The Dissertation Committee for Melissa Anne Radey Certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

The Contribution of Social Support to Patterns of Employment Among Unmarried Mothers with Young Children: A Comparative Analysis of Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites

Committee:

Diana M. DiNitto, Co-Supervisor

Yolanda C. Padilla, Co-Supervisor

Norval Glenn

Robert A. Hummer

Laura Lein

The Contribution of Social Support to Patterns of Employment Among Unmarried Mothers with Young Children: A Comparative Analysis of Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites

by

Melissa Anne Radey. MSSW; MA.

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

August 2005

For Marian Hennes Dalton,

my model and inspiration into the discipline of social work

Acknowledgements

I first wish to express my gratitude to my committee members who provided me with the guidance and support that I needed. Dr. Diana DiNitto shared her vast knowledge and challenged me to think critically. Her timely feedback, encouragement, and reliable optimism will serve as a model in my interactions with future students. I also thank Dr. Yolanda Padilla who provided insight into the complexities of race/ethnicity, social support, and employment. I appreciate her continued interest, enthusiasm, and direction in my graduate career. With his extensive knowledge on the family, Dr. Norval Glenn provided me with a history of the family in the US and helped me to develop a theoretical framework for the study. Dr. Robert Hummer was an instrumental link in helping me operationalize my models. His assistance gave me new perspective when I was overwhelmed. After I settled on my models, Dr. Lein helped me to make sense of my findings and see the bigger picture. She helped me to put the quantitative numbers in the context of unmarried mothers' lives.

I also would like to thank the doctoral community at the University of Texas both in Social Work and Sociology. The collegial atmosphere made me a happier and more successful graduate student. Tricia Cody always had a story to make me laugh and Laura Hopson could see the good in anything. I could always turn to Jill Henderson when I needed a favor and Soyon Jung helped me to appreciate the little things in life.

My family gave me the courage and support to begin (and continue) my graduate school career. My mother gave sympathy and her insightful opinions about everything while my father distanced himself from my studies constantly reminding me about life beyond doctoral student cubicles. Teddy's pride in me gave me confidence and he never let me forget the pleasantries of graduate student life. Kevin helped me to take life easier and enjoy… and, yes, Kevin, I did finish "that paper."

Rose and Daisy will never know how much they contributed and enhanced my life over the past six years. Rose, my loyal friend, always listened and gave the appropriate solemn reaction. Daisy, goofy, was an unmatched exuberance in my life. She is a story waiting to happen. Together, they provide me with the perfect balance.

Finally, my deepest and most sincere gratitude goes to James Clark. Jim gives me passion for my work and for my life. I would not have started (or finished) my degree without his faith in me and my work. His incredible knowledge, thoughtfulness, and clarity allowed me to succeed professionally. His sincerity, admiration, and constant love create the greatest joys in my life outside of academia. Although I don't know where life will take me, thankfully, I know who I will be with….

The Contribution of Social Support to Patterns of Employment Among Unmarried Mothers with Young Children:

A Comparative Analysis of Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites

Publication No._____

Melissa Anne Radey, PhD

The University of Texas at Austin, 2005

Supervisors: Diana DiNitto and Yolanda Padilla

This dissertation addresses the influences of race and ethnicity, as well as family, father, community, and human capital resources, on social support and employment patterns among unmarried mothers with young children. In the 1970s and 1980s, research indicated greater access to supports among Hispanics and Blacks. More recent studies suggest that Whites have greater access. Most prior studies examined race/ethnicity or social supports. This study examines these variables simultaneously to better understand how social supports influence employment patterns and how these influences differ among Hispanic, Black, and White mothers.

Data from the Fragile Families and Child Well-being study were analyzed using multinomial logistic regression. Predictor variables were measured primarily at the focal child's birth and at Year 1 to predict employment at Year 3. Outcome measures were hours currently employed, weeks employed in past year, and number of jobs held since child's birth. Separate regression models were run for Hispanic, Black, and White mothers to assess whether race/ethnicity moderated the relationship between social support and employment.

In bivariate analyses, Hispanic mothers were less likely to be employed than Whites. This difference was largely explained by Hispanics' lower levels of formal education and, to a lesser extent, their more traditional values. After including human capital, there were no racial/ethnic differences in employment. Black and Hispanic mothers had less access to family supports than Whites but used more community supports. Family supports indicated higher employment, but community supports indicated lower employment. Father supports made a negligible contribution to employment for all groups. Hispanic mothers had lower educations than White mothers; there were no differences for Blacks and Whites. Although access to child care for Hispanics and financial support for Blacks indicated increased employment, neither was significant for Whites. Education was more closely associated with employment for Hispanics and Blacks than for Whites.

Results suggest increased need for childcare arrangement and subsidies and effective high school completion, job preparation, and rent assistance programs. Health barriers, common among these mothers, must also be addressed in this work-focused, welfare reform era. To improve employment stability, family and community support

must be considered together so unmarried mothers can obtain the resources to meet their multiple, diverse needs.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Problem Statement

Under welfare reform, the vast majority of unmarried mothers with young children are required to work, regardless of the availability of social support to facilitate employment. The examination of social support and its influence on employment for Hispanic, Black, and White mothers provides insight into the strengths and needs of these mothers, often in precarious situations trying to raise their children while living in poverty. This study attempts to better understand the supports available among unmarried mothers, how supports influence employment, and how the relationship may vary by racial/ethnic group.

This chapter provides an overview of the patterns of employment, poverty levels, social supports, and the influence of welfare reform in the lives of unmarried mothers. Following an exploration of labor force statistics among mothers, the chapter discusses racial and ethnic disparity in poverty rates and the influence of the 1996 welfare reform legislation on mothers' employment and poverty rates. After recognizing the complex components of financially-successful employment, I examine the concept of social support and its role in maternal employment. The chapter concludes with specific objectives for the dissertation and an explanation of how the dissertation will expand upon the current literature.

Patterns of Employment Among Low-Income Mothers

Over the past 40 years mothers with very young children have been one of the fastest growing groups in the labor force. In addition to more employed mothers, the number of working mothers with children under three-years-old is at an all-time high. For example, in 1960, about one-third of mothers with children under three was

employed, whereas in 2002 about two-thirds of this population was employed (US Census Bureau, 2002). In fact, the greatest increase in employment among single mothers with young children occured between 1990 and 1999, a time of falling employment among single women without children (Canican & Reed, 2001). Both unmarried and lower-income mothers are entering the labor force at the quickest rates. The year 1997 was the first time that unmarried mothers were more likely to be employed than married mothers (Burtless, 1998). In a related trend, mothers earning wages in the bottom quartile of the wage distribution increased from 30 percent in the early 1990s to nearly 50 percent in 1997 (Brady-Smith, et al. 2001).

The employment patterns among unmarried mothers with children merit special consideration because of their overwhelming presence and unique circumstances. The percentage of births to unmarried mothers grew from 5 percent in 1960 to approximately 33 percent in 2002 (Canican & Reed, 2001; US Census Bureau, 2002). Although the nonmarital birth rate decreased 23 percent for Blacks from 1970 to 1998, it increased 80 percent for Whites during the same time (Canican & Reed, 2001). Unmarried mothers also deserve attention because single-mother families are five times more likely to be in poverty than married-couple families (Canican & Reed, 2001). In addition, they are more likely to be young, have few years of formal education, and come from poor non-intact families (Jayakody et al., 1993; Hao & Brinton, 1997). In Winkler's (1993) examination of single mothers in the Current Population Survey (CPS) data, 47 percent of female household heads had incomes below the poverty line. This economic insecurity stems from low earning capacity, inadequate child support, and low public supports (Garfinkel & McLanahan, 1994).

Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Poverty Rates

Although poverty is widespread among all unmarried mothers, Hispanic and Black unmarried mothers fare worse than White mothers. Black mothers have higher poverty levels and less schooling and are less likely to live in intact families than Whites (Hao, 1994; Yoon & Waite, 1994). In the National Survey of Black Americans, 44 percent of unmarried mothers were in poverty and 75 percent of impoverished families were headed by single females (Jayakody et al. 1993). Hispanics also experience disadvantage in comparison to Whites with higher levels of poverty and lower levels of formal education (Tienda & Angel, 1982). In an examination of economic outcomes among welfare recipients from 1979 to 1994, Cheng (2003) found that Hispanics and Blacks were 8 and 13 times respectively more likely to move from being non-poor to poor in comparison to Whites.

Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA)

The number of single, impoverished families, especially families of color, rose in the 1980s and 1990s and continues to grow (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002). In addition, the increasing number of families on public assistance from the late 1970s to the early 1990s demonstrates the many unmet needs of single mothers and their children (Hagen, 1999). To increase work participation and self-sufficiency among poor mothers, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) of 1996 transformed the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) public assistance program and renamed it Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF). The PRWORA eliminates individual entitlement; for example, no one is guaranteed cash payment. Instead, individuals who do not meet the limited exemption criteria must find

jobs within two years of receiving benefits. Able-bodied parents also face much stiffer work requirements while receiving TANF (Lurie, 2001; Rolston, 2001). States have tremendous discretion in the means they can take to reduce caseloads, but state plans must focus on increasing self-sufficiency among single mothers.

PRWORA allows states to force more mothers to work than in the past. For example, a state's implementation plan may not give mothers an employment exemption immediately after giving birth. Instead of a focus on benefit distribution, such as opportunities for furthering education, TANF legislation emphasizes employment with increased federal funding and incentives for programs including job preparation, job placement, employment counseling, and job retention (Pavetti, 2000). In sum, the federal safety net has diminished dramatically for non-working mothers (Brady-Smith, et al. 2001). Even if mothers find that the costs of working exceed the costs of receiving welfare, TANF receipt is contingent upon completing work-related or community service activities (Danziger et al. 2002).

To encourage greater self-sufficiency among mothers, PWRORA does allow states to offer several benefits for working mothers to increase employment and financial rewards for work. Under TANF, 36 states increased eligibility limits for the first month or more that a welfare recipient is working allowing recipients to combine welfare and work. By raising the eligibility limits, mothers can continue to receive welfare while they make more in the workforce. In addition, most states increased childcare spending for both welfare recipients and low-income mothers (Pavetti, 2002).

Non-welfare policies have also increased the benefits of working for low-income mothers. Although still well below a living wage, the minimum wage increased from

$4.25 to $5.15 in 1997 shortly after the passage of welfare reform. In 1993, Congress passed a tremendous increase in the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) which allows low-income workers to receive a payment to compensate for low wages. The $950 maximum credit available in 1990 was increased to $3,756 in 1998 for a single working mother with more than one child. Changes in Medicaid and the development of the State Child Health Insurance Program (CHIP) in 1997 further help low-wage mothers by providing necessary health insurance to many uninsured working mothers and their children (Danziger, et al. 2002).

The increase in work benefits for low-income mothers in the late 1990s paired with TANF's emphasis on employment reflect public perceptions about the importance of work. Public opinion data throughout the century continually show that Americans think that work should be rewarded (Schwarz & Volgy, 1992). Employment has become normative for single mothers and is commonly equated with self-sufficiency (Harris, 1993). But leaving welfare for work does not necessarily mean self-sufficiency or escaping poverty. Indeed, welfare caseloads have dropped by more than 50 percent nationwide from August, 1996, to March, 2001. The 4.4 million caseloads dropped to 2.1 million (Acs & Loprest, 2001). Many people are finding jobs. In preliminary findings of an evaluation of fifteen states, Acs and Loprest (2001) found that 75 percent of welfare leavers were employed some time in the year after exit. But Tweedie, Reichert, and O'Conner (1999) found that the work rate among TANF recipients exceeds that of earlier AFDC recipients by only 5 to 10 percent.

Poverty and Employment

With the high proportion of single mothers living in poverty, the increase of employment among former welfare recipients is encouraging. Quantitative studies from representative samples demonstrate that employed women have higher incomes, lower poverty rates, and lower levels of material hardship relative to individuals receiving TANF (Danziger et al. 2000; Danziger et al. 2002; Smith et al. 2000; Bauman, 2000). In an examination of employment and material hardships using the first two waves of the Women's Employment Study (WES), Danziger, Cocoran, Danziger, and Heflin (2000) found that economic well-being increased with the amount of work involvement even when considering the costs of work. Workers who were consistently employed reported more disposable income, less poverty, a lower probability of material hardship, and a decreased likelihood of participating in high-risk, last-resort activities, such as pawning valuables or participating in prostitution. Workers also experienced more positive perceptions of the future.

The success of women seems to continue over time. In an expanded analysis of the first three waves of WES data, Danziger, Heflin, Corcoran, Oltmans, and Wang (2002) found further success among employed mothers. When comparing mothers who were wage-reliant, wage and welfare reliant (called combiners), welfare-reliant, and neither wage nor welfare reliant individuals (called disconnectors), Danziger et al (2002) found that wage-reliant mothers were both objectively and subjectively more economically stable than mothers in the remaining three groups. Objectively, wage-reliant individuals had higher household incomes and lower poverty rates. Whereas wage-reliant mothers earned an average of $10,842, welfare-reliant mothers' average

earnings were $1,163, with combiners and disconnectors in between. Likewise, approximately half of wage-reliant mothers lived below the poverty level in comparison to almost 90 percent of welfare-reliant mothers and 71 percent of combiners. Subjectively, wage-reliant mothers reported less difficulty living on their household incomes. Approximately 54 percent of wage-reliant mothers found living on their incomes "not at all" or "a little" difficult compared with 36 percent of welfare-reliant mothers. Less than 10 percent of wage-reliant mothers found that living on their incomes was "extremely difficult" compared to 29 percent of welfare-reliant mothers.

Although employment brings better lives for many mothers, single mothers remain extremely vulnerable to poverty. For example, Danziger et al. (2000) found that continuous employment created a brighter economic picture for many women in the WES sample, but of the 21.7 percent of women working every study month, 37 percent remained in poverty, two-thirds continued to receive food stamps, and one-fifth reported experiencing two or more material hardships in the past year. Similarly, Canican, Haveman, Meyer, and Wolfe (2002) found that among welfare leavers in Wisconsin, employment does not necessarily equate to higher incomes. Among leavers both before and after the implementation of welfare reform, approximately half had higher earnings, one-third had similar earnings, and one-fifth had lower earnings. In terms of poverty level, leavers did not fare well, and post-welfare reform leavers experienced higher poverty rates than earlier leavers. Of earlier and later leavers, 70 and 80 percent, respectively, reported after-tax earnings below the poverty line.

When contemplating available options, single mothers with young children may find that employment does not provide a profitable opportunity. In an examination of

800 welfare families in the Three-City sample, a longitudinal sample of low-income families with children living in Boston, Chicago, and San Antonio, Moffitt and Winder (2004) found that after considering the possibility of unemployment, welfare leavers faced a much greater risk of poverty than welfare recipients. Net of other household members' incomes, the expected income gain from leaving welfare was approximately zero. Using economic theory to calculate the risk of leaving welfare, after considering the possibility of unemployment, Moffitt and Winder (2004) found leaving welfare had a value of -$122.

But in response to Moffitt and Windor (2004), Danziger and Wang (2004) argue that employment does provide economic benefits to mothers. In an additional analysis including four waves of WES data collected from 1997 to 2001, without considering income from other household members, wage-reliant mothers maintain an income advantage over welfare mothers or mothers who combine work and welfare. After considering the initial costs of work, work-reliant mothers averaged $339 more in net monthly income, $316 more in monthly income without considering other household members' earnings, and $342 more including earnings, TANF, and food stamps.

What Facilitates Maternal Employment: The Role of Social Support

The findings concerning the influence of employment on economic outcomes among single mothers raises the question of what facilitates financially-successful, stable employment. The current literature links several factors to employment among low-income mothers: race/ethnic differences (Browne, 1999), labor market conditions (Wilson, 1996), human capital (Edin & Harris, 1999), physical and mental health (Gault, et al, 1998; Acs & Loprest, 2001), substance use (Greenwell, et al. 1998), personal

values (Roschelle, 1997b), household composition (Hao & Brinton, 1997), assessable and affordable transportation and childcare assistance (Wijnberg & Reding, 1999), and in-kind family and community support (Parish, et al, 1991; Edin & Lein, 1997).

With the numerous identified employment predictors in the previous literature, social support contributions often stand out as making a positive difference in the complex lives of low-income mothers. Edin and Lein's (1996; 1997) qualitative study supports the important contributions that families can make in the lives of desperate mothers. In their in-depth examination of the survival strategies of 379 low-income, single mothers, mothers expressed the most concern about money. Both low-wage workers and AFDC recipients struggled to survive and to provide the necessities to themselves and their children. Although side work and agency support did not help mothers enter employment, Edin and Lein found that informal networks allowed many to find jobs.

