowledge. In addition, samples of most existing studies examining identity theory were predominantly White middle-class fathers. A test of identity theory with minority groups is much needed.

HYPOTHESES OF THE PRESENT STUDY

Ogbu's cultural-ecological model (1981) clearly advocates that membership in a particular racial and ethnic group per se by no means determines fathering. It is true that certain characteristics, such as higher poverty rates, higher percentages of single parent homes, and residence in difficult or dangerous neighborhoods, are more prevalent in particular racial and ethnic minority groups. At the same time, however, substantial

numbers of families of color are intact and/or live in neighborhoods with higher economic and social capital. Given the abundant findings that socioeconomic status (Duncan & Brooks-Gunn, 1997; McLoyd, 1990), family structure (Coley, 2001; Harris & Ryan, 2004), and neighborhood contexts (Brody, Ge, & Conger, 2001; Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, & Aber, 1997) affect parenting, examination of the ways in which those ecological factors exert an influence on values and beliefs in childrearing within-groups will improve our current knowledge about the impact of cultural practices vs. contextual factors on fathering. Thus, instead of positing homogeneity in socialization goals within each group, further attempts to measure values and beliefs in childrearing within-groups is crucial.

Diversity in fathering role beliefs within each ethnic group has been well recognized (e.g., Cabrera & Garcia Coll, 2004; Roopnarine, 2004; Shwalb, Nakazawa, Yamamoto, & Hyun, 2004), yet less comprehensively studied due to a paucity of theoretical frameworks, datasets, and methodological techniques. Additionally, not enough attention has been paid to within-group variations due to contextual factors, such as SES, family structure, and neighborhood quality especially among Latino and Asian Americans. Both a cultural-ecological model (Ogbu, 1981) and identity theory (Stryker, 1968; Burke, 1980) underlie the current study. The cultural-ecological model posits that social contexts in which families of color are embedded shapes culture-specific socialization goals. That is, fathers in the same racial and ethnic group are likely to share similar socialization goals only when they also share similar surrounding ecological contexts. Identity theory presumes that fathers behave in accordance with the internalized role expectations that are constructed through social interactions. Although the

interrelations of father factors, mother factors, coparental factors, child factors, and contextual factors complexly affect fathering (Doherty, Kouneski, & Erickson, 1998), the primary scope of this study is the impact of contextual demographic factors, specifically SES and neighborhood quality because both cultural-ecological model and identity theory emphasize the role of society at large. Immigration status (father factor), maternal employment (mother factor), child sex (child factor) will be entered as covariates. In addition, African American, Latino American, and Asian American fathers who reside with their children will be the focus of this study to make meaningful comparisons, although there are many other racial and ethnic minority groups in the U.S. population.

The current study will address the following three research questions: 1) Do race and ethnicity affect differences in the psychological centrality of resident fathers' domain-specific roles? 2) Does the psychological centrality of resident fathers' domain-specific roles predict fathering role performance over and above racial and ethnic membership? 3) Do resident fathers believe that they are a good father when they perform domain-specific fathering roles that are psychologically central to them?

Research Question 1: Do race and ethnicity affect differences in the psychological centrality of resident fathers' domain-specific roles?

Because what it means to be a father presumably differs in each group, as described earlier, it is important to be attentive to culture-specific forms of father involvement to avoid an unfair evaluation of fathers of color. Nonetheless, few studies have empirically compared diversity in socialization goals across as well as within racial and ethnic groups. In the present study, I will explore how fathering role expectations are related to racial and ethnic membership to compare fathering role centrality across

groups. Within-group variations will be examined by entering contextual factors into equations. Following suggestions made by Maurer et al. (2003), domain-level paternal roles will be assessed by asking fathers which domains of the fathering role are important to them. Because the cultural-ecological model presumes that multiple generations of different styles in the social interactions within each racial and ethnic group shape their unique socialization goals, and because identity theory presumes that the social contexts in which individuals are embedded shape fathering role expectations, racial and ethnic differences in the psychological centrality of domain-level fathering roles are expected. At the same time, however, none of the single psychological centrality of domain-level fathering roles is expected to be predominant within each racial and ethnic group. In other words, although many resident fathers within the same group may prioritize the same domain-level fathering role due to sociohistorical ecological contexts they share, many other resident fathers in the same racial and ethnic group should prioritize different domain-level fathering roles due to variations in their current ecological contexts.

Hypothesis A:

Considering the high percentages of African American and Latino American families living in poverty (U.S. Census Bureau, 2006), more fathers in these groups compared to non-Hispanic White and Asian American fathers are hypothesized to believe that financial provision is more important in fathering.

Hypothesis B:

Because Asian Americans emphasize “training” children (Chao, 1994, 2001), more fathers in this group than fathers in other groups are hypothesized to believe that teaching their children is important to being a father.

Hypothesis C:

The cultural-ecological model postulated that social contexts shape socialization goals, suggesting that within-group variations will be evident when they are embedded in different social contexts. Therefore, low SES is hypothesized to increase the likelihood of endorsing the belief that financial provision is important to being a father in all racial and ethnic groups because fathers in working-class families tend to believe that providing for the family is the primary way to be involved in their children's lives (Griswold, 1993).

Hypothesis D:

Fathers in disadvantaged communities have been found to demonstrate distinctive approaches to protect their children (Letiecq & Koblinsky, 2004). Thus, low neighborhood quality is hypothesized to increase the likelihood of endorsing the belief that giving ethical guidance is important to being a father in all racial and ethnic groups.

Research Question 2: Does the psychological centrality of resident fathers' domain-specific roles predict fathering role performance over and above racial and ethnic membership?

Although domain-level psychological centrality has consistently predicted paternal role performance (Maurer et al., 2001, 2003; Rane & McBride, 2000), Maurer et al. focused only on the centrality of the caregiving and breadwinning roles, while Rane and McBride focused only on the centrality of the nurturing role. The present study extends previous work by investigating the link between the extent to which fathers endorse four domain-specific roles (i.e., playful, breadwinning, guiding, and teaching) as being important to fathering, and their involvement in these specific domains of fathering.

Hypothesis A:

Fathers whose playing role is central to their sense of self are hypothesized to play more frequently than other fathers with their children over and above racial and ethnic membership.

Hypothesis B:

Fathers whose breadwinning role is central to them are hypothesized to perform the least amount of caregiving tasks over and above racial and ethnic membership.

Hypothesis C:

Fathers whose guiding role is central to them are hypothesized to show the highest level of limit setting, decision making about childrearing, and community participation over and above racial and ethnic membership.

Hypothesis D:

Fathers whose teaching role is central to them are hypothesized to be engaged in literacy activities over and above racial and ethnic membership.

Research Question 3: Do resident fathers believe that they are a good father when they perform domain- specific fathering roles that are psychologically central to them?

As a consequence of self-verification, Burke and Reitzes (1981) suggested fathers would feel negatively when there was a discrepancy between their identity standards and their role performance and would feel positively when they were performing the role at the level they expected. However, there is no empirical support for this hypothesis in fathering studies. Sometimes people cannot perform the role-specific behaviors they think that are important to their identity. For example, even if a father believes that

providing is important, he may not always be able to meet this goal. I will test the theory by examining the extent of relationships between self-evaluation and domains of father involvement. The degree to which fathers are able to perform the role central to their sense of self is hypothesized to be associated with how they feel about themselves as a father.

Hypothesis A:

For fathers whose playing role is central to their sense of self, the more frequently they play with their children, the more positively they should evaluate themselves as a father.

Hypothesis B:

For fathers whose breadwinning role is central to their sense of self, the more they are satisfied with the level of economic resources they provide, the more positively they should evaluate themselves as a father.

Hypothesis C:

For fathers whose guiding role is central to them, the more they practice limit setting to their children, decision making about childrearing, and community participation, the more positively they should evaluate themselves as a father.

Hypothesis D:

For fathers whose teaching role is central to them, the more they are engaged in literacy activities, the more positively they should evaluate themselves as a father.