Moffitt and Windor (2004) used quantitative analyses based on the Three-City Study from Boston, Chicago, and San Antonio and substantiated Edin and Lein's (1997) findings of the importance of informal economic support. Their work places with the findings of Danziger et al. (2002) using WES data in a different light. Moffitt and Winder (2004) argue that the financial success of employed women in the WES sample arose from higher incomes of *other* household members, rather than their own wages from employment. In an examination of individual earnings in the WES sample, Danziger et al. (2002) found that wage-reliant mothers received $634 in income from other household members in comparison to the average of $262 that welfare-reliant individuals received, a $372 difference. Moffitt and Winder (2004) replicated Danziger

et al.'s WES analysis using the Three-City Study. Maternal earnings in the two studies were nearly identical. In contrast to the substantial contributions of other household members in the WES, wage-reliant mothers in the Three-City sample received only an average of $310 from additional household members and welfare-reliant received $174, a difference of only $136. The lower levels of household financial support also corresponded with lower rates of employment. Although 40 percent of the WES sample was employed at wave 1, only 27 percent of the Three-City sample was employed. Thus, mothers with greater access to support were more likely to find employment than to remain on welfare.

In examining the role of social support in facilitating employment among unmarried mothers, race/ethnicity is a critical factor. Moffitt and Winder (2004) and Danziger and Wang (2004) agree that race/ethnicity may account for the some of the differences in the contributions of household members between the WES and the Three-City sample. The WES is composed of mainly White and non-Hispanic Black respondents, and the Three-City study is made up of non-Hispanic Black and Hispanic respondents. Moffitt and Winder (2004) found that in the Three-City sample, Black household members contributed an average of only $212 to the low-income mothers compared to an average of $303 for Hispanics. If White households contributed comparable or higher earnings than Hispanics as found in studies on kin contributions (Parish et al, 1991; Hao, 1994; Henly, 1997; Harknett, 2001), race/ethnicity could account for the higher incomes of other household members among mothers in the WES.

The Concept of Social Support

Understanding the role of social support among unmarried mothers of different racial and ethnic backgrounds during the age of increasing employments levels for mothers and welfare reform is critical. First, both qualitative and quantitative studies from the 1970s and 1980s find that Blacks and Hispanics are more likely to benefit from social and economic support (Parish et al. 1991; Roschelle, 1997b; Stack, 1974), but more recent studies find that this help may be disappearing due in part to a lack of available time and economic resources (Brewster & Padavic, 1996; Roschelle, 1997b). Second, the policies under TANF may have caused dramatic changes in patterns of informal care. The expansion of available formal services to facilitate increased work requirements may alleviate some of the burden on kin, or, alternatively, the work requirements may force former support givers into formal jobs greatly reducing the amount of social support exchanged among kin, or the amount of kin exchanges (Roschelle, 1997b).

In order to explore the effects of social supports on unmarried mothers of young children, the concept of social support must first be defined. The empirical literature on social support often defines it conceptually as often representing an "intuitive sense of a broader phenomenon" (Brownell & Shumaker, 1984, p. 5). For example, as exemplified in Edin and Lein's (1997) study, social support included an array of resources including economic support, childcare, transportation, and household assistance. Rather than clearly-defined and measurable, the concept often serves to capture a unique arrangement of resources in order to understand why some individuals do better than others (Brownell & Shumaker, 1984).

Although quantitative operationlize social support, there is no consensus on appropriate measures to capture the phenomenon. In Henly, Danziger, and Offer's (2005) longitudinal examination of social support and material well-being of low-income families, for example, social support was measured differently in different waves of the study. Although Wave 1 measured social support (someone to "run errands for you", someone to "watch your children for you", and someone to "lend a car" or "give a ride"), emotional support (someone to "give you encouragement" if you really needed it), and financial support (someone to "lend you money if you really needed it") in hypothetical situations, Wave 3 used the *Perceived Availability of Support* subscale of the *Social Relationships Scale* (O'Brien, Wortman, Kessler, & Joseph, 1993). Alternatively, in a recent examination of kin exchanges and social support, Sarkisian and Gerstel (2004) used dichotomous measures of whether or not respondents had received financial help, emotional support, housework help, transportation help, or child care help. Thus, social support is commonly examined in both quantitative and qualitative studies and the operationalization of the concept differs depending on the focus of the study.

Caplan (1974) conceptualizes social support as containing three ingredients. First, individuals with social support have the access to significant others who help them mobilize their psychological resources in order to deal with emotional problems. Through emotional social support, individuals are better prepared mentally to face life's challenges. Second, socially-supported individuals have others with whom they can share tasks. Whether people need car repairs or household assistance, they have someone whom they can call for a favor. Third, the presence of social support includes the provision of money, materials, tools, skills, information, and advice in order to help

individuals deal with the inevitable stress in life. This multidimensional definition indicates that social support encompasses many facets. In a similar manner, House and Kahn (1985) consider social support the "functional content of relationships" (p. 85), consisting of social relationships, material social support, and social networks.

Defined as tangible support, including a wide array of support, such as lending or donating money, providing transportation or childcare, and providing material goods, Wills (1985) discusses how social support is most important to low-income individuals who are often overburdened, have smaller networks, and cannot purchase the resources if they are not available informally. If reliable and predictable, social support can buffer individuals from crisis, such as job loss. In addition, it can provide necessary permanence for children. Children need stable, dependable routines for healthy development (Boyce, 1985). Social support can help unmarried mothers provide the necessary stability and continuity for their children's success.

Measuring social support is complex because social support receipt often depends on the level of need. Individuals who receive support may face additional hardships, creating a negative relationship between the receipt of social support and well-being (Cutrona, 1986). If Ms. Clark receives money from her mother for groceries out of desperation, for example, she may be worse off than Ms. Davis who experiences no food hardship and receives no outside support. In other words, measuring received support can introduce endogeneity when examining the influence of support on employment outcomes for young mothers.

Alternatively, *perceived* support captures availability of support without requiring that the support be utilized. Although this eliminates the aforementioned problem of

endogeneity, perceived support could measure perception and personality, such as one's locus of control, rather than the actual availability of support (Dunkel-Shetter & Bennett, 1990; Sarason et al., 1990). Mothers who do not have access to money, for example, could perceive that they do have this availability. Yet, in empirical studies, after controlling for personality characteristics, the relationship between perceived social support and well-being is reduced, but not eliminated (Turner & Turner, 1999). Researchers generally agree that perceived supports are stronger predictors of well-being than received supports (Wethington & Kessler, 1986; Turner & Turner, 1999).

This study focuses on the contributions of both perceived social support availability in an emergency and received support, such as kin care or rent assistance, and the extent to which they may facilitate successful employment among unmarried mothers with young children. The perceived support will measure the important dimension of access rather than receipt. At the same time, the receipt of child care, support from the child's father, and community supports are important when considering PWRORA and the increase of work-focused supports. PWRORA required most mothers to enter formal employment and by providing supports like childcare expected that mothers would have the necessary supports to succeed. Therefore, an examination of whether these supports, such as employment, rent, and child care referral assistance actually increase employment outcomes is informative. Previous studies examining the influence of these supports on employment will be discussed in detail in the literature review (see Chapter 3).

With a focus on tangible supports, I do not ignore the importance of emotional support. House and Kahn (1985) identify the fundamental importance of emotional support in order to lead mothers to use other forms of available supports. If individuals

do not feel that emotional support is available, they may be less likely to mobilize potential social networks. Emotional support can encompass many dimensions. This study examines the strength of relationship that unmarried mothers have with their children's fathers as a source of emotional support that may influence employment patterns. Of all relationships, this relationship can be especially important among unmarried mothers.

Objectives

The objectives of this study are as follows:

(1) To assess the differences in employment patterns and job stability among Hispanic, Black, and White unmarried mothers of three-year-olds.

(2) To assess the influence of family and community material and emotional supports on employment outcomes among unmarried mothers of young children, taking into account individual characteristics.

(3) To assess if and, if so, how the influence of family and community material and emotional supports, and human capital characteristics contribute to employment outcomes, and how patterns may differ for Hispanic, Black, and White unmarried mothers.

This study of race/ethnicity, social support, and employment among unmarried mothers extends the current literature in five important ways. First, this study expands the literature by examining both race/ethnicity and social support together. Although studies indicate that kin support and governmental assistance vary among people of different racial and ethnic groups (Balcazar, et al. 1997; Henly, 1997; Hogan, et al, 1990;

Keefe, 1996; Tienda & Glass, 1985), and that employment also varies (Browne, 1999; Hao, 1994; Taniguchi & Rosenfeld, 2000; Yoon & Waite, 1996), little work examines how both race/ethnicity and material supports affect employment outcomes among Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites.

Second, and related, racial/ethnic differences with regard to social supports and employment is important. Blacks and Hispanics face higher levels of poverty and lower levels of education which may affect levels of social support and employability relative to Whites (Hao, 1994; Yoon & Waite, 1994). Although both Blacks and Hispanics face similar disadvantaged conditions, the conditions arise from unique circumstances for each group. In an examination of young mothers in the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NSLY), Yoon and Waite (1994) found that although family characteristics contributed to the impoverished conditions of Blacks, the Hispanic disadvantage arose from low stocks of human capital because of recent immigration. Regardless of origin, the disadvantaged conditions that Blacks and Hispanics face may create unique circumstances both in access to social supports and entrance into the labor market. The examination of social supports and employment by race/ethnicity will provide a clearer picture of the resources and constraints that unmarried mothers face when seeking employment and how these conditions vary among the different race/ethnic groups (Benin & Keith, 1995).

Third, little research examines how the wide variety of living arrangements affects the employment of single mothers (Park, 2001). The addition of household members may provide an array of additional assistance to a mother including inexpensive child care, free room and board, as well as role models for successful employment and

parenthood. Alternatively, the addition of non-employed household members with little income and greater health problems could create added strain to an unmarried mother. The increase in cohabitation, especially among Whites (Folk, 1996; Winkler, 1993), in the last decade calls for increased attention to the effects of this arrangement on employment outcomes. Direct measures of access to childcare and financial resources can help to illuminate how cohabitation and other living arrangements affect employment among unmarried mothers.

Fourth, the Fragile Families data set to be used here provides the opportunity to examine the potential effects of race/ethnicity and social support on employment after the implementation of TANF and after the economy has worsened. Previous research primarily uses either the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, the Current Population Survey, or small non-representative samples (for example, Parish, et al. 1991; Scott, et al. 2001) or focuses on either social supports or employment (for example, Winkler, 1993; Taniguchi & Rosenfeld, 2000). This post-welfare reform group of mothers is entering the labor force under unique circumstances. Rather than *choosing* to return to work, many mothers *must* return to work and make the necessary arrangements, such as childcare (Lurie, 2001). In addition, TANF gives states the opportunity to provide higher levels of work supports to enhance the rewards of working. The mandated requirements, coinciding with the possible increase in work supports, may alter the exchange of social supports in unique ways. The downturn in the economy in the late 1990s may also influence social supports and employment (Nordhaus, 2002). The Fragile Families dataset provides information collected after the implementation of the PRWORA and TANF during a period of little economic growth in order to investigate how these unique

conditions affect the relationship between race/ethnicity, perceived supports and received resources, and employment.

Fifth, current research does not address how race/ethnicity and social supports affect employment specifically for low-income, single-parent families. Because both single mothers and people of color are overrepresented in the welfare-to-work population (Jackson et al., 2000), research needs to pay attention to how racial/ethnic characteristics shape informal networks and employment. Because the Fragile Families project began data collection in 1998 after many low-income mothers were forced back to work, the study will shed light on how social supports influence employment outcomes in the post-welfare reform era.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Model

This chapter reviews the work/family literature and introduces the proposed model to conceptualize the relationships between social support and employment patterns among Hispanic, Black, and White unmarried mothers with young children who are the focus of this study. Three fundamental work-family models—multiple roles, job demands, and spillover-crossover—are the most prominent in the literature. After reviewing these models, I focus on the work-family fit model (Teng & Pittman, 1996) because it provides an enhanced conceptualization more consistent with the aims of this study. This chapter concludes with further expansion of the work-family fit model to be used in the present study to better explain employment patterns among Black, Hispanic, and White unmarried mothers.

Fundamental Work-Family Models

Multiple Roles

In a review of the literature on work and family intersection, Barnett (1998) concludes that there is no inclusive model for how work and family variables influence one another. With the wide array of individual, work, contextual, and structural variables that affect workers' satisfaction with both work and family life, one model may not fit the diversity of families and working arrangements. Thus, the proposed theoretical model for this study builds on the work/family literature by applying and expanding the current work/family fit model to unmarried mothers with toddlers.

In interviews with married couples and single mothers, Pleck, Staines, and Lang (1980) found that although more than one-third of all families experienced either moderate or severe work-family conflict, parents reported more conflict, especially

parents of pre-school children. In addition, Campbell and Moen (1992) found in their sample of 160 employed mothers with preschoolers that single parents most at risk for job/family strain were mothers working long hours with little control over their scheduling. Lack of satisfaction at work and beliefs that mothers should not work also increased the risk of strain among single mothers. Furthermore, employed single mothers who experienced income inadequacy despite their work efforts were particularly vulnerable to job-family strain.

The examination of job-family strain has expanded tremendously in the last three decades (Barnett, 1998). The majority of perspectives on work-family linkages grow out of role theory. Role theory proposes that individuals experience a variety of roles simultaneously and these roles may potentially conflict with one another (Bowen & Pittman, 1995). Often, researchers have assumed that there must be conflict between the two arenas because the institutions of both work and family are "greedy," demanding both time and resources (Barnett, 1998). Three traditional perspectives fall under role theory, including multiple roles, job demands, and spillover-crossover. Each perspective considers the intersection of work and family and identifies new considerations in the work-family interface.

The multiple roles perspective views work and family as forcing individuals to fulfill multiple roles, such as mother, daughter, and paid worker. With a micro focus, this perspective does not consider contextual effects, such as job characteristics (Pleck, 1995). Instead, the multiple roles model emphasizes work and family equally as the same two constructs operating parallel to one another. Under this perspective, two hypotheses with distinct foci emerge. First is the scarcity hypothesis that more social roles equate with

more demands creating role overload because of limited resources, such as time and energy (Goode, 1960). Second, and alternatively, is the enhancement hypothesis that more social roles equate with more rewards because individuals with more roles increase their opportunities for success (Marks, 1977). Studies testing these hypotheses do not support clear linear relationships in either direction. The complexity of the relationship indicates that researchers must incorporate many factors when modeling work-family relationships, such as role type and the quality of work and family experiences (Barnett & Baruch, 1985).

Job Demands Model

The job demands model considers the effect of job characteristics on personal and family outcomes (Teng & Pittman, 1996). These job characteristics include both structural characteristics, such as salary, location, schedule, and psychosocial characteristics, such as job responsibilities and protocol. According to this model, work creates stress and strain on the family. Likewise, employed spouses, and especially employed parents, experience varying levels of conflict between work and family depending on their job requirements. Whereas the multiple roles model emphasizes work and family equally working in a parallel fashion, the job demands perspective focuses primarily on employment-related measures (Pleck, 1995). Frone, Russell, and Cooper (1992) and Frone, Yardley, and Markel (1997) expanded the job demands model and treated conflict as a multidimensional concept. The researchers examined how work interferes with family and how family interferes with work. These studies illustrate the bidirectionality of the work-family relationship. Work distress predicted work-to-family conflict, whereas, family distress predicted family-to-work conflict. Moreover, family-

to-work conflict was negatively related to work performance and work-to-family conflict was negatively related to family performance. Thus, two major dimensions of life, work and family, impact each other.

Spillover-Crossover Model

The third perspective, spillover-crossover, considers the dynamics between work and family roles (Teng & Pittman, 1996). In spillover, experiences in one role impact experiences in other roles within the same individual. In crossover, one individual's experiences affect the experiences of his or her partner or other significant individuals in their life. Similar to the multiple roles perspective, the spillover-crossover model considers the role dynamics of work and family, and, similar to the job demands model, it considers the effects of work on family and family on work. Equal attention to the effects of family experience on work, work experience on family, and how their intersection differs among individuals distinguishes the spillover-crossover model from the previous models (Pleck, 1995). The approach considers that individuals differ in their tendencies to carry expression and experiences from one domain to another. In essence, it's not the experience that creates stress or demand; it is the individual's responses and ways of dealing with the experience that are created (Teng & Pittman, 1996).

Although all three models help to explain the relationship between work and the family, and spillover-crossover model recognizes that individuals can interpret stresses differently, none of the models captures the uniqueness among individuals. For example, the same resources, such as the availability of kin to provide childcare, will facilitate employment among some mothers and not for others. People bring different strengths and weaknesses to their families and their jobs, which will inevitably affect work-family

linkages. In addition, the models were developed primarily with middle and upper class, white, married individuals (DeBord et al. 2000). Unmarried mothers with diverse racial/ethnic backgrounds may respond differently to the fit between work and family.

Work-Family Fit Model

Recently, models have conceptualized a fit where individuals experience compatibility, instead of conflict, between both work and family (Barnett, 1998; Teng & Pittman, 1996; Berry & Rao, 1997). If the worker's conceptualizations of work and family align, the worker finds balance and an adaptive strategy leading to a sense of compatibility. Ideally, all needs of both institutions would be met. Although this is rarely the case, workers weigh different aspects of their strategy in order to find a balance that meets their needs. This perception of balance may vary depending on one's race/ethnicity, age, values, or gender (Barnett, 1998). For example, single mothers with young children may be less career-oriented in order to spend more time at home in comparison to single bachelors seeking to climb the career ladder.

With the recognition of the unique demands facing unmarried mothers with young children, my proposed model uses Teng and Pittman's (1996) work-family fit model as a foundation and adds variables from the theoretical frameworks of Edin and Harris (1999) and Debord, Canu, and Kerpelman (2000). In Teng and Pittman's model, the work-family interface encompasses an overall exchange between needs and resources at work and needs and resources at home. Likewise, this model emphasizes the individuality of the worker and the worker's family. In order to understand an individual's work, the model recognizes that individuals differ with respect to coping styles, demands, and abilities to meet these demands. This uniqueness inevitably affects the work/family

relationship. Ideally, to find success both at work and at home, work-based demands should be paired with the workers' strengths. For example, providing in-home daycare may fit the strengths and needs of an unmarried single mother: she shares her skills of mothering with other parents in order to earn a wage.

The work family model stems from the person-environment fit in the field of organizational behavior. People's needs vary and so do the needs and resources of particular jobs (Caplan, 1987). From theories of personality, interactions between the individual and the environment determine behavior (Lewin, 1951; Murray, 1938). Strain arises from a mismatch between the individual and the job requirements (Teng & Pittman, 1996). In order to find a fit between work and family, jobs and families must meet the expectations and experiences of workers. If a single mother takes a job at a convenience store on the day shift, she expects to work days (when she is able to arrange childcare) rather than nights (when childcare is less available). Likewise, if her mother agrees to watch her toddler during the day, she assumes that her mother will not move away or change her mind. If the job and childcare arrangement do not fulfill her expectations, the single mother may need to quit the job.

As illustrated in the above example, the relationship between work and family is an interactive process between the individual and work environment and behavior changes depend on the perception of fit. To succeed at work and at home, an individual must perceive a balance along the two dimensions of demands versus abilities and rewards versus needs (Teng & Pittman, 1996). If the convenience store job does not provide enough money to meet the basic necessities of food, work clothes, and transportation, the rewards of the job, if any, may not meet her needs. Even if she is

succeeding as a clerk, the job must fit with her family. Rather than solely examining quality within roles, the work-family fit emphasizes quality across roles (Teng & Pittman, 1996). Individuals must find that the demands of work fit the family's abilities to meet these demands. In addition, the rewards and resources from work must fit with the family to maximize well-being (Bowen & Pittman, 1993).

Figure 1 depicts Teng and Pittman's work-family fit model. Workers achieve a fit between work demands and family abilities and expectations. Work demands include structure, technical, and psychosocial demands, such as work load, work hours, work shift, and challenges in the work environment. In contrast, work rewards refer to benefits delivered to the individual worker. These benefits include personal development, work support, financial benefits, employer-provided childcare assistance, and flexible work schedules (Teng & Pittman, 1996). To find a complimentary fit, the discrepancy between work demands and family abilities and expectations should be as small as possible.

In addition to a fit between demands and abilities, individuals must find a fit between work rewards and family needs. Family abilities encompass the competencies of the family in order to meet work demands. These abilities include personality, skills, education, training, and family support for the job. Family needs focus on the functions of the family and value preferences. The needs of different families are unique depending on how they value financial security, taking care of children, and expectations for the parent-child relationship (Teng & Pittman, 1996).

To reduce the discrepancy between work and family, individuals need to find work and family roles that match their expectations as best as possible. The provision of work must meet the expectations of the worker and their family. These provisions

include such characteristics as salary, scheduling, and benefits. Likewise, the family needs to fulfill the expectations of the worker whether with childcare, transportation assistance, or additional financial assistance. If the family cannot provide what the job requires, they will not receive the rewards of the job. Likewise, if the job does meet the needs and goals of the family, the family often will seek other employment. Consistency between job demands and the mother's expectations and readiness for job demands is critical to job success (Teng & Pittman, 1996).

An Expansion of the Work-Family Fit Model

Although Teng and Pittman's (1996) model expands the prior theoretical models on work and family through recognition of the importance of the individual, the model needs further expansion in order to consider the employment patterns of Hispanic, Black, and White unmarried mothers with young children. I expand the work-family fit model in order to include factors that are essential in finding and maintaining employment among this population as identified by Edin and Harris (1999) and DeBord, Canu, and Kerpelman (2000) (see Figure 2).

Edin and Harris (1999) conceptualize employment among single mothers as a decision-making process in which women decide how to combine resources from multiple sources in order to fill their roles as both mother and worker. Similar to the changing nature of relationships in the work-family fit model, Edin and Harris (1999) argue that women must combine their income sources and change their decisions as their situations change. For example, they may need to move in with family to reduce housing costs or do additional work, such as babysitting, in order to pay for rising energy bills in the winter or holiday gifts. In addition, work is a function of structural, familial, and

communal resources that mothers can use in order to survive. According to Edin and Harris (1999), employment decisions stem from individual resources, such as education, health, and work experience, labor market capital, such as welfare policies and the strength of the labor market, and family and community resources, such as social capital during childhood, including maternal education and household structure.

Drawing upon Edin and Harris' (1999) framework, I expand the work-family fit model to consider the resources and constraints of unmarried mothers. I identify the importance of social capital (Coleman, 1988; Edin & Harris, 1999). According to Coleman (1988), social capital consists of social structures and these social structures affect the decisions and actions of individuals within the structures. Social capital can provide resources that help mothers achieve their interests, such as role models for employment or connections to a potential job source. With the absence of the child's father, single mothers often begin with lower social capital because they have less access to networks, and father-child interaction is more limited, which may also limit the mother's time and resources to provide social capital (McLanahan & Sandefur, 1994). Alternatively, father's absence could increase social capital by eliminating negative social influences, such as exposure to drugs, crime, and abuse. Although social capital can include a variety of elements, including access to job networks and helpful neighbors, in this study, the education of the single mother's parents and whether she lived with both of her parents at age 15 serve as proxies of available social capital.

I also identify the importance of individual health characteristics for unmarried mothers in my expanded model. Both mental and physical health problems present barriers to the workforce for many single mothers (Cocoran et al. 2003; Acs & Loprest,

2001; Bavier, 2001), and the higher prevalence of health problems among Blacks and Hispanics than Whites in the general population due to differences in poverty, medical care, racism, and stress may create additional barriers for Blacks and Hispanics in the labor market (Williams, 2002).

As a last, yet critical, factor in the expanded work-family fit model, I include community resources from work on welfare recipients and employment. DeBord et al. (2000) identified the importance of community resources and constraints in their addition to the work-family fit model. Although the field of work and family often focuses on the workplace as the source of problems and the target for intervention, community organizations play a large role to help low-income workers find jobs, keep jobs, and care for their children. In their qualitative study of 30 recently hired welfare recipients, DeBord et al. (2000) asked respondents about different job factors, such as the benefits and the drawbacks of working. They also asked about life management with a job, including childcare issues. Congruent with their proposed model, DeBord et al (2000) found that because of the extremely limited resources of welfare mothers and the commonality of low-wage, low-benefit jobs among this population, a work-family fit model for their sample had to include the necessary supports from the community, such as available childcare, transportation, and agency assistance.

In an ideal situation, the receipt of supports from the family or community will help mothers find the appropriate fit between employment and family. Yet, Briggs (1998) identifies the relationship between receiving supports and working is nonlinear. Instead, social supports serve two different functions: leverage or coping support. If supports serve as a leverage function, the available supports will allow mothers to get

ahead, find employment, and reach self-sufficiency. Thus, mothers who receive supports will be more likely to be employed. If a mother's car breaks down, for example, and her father is able to provide the money for repairs, she is able to keep her job increasing her job stability and future opportunities for advancement.

Alternatively, supports could serve as a coping resource. In other words, the supports provide just enough for the mothers to survive month to month, but do not allow them to capitalize on employment opportunities and improve their standard of living. If a mother loses her home and moves in with her parents in a rural community, for example, this housing provides shelter and allows her to keep her child, but may not provide additional access to employment. In fact, the housing may be far from available jobs or limit her social contact with people who may know about job opportunities creating additional barriers in finding or maintaining employment. Therefore, various social supports may have different relationships with employment outcomes for unmarried mothers. Likewise, supports may work differently for Hispanic, Black, and White mothers.

Building on the current work-family literature, Figure 2 illustrates my conceptualization of the effects of the work-family interface for unmarried single mothers with young children. These mothers must find sufficient fit between their jobs and their children in order to maintain employment. To overcome substantial barriers in achieving successful employment, such as lack of available jobs, childcare problems, and health problems, they need assistance. This assistance can come from family and friends, community resources, and individual resources. Although a mother does not necessarily need support in every area, a lack of support in one area requires compensation in another

area. For example, if childcare is not available in the community, a mother's relative could provide childcare in order for the mother to work. Without supplemental support, balancing work and family is difficult for many single mothers.

The conceptual model for the proposed study helps in understanding how single mothers manage the demands of both work and family. Figure 3 illustrates the operationalization of the concepts for this study. Although the strength (and even direction) of each specific path is difficult to estimate, the proposed models suggest that family, father, and community variables combine to influence employment patterns of unmarried mothers with young children. Because single parents often face additional barriers to those faced by married parents, the consideration of informal family supports and community supports is critical in analyzing their employment patterns. The model also examines if and how race/ethnicity may affect resources and supports and employment patterns. Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites may differ in their pursuits to fit both work and family. The expanded work-family framework provides the opportunity to explore how family, community, and individual characteristics operate for unmarried Hispanic, Black, and White mothers.

Chapter 3: Review of the Literature

This chapter reviews the literature on the relationships among race/ethnicity, social support, and employment outcomes. The review begins by examining the role of social support, specifically family and community support, and its relationship to self-sufficiency. After a discussion of social supports and networks in general, the chapter explores different aspects of supports. The examination of living arrangements, economic support, childcare support, and other social supports among Hispanic, Black, and White single mothers can shed light on their access to resources for survival and support of their children. Following a review of social support, this chapter examines maternal employment and job instability among single mothers and considers how race/ethnicity and social support resources, defined as both perceived supports and received resources, influence employment practices.

Social Support and Self-Sufficiency

Edin and Lein's (1996; 1997) qualitative research serve as the backdrop for the examination of social supports and employment among unmarried mothers. Their work demonstrates the contributions that family members can make in the lives of mothers who live in precarious situations due to extreme poverty. In in-depth examinations of the survival strategies of 379 low-income, single mothers in four U.S. cities, they found that financial concerns topped the list of worries. Neither low-wage work nor welfare provided enough money to meet their families' needs. Although side work and agency support did not help mothers enter employment, the assistance of informal networks did often provided the additional resources necessary for entering low-wage employment.

To facilitate employment, low-wage mothers had unusually low expenses and received consistent and substantial cash assistance from people in their personal networks. Working mothers spent more money on essentials (for example, transportation, childcare, and clothing) each month than mothers receiving welfare, but they usually had a series of mitigating circumstances that lowered their costs of working. Welfare and working mothers were just as likely to receive support from their personal networks, but working mothers also received a greater amount of both financial and in-kind resources from these networks. In comparison to welfare recipients, working mothers were more likely to receive inexpensive childcare, had reduced commuting costs, and got health care coverage from their job or the baby's father. In fact, 90 percent of working mothers received at least one form of non-cash help, and two-thirds received two or more kinds. Over two-thirds of welfare mothers reported that lack of childcare or lack of health insurance were barriers to their working (Edin & Lein, 1997).

Race/ethnicity also strongly influenced access to these resources, and, thus was an important factor in employment among low-income mothers. Although main wages and supplemental wages among Black and White single mothers were similar, the private safety nets of Whites exceeded those available to Blacks. White mothers reported receiving approximately $300 a month from networks; Black mothers reported receiving less than $200 (Edin & Harris, 1999).

Levels of Support

Through qualitative work, Edin and Lein (1997) captured a unique glimpse into how various social supports that can change the resources of low-income women. In order to quantitatively measure the impact of these social supports on maternal

employment among unmarried Black, Hispanic, and White mothers, the following sections divide available resources into two levels: family, including the child's father, and community. The family and community levels are first examined in relation to the availability and receipt of social supports, and, then, in relation to employment and employment stability. This conceptualization demonstrates the multiple predictors that influence access to support, which inevitably affect prospects of employment. In order to more fully understand the barriers facing Hispanic and Black women, each section also discusses how the supports and employment vary by ethnicity.

Availability of Family Supports

Living Arrangements

The living arrangements of unmarried mothers may affect the availability of social support. For example, living with others often gives single mothers access to shelter, food, transportation, or childcare. In an examination of living arrangements among single mothers in 1987 National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH), Folk (1996) found that while 60 percent of mothers lived alone with their children, the remaining 40 percent were divided evenly among living with parents (13.5%), living with an unrelated, cohabiting male (14.5%), and living with another adult (14.5%). Winkler (1993) found similar living arrangements among single mothers in the 1986 CPS data: the 27 percent of mothers living with other adults fell equally into the three categories.

Unmarried mothers' living arrangements vary tremendously by race/ethnicity. The odds of living in an extended household are greater among Blacks and Hispanics than among Whites (Hogan et al. 1990; Trent & Harlan, 1994; Yoon & Waite, 1994; Tienda & Angel, 1982). Blacks and Hispanic mothers were more likely to live with at

least one parent (Yoon & Waite, 1994; Tienda & Angel, 1982), and White mothers were more likely to cohabit than Black mothers (Folk, 1996; Winkler, 1993). In an analysis of household arrangements in the 1976 Survey of Income and Education, Tienda and Angel (1982) found that female-headed households were 3.5 times more likely to be extended, even after controlling for the education, earnings, and employment status of the household head. In addition, poor, single household heads were more likely to be extended for Blacks and Hispanics than Whites (Tienda & Angel, 1982). Counter to these findings, Hao (1994) found that married families were more likely to extend. Meanwhile, high socioeconomic status predicted extended households only for Whites (Hao, 1994).

Among Blacks, extended relatives in the household are more likely to be other single parents (Winkler, 1993; Trent & Harlan, 1994; Benin & Keith, 1995). In Winkler's (1993) analysis, 73 percent of mothers living with related females were Black. Of these Black mothers, 59 percent lived with another single female compared to only 22 percent of Whites. Whites, on the other hand, were more likely to live with two parents (Winkler, 1993; Trent & Harlan, 1994). Winkler (1993) found that 31 percent of Whites lived with both parents in comparison to 18 percent of Blacks. If not living with their parents, White women were also more likely to cohabit than women of other ethnicities (Folk, 1996; Winkler, 1993).

Living arrangements are closely related to race/ethnicity and to the availability of economic resources, but research is not consistent on whether living with others increases economic resources among single mothers (Folk, 1996; Hao, 1994; Sandfort & Hill, 1994; Tienda & Angel, 1982; Yoon & Waite, 1994; Henly, 1997; Park, 2002). Yet, the

relationship between living arrangements and available resources is important because the availability of resources relates to employment outcomes. Although Henly (1997) found that White, co-habiting teens were poorer with lower aspirations than White teens living with their parents, Folk (1996) found that cohabitation among single parents was the only living arrangement that increased income adequacy for Whites. Folk (1996), in addition, found that cohabiting or doubling up among Whites (but not among Blacks) was associated with increased individual earnings, such that incomes for cohabiters were double that of Whites living alone.

There is also evidence that the influence of living arrangements on poverty and employment levels varies by ethnicity. Using NSFH data (1987-1993), Park (2002) found that cohabitation increased employment and work hours among Black respondents. But in analyzing the same sample, Folk (1996) found that although the relationship was not significant among Whites, the income among Black mothers living along was $2,800 higher than the per capita income of Black adults sharing a household. In addition, Blacks averaged lower incomes overall in each living arrangement (Folk, 1996). Although Blacks are more likely to double up with single parents, this arrangement does not necessarily contribute to positive economic well-being. In fact, single mothers who live together, a more common arrangement among Blacks than Whites, experienced the highest poverty rate (50%) among living arrangements. Consistent with poverty levels for the general population of Blacks and Whites, Black single mothers experience a greater likelihood of living in impoverished conditions than Whites. Also important is that the worse conditions among Blacks are not a simple function of individual earnings. Although single mothers living with both parents, more common among White mothers,

had lower independent incomes than mothers in other living arrangements, the entire household's average income was more than twice the poverty threshold (Winkler, 1993).