Method

SAMPLE

The Early Childhood Longitudinal Study Birth Cohort (ECLS-B) is a multisource, multimethod study that recruited a nationally representative sample of 10,688 children who were born in 2001. Children whose mothers were less than 15 years old, and children who died or were adopted before 9 months old were excluded from recruitment. Individual birth certificates were sampled within a set of Primary Sampling Units (PSUs) from data files provided by state registrars. Also, specific groups of children (e.g., American Indians, Asian and Pacific Islanders, low birth weight infants, and twins) were oversampled to allow systematic comparisons between groups. Trained field staffs visited participants home and conducted a computer-assisted personal interview with primary caregivers. In almost all cases, the respondents of the interview were the children's biological mothers. During the home visit, the primary caregivers identified their spouse or partner who was living in the household. The resident fathers were asked to complete a self-administered questionnaire while the data were collected from the primary caregivers and children. If resident fathers were not present during the home visits, a hard-copy of the questionnaire and a self-addressed postage-paid envelope were left in the home so they could mail a completed questionnaire later.

The study was mainly developed by the U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) in partnership with several federal education and health policy agencies to better understand children's early development and their experience in both formal and informal child care. The children in the ECLS-B are being

followed longitudinally at approximately 9 months, 2 years, preschool ages (4 to 5 years) and kindergarten ages (5 to 6 years). Currently, the first two waves of the data have been released. The present study used a father-report self-administered questionnaire from the second wave because the first wave data do not contain important manifestations of paternal involvement (e.g., teaching, limit setting, and community participation) due to the developmental stage of the children, and because their neighborhood quality, which is a part of the central scope of this study, was not assessed at the first wave. A total of 101 fathers who completed the personal interview were also excluded because two out of eight domains of father involvement used in this study were not collected. Thus, the analysis consists of 308 African American fathers, 598 Latino American fathers, 580 Asian American fathers, and 2813 non-Hispanic, White fathers who completed resident father questionnaire. Within Latino sample, 67% were Mexican origins, 8% were Puerto Rican origins, 2% were Cuban origins, and 23% were from other countries. Within Asian sample, 43% were Chinese origins, 24% were Indian origins, 9% were Filipino origins, 8% were Vietnamese origins, the rest were from Korea, Japan, or other countries. Demographic characteristics of these fathers are shown in Table 1.

MEASURES

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS (SES). The ECLS-B provides household composites based on its sample's demographic characteristics raw data. The SES composite consisted of father's (male guardian's) and mother's (female guardian's) education, father's (male guardian's) and mother's (female guardian's) occupation, and household income.

Missing values were imputed using a hot deck method, which calculated missing values

from the patterns of similar respondents (for details of the procedure, see Little & Rubin, 2002). Each component was converted to a z-score with its weighted mean and standard deviation. (Log transformations have been performed on household income because its distribution was less skewed than that of the direct values.). Then, SES was imputed from average z-scores of all components. A copy of this measure can be found in Appendix A.

NEIGHBORHOOD QUALITY. During the home visit interview, primary caregivers, who were the children's biological mothers in most of the cases, were asked to rate their neighborhood as a place to raise children on a 5-point scale (1 = *excellent*, 5 = *poor*). The primary caregivers were also asked to rate the safety level of their neighborhood on a 4-point scale (1 = *very safe*, 4 = *very unsafe*). The original scores were reversed and converted to z-scores with their weighted means and standard deviations so the higher numbers reflect better neighborhood quality. The neighborhood quality scores were the average z-scores of the two items. A copy of this measure can be found in Appendix B.

CENTRALITY OF FATHERING ROLES. With a choice of six items, fathers ranked the three most important things that fathers do. The choices were: "Showing my child love and affection," "Taking time to play with my child," "Taking care of my child financially," "Giving my child moral and ethical guidance," "Making sure my child is safe and protected," and "Teaching my child and encouraging his or her curiosity" For each case, the scores were dichotomized such that items selected as one of the top three choices were given the score one, while unselected items were given the score zero.

SELF-EVALUATION AS A FATHER. Fathers were asked to select how they feel about themselves as a father from five statements. Those five statements were: *Not very good at being a father; A person who has some trouble being a father; An average*

father; A better than average father; A very good father. Because only less than 2% of fathers selected the most negative and the second most negative statements, the scores of fathers who selected the first three negative statements were combined so that there were three levels of scores (0 being the lowest self-evaluation, 2 being the highest self-evaluation). A copy of this measure can be found in Appendix C.

FATHER INVOLVEMENT. Given the diversity in cultural manifestations of paternal involvement (Hawkins & Palkovitz, 1999), multiple forms of father involvement were assessed. All of the following father involvement subscales were converted to z-scores using weighted means and standard deviations, and averaged unless it specified. Appropriate reverse coding was performed when necessary so high scores in each subscale represent high engagement in that category. Three items were used to assess *literacy engagement*. Fathers were asked to rate on a 4-point scale how frequently they read books, tell stories, and sing songs with their children. The Cronbach alpha of this subscale was .67. For *play*, fathers were asked to rate on a 6-point scale how frequently they were engaged in the following four activities with their children: Chasing games, a ride on father's shoulders, indoor play and outside play. The Cronbach alpha of this subscale was .73. For *caregiving*, fathers were asked to rate on a 6-point scale how frequently they were engaged in the following seven tasks: Preparing meals, changing diapers or helping toilet usages, bedding, bathing, dressing, assisting eating, and helping brushing teeth. The Cronbach alpha of this subscale was .85. For *limit setting*, fathers were given 11 choices of ways they would respond to child misbehavior, such as hitting them, yelling at them, or throwing a temper tantrum.

Fathers were asked to select either yes or no for each hypothetical response to child misbehavior. Some of the responses were not age-appropriate (e.g., make him/her do some work around the house) or were somewhat abusive (e.g., hit him/her back, make fun of him/her, and yell at or threaten him/her), and thus were not included. The remaining five items were used as an index of limit setting behavior. Those five responses were: have him/her take a time out, talk to him/her about what he/she did wrong, make him/her apologize, take away a privilege, and give a warning. For *physical affection*, fathers were asked to rate on a 5-point scale how likely the following statement described them. "I express my affection by hugging, kissing, and holding my children." For *decision making*, fathers were asked to rate on a 3-point scale how much influence they have in making decisions about discipline, nutrition, health care, and child care. The Cronbach alpha of this subscale was .79. For *community participation*, fathers were asked whether they are involved in any ongoing community service activity (e.g., volunteering at school, coaching a sports team, or working with a church or neighborhood association) by answering yes or no. For *economic provision*, fathers were asked to rate on a 4-point scale how satisfied they are with their level of income, the amount of money for family necessities, their ability to handle financial emergencies, the amount of money they owe, their level of savings, and the amount of money for future needs of their family. The Cronbach alpha of this subscale was .89. A copy of this measure can be found in Appendix D.

Results

Research Question 1: Do race and ethnicity affect differences in the psychological centrality of resident fathers' domain-specific roles?

Considering the sample size of the current study, the significance level has been set at p-value of .01 for all of the following analyses. A series of confirmatory Latent Class Analyses (LCA) was conducted using Mplus (Muthén & Muthén, 2004) to identify psychological centrality of domain-level fathering roles among four different racial and ethnic groups. Because the ECLS-B used a clustered, list frame sampling design to ensure adequate sample size of certain groups, probability weights, strata, and Primary Sampling Units (PSU) will be applied for the following analyses.

Approximately 90% of fathers believed showing love and affection is important as a father and about 70% of fathers believed protecting their children is important. What could distinguish each latent psychological centrality from others was therefore the degree of importance of the remaining four items. For the purpose of group comparison, these four psychological centralities were conceptually identified prior to data analyses: *playful*, *breadwinning*, *guiding*, and *teaching*. Thus, all of *playful* fathers were constrained to choose playing with the child was one of the three important fathering roles as a father. Similarly, taking care of financial responsibility for *breadwinning* fathers, giving ethical guidance for *guiding* fathers, and encouraging curiosity for *teaching* fathers were constrained so everyone in each group of fathers chose the specific items. SES and neighborhood quality, as well as immigration status, maternal employment, and child sex were entered as covariates to investigate how these contextual factors affect fathers' psychological centrality.

A series of confirmatory LCA indeed identified four psychological centralities of fathering roles for each racial and ethnic group. Entropy from each model suggests that the confirmatory LCA models accurately predicted membership classifications based on fathers' response patterns (.996 for African Americans, 1.00 for Latino Americans, 1.00 for Asian Americans, 1.00 for non-Hispanic, Whites). Although both Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) and Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) were smaller when the number of psychological centralities estimated was increased to five, the Vuong-Lo-Mendell-Rubin tests suggest that there were no significant differences between four latent class models and five latent class models for all groups except non-Hispanic, White fathers. For this group, the five class model was better than the four class model. However, the fifth class did not theoretically reflect specific psychological centrality of fathering roles because approximately half of the fathers who were classified in this class believed that playing with their children, providing for their children, giving their children moral and ethical guidance, and encouraging their children curiosity are important as a father. Hence, four class models from all groups have been interpreted for the following analyses (see Table 2).