In addition to racial/ethnic and socioeconomic differences in living arrangements, several other variables indicate whether single mothers will live alone or with others. As education levels among heads of households increase, the propensity for household extension decreases (Tienda & Angel, 1982; Hao, 1994). Similarly, younger and employed heads of households are less likely to reside in extended households than their older counterparts who are not employed (Folk, 1996; Tienda & Angel, 1982). In an analysis of NLSY data, Hao (1994) found that mothers not enrolled in school without high school diplomas were least likely to live with kin, and this relationship was especially strong among Black mothers. Findings also indicate that out-of-wedlock births and higher AFDC payments decrease the rate of co-residence (Hao, 1994; London, 2000). Although Hao (1994) found the pattern significant only for Blacks, in an analysis of the 1990 Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP), London (2000) found that co-residence was negatively related to AFDC participation, relative to living independently, among Whites, Blacks and Hispanics. A reduction in AFDC or food stamps shifts single mothers from living independently or cohabiting to living with parents, thus, decreasing AFDC participation.

The rates of different living arrangements among unmarried mothers are not constant; instead, they shift over time. Canican and Reed (2001) examined the influence of changing family structures and family behaviors on poverty. In 1972, the vast majority of mothers in shared arrangements lived with relatives (89%), with an extremely small proportion cohabiting with a male partner (5%) or another non-relative (5%). In

1999, 12 percent were cohabiting. There was a corresponding drop in single mothers living alone and a modest decline in the proportion living with a related adult. Just as race/ethnicity relates to living arrangement, the changes over time differ for Whites and Blacks. As Whites have lived with others at similar rates over the last 25 years, the number of Black single mothers living without other non-relative adults increased reflecting a decline in living with parents or other relatives (Canican & Reed, 2001; Hao, 1994).

Prevalence of Kin Social Support

A great deal of literature reveals the positive relationship between perceived social support and health and mental health outcomes (Wethington & Kessler, 1986; Turner & Turner, 1999) and recent research reveals a positive relationship between this support and material well-being (Henly et al., 2005). Using data from the Women's Employment Study, Henly, et al (2005) examined the relationship of social support to material well-being. Although social support was unrelated to employment quality or wage, it did predict better economic well-being. Likewise, in a study of rural welfare recipients, Taylor (2001) found that perceived social support was positively related to both self-esteem and self-efficacy, and negatively related to depression. Although perceived social support seems to be positively related to various aspects of increased well-being, studies examining the relationship between perceived social supports and employment outcomes are scarce. Therefore, the following section reviews studies of received support and exchanged support which are related to perceived support (Henly, et al., 2005) and likely to be related to employment in a similar fashion.

Among the general population, the actual exchange of family social support is low. Hogan, Eggebeen, and Clogg (1993) in their examination of intergenerational exchanges in American families found that over half (53%) of families had a low probability of giving and receiving actual help. Seventy-two percent of individuals in this category did not give or receive help on any dimension, including help with finances, childcare, household work, or companionship.

Unlike this lack of exchange among the general public, not surprisingly, single mothers and low-income single mothers rely more heavily on support than the wider population (Hogan, et al, 1993; Gault et al. 1998). In their analysis of SIPP data from 1984 through 1989, Gault, Hartmann, and Yi (1998) found that only 26 percent of AFDC mothers were totally dependent upon welfare. The majority (57%) received help from their families. In their qualitative interviews with 33 poor single mothers, Wijnberg and Redding (1999) found that extended family helped with food, transportation, money, temporary shelter, companionship, and advice. Likewise, Kaniasty and Norris (2002) found that among Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics, individuals felt more comfortable asking for help from families, than from friends, or outside agencies or churches.

In terms of racial/ethnic disparity and social support, studies reveal contradictory findings over the past three decades. Several studies indicate that support networks may be stronger among Blacks and Hispanics than Whites (Stack, 1974; Hogan, et al. 1990; Hao, 1994; Keefe, 1996; Sagrestano, et al. 1999). From experience living in a low-income Black neighborhood for approximately two years, Stack's ethnography reveals the elaborate systems of cooperation among individuals in a poor, Black area. For example, when one mother received an agency check of $100 dollars for a new sofa, she

sacrificed the purchase of the sofa in order to divide the money among her network to pay for essentials, such as medical care and food. The social exchanges of both time and material goods among these networks far surpassed economic transactions.

Quantitative research also supports the idea of strong kin networks among Blacks and Hispanics. In an analysis of kin networks, childcare, and financial support using NLSY (1984) data, Hogan, Hao, and Parish (1990) found that Blacks were more involved in support networks than Whites after controlling for living arrangement. Access to kin was stronger among Blacks. For Hispanics, Keefe (1996) found similar results in her survey of 700 individuals in Southern California. Only 11 percent of White networks consisted of kin, while the networks of first, second, and third generation Mexican Americans involved much higher proportions of kin, 52 percent, 41 percent, and 24 percent, respectively. In addition to greater contacts, Sagrestano, Feldman, Rini, Woo, and Dunkel-Schetter's (1999) examination of social supports among Black, white, and Hispanic pregnant women shows that Black and Hispanic mothers perceive a higher quality of family interaction than White women.

Similar to, and possibly related to, the shifting trends in living arrangements, the networks among different race/ethnicities may also be shifting. Although Blacks and Hispanics were more likely to rely on informal kin support in the late seventies and early eighties, recent literature indicates that kin support may be declining among these groups (Brewster & Padavic, 2002; Hogan, et al. 1993; McDonald & Armstrong, 2001; Roschelle, 1997b). Brewster and Padavic (2002) used cross sections of Current Population Surveys (CPS) and Surveys of Income and Program Participation (SIPP) to assess how kin care declined among Blacks from 1977 to 1994. They found a complex

relationship between culture and structure. Whereas Blacks wanted to provide support, financial and social constraints limited the material and in-kind support that they could give. With the rise of employment, Black mothers could no longer provide the quantity of support to other family members in comparison to earlier times. Although the rise in employment increases the demand for childcare and other in-kind supports, Brewster and Padavic (2002) found that employment also lowered the supply. Roschelle (1997b) found similar trends among Hispanics and kin support using the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH). Her findings indicate that the kinship networks traditionally linked with ethnic minority neighborhoods have declined because of structural constraints.

Not only may the kinship support advantage among Blacks and Hispanics have disappeared. Hogan, Eggebeen, and Clogg (1993) provide evidence that Black networks are significantly worse off than the networks of Whites or Hispanics. In an evaluation of kin relationships using NSFH (1987-1988) data, they found that Blacks were less likely than Whites or Hispanics to be involved in any sort of assistance. The authors surmised that Blacks lacked both the financial and human capital to meet the needs of all family generations.

Qualitative interviews with Black grandmothers who had been teen mothers themselves also support thisdecline in relative support among single Black mothers. McDonald and Armstrong (2001) found that grandmothers reported lower levels of kin available to help young single mothers today. Even though the respondents reported turning to their mothers for support when their children were young, they feel

sympathetic towards grandmothers today who experienced tough lives already and do not want the added responsibility of raising their grandchildren.

The findings of Kaniasty and Norris (2000) support the declining kin support among Hispanics. They explored social support exchanges among Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics in different contexts through 404 face-to-face longitudinal interviews. In comparison to Blacks and Whites, Hispanics were least likely to receive emotional, tangible, and informational support from all sources, including family, friends, and agencies. This lack of support most likely arises from a combination of a depletion of resources and a discomfort in asking for support. Both Whites and Blacks were more willing to ask for help under non-emergency situations than Hispanics.

The declining trend of network assistance among Blacks and Hispanics may also be reflected in levels of emotional support. In an analysis of the available supports among 256 Black and White teen mothers, Henly (1997) assessed emotional support by asking the mothers if they would have someone to talk to in five hypothetical situations, such as if they were lonely or depressed or if they needed advice about something to do with their children. Eighty-seven percent of White mothers reported access to support on all five dimensions compared with 77 percent of Black mothers, a significant difference, indicating that race influences the availability of emotional support.

In addition to race/ethnicity, socioeconomic factors predict kin support. High socioeconomic status increases the chance of receiving help from families (Benin & Keith, 1995; Hao, 1994; Hogan et al. 1993; Jayakody et al. 1993; Kaniasty & Norris, 2000; Parish et al. 1991; Roschelle, 1997b). Hogan, Eggebeen, and Clogg (1993) found that higher education levels equated to greater involvement and higher reciprocal

relationships. Not surprisingly, unmarried mothers also experience a higher level of kin support than married mothers (Hogan et al. 1993, Marks & McLanahan, 1993; Sagrestano et al. 1993). This increased support in not evenly distributed among all kin (Marks & McLanahan, 1993; Turner & Marino, 1994). In an examination of kin and friend support in the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH), Marks and McLanahan (1993) found that although single mothers experienced increased interactions with parents and siblings, they were less involved with other kin than married mothers.

Using the NSFH (1992-1994), Sarkisian and Gerstel (2004) found that Blacks were more likely than Whites to exchange household help, transportation, and child care; however, differences in structural position and access to resources were more important in predicting kin exchanges than race. Social class position (defined by education and occupation) was strongly related to the resource exchanges. In addition, the high level of reciprocity found among households with scarce resources supports the idea that low-income mothers are embedded within low-income extended families and that kin exchanges cannot compensate for the struggles that many low-income mothers face when trying to meet their routine needs.

Inconsistent findings about the impact of age on kin and social supports may be due to the multiple ways of measuring support (Hogan et al., 1993; Sagrestano et al., 1999; Turner & Marino, 1994). In an examination of monetary and material resources, care, household work, and companionship and advice in the NSFH (1987-1988), Hogan, Eggebeen, and Clogg (1993) found that younger mothers received more support. In contrast, Turner and Marino found that in their Canadian sample of 1,400 individuals, age had a curvilinear relationship with social support measured by the Provisions of Social

Relations Scale. Although the sample consisted of more than single mothers, the lowest levels of support were for 18 to 25 year-olds; support peaked for 35 to 45 year-olds, and then declined as individuals entered old age. This distribution, interestingly, is a mirror image of the rates of depression for the population: lower support levels were correlated with higher depression levels.

Additional demographic characteristics contribute to the possibility of receiving kin support. Whereas 39 percent of mothers of preschoolers received at least one form of intergenerational assistance including material resources, care, household work, and companionship, only 18 percent of other mothers received this support. Grandparents were 85 percent more likely to provide support to a child raising a preschooler than a child raising an older child (Hogan et al., 1993). Additionally, a mother typically receives more support if the birth was her first and if the baby's father was absent (Sagrestano et al., 1999). Mothers with married parents and with a smaller number of siblings, similarly, receive more support. Although a large number of siblings diminish kin resources, having older siblings increase support (Hao, 1994). These relationships provide hope for mothers in need. While a limited amount of resources exist, the mothers with lower demands on family resources and the greatest needs receive higher amounts of kin support.

Immigration strongly contributes to kin support among Hispanics. Keefe (1996) found that although first-generation Mexican Americans exchanged assistance the least, perhaps because their networks remained in Mexico, even less than among Whites, second and third generation Mexican Americans visited more kin members and exchanged more support than Whites. The Mexican Americans born in the US clearly

had the most integrated networks. Similarly, in their examination of acculturation status and family cohesiveness among 500 pregnant women, Balcazar, Peterson, and Krull (1997) found that highly-acculturated women had higher degrees of kin support.

Economic Support from Kin

Although kin support in general can help unmarried mothers, many single mothers depend upon economic support for family survival (see, for example, Edin & Lein, 1996). Research indicates that many kin provide financially for their relatives, with White kin providing significantly more than Black kin. While studies indicate that between 34 and 38 percent of Whites receive financial assistance, the range for Blacks is 15 to 27 percent (Hao, 1994; Harknett, 2001; Henly, 1997; Hogan et al., 1990; Jayakody et al., 1993; Parish et al., 1991). This financial assistance can lead to greater family satisfaction among single mothers. In their study using the National Survey of Black Americans, Jayakody et al. (1993) found that mothers reporting high levels of family satisfaction were more likely to get financial assistance.

Research on kin financial support among Hispanics is more limited and mixed than the consistent findings for Blacks and Whites. While some studies find that Hispanic and White families receive similar amounts of support (Hogan et al., 1990; Parish et al., 1991), others find that Hispanics receive less financial support from kin than Whites. Roschelle's (1997b) quantitative analysis of NSFH data finds that because of structural constraints that limit incomes of Hispanics, Whites are more likely to provide financial assistance to each other. Likewise, in qualitative interviews with Puerto Ricans, Roschelle (1997a) finds that they would like to provide childcare and household assistance, but rigid work schedules limit opportunities to provide these social supports.

In addition to race, several family characteristics are indicative of financial support from kin. While nationally-representative research finds that never-married mothers are more likely to receive financial assistance (Parish et al., 1991; Hao, 1994), Jayakody et al. (1993) found that among Blacks at high levels of poverty, never-married women are *not* more likely to receive assistance. Likewise, when single parents have more children, they receive less financial support (Parish et al., 1991; Hogan et al., 1993). Kin support also weakens as mothers enter their twenties and live further away from their parents (Parish et al., 1991). Education of the single mother and her parents can also influence financial assistance. In a study using the NLSY, Hao (1994) found that unmarried mothers without a high school degree were more likely to receive income support. In addition, among Black mothers, the higher the education of the respondent's mother, the higher the level of income support. Although the mother's education was significantly higher among Blacks receiving support, the father's education was a stronger predictor of support among unmarried White mothers.

Economic Support from Child's Father

Economic support from the child's father can also provide an important source of support to unmarried mothers. Incarcerations, domestic violence, and minimal incomes often limit fathers' economic and social contributions (McLanahan, 1997), but fathers can be important resources to their children. In a longitudinal study of unmarried mothers using PSID data, Sandfort and Hill (1996) found child support was the only source of income that consistently predicted both self-sufficient income and self-sufficiency through marriage for unmarried mothers at latter waves of the study. Income from food stamps and shared housing arrangements did not predict self-sufficiency.

After controlling for structural and individual factors, every $100 a mother received in child support before her child was age five increased her self-sufficient income when her child's age was 5, 6, and 7 years by $168 a month.

Child support from a child's father may also vary by race/ethnicity. Although post-welfare campaigns to increase child support among unmarried mothers may have changed the distribution of mothers receiving support, pre-welfare reform studies contribute to an understanding of child support at that time. In a study of income contributions among welfare recipients and low-wage workers in the National Evaluation of Welfare-to-Work Strategies from 1991 to 1993, Harknett (2001) found that Black mothers were significantly less likely to receive child support than White mothers. While 13.5 percent of White mothers reported receiving child support, only 6.4 and 9.2 percent of Black and Hispanic mothers, respectively, reported receiving support from the child's father.

Child Care Support

Frequently mentioned as a barrier to employment (for example, Henly & Lyons, 2000), child care is a necessity for the vast majority of unmarried mothers with young children seeking employment. The use of relatives for childcare has varied over the last four decades. While center care use rose throughout the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, relative care declined. In 1958, 42 percent of employed mothers with infants and toddlers in child care used relative care while only 21 percent of mothers used relatives in 1990, a relative decrease of 50 percent (Hofferth, et al., 1991). Recent studies indicate that the use of relative care has shifted and is currently rising. In 1997, 23 percent of children were cared for by relatives compared with 27 percent in 1999 (Sonenstein et al., 2002).

In addition, the number of low-income families with no child care expenses because of the help from relatives increased from 13 percent in 1997 to 16 percent in 1999 (Giannarelli, 2003).

Among unmarried mothers, childcare support can play a critical role in facilitating survival. The percentage of mothers using this type of care varies tremendously depending on many factors including race/ethnicity, availability, need, affordability, quality, and preference (Henly & Lyons, 2000; Hogan et al., 1990; Parish et al., 1991; Uttal, 1999). In their examination of how 57 low-income single mothers in Los Angles constructed and negotiated their childcare needs and demands, mothers consistently mentioned cost (21%), convenience (38%), and quality (52%). In terms of cost, a flexible payment schedule with the availability of in-kind payments was important. Convenience was important because 75 percent of the mothers reported little control of their working schedules, creating an increasing need for flexible providers. The location's safety as well as the provider's trustworthiness also contributed to the mothers' childcare decisions. Mothers tended to prefer informal care for both cost and convenience, but this option was not available to everyone. Overall, the low-income mothers felt that their financial problems led to the instability of formal childcare, while unreliable providers limited the stability of informal arrangements (Henly & Lyons, 2000).

In a nationally representative sample of childcare users, approximately one-sixth to one-third relied regularly on informal childcare (Henly & Lyons, 2000; Parish et al., 1991; Sonenstein et al., 2002). In some situations, mothers can rely even more heavily on informal care. In ethnography of childcare patterns among 42 low-income mothers of

small children, Chaudry (2004) found that although all of the mothers would have liked to use formal childcare, almost all mothers relied upon kin and informal networks at some point during their children's first four years of life because no other childcare was available to them. However, informal family care may decrease family satisfaction. Jayakody et al. (1993) found that among a nationally representative sample of Black mothers, mothers who were very satisfied with their extended family relationships were less likely to receive childcare assistance from them.