To answer the question of differences in the centrality of fathering roles across racial and ethnic groups, proportions of each latent psychological centrality for each racial and ethnic group were compared by a chi-square test. As hypothesized, there were more breadwinning fathers who believe that it is important to take care of their children financially as a father among African Americans (29.1%) compared to other racial and ethnic groups. The standardized residual from the chi-square test indicated that the number of African American fathers who were classified as breadwinning fathers was

significantly more than expected ($z = 3.16, p < .001$), while the number of fathers in other racial and ethnic groups was not significantly different from their expected values. The proportion of guiding fathers who believe that it is important to give their children moral and ethical guidance as a father among African Americans (36.7%) was also the highest in the four racial and ethnic groups ($z = 3.28, p < .001$). Teaching fathers who endorse encouragement of children's curiosity were the most common among Asian Americans (29.9%) as predicted ($z = 4.40, p < .001$). In contrast, the proportion of breadwinning fathers among Latinos (21.6%) was not higher than that of other racial and ethnic groups, but there were more playful fathers than expected ($z = 3.58, p < .001$). For detailed proportions of each group, see Figure 1.

Consistent with the cultural-ecological model, social contexts had a strong impact on fathers' psychological centrality. As hypothesized, fathers with lower SES were more likely to be classified as breadwinning fathers, compared to guiding fathers ($t = 3.29, p < .001$) among African Americans; compared to guiding fathers ($t = 2.58, p < .01$) and teaching fathers ($t = 2.67, p < .01$) among Latino Americans; and compared to playful fathers ($t = 3.70, p < .001$), guiding fathers ($t = 3.61, p < .001$), and teaching fathers ($t = 6.22, p < .001$) among non-Hispanic, Whites.

In addition, low neighborhood quality predictably increased the likelihood of being classified as guiding fathers ($t = 3.71, p < .001$ vs. breadwinning fathers) and teaching fathers ($t = 3.71, p < .001$ vs. breadwinning fathers), although these relations were only evident among African Americans. Child sex also influenced fathers' psychological centrality, such that fathers of boys were more likely to believe that playing with their children is important as a father, whereas fathers of girls were more

likely to believe that giving ethical guidance is important as a father among non-Hispanic, Whites ($t = 2.66, p < .01$). Also, Latinos who were born outside of the U.S. were more likely than U.S. born Latinos to believe that playing with children is important ($t = -2.95, p < .01$ vs. breadwinning fathers).

Research Question 2: Does the psychological centrality of resident fathers' domain-specific roles predict fathering role performance over and above racial and ethnic membership?

To test associations between the four domain-level psychological centralities from the LCA and specific domains of fathering, a series of multiple regressions for complex sampling survey (i.e., probability weights, strata, and PSU were identified for each estimation) were performed for each domain of father involvement by using STATA. Because it is argued in the current study that the effects of within-group variations override that of race and ethnicity, multiple regressions were structured to examine if contextual factors and fathers' domain-level psychological centralities affect fathering role performance over and above race and ethnicity by testing three models. The first model (Model 1) concerned the effect of racial and ethnic membership on each father involvement domain by marking non-Hispanic, White fathers as a reference group. Model 2 added SES and neighborhood quality along with immigration status, maternal employment, and child sex to examine whether these contextual factors affect fathering behavior over and above racial and ethnic group membership. Model 3 added the fathering role centralities with playful fathers (Hypothesis A), breadwinning fathers (Hypothesis B), guiding fathers (Hypothesis C), or teaching fathers (Hypothesis D) as a

reference group to examine whether the psychological centrality of fathering roles predict role performance over and above racial and ethnic membership.

Although Asian fathers were less likely to engage in playing with their children than non-Hispanic, White fathers ($t = -3.38, p < .001$), this relation disappeared once effects of contextual factors were considered. Fathers with sons ($t = 5.06, p < .001$), employed wives ($t = 5.50, p < .001$), and low SES ($t = -5.04, p < .001$) were more likely than fathers with daughters, unemployed wives, and high SES to play with their children. As hypothesized, fathers whose playing role is central to them spent more time than guiding fathers ($t = -4.03, p < .001$) playing with their children, over and above racial and ethnic membership (see Table 3).

African American fathers were more involved in caregiving tasks than non-Hispanic, White fathers even after contextual factors and psychological centralities were taken into account ($t = 3.27, p < .01$). Fathers with sons ($t = 3.05, p < .01$) and employed wives ($t = 7.65, p < .001$) performed more caregiving tasks than fathers with daughters and unemployed wives. Fathers whose breadwinning role is central to them performed less caregiving tasks than playful ($t = 2.91, p < .01$) and teaching fathers ($t = 3.84, p < .001$) over and above racial and ethnic membership as predicted (see Table 4).

African American fathers practiced less limit setting ($t = -3.43, p < .001$), and Latino American fathers had a stronger influence in making decisions about childrearing ($t = 3.26, p < .01$) even after contextual factors and psychological centralities were controlled. Maternal employment promoted husbands' decision making about childrearing ($t = 4.31, p < .001$). Fathers who were born outside the U.S. were less likely to set limit on their children's behavior ($t = -5.08, p < .001$) and also less likely to

participate in community activities ($t = -3.71, p < .001$), compared to U.S. born fathers. Fathers with high SES than low SES did more limit setting ($t = 2.67, p < .01$) and participated more in community activities ($t = 7.17, p < .001$). Although fathers whose guiding role is central to them did not implement limit setting more than other fathers, guiding fathers were more influential in making decisions about childrearing compared to playful fathers ($t = -3.06, p < .01$) and breadwinning fathers ($t = -3.47, p < .001$), and were more likely to participate in community activities compared to breadwinning fathers ($t = -3.71, p < .001$) over and above racial and ethnic membership as hypothesized (see Tables 5, and 6, 7).

After contextual factors were controlled, racial and ethnic group membership lost their predictive power for literacy engagement. SES was a strong predictor, such that an increase on SES enhanced the chance of being involved in literacy activities with their children ($t = 7.51, p < .001$). In accord with prediction, fathers whose teaching role is central to them were engaged in literacy activities the most frequently ($t = -3.30, p < .001$ vs. breadwinning fathers; $t = -3.16, p < .01$ vs. guiding fathers) over and above racial and ethnic membership (see Table 8).

Research Question 3: Do resident fathers believe that they are a good father when they perform domain- specific fathering roles that are psychologically central to them?

To test whether fathers' self-evaluations are affected by self-verification, a series of ordinal logistic regressions were employed by groups created by the LCA. Because eight domains of father involvement, which potentially intercorrelate, were entered into the same equation as independent variables, multicollinearity diagnostics were conducted

to avoid unreliable estimations prior to analyses. Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) reflects the degree to which the variance of its coefficient estimation is inflated by multicollinearity. The square root of VIF for each domain of father involvement was under two (from 1.01 to 1.26), representing that those domains of father involvement are indeed different constructs (Fox, 1991). Using STATA, sampling design effects (i.e., probability weights, strata, and PSU) were taken into account in the following estimation. The ordinal logistic regression has been selected because there were three ordinal responses for the outcome variable. Similar to analyses conducted to examine research question 2, the effect of racial and ethnic membership were investigated in Model 1. Contextual factors were added to Model 2 and the domains of father involvement were added to Model 3.

For playful fathers, physical affection ($t = 2.73, p < .01$) and economic provision ($t = 2.92, p < .01$) were related to self evaluation as a father. The degree to which fathers were involved in playing with their children did not predict the way they feel about themselves as a father, contrary to the hypothesis (see Table 9). For breadwinning fathers, consistent with the hypothesis, being satisfied with the level of economic provision to the family was linked to self evaluation as a father ($t = 4.33, p < .001$). Literacy engagement ($t = 3.86, p < .001$), physical affection ($t = 3.98, p < .001$), and decision making ($t = 3.86, p < .001$) was associated with how they evaluate themselves as a father along with economic provision (see Table 10). For guiding fathers, decision making about childrearing predicted self evaluation as a father as hypothesized ($t = 3.21, p < .01$). Although limit setting was marginally related and community participation was unrelated to guiding fathers' self evaluation, literacy engagement ($t = 2.79, p < .01$), playing ($t =$

2.63, $p < .01$), economic provision ($t = 3.11$, $p < .01$) were also related to self evaluation as a father (see Table 11). For teaching fathers, as predicted, literacy engagement was one of the determinants that influenced how fathers feel themselves as a father ($t = 3.27$, $p < .01$). Physical affection ($t = 2.70$, $p < .01$), decision making about childrearing ($t = 3.24$, $p < .01$), and economic provision ($t = 4.25$, $p < .001$) were also associated to self evaluation (see Table 12).

Discussion

Due to a paucity of datasets, theoretical frameworks, and methodological techniques, the meanings of fathering across racial and ethnic groups have not been well understood. The implicit assumption of a large number of existing studies was the universality of an ideal father figure, such that greater father involvement is always viewed as favorable (Palkovitz, 1997). However, meanings of paternal involvement are likely to vary depending on the individuals' ecological contexts as well as cultural beliefs and values. A simple mean comparison between minority groups and White middle-class samples under the assumption that the majority culture is normative could perpetuate stereotypes and negative portrayals of minority fathers because it gives the impression that all of the fathers in a group with a high mean score are exclusively different from fathers in different groups. Rather, in the present study, I investigated the impact of ecological factors on what it means to be a good father and on domain-specific fathering role performance, so within-group variation can be considered.

To investigate how contextual factors contribute to beliefs in fathering and fathering practices, the present study was framed by two conceptual models that posit that

social contexts in which families of color are embedded shape culture-specific socialization goals (cultural-ecological model) and socialization goals (i.e., internalized role expectation) determine fathering role performance (identity theory). Thus, both conceptual models recognize variability in fathering role performance not due to race and ethnicity, but due to contextual factors which exert strong influence on beliefs in fathering. This study corresponds to an emergent demand because not enough attention has been paid to within-group variations based on contextual factors, particularly among Latino American and Asian American fathers.

DO RACE AND ETHNICITY AFFECT DIFFERENCES IN THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CENTRALITY OF RESIDENT FATHERS' DOMAIN-SPECIFIC ROLES?

Consistent with the cultural-ecological model (Ogbu, 1981), which posits that ecological conditions shapes culture-specific socialization goals, there were notably more breadwinning fathers who endorse providing for their children and more guiding fathers who endorse giving moral and ethical guidance than other fathers with different psychological centralities among African American fathers, perhaps because higher poverty rates and unemployment are disproportionately prevalent among them (Hernandez & Brandon, 2002). These results also support findings of strong emphasis on children's obedience to adults and compliance with parental rules among African Americans (Smetana & Asquith, 1994; Smetana, 2000). As expected, teaching fathers who believe teaching and encouraging children's curiosity is important as a father were exceedingly common among Asian American, which supports Chao's (1994, 2001) argument about Asian parents' dedication to "training" children. In the current literature, it is not explicitly explained why there are so many Latino fathers who believe playing

with their children is important. Notable demographic characteristics among Latino fathers in this sample include younger age, less education, longer hours of work, and less likelihood to be married compared to other groups. In addition, adherence to traditional values regarding gender is strongly represented in terms of *Marianismo* and *Machismo*. Perhaps because Latino fathers often believe that caregiving is the mothers' sphere, and because their occupations typically leave little time and energy with their children due to lack of education and experience, many Latino fathers may believe that taking time to play with their children when they can is more important than other forms of fathering.

At the same time, significant within-group variation was found partly because their current conditions are vastly multifarious. No psychological centrality gained support from more than 40% of fathers in each group. Although there were a few psychological centralities supported by a certain group, many fathers in the same group prioritized diverse fathering roles due to variations in their current ecological contexts. Specifically, among African Americans, Latino Americans, and non-Hispanic White fathers, the lower their SES, the more likely that they believe that providing for their children is central. The finding is consistent with previous work (Griswold, 1993) suggesting that working-class fathers tend to believe that providing for the family is the primary way to be involved in their children's lives.

In addition, low neighborhood quality predictably increased the likelihood of endorsing the belief that giving ethical guidance, as well as teaching children, is important to being a father, although these relations were only evident among African Americans. This result corresponds well to a qualitative study (Letiecq & Koblinsky, 2004) in which the authors found that African American fathers in violent communities

demonstrate distinctive approaches to protect their children by keeping them away from potential dangers, teaching them about safety, and confronting community issues.

Approaches that fathers of different racial and ethnic groups in disadvantaged communities take cannot be inferred from the current results. But, it is important to examine why neighborhood quality was unrelated to fathering psychological centrality in other racial and ethnic groups to advance our knowledge.

As predicted, the answer to the research question “*Do race and ethnicity affect differences in the psychological centrality of resident fathers’ domain-specific roles?*” is yes and no. Due to sociohistorical ecological contexts that fathers in the same racial and ethnic group share, many fathers in the same group had the same psychological centrality. However, the heterogeneity of the psychological centrality within each group was remarkable. Instead of positing homogeneity in the definition of a good father within each group, it is essential to recognize the effect of ecological contexts on the fathering psychological centrality.

DOES THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CENTRALITY OF RESIDENT FATHERS’ DOMAIN-SPECIFIC ROLES PREDICT FATHERING ROLE PERFORMANCE OVER AND ABOVE RACIAL AND ETHNIC MEMBERSHIP?

One of the strengths of the present study is the assessment of father involvement in multiple domains, which were measured for two reasons. First, the use of multiple domains is more likely to be sensitive to culture-specific definitions of father involvement. Second, in the existing literature, there is strong evidence of links between domain-level fathering identity and fathering role performance. The present study was designed to test identity theory by examining the associations between domain-level

psychological centralities and domain-specific fathering performances, and also to test whether effects of psychological centralities and contextual factors override those of race and ethnicity to avoid an unfair evaluation of fathers of color. Overall, the results from this study considerably buttressed identity theory.

When fathers believe that playing with their children is important to do in their role as a father, they were more likely to play with children than fathers with different priorities, even after race and ethnicity and contextual factors were controlled. Similarly, fathers who believe that providing for their children is important were less likely to conduct physical caregiving; fathers who believe that giving moral and ethical guidance is important were more likely to be involved in decision making about childrearing and community activities; and fathers who believe that teaching children and encouraging children's curiosity is important were more likely to educate children by reading, telling stories, and singing together. Such findings are a significant extension from previous studies that have focused on only on caregiving and breadwinning roles (Maurer et al., 2001, 2003) and nurturing roles (Rane & McBride, 2000).

It is important to note that many racial and ethnic differences in father involvement faded out once contextual factors were taken into account. Even though some racial and ethnic effects stayed significant after contextual factors and psychological centralities were entered into the equations, it seems those racial and ethnic differences strongly confound contextual factors. For example, similar to another national sample study (Hofferth, 2003), African American fathers performed caregiving tasks more frequently than non-Hispanic White fathers. This link may be explained by the high percentage of their wives (50.8%) who are employed at least 35 hours per week,

compared to the rate of maternal employment among Latinos (33.6%), Asians (37.4%), and non-Hispanic Whites (31.0%). The current results showed that maternal employment indeed predicted fathers' caregiving, as well as fathers' playing and decision making, which is comparable to existing studies (e.g., NICHD Early Child Care Research Network, 2000; Pleck, 1997). In addition, although African American fathers practiced less limit setting compared to non-Hispanic Whites, the result was confounded with significant SES effects on limit setting, considering the low average SES among African American families. Thus, these findings are another piece of evidence that considerations of ecological contexts are essential in interpreting racial and ethnic differences.

DO RESIDENT FATHERS BELIEVE THAT THEY ARE A GOOD FATHER WHEN THEY PERFORM DOMAIN- SPECIFIC FATHERING ROLES THAT ARE PSYCHOLOGICALLY CENTRAL TO THEM?

The last research question concerned the consequences of paternal role performance in relation to the corresponding psychological centrality. Prior to a discussion of this research question, however, it is noteworthy that the predominant majority of fathers believed that they are at least average fathers. When fathers were asked to rate themselves as a father, less than 2% of fathers selected negatively stated sentences: namely "*Not very good at being a father*", "*A person who has some trouble being a father.*" Considering that as many as 33% of children ages 0-17 did not live with two married parents in 2006 (Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics, 2007), combined with the fact that race and ethnicity and contextual factors were mostly unrelated to the self-evaluation as a father, fathers in this study might have rated themselves positively because they are at least living together with their children.