In addition to correlating with family dissatisfaction, kin care does not necessarily mean free childcare. Using preliminary data from Institute for Women's Policy Research (IWPR), Gault, Hartmann, and Yi (1998) found that 50 percent of mothers paid for kin childcare. Whether or not the mother paid for care often depended on the provider: among those using parents, 33 percent paid, while 71 percent of those using other relatives paid, and 83 percent of those using non-relatives paid. These childcare payments can consume a large portion of single mothers' tight budgets. Twenty percent of welfare recipients' budgets and 13 percent of low-income working single mothers' budgets went to childcare (IWPR, 1996).

The association between race/ethnicity and informal childcare is unclear. Research indicates that Blacks and Hispanics have greater access (Keefe, 1996; Parish et al., 1991), the same access (Henly, 1997; Uttal, 1999), or less access to informal childcare (Benin & Keith, 1995; Hogan, et al. 1990; Roschelle, 1997b) than Whites. In their examinations of the NLSY (1984), although Parish, Hao, and Hogan (1991) found that Black mothers were more likely to have kin-assisted childcare, Hogan, Hao, and Parish (1990) found after controlling for kin co-residence, the use of home childcare is

substantially lower among Blacks than Whites. In addition, Hogan et al. (1990) found that 66 percent of Black mothers reported a problem with childcare availability compared to 66 percent of Whites. In contrast, in her sample of 253 Wisconsin adolescent welfare mothers, Henly (1997) found that childcare access did not differ for Blacks and Whites among this needy population.

Despite the lack of consensus on informal care use by race/ethnicity, studies do indicate different desires and beliefs about childcare among Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites (Litt et al., 2000; Uttal, 1999). Although Uttal (1999) found in an ethnographic study of 33 Black, white, Mexican American mothers that the use of kin childcare did not differ, the perception of this use of care did. Whites thought that kin childcare was unacceptable, while Blacks and Mexican Americans thought that it was perfectly acceptable. In fact, Mexican American mothers stated that kin-based care allowed them to provide better economic opportunities to their parents than were available in the formal job market. Mothers could pay their parents more money for watching the children than the grandparents could make on their own. Roschelle (1997a) found similar findings in her qualitative study of Puerto Ricans. They strongly valued kin-care and used it when available.

Availability of Community Supports

Agency Support

Agency support is an important community resource that strongly impacts the success of unmarried mothers in the labor market. For example, unmarried mothers frequently mention a lack of access to community resources, such as transportation and childcare, as barriers to employment (Canican & Reed, 2001; DeBord et al, 2000; Edin &

Lein, 1997; Scott et al., 2000; Wijnberg & Reding, 1999). Individuals transitioning into employment frequently rely upon agency support. Using a welfare-to-work sample of Michigan respondents in the WES, Danziger and Wang (2004) found that 44 percent of the recipients combined welfare supports and work. The additional supports offered under the PWRORA aim to make transitions to work easier and increase the role of agencies in women's employment.

Recent studies indicate that White clients receive more agency supports than others. In one study in Virginia, 47 percent of White recipients, but no Black recipients received discretionary transportation assistance beyond the gas vouchers available to all recipients (Gooden, 1998). In another study in Virginia, 41 percent of White recipients, but no Black recipients were referred to discretionary educational programs (Pittz & Delgado, 2002). Similarly, in Illinois, approximately 50 percent of Whites were referred to educational programs compared to 19 percent of Blacks. In terms of compliance, welfare workers closed 54 percent of cases of people of color because the recipient failed to comply with program rules, while only 39 percent of White cases were closed for this reason (Woodside, 2001). Therefore, racial discriminaton may influence access to agency supports (Gooden, 1998).

Religion

In a review of the literature, George, Ellison, and Larson (2002) identify religion as an important contributor to social support in the community. Religion and good health are commonly associated with one another, and limited evidence suggests that social support may strongly mediate this relationship. Ellison and George (1994) found that individuals who attend religious services frequently have larger social networks, more

contact with network members, and receive more social support. The average person who attended services several times a week reported 2.25 more non-kin ties than the person who never attended services. In terms of tangible assistance, each incremental change in religious attendance increased the odds of receiving gifts or presents from friends and relatives by 31 percent. Religious attendance also increased the availability of financial advice and handyman services by 12 and 10 percent, respectively.

In addition to enhancing social supports, religion may play a particularly important role for certain subgroups of the population, including groups within this study's population. An analysis of the Americans' Changing Lives national survey data found that Blacks, lower-income individuals, and women are more likely to attend religious services than their counterparts. Not only are Blacks more likely to participate in religious services, but the effects of religion may also be stronger for them in comparison to Whites. The researchers found that religious practice can help in coping with problems, especially among Blacks. Additionally, Black churches may provide additional tangible supports for their members. In sum, religion may provide access to community supports in order to encourage and enable employment among unmarried mothers.

Summary: Role of Social Support

The role of social support in the lives of many unmarried mothers is substantial. Yet, because available supports vary by a wide array of factors including race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status, age, and living arrangement, not all single mothers have equal access to these supports. Importantly, although kin support may provide short-term relief, it does not compensate for the multiple barriers that single mothers face (Henly, et

al., 2005; Parish et al., 1991). In the NSFH, Benin and Keith (1995) found that less than half of working mothers received transportation or childcare assistance when their children were sick. Likewise, Litt, Gaddis, Fletcher, and Winter (2000) found instability saturated and compounded in the lives of single mothers, including job instability, low wages, volatile childcare and transportation arrangements, and unstable personal relationships.

The recent decrease in assistance within Black and Hispanic families may create additional barriers for these groups. With only 24 percent of unmarried Black mothers receiving economic support and 19 percent receiving childcare help from other family members in the National Survey of Black Americans, Joyakody et al. (1993) conclude that kin and social support does not compensate for the social and economic difficulties of unmarried mothers. Similarly, Roschelle (1997a) identifies that networks are important among Hispanics for cultural survival, yet are becoming increasingly unavailable among low-income populations. Exchange reciprocity no longer appears to be an available coping strategy for many people in poverty.

Employment

Although the patterns and availability of social supports among Blacks, Hispanics, and Whites are intriguing, the exploration becomes more relevant when considering how these patterns affect maternal employment in the era of welfare reform. Employment does not equate to economic survival. For example, if a single mother works full-time, year round at minimum wage, she receives $10,700, yet the poverty threshold for a single mother under 65 and one child in 2003 was $12,682 (Stegman, et al., 2000; US Census Bureau, 2003b). This difference widens when considering the

current debate among policy-makers about whether this threshold is arbitrarily low (for discussion, see Citro & Michael, 1995). Low-wage work dramatically affects single mothers. In 1997, over a third of female workers had hourly wages that did not allow them to earn amounts at or above the federal poverty level even if they worked full-time, all year (Kaye & Nightingale, 1999). Because the acquisition of a job does not mean job security and reliable income, the examination of employment stability in addition to employment levels is important.

In an examination of employment among welfare recipients using the PSID (1984-1986), Harris (1993) found tremendous fluctuations within a single year indicating that welfare receipt is dynamic among many poor mothers. Welfare mothers tend to have frequent contact with the labor market and combine or substitute welfare and work incomes in order to survive. In addition, Gault, Hartmann, and Yi's (1998) analysis of low-income single mothers using IWPR data indicates that the number of times that women start and stop jobs strongly impacts welfare recipients' poverty status. The following section describes employment levels, as well as employment stability, predictors, and barriers to employment, and the contributions of social supports.

Race/Ethnicity and Employment

Most mothers, and even a greater percentage of single mothers are employed. Among Whites, and even more so for Hispanics, single female heads participate in the labor force more than married mothers, while the reverse is true for Blacks (Canican & Reed, 2001; Tienda & Glass, 1985). A review of employment trends also demonstrates substantial differences in the rates of employment growth among racial/ethnic groups. Among single mothers with children under six, employment increased most dramatically

among Black mothers, from 53 percent in 1990 to 75 percent in 1999. The increase was less dramatic for Whites and Hispanics. Employment among White mothers increased from 71 to 79 percent, and among Hispanic mothers from 50 to 59 percent (Canican & Reed, 2001). Mothers' increased employment and the varying rates of change among Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites call for an examination of employment among single mothers in the era of welfare reform.

Although Whites and Blacks are employed at higher rates than Hispanics, the relationship changes when considering job and family characteristics. In studying a variety of populations and factors affecting employment levels, studies vary on the strength and direction of the relationship (Edin & Harris, 1999; Hao, 1994; Harknett, 2001; Harris, 1993; Shapiro & Mott, 1979; Taniguchi & Rosenfeld, 2000). Shapiro and Mott (1979) examined employment patterns among Black and White new mothers using the National Longitudinal Survey of Young Women. White mothers were less likely than Black mothers to participate in the labor force. The relationship was accentuated when examining high-income women. In contrast, using the NLSY (1979-1987), Yoon and Waite (1994) examined the determinants of women's return to work after the birth of their first child and found no differences between Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics, irrespective of other characteristics. Approximately 63 percent of each group returned to work within one year of giving birth. Although poorly-educated Blacks were less likely to return to work in comparison to poorly-educated Whites, after considering other factors in the mother's economic, social, and demographic background, Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites entered the labor force at the same rates.

Changes in job markets since the 1970s have affected the work experiences of mothers today, especially among non-Whites. With deindustrialization, the jobs in low-skilled manufacturing have declined. Skilled jobs have increased over the past thirty years creating a mismatch between available jobs and the jobs that single parents seek. In addition, many jobs have disappeared from the inner-city, creating an additional barrier or spatial mismatch. Together, deindustrialization and skills and spatial mismatches disproportionately affect the job prospects of Blacks and Hispanics because they are more likely to come from households of manufacturing workers, have low skills, and live in the inner cities (Browne, 1999).

Tilly (1996) illustrates how employment decisions among low-income workers, including many single mothers, may be extremely difficult given current labor market trends. On his evaluation of the seven dimensions of employment, the benefits of work declined dramatically for workers over the last 25 years. Wages in private industries fell 13 percent between 1973 and 1995. In addition, earnings inequality widened by race and education so that low-wage workers experienced even greater wage cuts. Employment benefits (for example, health insurance) also deteriorated. Fewer benefits, less flexible job hours, fewer opportunities for long-duration jobs, and greater downward mobility all contributed to the problems of workers, especially low-income workers of color.

Race/Ethnicity and Employment Among Low-Income Samples

Because unmarried mothers are more likely to live below the poverty level and receive welfare payments than married mothers, studies on this population often focus on welfare-receiving or welfare-susceptible mothers. An examination of welfare recipients seeking employment revealed that race/ethnicity may influence the employment process.

In an evaluation of a state innovation welfare-to-work program, White welfare recipients were more successful during the employment process. During job interviews, 55 percent of Blacks were interviewed for five minutes or less while all interviews with White applicants lasted ten minutes or longer. In addition, Blacks were more often subjected to pre-employment tests (Pittz & Delgado, 2002). The barriers that many low-income Blacks face on the job market may influence employment rates. In a synthesis of state studies of employment among welfare recipients, Woodside (2001) found that among mothers who left welfare, more White families had left for work while more Blacks had been sanctioned.

However, other studies indicate that Blacks are more likely to be working than Whites. In an examination of labor market participation among Hispanic, Black, and White welfare recipients using Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation data from 1991 and 1993, Harknett (2001) found that White women worked less than Blacks and about the same as Hispanics. Although 52 percent of Black respondents worked for at least one month in the two-year study period, only 44 percent of both Hispanics and Whites worked. Similarly, in a study of employment patterns among young, Black and White women in the NLSY (1979), Hao (1994) found that White, unmarried mothers were more likely than Black unmarried mothers to stay out of the labor market and receive AFDC payments. Likewise, after controlling for other explanatory factors, Black women were less likely to leave the job market once employed than White women.

Welfare Exits

Although studies indicate that Blacks are more likely to return to welfare than Whites, the lack of commitment to the labor force may not account for these differences

(Edin & Harris, 1999). Evidence demonstrates that marriage and kin support seem to make the difference in the lower return rates for Whites than Blacks and Hispanics (Edin & Harris, 1999; Harknett, 2001). White women were more likely to marry and to cohabit after leaving welfare than Blacks. Black women seemed to distrust men more and had low marriage rates, which exacerbated their problems (Edin & Harris, 1999). In addition, as evidenced in other quantitative and qualitative work (for example, Edin & Lein, 1996; Parish, et al. 1991), Edin and Harris (1999) found that working mothers needed help from kin, boyfriends, and their children's fathers in order to maintain employment, but Blacks received less cash assistance from these sources.

Although Harris (1993) did not find that race was significant in determining a mother's route off of welfare, Edin and Harris (1999) found that Hispanic, Black, and White mothers avoided welfare returns through different pathways. Using PSID data, Edin and Harris (1999) found that White single mothers were more likely to find a male partner, and Black mothers who remained off welfare were more likely to live in urban areas, have higher levels of formal education, have lower earnings, and to have exited welfare and remained in poverty. In addition, Blacks were more likely to increase earnings in the labor market through work experience, whereas Whites increased their income through education, cohabitation, or marriage. This supports Wilson (1996) findings that inner-city Black females have a much more limited mate selection due to Black men's high mortality, prison, and unemployment rates. The few desirable men available are in high demand. This may minimize their need to marry the mothers of their children and limits marriage as an exit from welfare. The lack of available, desirable men and the consequence that a higher proportion of Hispanics and Blacks must

leave welfare through employment may create additional hardships among Hispanics and Blacks because the more successful methods of mate selection and kinship may be less available.

Race/Ethnicity and Employment Stability

Race/ethnicity may also affect employment stability (Edin & Harris, 1999; Taniguchi and Rosenfeld, 2000). Taniguchi and Rosenfeld (2000) examined the determinants of employment transitions among Hispanic, Black, and White women using the NLSY from 1979 to 1993 and found stronger work efforts by Hispanics and Blacks than Whites. In the analysis, after controlling for job and family variables, Blacks and Hispanics reentered the labor market 15 and 12 percent, respectively, quicker in comparison to Whites. Thus, the rates of return for Hispanics and Blacks were higher than one would predict based on previous wages, experience, and education. However, the length of employment was longer for Whites than for Blacks or Hispanics, although the effect of being Hispanic was no longer significant after considering job-related variables, such as wage and work hours. The non-employment spells among Whites were also the shortest.

Shorter employment spells may explain Blacks' higher rates of welfare recidivism. In an examination of AFDC participants' spells of work and welfare using PSID data from 1983 to 1988, Edin and Harris (1999) found that Blacks were 48 percent more likely than Whites to return to welfare after a work exit. Because White welfare leavers were more than twice as likely to be high school dropouts than Blacks, this disproportionate return rate among Blacks may arise out of their limited labor market opportunities and lower levels of social capital.

Although some studies indicate that race/ethnicity affects employment stability, the literature lacks consensus. In their examination of low-skilled workers using the NLSY (1978-1993), Holzer and LaLonde (2000) found that even though Black individuals did have higher transitions to unemployment, after considering personal and other job characteristics, race/ethnicity was not a factor in job stability.

Single Mothers and Motivation Towards Employment

When considering the multiple barriers that welfare recipients face, especially Black and Hispanic recipients, the massive forced exits from welfare to the workforce are especially problematic. TANF requires that the vast majority of single mothers find a job and leave assistance within two years. Although federal law states that the government's goals are employment and self-sufficiency, the goals and outlooks of the individual mothers themselves is of fundamental importance because mothers must see working as a feasible option in order to enter the labor force.

Scott, London, and Edin (2000) examine how welfare-reliant mothers view work-family trade-offs and marriage in the age of welfare reform through qualitative interviews conducted in 1997 and 1998 for the Project on Devolution and Urban Change. Welfare recipients felt that work would allow them to purchase the necessities, pay old bills, and meet their children's needs. In addition to meeting material needs, women felt that leaving welfare would help themselves and their children psychologically. With increased self-confidence and respect, the mothers hoped to be better role models for their children. The women anticipated that children's status would improve, and the children would no longer be ridiculed about "being on welfare." Although mothers did raise concerns about the costs of working, including childcare, transportation, loss of

guidance and supervision of their children, and the lack of "quality" family time, the anticipated increase of disposable income outweighed the costs of entering the labor market. Because mothers anticipated increased earnings upon labor market entry, they may be disappointed when available jobs provide little, if any, economic gains over welfare.

Although mothers most likely overestimated economic gains from employment, they were realistic about work prospects. Many stated that they would need time to adjust to employment. Mothers also understood their job limitations because of low levels of formal education and little job experience. Most realized that they would be working in female-dominated, low-skill, low-wage jobs without benefits in the service and manufacturing sectors. After all, the women felt that with the enforcement of TANF time limits, they had no other choice but to work. Their aspirations constrained by realities of the labor market, class background, limited educations and job experience, and limited opportunities.

While they were convinced that they could achieve employment, they also expressed an overwhelming uncertainty about being able to survive with no safety net, and rightfully so. The jobs that they described are unlikely to pull them out of poverty. The demand for less-skilled workers has declined and wages in these jobs have declined, which both contribute to job instability and the struggle to reach economic independence (Browne, 1999; Scott et al., 2000). The employment decisions of unmarried mothers hinge on a job's (or a combination of jobs') ability to meet their families' needs.

Race as a Structural Barrier

Although many low-income workers experience substantial barriers to employment, Hispanics and Blacks suffer additionally through lower wages than Whites after controlling for human capital characteristics. Throughout the last three decades, White women not only earned the highest wages among women, but they were also more successful in finding a job when searching for work. While Blacks' wages stalled in the 1980s, Hispanic and White wages steeply increased. In the 1990s, Blacks' wages remained stagnant, Whites' wages continued to rise, and Hispanics' wages fell. Although the gender gap for wages between Black men and women has been reduced in recent decades, the race-based gap between Whites and Blacks has widened (Browne, 1999). For example, welfare recipients who got jobs, Whites earned the most. From 1997 to 1999, the median hourly wage for White leavers was $7.31, significantly more than the $6.88 for Blacks or $6.71 of Hispanics (Woodside, 2001). In addition, between 1979 and 1996, the education-related discrepancy in wages grew between Blacks and Whites versus Hispanics (Browne, 1999).

The labor market treats Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics differently, creating differences in single mothers' abilities to achieve and maintain employment. Hispanics, Blacks and Whites were equally as likely to be employed, but Hispanics and Blacks had lower total incomes (Harknett, 2001). Work is less likely to provide a road out of poverty for Hispanics and Blacks than Whites, further complicating the road to employment for these groups (Edin & Harris, 1999; Harknett, 2001; Harris, 1993). In Harknett's (2001) analysis of the National Evaluation of Welfare-to-Work strategies, Blacks were more likely to return to welfare after continuously working since their last exit. Although 38

percent of Blacks who returned to welfare had worked continuously, only 18 percent of Whites had done so. Blacks experienced nearly identical (Edin & Harris, 1999) or slightly lower (Harknett, 2001) wages upon employment, but Blacks were more likely to be living in poverty because they worked fewer hours.

Community Influences on Employment

Community characteristics and available resources are also related to employment outcomes (DeBord et al., 2000; Gault et al., 1998; Harris, 1993; Park, 2002; Parish et al., 1991; Sandfort & Hill, 1994). Gault et al. (1998) found in an examination of IWPR data of welfare and low-income mothers that job training facilitated higher employment levels, but the success of job preparedness programs may vary depending on the race/ethnicity of the clients. In an analysis of welfare-to-work mothers in California, Harknett (2001) found that although job programs promoted employment among Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites, the greatest effects were found among Whites, followed by Hispanics and, lastly, Blacks, an indication that racial discrimination may continue to operate.

Although work programs can increase employment levels, single mothers continue to face severe barriers. The increased costs of employment, such as child care, transportation, and work clothes contribute to barriers single mothers face in finding and maintaining employment (Canican & Reed, 2001; DeBord et al., 2000; Edin & Lein, 1996). In their qualitative interviews with 30 newly-hired welfare recipients, DeBord, Canu, Kerpelman (2000) found that respondents had social, emotional, and resource needs, along with job security, child care, and transportation concerns. Thus, community resources were essential in promoting work and work success.

Single mothers must also manage dual demands with fewer resources and less flexibility than married mothers (Henly & Lyons, 2000). For example, Benin and Keith (1995) found that among working mothers in the NSFH (1988), less than 50 percent at all income levels could find childcare for their children when they are sick. Single mothers often do not have the luxury of taking a sick day to care for their children.

Low-income single mothers' community support preferences may differ substantially from those of higher-income mothers. In an examination of work and childcare assistance among low-wage and high-wage workers, Kossek (1991) found that low-wage workers expressed a greater preference for childcare in their community than at the work site than high-wage workers. In addition, Lambert (1998) found that family supports, including childcare, elder supports, personal counseling and similar services were more important to lower-level workers than white-collar workers and managers. The increasing pressure on welfare recipients to take jobs, regardless of pay, schedule, or benefits accentuates the need for community supports (Lambert, 1999).

The qualitative work of Nelson and Smith (1999) demonstrate the many difficulties of low-wage workers. In their sample of Vermont households, "bad job" households, or households with jobs with few benefits, low wages, and job instability, could not tolerate short-term job-related expenses. Without vacation or benefits, there is no safety net when a child becomes ill or the car breaks down. Workers with young children, often dependent upon the schedules of others, leave employment more frequently. For working mothers, handling a family crisis is more important than keeping a job. The lack of extra resources and job networks among workers in "bad jobs" further exacerbates their troubles. Single mothers cannot afford to be choosy with their jobs. In

addition, bad jobs tend to run in families, thus, extremely limiting escape to higher paying jobs with benefits.

Job characteristics and job experience may also influence job stability. Holzer and LaLonde (2000) found that shorter job duration of current and previous job and less employment experience were strongly inversely associated with lower transition rates, or longer job tenures. Similarly, limited work experiences among high school dropouts created a low transition into employment and high transitions out of employment. Previous job instability may create additional barriers for single mothers returning to the workforce. The loss of early employment experience due to motherhood may also cause their employment difficulties to persist over time.

Low wages, often associated with single mothers and minorities (Browne, 1999), also increase job instability (Holzer & LaLonde, 2000; Taniguchi & Rosenfeld, 2000). In their examination of the NLSY (1978-1993), Holzer and LaLonde (2000) found that although lower starting wages increased employment transitions, a higher starting wage and a higher average occupational pay were associated with greater job stability. In addition, using the NLSY (1979-1993), Taniguchi and Rosenfeld (2000) found racial/ethnic differences in the influence of wage on employment stability. Black women with very low wages were more likely than Hispanic or White women to leave employment.

Human Capital and Employment

Human capital can serve as another important resource for unmarried mothers with young children. In a study of the employment patterns among low-income mothers using PSID (1983-1988) data, Edin and Harris (1999) show that family background,

including household type, maternal education, and urbanization, can influence labor market success. In their analysis of predictors of welfare re-entry, although 68 percent of mothers from two-parent households remained off of welfare over the six-year period compared to 50 percent of mothers from one-parent households. Likewise, of mothers living in an urban area, approximately 65 percent of mothers who returned to welfare compared to only 28 percent who remained off welfare, indicating that mothers in urban areas have higher rates of welfare recidivism.

The variation of geographic location among races may partially account for employment differences. Only 42 percent of Whites grew up in an urban area compared to 68 percent of Blacks. Although urbanization can affect employment rates independently of race, the influence of being in an urban area differed for Blacks and Whites. Forty-nine percent of Whites who returned to welfare grew up in an urban area in comparison to 82 percent of Blacks (Edin & Harris, 1999). Thus, inner-city White neighborhoods may offer employment opportunities that are not available in other inner-city neighborhoods. These differences highlight the importance of considering unmarried mothers' unique characteristics when examining what promotes and limits stable employment.

Mother's Market Value

In considering employment, mothers' levels of human capital clearly affect their employment (Hao, 1994; Taniguchi & Rosenfeld, 2000; Tienda & Glass, 1985). In Hao's (1994) analysis of the employment of young women using the NLSY, women's market value, namely education level and amount of work experience, increased the likelihood of labor market entry for both Blacks and Whites with a stronger effect for

Whites. In addition, low human capital increased the chances of leaving the labor market. In an examination of the determinants of employment transitions, Taniguchi and Rosenfeld (2000) found that for Hispanics reentering the labor market, previous wage had a positive effect on reentrance. In contrast to these findings, the dire necessity of income may encourage work effort. In their examination of employment patterns of mothers using the CPS (1980), Tienda and Glass (1985) found that low-income females participated in the labor force at a slightly higher rate (6%) than individuals with incomes over 150 percent of the poverty level.

Additional years of formal education also strongly increase employment opportunities (Gault et al., 1998; Hao, 1994; Harris, 1993; Holzer & LaLonde, 2000; Parish et al., 1991; Park, 2002). In an examination of single mothers leaving and returning to welfare using the PSID (1984-1986), Harris (1993) found that the probability of leaving welfare for a new job increased 2.5 times if the mother had a high school diploma. Although work experiences among low-income and working mothers were equivalent, Harris' evaluation indicates that investments in educations are more valuable than investments in work experiences. Nevertheless, under welfare reform, educational opportunities have diminished, and "work first" has increasingly become the first priority.

Although education seems to improve jobs among Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites, the impact of education varies among the groups (DeBord et al., 2000; Folk, 1996; Hao, 1994; Taniguchi & Rosenfeld, 2000; Yoon & Waite, 1994). Using the NLSY, Hao (1994) found that Black women without high school diplomas were less likely to enter the labor market than Black women with diplomas, while the reverse was true for White

women. White women with diplomas were less likely to be employed than White women without diplomas. In addition, Taniguchi and Rosenfeld (2000) examined employment outcomes using NLSY data (1979-1993) and found a significant and surprising interaction between language spoken at home and high school completion. For Spanish speakers, high school diplomas played a lesser role in finding employment. Similarly, Yoon and Waite (1994) found that an added value of education for Blacks. In their analysis of returns of mothers to the labor market in the NLSY, education was positively related to employment for both Blacks and Whites, but to a stronger degree for Blacks showing possible discrimination effects. It seems that in order to get work, Black mothers needed higher levels of education than Whites.

The work of Holzer and LaLonde (2000) also support the importance of education for job stability. In an examination of how job stability affects the problems of less skilled workers in the labor market using the NLSY (1978-1993), they found that being a woman, a person of color, and having a low level of formal education inhibited employment. Black women without high school diplomas fared the worse; they worked less than half of the time. Individuals with fewer years of formal education were also much more likely to leave jobs. Female high school dropouts had higher voluntary and involuntary transitions out of employment. They were 30 percent more likely to leave a job during a given week than college graduates. After controlling for cognitive skill and type of job, high school graduates were actually less likely to leave a job than persons with higher levels of education.

In addition to, and related to, the influence of human capital, marital status may be a critical factor in employment. In Harris's (1993) examination of the process of

which single mothers leave and return to welfare using the PSID (1984-1986), women who were younger and never-married were more likely to leave welfare through employment. Even though never-married mothers were more likely to leave welfare, they were significantly less likely to leave by working their way off through raises in comparison to their previously-married (separated, divorced, or widowed) counterparts. The multiple barriers that younger, unmarried women may face, including low levels of formal education and absent fathers, may hinder their employment stability.

Personal health and the presence of additional children may also influence whether unmarried mothers achieve and maintain employment. Among welfare and low-income mothers in the IWPR, Gault et al. (1998) found that one in ten welfare recipients suffers from a severe disability, such as a health and mental health problem, that limits work opportunities. Likewise, in Acs and Loprest's (2001) review of different state welfare-to-work projects and barriers that individuals face in the labor market, a significant minority (15-25% depending on the state) suffered from health problems that hampered their employment and, 10 to 33 percent suffered from mental health problems.

Similarly, in the WES of prior and current welfare recipients in Michigan, Corcoran, Danziger, and Tolman (2003) found an overwhelming presence of mental and physical health problems among recipients that increased over the 55-month longitudinal study period. In each wave of the four-wave, 55-month study, 29 to 34 percent of the sample had at least one mental health diagnosis and over 50 percent experienced either a physical limitation or a mental health diagnosis. Over the course of the study, 85 percent of the sample experienced a mental or physical health problem at one or more waves. When compared to the general population in the National Comorbidity Survey, mental

and physical health problems of the welfare population are considerably higher than for the general population. Approximately 25 percent of the general population suffers from physical health problems at any one point in time and between 5 percent and 13 percent suffer from mental health problems (Kessler et al., 1994).

Corcoran et al. (2003) also found that the presence of physical and mental health problems affected mothers' abilities to maintain jobs. Women who met the criteria for a mental health problem in three or four survey waves worked 5.4 fewer months than women who never met the criteria. In addition, women who reported physical health problems worked 4.7 months less than individuals with no such problem. Thus, mental and physical health problems among welfare-to-work mothers seem to be significant barriers to employment among low-income, unmarried mothers.

Mothers with younger children and a larger number of children also have a lower likelihood of employment (Gault et al., 1998; Hao & Brinton, 1997; Harris, 1993; Parish et al., 1991; Park, 2002). Gault and colleagues (1998) found that a young child strongly reduced the possibility of employment among low-income mothers. The influence of young children on employment may vary by ethnicity. Taniguchi and Rosenfeld (2000) found in their examination of employment determinants using the NLSY (1979-1993) that children slow the return to work, but to a lesser extent for Blacks and a greater extent for Hispanics compared to Whites. In contrast, the presence of young children is more predictive of an employment exit for Blacks than for Whites. Taniguchi and Rosenfeld (2000) hypothesize that the increased rate of leaving among Blacks may indicate a lack of job resources that do not allow them to take time off to be with their children.

Summary: Employment

The decrease of welfare rolls and the increase of employment among low-income mothers is dramatic. The examination of factors affecting employment illustrates the many complex determinants that affect whether a mother becomes employed and succeeds in the labor market. Changing patterns of informal exchanges among ethnic groups have been accompanied by changing patterns of employment among Hispanic, Black, and White mothers (Canican & Reed, 2001). In addition to the evolving norms of employment among unmarried mothers, TANF's emphasis on work changes the opportunities and decisions of single mothers.

In making a decision about whether or not to enter employment, most low-income mothers consider family, community, and their own individual characteristics. The uneven distribution of resources among Hispanic, Black, and White unmarried mothers of young children contributes to varying employment levels. Further, the frequent hardships and unpredictability common in lives of unmarried mothers decreases job stability. To get and stay employed means completing a complex puzzle for mothers of young children. This literature review suggests that in order to succeed in employment, mothers must have support from a variety of sources (DeBord et al., 2000; Edin & Harris, 1999). Paradoxically, in order to receive welfare, they must work. The era of welfare reform dramatically influences and complicates single mothers' employment choices.

Hypotheses

Based on the literature (see Tables 1-3 for summary), the hypotheses of this dissertation are as follows:

In a sample of unmarried mothers of three-year-old children,

Hypothesis 1: Hispanic unmarried mothers will experience lower levels of employment than Black and White mothers, and Black and White unmarried mothers will experience similar levels of employment.

Hypothesis 1a: Hispanic unmarried mothers will be less likely to be employed full-time and will report working fewer weeks in the past year than White mothers.

Hypothesis 1b: Black unmarried mothers will be employed at similar levels as White mothers and will report working a similar number of weeks. However, Black mothers will be more likely to work full-time.

Hypothesis 1c: Black unmarried mothers will have changed jobs more frequently since the births of their children than Whites.

Hypothesis 2: Black and Hispanic unmarried mothers will be less likely to receive social support assistance (less agency support and informal financial support) than Whites.

Hypothesis 2a: Even though Black and Hispanic mothers will be more likely to live with relatives than Whites, these living arrangements will be less likely to provide the resources necessary for employment.

Hypothesis 2b: Black and Hispanic unmarried mothers will be less likely to cohabit than White mothers.

Hypothesis 3: Taking into account social supports, Black and Hispanic mothers will be more likely to be employed full-time, work more weeks in the past year, yet, also, have changed jobs more frequently in the past three years than Whites.

This study will contribute to the knowledge base by helping to understand the influence of race/ethnicity on employment patterns for unmarried mothers of three-year-old children. The examination of different forms of social support as mediators in this relationship will help to understand the resources that these mothers use and if this usage differs by race/ethnicity. Welfare reform and the declining strength of the economy in the late 1990s intensify the need to examine these relationships.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter begins by describing the methodology and dataset of the Fragile Families and Child Well-being Study on which the present study is based. The description includes an explanation of the multi-stage cluster sampling technique, followed by an explanation of the data collection procedures and instruments used in the baseline survey, the one-year survey, and the three-year survey. The section concludes with an explanation of how each variable is measured and operationalized for the current study.

Data

This dissertation uses the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study longitudinal data set (http://crcw.princeton.edu/fragliefamilies). Data collection was guided by the overarching goal of providing more accurate information on unwed parents and their children (Reichman et al., 2001). Data were (and will be) collected at four points in time: at the child's birth, at one-year, at three years, and at five years. This study relies on data provided by mothers at the child's birth, and at one-year, and at three years after to assess the use of social supports among Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites and the supports' impact on the employment patterns. The mothers included in the sample for this study are those who reported that they were not married at the time of the child's birth or at one-year or at three years later. In addition, the selected mothers had not given birth again. Of the mothers, 1,598 met the criteria, answered all of the relevant questions, and, thus, were included in the analysis of number of hours employed and the number of jobs held since the child's birth. With fewer mothers responding to how many weeks they worked the past year, only 1,543 mothers met the criteria for this analysis. To

provide statistics for the largest number of women, the descriptive analysis includes 1,598 mothers.

The Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study uses a three-stage, stratified, random sample representative of unmarried mothers and a comparative sample of married women who gave birth in hospitals during the time of data collection in cities with a population of 200,000 or more residents. This study uses only the unmarried sample and is representative of unmarried mothers living in cities at the time of data collection. The sampling stages of the dataset include cities, hospitals within cities, and, lastly, births within hospitals. The stratification of the cities is based on policy environment variation in terms of unemployment rates, welfare generosity, and child support enforcement. For each policy indicator, the cities were sorted into quartiles. Cities in the top quartile were classified as high on the specific indicator, cities in the bottom quartile were classified as low on the specific indicator, and the middle-quartile cities were classified as moderate. After rating each city on each of the indicators, the cities with extreme values on each indicator were deemed as extreme, and the remaining cities with at least one middle value were deemed as moderate. The sample includes eight cities with moderate policy environments and eight cities representing both high and low extreme environments on each of the three policy environment variables (Reichman et al., 2001).

After the cities were randomly selected, the researchers randomly selected hospitals that would give them representative samples of all non-marital births in the cities over 200,000 residents. Because of the research focus on non-marital births, the researchers over-sampled these births. They wanted to sample hospitals that had a ratio

of non-marital and marital births as close to 3:1 as possible. If a selected city had multiple hospitals that met this criterion, they selected hospitals with lower data collection costs and higher rates of data collection efficiency. With this cost consideration, they randomly selected hospitals until they received approval from enough of the hospitals (Reichman et al., 2001).

In total, 75 hospitals were selected. The researchers randomly sampled both married and non-married births until they reached the preset quotas based on the percentage of non-marital births in the city that occurred at that hospital in 1997. The sampling frame for each hospital was the list of all possible maternity beds. The sample of births did not include children whose mothers planned to place them for adoption, children whose mothers or fathers were under the age of 18 (with exceptions in a few hospitals), children whose father was deceased, children whose mothers could not speak English or Spanish well enough to complete the questionnaire, children who were too sick for their worried mothers to complete the questionnaire, children whose mothers were too sick to complete the questionnaire, and children who died before the interview could take place (Reichman et al., 2001).

Data Collection Procedures

Baseline

Mathematica Policy Resesarch Inc. hired five to six field interviewers for each city in the sample to conduct face-to-face interviews while the respondents remained hospitalized after giving birth. Interviewers were trained in-person on a city-by-city basis. Interviewing in each hospital was done in accordance with each hospital's specific rules and procedures (Reichman et al., 2001). The baseline survey included sections on

child health, father-mother relationships, fatherhood, marriage attitudes, relationships with extended kin, environmental factors and government programs, maternal health and health behavior (such as smoking and drug use), education, employment, and income.

During the screening process, the mothers received informative brochures about the study. They were told that (1) study participation was voluntary, (2) if the hospital allowed financial incentives, they would receive $20 for their initial participation, and (3) they would receive additional compensation for completing the follow-up questionnaires in later years. If the mother agreed to participate, the interviewer administered a screening instrument to determine her eligibility for the study. If eligible, the interviewer reviewed a participation consent form with the mothers (Reichman et al., 2001). Interviews were conducted confidentially and in private. Eighty-seven percent of eligible mothers successfully completed the baseline interview (Garfinkel et al., 2000). The current study uses the demographic variables of marital status, maternal education, age, race/ethnicity, and social support predictors from the baseline questionnaire.

Follow-up

Most of the one-year follow-up interviews were conducted by telephone. If an interviewer could not locate the respondent by telephone, the interviewer went to the respondent's last known address. The one-year follow-up survey included questions on employment characteristics, child care use, maternal mental health, and social support. Of the mothers who completed the baseline survey, 89 percent completed the one-year follow up (Garfinkel et al., 2000). Social support predictor variables used in the current study were collected at Year 1.

A second follow-up questionnaire was conducted by telephone at three-years. As with the one-year follow-up, if the interviewer could not locate the respondent by telephone, the interviewer went to the respondent's last known address. The three-year follow-up questionnaire is extremely similar to the one-year follow-up survey with an expanded section on values and background characteristics. The response rate for the Year 3 follow-up survey was 87 percent (Response Rate for First Three Years, 2004). Employment patterns, the value of family, work, and friends, and maternal and paternal education used in the current study were collected at Year 3.

Sample Restrictions

The total sample of unmarried mothers in the Fragile Familiesdataset at Baseline was 3,696 mothers. After considering attrition which equaled approximately 12 percent (or 444 unmarried mothers) and excluding mothers who married during their children's first three years of life (645 mothers), 2,607 mothers completed Baseline, Year 1, and Year 3 data and remained unmarried. Of these unmarried mothers, 686 had additional children after the focal child resulting in 1,921 mothers in the sample who were continuously unmarried without additional births. After restricting the sample to Hispanic, Black, and White mothers only (N = 1,861), 263 mothers (or 14.1%) in the sample had missing data on one or more of the variables used in the analysis. Thus, the resulting sample is 1,598 for the number of hours employed and the number of jobs held, and 1,543 mothers for the number of weeks employed.

The specific measures of marital status and additional children are:

Martial Status: The respondent was asked at baseline, at one-year, and at three-years, "What is your relationship with (FATHER)?" If the respondent said that she was

married, she was coded as such. If not, the respondent was coded as not married to the focal child's father. To measure whether mothers were married to someone else, the mothers who had a current partner at Year 1 and/or Year 3 were asked, "Are you married to (CURRENT PARTNER)? Only mothers who were not married at Baseline (the focal child's birth) and who remained unmarried throughout the three-year follow-up were included in the analysis. This study uses unmarried mothers because work is not likely to be elective for them and they are the most susceptible to the new TANF requirements.

Additional Births: At year 1 and year 3 the mother was asked, "Since (CHILD) was born, have you had another baby, or are you pregnant now?" The current study includes only mothers who have not had additional children because additional children could change the respondent's labor market behavior. [1]

To address concerns of the 14 percent of cases with missing values, additional analyses were conducted. Mothers with missing values were more disadvantaged than

---

[1] Selecting only single mothers who have not given birth since the focal child could introduce a selection bias. Mothers having additional birth could be different in their social support and employment patterns than mothers who did not have additional children. Additional analyses were conducted to examine this possible bias. When mothers with additional children were included in the analysis, the results remained similar to those of the more restricted sample. There were no racial/ethnic differences in employment in the full models and the majority of the odds ratios were in the same direction and showed similar patterns of significance. However, in the more inclusive sample of mothers who did not receive any child support from the child's father, the odds of not working in the previous year were higher (OR = 1.60), and religious participation significantly increased the likelihood of employment. Mothers who attended services on a monthly basis, for example, had decreased odds of being continuously out of the labor force the previous year (OR = 0.58).

Mothers who had additional births were also examined independently to assess any differing patterns of availability and use of social support (N = 561). Although the small sample size limits the interpretation of the strength of the odds ratios, Black mothers had decreased odds of working part-time compared to full-time relative to Whites (OR = 0.35). Hispanic mothers had increased odds of being continuously out of the labor force since the child's birth (OR =5.07) compared to having one job relative to Whites. The other remarkable difference with mothers who had additional children is the positive influence of financial support from the child's father. Mothers who did not receive any support from the child's father were more likely to be currently out of the labor force (OR = 2.14) in comparison to employed full-time and more likely to be employed fewer weeks (OR = 3.33 (no weeks) and OR = 2.76 (1 to 24 weeks). Although these

mothers with complete data (See Appendix A for descriptive and bivariate statistics). They were more likely to be out of the labor force and also less likely to have used relative care and have access to supports. In terms of human capital, mothers with missing data had fewer years of education and less employment experience. However, there were no statistically significant differences in terms of the number of toddlers living in the household, household composition, or the use of most community resources. When mothers missing at least one variable in the regression models (and thus excluded from the multivariate analyses) were included in the bivariate statistics, the relationships between race/ethnicity, employment, and supports were remarkably similar. Although missing cases can always be problematic in analyses, the missing cases in this analysis appear to follow the same pattern as the mothers included. Excluding these cases with missing data is reasonable given that their inclusion in the bivariate analyses does not change the overall relationships.

Measurement

Each question from the Fragile Families Baseline, Year 1, and Year 3 surveys used in the measurement of the variables for the current study is outlined in the following section (see Table 4). Measures collected at Baseline and Year 1 will be used to predict labor market behavior at Year 3. Due to data limitations, namely cohabiting mothers were not asked the father's contributions at Year 1, the mother's relationship with the father and the receipt of child support is measured at Year 3. The data used for the

---

differences are noteworthy, the similar relationships that were found overall infer that selection bias is not a major problem in the analysis.

analysis are not weighted and represent a national sample of unmarried mothers in large cities.

Although many of the measures in the analysis are available at Year 3 as well as at Year 1, this study uses Baseline and Year 1 predictors to predict employment at Year 3 for two reasons. First, the models presented do not attempt to assume causality. In other words, significant relationships between the predictor variables and the employment outcomes do not mean that predictor variables *caused* the outcome variables. Yet, the gap in time from Year 1 to Year 3 assures that the predictor variables preceded the outcome variables for the number of hours and the number of weeks employed, one criterion for establishing causality (Campbell & Stanley, 1967). The models are not causal models; however, with predictor variables measured at an earlier point, the study does eliminate the potential for the predictor variables to precede the effect. Although causality cannot be established, measures taken to approach causality can improve the understanding of the predictors of employment.

Second, models were run using Year 3 predictors, but these models did not contribute significantly to the understanding of employment for unmarried mothers. The significant predictors were similar regardless of the timing of the questionnaire. Although the odds ratios for some predictors, such as the use of community supports, increased, the overall relationships did not change. The receipt of rent assistance or employment assistance at Year 3, for example, had even stronger relationships with working less hours and weeks than the receipt of these resources at Year 1.[2] Analyses

[2] When rent assistance is measured at Year 3, mothers who received rent assistance were more than twice as likely to be currently out of the labor force (OR = 2.18) and almost twice as likely to be employed part-

were also conducted examining the stability of supports including Baseline, Year 1, and Year 3 predictors. These stability variables did not lead to an improved understanding of the relationships between race/ethnicity, social support, and employment patterns.[3] Thus, to ensure that the cause came before the effect without losing explanatory power, Year 1 predictor variables are used.[4]

The time frame for the measure of the number of jobs since the child's birth overlaps with the time frame of the Year 1 predictors. Although this introduces limitations in inferring what supports and hinders employment, the measure is the only one available that addresses job stability among unmarried mothers with young children. Because stability is an important consideration for this group of mothers, I include an analysis of the variables at Year 1 associated with the number of jobs since the child's

---

time (OR = 1.86) in comparison to being employed full-time. Rent assistance receivers were also more likely to be continuously out of the labor force (OR = 1.66) or to work 1 to 24 weeks (OR = 1.58) in comparison to working all year. Employment assistance works in a similar pattern. Mothers who received this assistance at Year 3 had greater odds of being currently out of the labor force (OR = 2.61) and work part-time (OR = 1.79) in comparison to working full-time. In terms of weeks employed in the previous year, mothers were more likely to be continuously out of the labor force (OR = 2.28), work 1 to 24 weeks (OR = 3.54), and work 25 to 51 weeks (OR = 1.92) in comparison to working all year. Thus, although the relationship was intensified with Year 3 predictors, the overall relationship between rent assistance and employment assistance and employment patterns was similar regardless of whether Year 1 or Year 3 predictors were used.

[3] The stability model including Baseline, Year 1, and Year 3 predictors was similar to the Year 3 model, thus not remarkably different for the model including Baseline and Year 1 predictors used in this analysis. A notable exception was the frequency of religious attendance. Although it was not significant in the full model using Year 1 predictors, it was significant in the model using stability predictors. The stability of religious participation measuring if mothers participated in services at least monthly at each survey, at least yearly at each survey, or never at each survey was significant in predicting the number of hours and the number of weeks employed. Mothers who participated in services at every point, regardless of frequency, had 30 to 40 percent lower odds of working part of the previous year in comparison to all year. Likewise, mothers who participated at least monthly at each survey point were less likely to be out of the labor force or to work part-time relative to working full-time (OR = 0.72 and OR = 0.68, respectively).

[4] Analysis was also conducted controlling for the city where the mother gave birth. Using Oakland (a liberal and generous city for benefits) as a reference category, the findings remained extremely similar to those reported in this analysis.

birth. Similarly, because of data limitations at Year 1 with respect to the measures of fathers' support, I use variables collected at Year 3.

Specific Measures

This study includes three dependent variables: current employment status, weeks worked in the past year, and the number of jobs since the focal child's birth. The independent variables are divided into three levels of social support: family, father, and community. Human capital is also included in the models. Of central importance in this study is racial and ethnic variation in support and employment. Thus, race/ethnicity is a separate independent variable.

Dependent Variables[5]

Employment at Year 3. Maternal employment was measured by asking the mother the following question three years after she gave birth, "Last week, did you do any regular work for pay? Include any work you might have done in your own business (or military service) where you got a regular paycheck." In the potentially small number of cases where the respondent stated that she was on vacation, the interviewer asked for the week before vacation. To increase the variation on the employment variable, the current analysis also uses the number of hours the respondent worked in the last week. Employed respondents were asked how many hours they usually work at their primary

[5] This study examined multiple employment outcomes, but not "other" productive activities. Other studies examine "productive activities" (for example, Hao, 1994) combining mothers who were going to school or attending job training with mothers who were working for pay. Analyses conducted examining whether or not mothers were either currently employed or attending classes did not provide additional insight into the analysis. A relatively small number of mothers reported attending classes and not currently participating in the labor market (N = 149). Thus, "productive activities" other than work were not examined as outcome variable because they did not add to the analysis and work, not education, is being emphasized in this welfare-reform era. The vast majority of unmarried mothers do not have the opportunity to attend classes to further their educations.

jobs. If they worked more than one job, respondents included the number of hours included at all regular jobs. Employment was collapsed into three categories: not working, working parttime (1 to 34 hours per week), and working fulltime (35 hours or more per week). These categories were chosen based on the classifications of the U.S. Census Bureau and to capture the variation of hours spent working each week.

Number of Weeks Employed in the Last Year. As one measure of job stability, interviewers asked respondents, "How many weeks did you work last year?" The number of weeks of employment was collapsed into four categories: no weeks, 1 to 26 weeks, 27 to 49 weeks, and 50 or more weeks. These categories were chosen to capture the variation on the number of weeks employed during the third year of the focal child's life.

Number of Jobs Since the Focal Child's Birth. The number of jobs since the focal child's birth serves as a second measure of respondents' job stability. The interviewers asked each respondent, "In the last three years, how many jobs have you had that lasted two weeks or more?" The number of jobs was collapsed into three categories: no jobs, one job, and two or more jobs. These categories were chosen to capture the variation of the number of jobs for mothers during the first three years following their children's births. Although single mothers' job changes could lead to better jobs at higher wages, based on the literature on job instability for unmarried mothers with small children, multiple jobs (especially three or more jobs) is considered instability rather than advancement see, for example, Anderson, Halter, Julnes, & Schuldt, 2000; Acs & Loprest, 2001).

Independent Variables

Race/Ethnicity. To measure race/ethnicity, the mother was handed a card with the categories of White, Black or African American, Asian or Pacific Islander, American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut, and other and asked, "Which of these categories best describes your race?". The next questions asked the respondent if she was of Hispanic or Latina origin or descent. The study included Whites (non-Hispanic), Blacks (non-Hispanic), and Hispanic respondents. These categories were chosen to capture any variation between Hispanics and Blacks and to compare them to the largest race/ethnic group in the country, Whites. Persons of other racial or ethnic origins were not included in the analysis because their representation in the sample was too small to analyze.

Many scholars discuss the diversity of individuals included in the "Hispanic" origin group. Because this group combines a heterogeneous group without a common experience, the measure may not capture the inequalities faced by different groups within the Hispanic-origin group. Mexican American and Puerto Rican young women, for example, view marriage, cohabitation, and fertility different from one another (for a discussion, see Oropesa and Landale, 2004). In considering this critique of collapsing Hispanic-origin women in one group, separate analyses were completed using Mexican American women only in comparison to Whites (the other Hispanic sub-groups lacked sufficient sample size). In this analysis, the results are similar to the results for the entire Hispanic group with all relationships in the same direction. Because the vast majority of relationships remain unchanged with all Hispanics included in the model and for the

preservation of cases, I include all unmarried mothers who classify themselves as Hispanic, regardless of specific origin.[6]

Family Support

Household Composition. The measure of the household composition was drawn from the household roster collected at Year 1. The interviewer asked, "Not including yourself, how many people are currently living with you? Please include people who sleep in this home most nights." To follow-up, the mother gave information on the age, gender, relationship, and employment status of each member living in her household. Respondents were coded as living alone, living with a single parent, living with both parents, living with others, or cohabiting.