Fathers were predicted to feel that they were a good father when they performed a specific fathering role that is central to their identity. This hypothesis was partially supported because economic provision for breadwinning fathers, decision making for guiding fathers, and literacy engagement for teaching fathers were associated with self evaluation as a father. However, regardless of their psychological centrality, all fathers with different beliefs felt that they were a good father when they were satisfied with their level of economic provision. Showing physical affection, engaging in literacy activities, and influencing decision making about childrearing were also sources for almost all fathers to evaluate themselves favorably. Interestingly, the degree to which fathers performed caregiving tasks was unrelated to how they felt about themselves as a father no matter what fathering role identity they had.

Taken together, contemporary American fathers still appear to keep provider role in mind when they judge their performance as a father, even if fathering roles other than provider role are central to self. However, it is important to distinguish that possessing higher capital does not necessarily lead to positive self-evaluation considering no relation was found between SES and self evaluation. That is, fathers' ratings of their own fathering performance were related more to achieving their own standards regarding provision of economic resources than to the absolute value of these resources. The current results also suggest the reason why fathers do less caregiving despite family demands. According to identity theory, individuals change their behavior to fill a gap between their role standards and their role performance (Burke & Reitzes, 1981). Because the extent of caregiving performance is not included in the process of fathering evaluation, there may be no gap between fathers' internalized caregiving standards and

their current performance. Given the premise that the internalized role expectations are set by the society, contemporary society at large still appears to script traditional divisions of labor.

LIMITATIONS

There are three key limitations regarding the present study. The first limitation concerns the validity of the father involvement constructs. Based on the past conceptualization of father involvement (Hawkins et al., 2002; Hawkins & Palkovitz, 1999; Palkovitz, 1997), the present study has strived to include multiple domains of father involvement, many of which have been excluded from past studies. The present study uses eight forms of father involvement due to the data availability: namely *literacy engagement, play, caregiving, limit setting, physical affection, decision making, community participation, and economic provision*. However, some other important forms, especially socioemotional domains of father involvement (e.g., sensitivity, protectiveness, and emotional support) could not be considered due to data unavailability. It is also extremely important to be attentive to the meanings of each construct between as well as within racial and ethnic groups. For instance, limit setting in this study was assessed by an index of limit setting behavior as a response to their children's misbehavior. However, people believe in different styles of limit setting. In some cases, physical forms of limit setting, such as spanking and pinching, are acceptable, whereas such actions are unacceptable to other people. Because the current study includes people from diverse background, the results must be interpreted cautiously.

The second limitation concerns the exclusion of other possible ecological factors. The main focus of this study was macro level ecological factors, namely, SES and neighborhood quality based on the theoretical assumptions central to both the cultural-ecological model (Ogbu, 1981) and identity theory (Stryker, 1968; Burke & Reitzes, 1981). Family ecology includes more micro level ecological factors, including mother factors, coparental factors, and child factors that are likely to influence fathering identity but are less central to the cultural-ecological model. Although immigration status, maternal employment, and child sex were entered as covariates, other variables that could impact fathering identity, including mothers' reflected appraisals of paternal role performance, marital and coparenting quality, and father-child relationship quality, were not possible to include due to data unavailability. In addition, family structure has been found to affect fathering (Coley, 2001; Harris & Ryan, 2004), but nonresident fathers have not been included to the present study because their questionnaire was not entirely parallel to the one resident fathers completed.

Finally, specific cultural values, such as strict parenting among African Americans, *Machismo* among Latino Americans, and *Confucianism* among Asian Americans, have not been assessed, although the present study assumed cultural values influence fathering identity. Future studies should decipher the relations between cultural values and fathering identity by directly assessing cultural values rather than using a racial and ethnic membership as proxy of cultural values. In addition, it is uncertain how acculturation affects fathering identity, although this is mainly relevant for Latino and Asian fathers. The present study included immigration status measured by asking whether fathers were American born, but immigration status is only a proxy of acculturation level.

Ages when individuals entered the U.S. absolutely influence the degree to which they will be acculturated to the American culture. Although there is limited empirical evidence suggesting that the level of acculturation is linked not only to values and beliefs concerning parenting roles but also to parenting practices, there is no consensus regarding the best assessment of acculturation. The ECLS-B has not measured the length of U.S. residence or psychological embracement of their original culture, both of which are necessary to understand the level of acculturation holistically. Further discussion of the way acculturation should be operationalized will trigger more comprehensive assessments of acculturation in the future.

Conclusion

Considering the diversifying populations on American soil, the dearth of knowledge about fathers of color makes it difficult to understand their arising unique needs. In studying fathers of color, previous approaches often resulted in the unwitting spread of stereotypical images by contrasting minority fathers from at-risk populations with middle-class White fathers, because such approaches failed to consider the confounding effects of contextual factors on fathering and to include multiple forms of father involvement. Many studies often assumed that individuals in the same racial and ethnic group are homogeneous, such that they share the same environmental factors and socialization goals. Yet, a growing body of studies examining within-group variations have proved this is not an accurate assumption. Although a remarkable growth in our knowledge has been made by carefully examining the impact of ecological factors, including economic resources, family demographics, neighborhood characteristics, on

parenting values and practices, not enough attention has been paid to investigate the impact of those ecological factors especially among Latino and Asian Americans.

The present study sought to examine how ecological factors affect fathering identity and fathering performance, rather than focusing only on racial and ethnic comparisons. Findings from this study revealed that what it means to be a good father is dependent in large part upon variations in contextual factors because expected fathering roles vary according to circumstances to which families belong. When a family resides in a neighborhood with undesirable qualities for raising children, for example, the father is more likely to believe that guiding children is important as a father, and thus more likely to be involved in decision making about childrearing and in community activities so he can give his child guidance. In return, he is more likely to rate himself as a good father because he satisfies fathering roles that he believes important as a father. Thus, racial and ethnic memberships play a minimal role in this process.

Future research should investigate other important factors that may influence fathering identity. As well as cultural values identified above, relationships with their wives or partners are very likely to influence fathering role expectations. Given available research findings that illustrate the effects of wives' perceptions about fathering roles on fathering performance (DeLuccie, 1995; Maurer et al, 2001; McBride, Brown, Bost, Shin, Vaughn, & Korth, 2005), there is little doubt that both wives and husbands are pivotal sources in shaping what it means to be a good father within the marital unions. Future studies should include how wives' perceptions about fatherhood affect husbands' fathering identity to tease out the magnitude of contextual effects.

Nevertheless, results from this study clearly show that racial and ethnic differences in fathering performance are subtle once contextual factors are taken into account. There was powerful evidence to suggest that fathering identity derived from contextual factors distinctly determines fathering role performance. That is, it seems that fathers participate in a certain domain of father involvement to meet needs corresponding to their circumstances, not because of their skin color. It is especially remarkable that almost all fathers, regardless of their race and ethnicity, believe that showing love and affection to their children is important as a father. The cultural differences may lie in the way they express love and affection based on their values. More in-depth investigations of cultural values are necessary to unveil the relation between cultural values and fathering identity. Although there are still multiple challenges we have to conquer to understand fathers of color, recent theoretical and methodological advancement in research on fathers of color is promising.

Table 1. Sociodemographic Characteristics: Weighted Mean, or Percentage Estimations

Variables	African Americans (n = 308)	Latino Americans (n = 598)	Asian Americans (n = 580)	Non-Hispanic Whites (n = 2813)	F
<i>Father characteristics</i>					
Age	32.7	31.8	35.3	33.5	23.73**
Education level					
Less than high school	12.5%	46.9%	6.7%	10.2%	
High school graduate	59.8%	39.8%	28.7%	49.9%	
College graduate or higher	27.6%	13.3%	64.6%	40.0%	92.43**
Employed (>35h/week)	75.2%	86.8%	85.6%	89.0%	6.84**
Non-US born	19.7%	60.3%	86.2%	4.4%	534.83**
<i>Mother characteristics</i>					
Age	30.1	29.2	32.0	31.3	15.53**
Education level					
Less than high school	12.4%	43.2%	13.0%	11.4%	
High school graduate	59.1%	44.8%	28.4%	48.7%	
College graduate or higher	28.5%	12.1%	58.7%	39.9%	59.23**
Employed (>35h/week)	50.8%	33.6%	37.4%	31.0%	10.28**
<i>Child characteristics</i>					
Sex (male)	51.6%	48.2%	50.2%	52.3%	.52
<i>Household characteristics</i>					
Married	80.4%	72.4%	97.5%	92.3%	31.86**
Number of children	2.39	2.31	1.85	2.11	11.93**
Annual income					
<\$15k	6.7%	12.1%	4.1%	3.8%	
\$15k - \$30k	24.8%	38.2%	12.7%	13.0%	
\$30k - \$50k	26.1%	25.6%	17.3%	21.7%	
\$50k - \$75k	21.3%	12.6%	19.6%	24.6%	
>\$75k	21.2%	11.5%	46.4%	36.9%	29.29**

* $p < .01$. ** $p < .001$.

Table 2. Information criteria for Latent Class Analyses assuming 4 classes and 5 classes

	African Americans		Latino Americans		Asian Americans		Non-Hispanic Whites	
	4 classes	5 classes	4 classes	5 classes	4 classes	5 classes	4 classes	5 classes
AIC	1788.65	1695.11	3382.36	3201.64	3792.72	3663.07	16458.90	15679.42
BIC	1930.39	1881.62	3549.32	3421.32	3958.51	3881.22	16684.70	15976.52
Entropy	0.996	0.994	1.000	1.000	1.000	0.997	1.000	1.000
Vuong-Lo-Mendell-Rubin Likelihood	12287.63*	1726.78	23365.44**	1549.14	16263.01*	1198.75	22360.94**	1292.48*

* $p < .01$. ** $p < .001$.

Table 3. Results from Multiple Regressions for Play

Predictors	Model 1 (Race and Ethnicity)		Model 2 (Contextual factors)		Model 3 (Psychological centrality)	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Race and Ethnicity						
African Americans	0.02	0.06	-0.02	0.06	0.00	0.06
Latino Americans	0.06	0.04	0.03	0.05	0.04	0.05
Asian Americans	-0.17**	0.05	-0.09	0.07	-0.07	0.07
Contextual factors						
SES			-0.11**	0.02	-0.11**	0.02
Neighborhood quality			0.02	0.02	0.01	0.02
Immigration status			-0.07	0.05	-0.08	0.05
Maternal employment			0.17**	0.03	0.17**	0.03
Child sex (male)			0.14**	0.03	0.13**	0.03
Psychological centrality						
Breadwinning					-0.08+	0.04
Guiding					-0.13**	0.03
Teaching					-0.04	0.04
<i>F</i>		5.44*		12.14**		10.87**

+ $p < .05$. * $p < .01$. ** $p < .001$.

Table 4. Results from Multiple Regressions for Caregiving

Predictors	Model 1 (Race and Ethnicity)		Model 2 (Contextual factors)		Model 3 (Psychological centrality)	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Race and Ethnicity						
African Americans	0.15**	0.04	0.11*	0.04	0.13*	0.04
Latino Americans	-0.02	0.05	0.03	0.06	0.04	0.06
Asian Americans	-0.08	0.06	-0.02	0.08	-0.00	0.08
Contextual factors						
SES			-0.00	0.02	-0.01	0.02
Neighborhood quality			-0.00	0.02	-0.00	0.02
Immigration status			-0.09	0.06	-0.11	0.06
Maternal employment			0.25**	0.03	0.24**	0.03
Child sex (male)			0.10*	0.03	0.10*	0.03
Psychological centrality						
Playful					0.13*	0.04
Guiding					0.07	0.05
Teaching					0.16**	0.04
<i>F</i>		5.96*		9.01**		7.93**

+ $p < .05$. * $p < .01$. ** $p < .001$.

Table 5. Results from Multiple Regressions for Limit Setting

Predictors	Model 1 (Race and Ethnicity)		Model 2 (Contextual factors)		Model 3 (Psychological centrality)	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Race and Ethnicity						
African Americans	-0.30**	0.07	-0.24*	0.07	-0.25*	0.07
Latino Americans	-0.42**	0.06	-0.15+	0.06	-0.15+	0.06
Asian Americans	-0.30**	0.06	-0.03	0.08	-0.04	0.08
Contextual factors						
SES			0.09*	0.03	0.08*	0.03
Neighborhood quality			0.00	0.03	0.00	0.03
Immigration status			-0.37**	0.07	-0.36**	0.07
Maternal employment			0.09+	0.04	0.09+	0.04
Child sex (male)			-0.04	0.04	-0.03	0.04
Psychological centrality						
Playful					-0.09	0.06
Breadwinning					-0.06	0.07
Teaching					-0.03	0.06
<i>F</i>		22.59**		9.98**		7.30**

+ $p < .05$. * $p < .01$. ** $p < .001$.

Table 6. Results from Multiple Regressions for Decision Making

Predictors	Model 1 (Race and Ethnicity)		Model 2 (Contextual factors)		Model 3 (Psychological centrality)	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Race and Ethnicity						
African Americans	0.15+	0.06	0.14+	0.06	0.12+	0.06
Latino Americans	0.12*	0.04	0.15*	0.04	0.14*	0.04
Asian Americans	-0.09+	0.04	-0.09	0.06	-0.09	0.06
Contextual factors						
SES			0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02
Neighborhood quality			0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
Immigration status			-0.01	0.05	-0.01	0.05
Maternal employment			0.13**	0.03	0.13**	0.03
Child sex (male)			-0.01	0.03	-0.00	0.03
Psychological centrality						
Playful					-0.13*	0.04
Breadwinning					-0.15*	0.04
Teaching					-0.09+	0.04
<i>F</i>		5.43*		6.31**		4.84**

+ $p < .05$. * $p < .01$. ** $p < .001$.

Table 7. Results from Multiple Logistic Regressions for Community Participation

Predictors	Model 1 (Race and Ethnicity)		Model 2 (Contextual factors)		Model 3 (Psychological centrality)	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Race and Ethnicity						
African Americans	0.06	0.17	0.32	0.18	0.31	0.19
Latino Americans	-0.72**	0.13	-0.03	0.16	-0.06	0.16
Asian Americans	-0.59**	0.15	-0.21	0.20	-0.21	0.20
Contextual factors						
SES			0.50**	0.06	0.50**	0.07
Neighborhood quality			0.01	0.07	0.01	0.07
Immigration status			-0.71**	0.19	-0.71**	0.19
Maternal employment			-0.11	0.10	-0.09	0.11
Child sex (male)			-0.02	0.09	-0.00	0.09
Psychological centrality						
Playful					-0.26	0.14
Breadwinning					-0.57**	0.15
Teaching					-0.41+	0.16
<i>F</i>		16.92**		13.17**		11.30**

+ $p < .05$. * $p < .01$. ** $p < .001$.

Table 8. Results from Multiple Regression for Literacy Engagement

Predictors	Model 1 (Race and Ethnicity)		Model 2 (Contextual factors)		Model 3 (Psychological centrality)	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Race and Ethnicity						
African Americans	-0.19*	0.06	-0.15+	0.06	-0.14+	0.06
Latino Americans	-0.28**	0.04	-0.15+	0.06	-0.14+	0.06
Asian Americans	-0.08	0.05	-0.11	0.07	-0.10	0.07
Contextual factors						
SES			0.16**	0.02	0.15**	0.02
Neighborhood quality			0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02
Immigration status			-0.03	0.06	-0.04	0.06
Maternal employment			0.06+	0.03	0.05	0.03
Child sex (male)			-0.05	0.03	-0.05	0.03
Psychological centrality						
Playful					-0.09+	0.04
Breadwinning					-0.14**	0.04
Guiding					-0.12*	0.04
<i>F</i>		13.53**		16.21**		11.44**

+ $p < .05$. * $p < .01$. ** $p < .001$.

Table 9. Results from Ordinal Regression Analysis among Playful Fathers

Predictors	Model 1 (Race and Ethnicity)		Model 2 (Contextual factors)		Model 3 (Father involvement)	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Race and Ethnicity						
African Americans	0.01	0.45	0.14	0.44	0.03	0.45
Latino Americans	-0.03	0.21	0.13	0.27	0.03	0.26
Asian Americans	-0.30	0.20	-0.38	0.30	-0.51	0.30
Contextual factors						
SES			0.23	0.10	0.08	0.11
Neighborhood quality			0.02	0.10	-0.07	0.12
Immigration status			0.08	0.27	0.12	0.26
Maternal employment			-0.23	0.16	-0.18	0.18
Child sex (male)			-0.06	0.16	-0.04	0.16
Father involvement						
Play					0.24	0.17
Physical affection					0.27*	0.10
Caregiving					0.03	0.15
Literacy engagement					0.27+	0.12
Limit setting					-0.04	0.09
Decision making					0.20+	0.10
Community participation					0.29+	0.14
Economic provision					0.31*	0.11
<i>F</i>		0.75		1.43		4.59**

+ $p < .05$. * $p < .01$. ** $p < .001$.

Table 10. Results from Ordinal Regression Analysis among Breadwinning Fathers

Predictors	Model 1 (Race and Ethnicity)		Model 2 (Contextual factors)		Model 3 (Father involvement)	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Race and Ethnicity						
African Americans	0.85+	0.33	0.77+	0.44	0.80+	0.31
Latino Americans	0.35	0.19	0.31	0.24	-0.07	0.24
Asian Americans	0.17	0.17	0.18	0.25	0.12	0.29
Contextual factors						
SES			-0.06	0.13	-0.12	0.14
Neighborhood quality			0.01	0.11	-0.03	0.12
Immigration status			0.04	0.24	0.32	0.30
Maternal employment			0.23	0.19	0.19	0.20
Child sex (male)			0.02	0.16	0.05	0.18
Father involvement						
Play					-0.09	0.15
Physical affection					0.45**	0.11
Caregiving					0.14	0.14
Literacy engagement					0.55**	0.14
Limit setting					-0.09	0.12
Decision making					0.41**	0.11
Community participation					-0.20	0.20
Economic provision					0.45**	0.10
<i>F</i>		2.61		1.26		7.21**

+ $p < .05$. * $p < .01$. ** $p < .001$.

Table 11. Results from Ordinal Regression Analysis among Guiding Fathers

Predictors	Model 1 (Race and Ethnicity)		Model 2 (Contextual factors)		Model 3 (Father involvement)	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Race and Ethnicity						
African Americans	0.88*	0.27	0.97*	0.27	0.80*	0.29
Latino Americans	0.19	0.17	0.27	0.21	-0.06	0.23
Asian Americans	-0.29	0.15	-0.56	0.26	-0.84*	0.30
Contextual factors						
SES			0.27+	0.13	0.24	0.15
Neighborhood quality			0.16	0.11	0.09	0.12
Immigration status			0.23	0.24	0.41	0.27
Maternal employment			0.20	0.17	0.03	0.18
Child sex (male)			0.05	0.14	-0.13	0.15
Father involvement						
Play					0.33+	0.13
Physical affection					0.16	0.09
Caregiving					0.05	0.15
Literacy engagement					0.32*	0.12
Limit setting					-0.24+	0.09
Decision making					0.43*	0.13
Community participation					-0.15	0.17
Economic provision					0.39*	0.13
<i>F</i>		6.23**		4.65**		5.87**

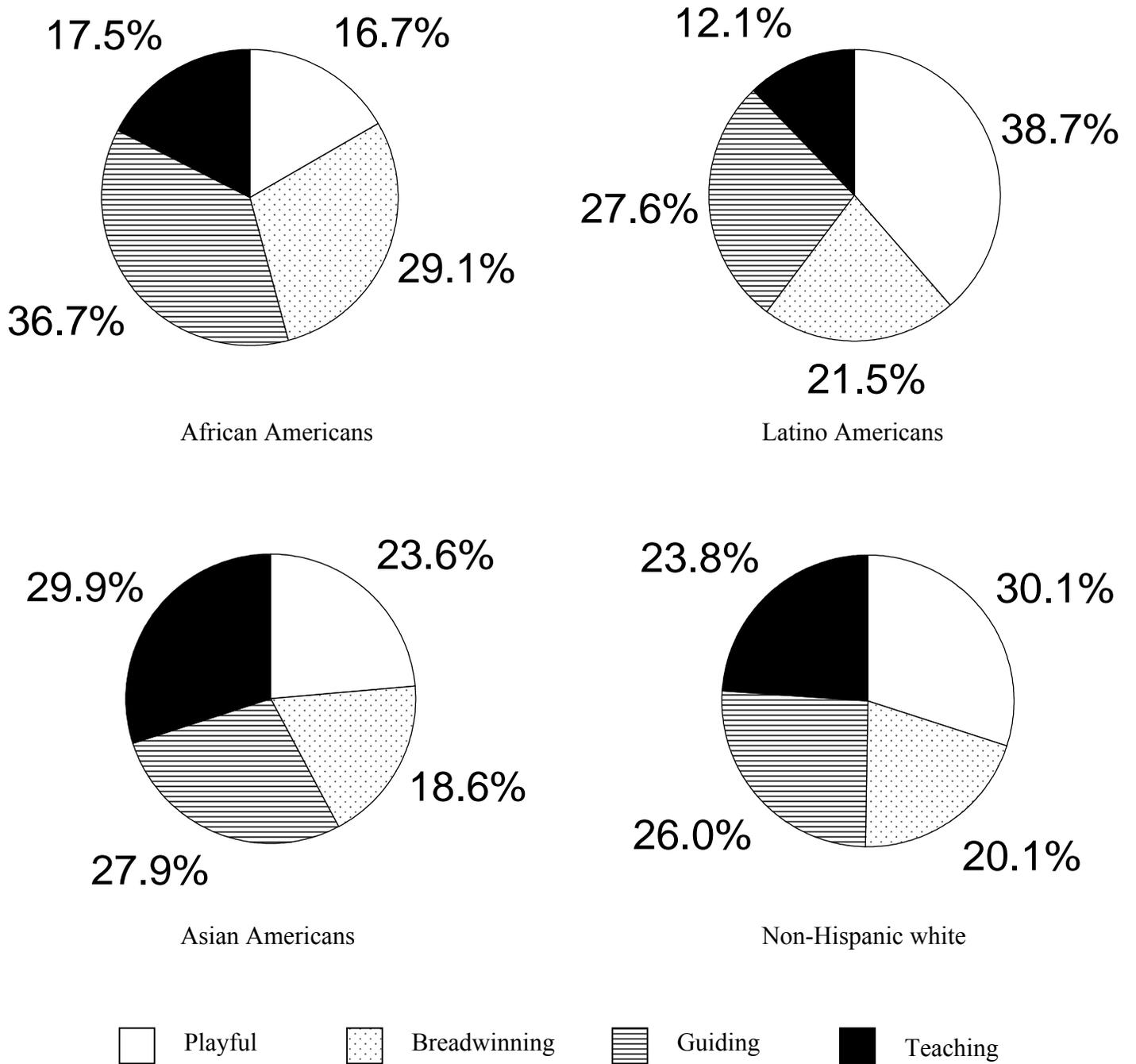
+ $p < .05$. * $p < .01$. ** $p < .001$.

Table 12. Results from Ordinal Regression Analysis among Teaching Fathers

Predictors	Model 1 (Race and Ethnicity)		Model 2 (Contextual factors)		Model 3 (Father involvement)	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Race and Ethnicity						
African Americans	0.53	0.45	0.62	0.50	1.01+	0.50
Latino Americans	-0.48	0.32	-0.38	0.32	-0.49	0.33
Asian Americans	0.09	0.20	-0.11	0.30	0.29	0.32
Contextual factors						
SES			0.32*	0.12	0.11	0.14
Neighborhood quality			0.09	0.10	0.07	0.11
Immigration status			0.18	0.28	-0.08	0.30
Maternal employment			0.22	0.17	-0.06	0.18
Child sex (male)			0.07	0.19	0.14	0.21
Father involvement						
Play					0.28	0.19
Physical affection					0.30*	0.11
Caregiving					0.26	0.20
Literacy engagement					0.43*	0.13
Limit setting					-0.14	0.11
Decision making					0.40*	0.12
Community participation					0.30	0.24
Economic provision					0.55**	0.13
<i>F</i>		1.65		2.01		6.74**

+ $p < .05$. * $p < .01$. ** $p < .001$.

Figure 1. Psychological Centrality of Fathers' Domain Specific Roles by Racial and Ethnic Groups.



Appendix A

Taken from a document authored by:

Nord, C., Edwards, B., Andreassen, C., Green, J. L., and Wallner-Allen, K. (2006). *Early Childhood Longitudinal Study, Birth Cohort (ECLS-B), User's Manual for the ECLS-B Longitudinal 9-Month–2-Year Data File and Electronic Codebook* (NCES 2006–046). U.S. Department of Education. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics.

Complete copies of all measures used in this study are available on the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study-Birth cohort (ECLS-B) website: <http://nces.ed.gov/ecls/birth>. Accompanying instrument documentation, sampling processed, and data collection procedures are also available via the website.

Socioeconomic status (SES)

SES is a measure of social standing. It was computed at the household level using data from the Parent Interview and the Resident Father Questionnaires. The components used to create the measure of SES were father/male guardian's education, mother/female guardian's education, father/male guardian's occupation, mother/female guardian's occupation, and household income.

The information about parents' education was collected in the 2-year Parent Interview for mothers and the Resident Father Questionnaire for fathers.

What is the highest grade or year of school that you have completed?

Mark (X) one

- No schooling completed
- Nursery school to 4th grade
- 5th grade or 6th grade
- 7th grade or 8th grade
- 9th grade
- 10th grade
- 11th grade
- 12th grade, no diploma
- High school graduate – high school diploma or the equivalent
- Voc/tech program after high school, but no vo/tch diploma
- Voc/tech diploma after high school
- Some college, but no degree
- Associate's degree
- Bachelor's degree
- Graduate or professional school, but no degree
- Master's degree
- Doctorate degree
- Professional degree after Bachelor's degree

Occupations were coded using the *Standard Occupational Classification Manual* (Executive Office of the President, Office of Management and Budget 2000). The occupation codes were collapsed into the following 23 codes, plus two additional categories for unemployed/retired and uncodable. Uncodable answers consisted of responses such as “my father’s occupation” or “none of your business”—answers that were unusable for coding purposes.

1. Management Occupations
2. Business and Financial Operations Occupations
3. Computer and Mathematical Science Occupations
4. Architecture and Engineering Occupations
5. Life, Physical, and Social Science Occupations
6. Community and Social Services Occupations
7. Legal Occupations
8. Education, Training, and Library Occupations
9. Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports, and Media Occupations
10. Health Care Practitioners and Technical Occupations
11. Health Care Support Occupations
12. Protective Service Occupations
13. Food Preparation and Serving Related Occupations
14. Building and Grounds Cleaning and Maintenance Occupations
15. Personal Care and Service Occupations
16. Sales and Related Occupations
17. Office and Administrative Support Occupations
18. Farming, Fishing, and Forestry Occupations
19. Construction and Extraction Occupations
20. Installation, Maintenance, and Repair Occupations
21. Production Occupations
22. Transportation and Material Moving Occupations
23. Military Specific Occupations

Occupation was recoded to reflect the average of the 1989 General Social Survey (GSS) prestige score. This was computed as the average of the corresponding prestige scores for the 2000 Census occupational categories covered by the ECLS-B occupation.

The information about household income was collected in the 2-year Parent Interview.

In studies like this, households are sometimes grouped according to income. What was the total income of all persons in your household over the past year, including salaries or other earnings, interest, retirement, and so on for all household members?

Was it...

PROBE: Total income means gross income - that is, income before taxes are taken out.

1. \$25,000 or less, or
2. More than \$25,000?

Was it . . .

1. \$5,000 or less,
2. \$5,001 to \$10,000,
3. \$10,001 to \$15,000,
4. \$15,001 to \$20,000, or
5. \$20,001 to \$25,000?
6. \$25,001 to \$30,000,
7. \$30,001 to \$35,000,
8. \$35,001 to \$40,000,
9. \$40,001 to \$50,000,
10. \$50,001 to \$75,000,
11. \$75,001 to \$100,000
12. \$100,001 to \$200,000 or
13. \$200,001 or more.

Appendix B

Neighborhood quality

How would you rate your neighborhood as a place to raise children? Would you say it is...

- 1 Excellent,
- 2 Very good,
- 3 Good,
- 4 Fair, or
- 5 Poor?

Do you consider your neighborhood very safe from crime, fairly safe, fairly unsafe, or very unsafe?

- 1 VERY SAFE
- 2 FAIRLY SAFE
- 3 FAIRLY UNSAFE
- 4 VERY UNSAFE

Appendix C

Self-evaluation as a father

Please check the ONE item that best describes how you feel about yourself as a father.

Do you
feel that you are...

Mark (X) one

- Not very good at being a father,
- A person who has some trouble being a father,
- An average father,
- A better than average father, or
- A very good father?

Appendix D

Father involvement.

- *Literacy engagement*

In a typical week, how often do you do the following things with your child? Would you say not at all, once or twice, 3 to 6 times, or every day:

For each item, mark (X) one response

	Not at all	Once or twice	3 to 6 times	Everyday
a. Read books to your child?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Tell stories to your child?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Sing songs with your child	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- *Physical play*

- *Caregiving*

In the past month, how often did you do the following things with your child? Was it more than once a day, about once a day, a few times a week, a few times a month, rarely, or not at all?

For each item, mark (X) one response

Rarely would be once a month.

	More than once a day	About once a day	A few times a week	A few times a month	Rarely	Not at all
a. Play chasing games with your child?	<input type="checkbox"/>					
b. Prepare meals for your child?	<input type="checkbox"/>					
c. Change your child's diapers or help your child use the toilet?	<input type="checkbox"/>					
d. Take your child for a ride on your shoulders or back?	<input type="checkbox"/>					
e. Play with games or toys indoors with your child?	<input type="checkbox"/>					
f. Help your child to bed?	<input type="checkbox"/>					
g. Give your child a bath?	<input type="checkbox"/>					
h. Take your child outside for a walk or to play in the yard, a park, or a playground?	<input type="checkbox"/>					
i. Help your child get dressed?	<input type="checkbox"/>					
j. Go to a restaurant or out to eat with your child?	<input type="checkbox"/>					
k. Assist your child with eating?	<input type="checkbox"/>					

- l. Help your child brush his or her teeth?
- m. Take him or her with you to a religious service or religious event?

• *Limit setting*

Most children get angry at their parents from time to time. If your child got so angry that he/she hit you, yelled at you, or threw a temper tantrum, what would you do? Would you...

For each item, mark (X) one response

- | | Yes | No |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. Spank him/her? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Have him/her take a time out? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Hit him/her back? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Talk to him/her about what he/she did wrong? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. Ignore it? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f. Make him/her do some work around the house? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g. Make fun of him/her? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| h. Make him/her apologize? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| i. Take away a privilege? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| j. Give a warning? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| k. Yell at or threaten him/her? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

• *Physical affection*

Here are some statements that parents of young children say about themselves. For each statement, please tell me if it is exactly like you, very much like you, somewhat like you, not much like you, or not at all like you.

For each item, mark (X) one response

- | | Exactly like me | Very much like me | Some what like me | Not much like me | Not at all like me |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. I teach my children that misbehavior will be punished one way or another..... | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. I do not allow my children to get angry with me | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. I express my affection by hugging, kissing, and holding my children | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. I am easygoing and relaxed with my children..... | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. There are times I just don't have the energy to make my children behave as | <input type="checkbox"/> |

they should.....

f. I have little or no difficulty sticking with my rules for my children even when close relatives, including grandparents, are there..

• *Decision making*

How much influence do you feel that you have in making major decisions about discipline, nutrition, health care, and child care? Would you say no influence, some influence, or a great deal of influence?

For each item, mark (X) one response

	No influence	Some influence	A Great deal of influence
a. Discipline	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Nutrition	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Health care	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Child care	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

• *Community participation*

Do you participate in any ongoing community service activity, for example, volunteering at a school, coaching a sports team, or working with a church or neighborhood association?

- Yes
- No

• *Economic provision*

At the present time, how satisfied are you with each of these areas in your life? For each of the following statements, please indicate whether you are very dissatisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, somewhat satisfied, or very satisfied?

For each item, mark (X) one response

	Very Dissatisfied	Somewhat Dissatisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Very Satisfied
a. Your principal occupation or job	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Your job security.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Your level of income.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. The money you have for family necessities.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Your ability to handle financial emergencies.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. The amount of money you owe.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. Your level of savings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h. The money you have for future needs of your family	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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