Relative Child Care For child care arrangements, the respondent reported if her child was in child care arrangements other than with the child's mother or the child's resident father for at least ten hours a week. If the mother reported that the child was in care for more than ten hours a week, she was asked which arrangement she was currently using. If she used more than one, the mother was asked to specify her primary arrangement. The categories included: child's father (non-residential), mother's partner or boyfriend, child's sibling, child's maternal grandparent, other relative on mother's side, child's paternal grandparent, other relative on father's side, father's partner, mother's partner's relative, non-relative home child care, day care center, Headstart/ early

[6] There is one remarkable difference in examining Mexican Americans in comparison to Hispanics of all origins. In the full model for the number of jobs since the child's birth, Mexican Americans have increased likelihood of being continuously out of the labor force since the child's birth compared to having one job, relative to Whites (OR = 1.84). When combining Mexican Americans with other Hispanics as done in the main analysis of this study, this finding is no longer statically significant.

Headstart, or other. If a respondent reported that she used a paternal or maternal relative as the primary care arrangement, information was coded as such.

Access to Social Supports. Respondents were asked about access to supports in an emergency were asked at both Baseline and Year 1. Mothers were asked if they had access to $200, if they had access to emergency childcare, and if they had access to an emergency place to live. For each of these measures, mothers were coded as having access to the resource if they had access both at the time of birth and at Year 1. Because of the high proportion of mothers that had access at both points, social support measures were dichotomized. If the mother reported that she did not have access at either survey point (or at both points), she was coded a 0.

Father Support

Financial Support From the Child's Father. To measure the one dimension of support from the child's father, mothers were asked about his financial contributions. Mothers were asked whether or not the mother and father had a legal agreement or child support order that requires the father to pay support. In addition, mothers were asked if the fathers contributed financially informally to help support the child. Mothers were coded as having a formal agreement, an informal agreement, or no agreement. If a mother responded that the father supported both formally and informally, she is coded as receiving formal support. If a mother had a formal agreement, but did not receive anything formally or informally, she is coded as not receiving support. Cohabiting mothers were not asked about the financial contributions of the father at Year 1. Because of this missing data, all fathers' financial contributions were measured at Year 3.

Strength of the Relationship between the Mother and the Child's Father. Mothers were asked, "In general, would you say that your relationship with (CHILD'S FATHER) is excellent, very good, good, fair, or poor?" If the parents had no kind of relationship at Baseline or at Year 1, the mothers skipped the question, thus indicating not relationship. This question was not included in the two-city pilot at Year 1, and therefore respondents in these cities did not answer the question. Thus, similar to the measurement of the financial contributions of the child's father, the strength of the relationship between the child's parents was measured at Year 3. The three categories in the analysis are excellent/very good, good, and fair/ poor/ no relationship.

Community Support

Rent Assistance or Public Housing. The receipt of Section 8 housing vouchers or living in a public housing project is used as one form of community support. Respondents were asked, "Is the federal, state, or local government helping you to pay for your rent?" In addition, they were asked, "Is this home in a public housing project?" If the respondent asked affirmatively to either of these questions, she was coded as receiving rent assistance.

Employment Assistance/ Child care referral agency/ Child Support Collection. To measure the receipt of employment assistance or a child care referral, mothers were asked, "Since (CHILD) was born, have you received help from any of the following agencies or programs?" An employment office (including welfare office and welfare job placement), a child care referral agency, and an agency to help collect child support were on the list of possible resources.

Frequency of religious participation. The role of religion in the lives of the unmarried mothers serves as a proxy for additional community support. The interviewer asked the respondent, "How often do you go to religious services?" The six categories were every day, a few times a week, once a week, a few times a month, a few times a year, less often than that, and never. For this analysis, the categories are collapsed to once a week or more, a few times a month, a few times a year or less, and never.

Mother's Human Capital

Education. Interviewers asked respondents about their own educations during the baseline questionnaire. The mother was handed a card with the categories of No formal Schooling, 8th grade or less, Some high school, High School Diploma, G.E.D., Some College or 2-year degree, Technical or trade School, Bachelor's Degree, and Graduate or professional school, and asked, "What is the highest grade or year of regular school that you have completed?" For the current study, education was collapsed into three categories: less than high school degree, high school diploma of GED, or more than high school. Due to the small number of mothers who received a bachelor's degree (N = 55), these mothers were not analyzed separately.

Parental Education. Similar to the measurement of their own education, respondents were asked during the Year 1 questionnaire, "What is the highest grade of school that your biological mother completed?" and the corresponding question for the biological father. The categories were No formal Schooling, 8th grade or less, Some high school, High School Diploma, G.E.D., Some College or 2-year degree, Technical or trade School, Bachelor's Degree, and Graduate or professional school. Education was coded as less than high school, high school, or more than high school.

Maternal Health Problem/ Child Disability. To assess the impact of a health condition on employment outcomes, mothers were asked, "Do you have a serious health problem that limits the amount or kind of work you can do?" To measure the presence of a child disability, mothers were asked at Year 1, "Does (CHILD) have any physical disabilities?" If mothers asked yes to either or both question(s), they were coded as having a health barrier.

Both Parents in Household at Age 15. At Baseline, mothers were asked, "At age 15, did you live with both of your parents?" The yes/no responses were coded dichotomously.

Values. At Baseline, mothers ranked on a scale of 1 to 4 how much they agreed with two statements: "The important decisions in the family should be made by the man of the house." and "It is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and family." To construct this measure, mothers' scores were recoded on a 0 to 3 scale where 0 equaled strongly disagree and 3 equaled strongly agree. The scores were then averaged. Thus, as total scores increased, mothers' levels of traditional values increased.

Nativity. Mothers were asked about their nativity during the Year 1 survey. Nativity measures access to and familiarity with resources, including both within the community and the family. To measure nativity, respondents were asked, "Were you born in the United States?". Responses were coded as yes or no.

Employment Experience. Mothers were asked at Baseline if they worked in the formal labor market the year before giving birth. At Year 1, they were asked the same question regarding current employment that is used in this analysis to determine the

number of hours currently employed at Year 3. From these two measures, mothers are coded as not being employed at either time, being employed at one time, or being employed at both times. Due to the overlap in the timing of the dependent variable of the number of jobs since the child's birth and employment at Year 1, only a dichotomous measure considering whether or not the mother worked during the year before giving birth is used.

Control Variables

Age. During the baseline questionnaire, to obtain information on age, the mother was asked, "What is your date of birth?" In the analysis, age was collapsed into three categories: under twenty years, twenty to twenty-nine years, and thirty years and over. These categories distinguish very young, young, and older mothers.

Number of Toddlers in the Household. From the household roster mentioned above for the household composition measure, the number of toddlers living in the household at each survey point was used. Regardless of whether or not the children were the mother's biological children, the number of children living in the household in addition to the focal child at Baseline, Year 1, and Year 3 was recorded.

Analytic Methods

Descriptive Statistics

The analysis began by running descriptive statistics for each variable. Consistent with the description of the sample presented in this chapter, the percentages represent unmarried mothers of three-year-old children living in cities over 200,000 at the time of baseline data collection. The mothers did not have any biological or adopted children younger than three years old, and they were not married at any wave of data collection.

The descriptive analysis included 1,598 mothers who fit the specified criteria and did not have missing values for the number of hours employed (see Table 5).

Multivariate Analysis

Models of Employment for All Unmarried mothers. To model race/ethnicity and employment patterns, I used multinomial logistic regression models. The series of models is matched to the conceptual framework outlined in Chapter 2. This type of regression is useful in order to estimate how multi-category outcome variables (in this case, (1) hours of employment, (2) weeks of employment, and (3) number of jobs) are influenced by a set of predictor variables. In addition, multinomial regression is appropriate for this analysis because the dependent variables are categorical, and the independent variables are either continuous or categorical.

The results are presented in odds ratio form, where each category is compared to a reference category (Powers & Xie, 2000). Note that in this study because full-time, full-year, stable employment is considered the standard, especially in order to become economically self-sufficient, the reference categories for the dependent variables this study were 35 or more hours a week, 52 weeks a year (with time for a two-week vacation period), and 1 job.

This study uses a progressive modeling procedure (Mirowsky, 1999). The analysis began with estimating the bivariate relationships between race/ethnicity and the three dependent measures of hours employed, weeks employed, and number of jobs. Subsequent models considered the influence of social support at varying levels, including the family, father, and community. A fourth model estimates the influence human capital

characteristics. Each set of variables was entered into the model separately in order to understand its individual impact on employment.

To consider the influence of social support and human capital in combination, two final models were analyzed. The first final model included the bivariate model plus family, father, community, and human capital characteristics. The second final model included all of the aforementioned characteristics plus previous employment experience. Because previous employment experience is strongly related to current employment characteristics, the entrance of this variable into earlier models could mask significant predictors because predictor variables are predicting both previous and current employment. The results section pays particular attention to the racial/ethnic differences that are estimated, as appropriate for the hypotheses outlined in Chapter 3.

Separate Models for Hispanic, Black, and White Unmarried Mothers. After analyzing the basic models including all Hispanic, Black, and White mothers without additional children, I analyzed the predictors of employment separately for each racial/ethnic group in order to capture moderating effects. This analysis showed if and how social supports work differently for Hispanic, Black, and White mothers. In order to best illuminate the power of each predictor variable, I did not include previous employment experience in these models.

Due to the smaller sample sizes of the unmarried mothers of each ethnicity and the lack of variation in terms of available and used supports within ethnic groups, I combined categories for these supplemental analyses. For the dependent variables, I examined whether or not a mother was currently working and whether or not she had worked any weeks in the past year. Part-time and part-year employment was not

examined separately by ethnicity. In addition, the number of jobs since the child's birth was not examined. A small number of White mothers (N = 25) stayed out of the labor force since giving birth through Year 3. This small number of mothers precluded an additional analysis of the number of jobs since the child's birth.

Several of the independent variables were also collapsed in order to accommodate insufficient cell sizes. The five categories of living arrangements were collapsed to living alone and living with others. Cohabiting with the child's father continued to be the reference group. The availability of emergency supports was collapsed to whether or not the mother had emergency access to all three supports ($200, child care, and a place to live) at both Baseline and Year 1. The relationship with the child's father was dichotomously coded as a fair, poor, or non-existent relationship or a good, very good, or excellent relationship. Religious attendance was also dichotomously coded. If the mother attended services at all during the child's first year of life, she was coded as such with the remaining mothers coded as a 0. The levels of education of the single mother's parents were also collapsed into either a high school diploma, GED, or higher level of education or not. Although this collapsing limits the sensitivity of the variables to detect differences, the changes were necessary in order to support the regression model.

Z-tests of coefficients were conducted to determine if supports correlate differently with employment outcomes for Hispanic, Black, and White mothers (see Paternoster, Brame, Mazerolle, Piquero, 1998, for an in-depth discussion of the technique). This technique tests if the coefficients from two different models are statistically different from each other using the standard errors and creating Z-scores. Using the separate models for Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites, I tested whether

race/ethnicity moderates the influence of social supports between Hispanic and White mothers and between Black and White mothers.

Comparative Analyses for Married Mothers

For comparative purposes, a sub-sample of married mothers in the Fragile Families dataset was used to compare the social supports available and utilized by them to that of unmarried mothers. Specifically, married mothers who were married at the time they gave birth were compared to mothers who married after the child's birth. Recall that the main focus of the dissertation is on unmarried mothers who remained unmarried during the focal child's first three years of life. Due to the sampling design and the smaller number of married mothers, mothers with and without additional children are analyzed together. In addition, mothers who married someone other than the focal child's father (N = 21) were included.

The analysis of married mothers is included in Appendix B. The analytic techniques mirror those used in the analysis of unmarried mothers. However, due to the smaller sample size of married mothers, separate analyses are not conducted for Hispanic, Black, and White mothers. Instead, I compare mothers who married before and after the birth of the focal child and compare these groups to the main sample of unmarried mothers.

Unlike the unmarried mothers, the married mothers in the Fragile Families Study do not constitute a nationally-representative sample. The guidelines for selecting hospitals (a 3:1 ratio of unmarried to married births) created an over-sample of low-income hospitals in cities where all hospitals were not chosen, thus resulting in a non-representative sample of married mothers. Therefore, although the Appendix B provides

an interesting comparison of social supports and employment patterns among married mothers, the data are not a representative sample, thus limiting the generalizability of the findings.

Chapter 5: Descriptive and Bivariate Analyses Results

This chapter presents the descriptive statistics for all of the variables in the analyses. Percent distributions of variables measuring employment characteristics, as well as family, community, and human capital variables are used to describe the sample. The variables are summarized in terms of race/ethnicity in order to highlight key differences among Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites. Independent variables of interest to this study are also examined in relation to employment patterns as these characteristics are hypothesized to mediate the relationship between race/ethnicity and employment. Bivariate comparisons are presented to highlight sample differences with regard to the variables of interest. Father characteristics are measured at Year 3. The remaining independent variables are measured at Baseline and Year 1 in order to predict employment behavior at Year 3. Tables 5 and 6 illustrate the findings described in the following sections.

Dependent Variables: Employment

As shown in Table 5, approximately 61.5 percent of the sample was employed at Year 3. Forty-seven percent of mothers worked 35 or more hours a week (or full-time), 14.5 percent worked between 1 and 34 hours (or part-time), and the remaining 38.5 were not employed in the formal labor market at Year 3. In terms of racial/ethnic differences, lower percentages of Hispanic mothers worked and worked full-time in comparison to Whites with Blacks falling between the two groups. For example, 41 percent of Hispanics did not work compared to 33 percent of Whites and 39 percent of Blacks. However, these differences were not statistically significant at the .10 level.

The examination of the number of weeks employed further demonstrates high levels of employment. The vast majority of mothers (81.9%) worked at least some weeks during their child's second year of life. Nearly half of mothers worked in all weeks, one-third worked some weeks, and the remaining 18 percent did not work at all in the past year. Hispanics were most likely of the three ethnic groups to be out of the labor force. Approximately one-fourth of Hispanics did not work any weeks during their child's third year of life compared to 15 percent of Whites. Blacks and Whites worked a similar number of weeks with no statistically significant differences between the two groups.

The numbers of jobs held shows the dynamic nature of work for unmarried mothers with young children. Only 12 percent of mothers were consistently out of the labor force from the time of giving birth through their child's second year of life. Forty percent of mothers worked only one job, and the remaining majority (57.7%) worked two or more jobs. Race/ethnicity was correlated with the number of jobs among single mothers. Hispanics were significantly less likely to have worked three or more jobs and significantly more likely to have not worked since their children's births relative to Whites. Whereas nearly 20 percent of Hispanics did not work since giving birth, only 9 percent of Whites fall into this category. Similar proportions of Black and White mothers worked and worked multiple jobs with no statistical differences.

Control Variables

Maternal Age. Single mothers were primarily young. Only 17 percent were 30 years of age or older. Twenty-one percent were under 20 years with the remaining 62 percent in their twenties. Although 18 percent of Hispanic mothers were in their teens compared to 24 percent of White mothers, there are no statistical differences between the

two groups. Similarly, Black and White single mothers were approximately the same ages.

Single mothers' age at the time of giving birth was significantly related to the number of hours and weeks worked at Year 3 and the number of jobs since the child's birth. Younger mothers generally worked less hours than mothers in their twenties and thirties. Thirty-nine percent of mothers under 20 years worked full-time compared with 49 percent of mothers in their twenties and 48 percent of mothers over 30. In terms of weeks employed, 50 percent of mothers in their twenties and thirties worked all weeks compared to only 41 percent of mothers under 20. Higher proportions of mothers in their 30s worked no weeks (26%) or all weeks (51%) with fewer mothers working some weeks in comparison to the younger mothers. Likewise, 48 percent of mothers in their thirties worked only one job compared to 31 percent of mothers under 20 and 41 percent of mothers in their 20s. Over 18 percent of mothers in their thirties had not worked since their child's birth compared with only 11 percent of younger mothers. Overall, younger mothers tended to have more jobs and less stable job patterns than older mothers.

Additional Toddlers in the Household. Over 38 percent of mothers had additional toddlers in their households at Baseline, and over one-third did at Year 1. Because the sample for this study does not include mothers who gave birth after the focal child, fewer mothers had additional toddlers in the household at Year 3 (17.5). Additional toddlers in the household for this proportion of mothers may have been children of other adults in the household or children who they taking care of for other kin (or non-kin). Both Hispanics and Blacks were more likely to have additional toddlers in the household than Whites at Baseline and Year 1. Approximately 60 percent of Hispanics and Blacks had

no additional toddlers at Baseline compared to almost three-fourths of Whites. At Year 1 approximately 29 percent of Hispanics and Blacks had one additional toddler compared to only 21 percent of Whites. However, almost 9 percent of Whites had two or more additional toddlers compared to roughly 5 percent of both Hispanics and Blacks.

The number of toddlers in the household at Baseline, and Year 1 were significantly related to the number of hours unmarried mothers were employed at Year 3. In general, mothers with more children in the household worked less. At both Baseline and Year 1, for example, approximately 36 percent of mothers with only one child in the household under 4 years were not employed compared to approximately 43 percent of mothers with three or more children. The number of toddlers at Baseline or Year 1 was not significantly related to the number of weeks worked in Year 3 or the number of jobs held since the child's birth. The number of toddlers in the household at Year 3 was not significantly related to the number of hours worked, the number of weeks worked, or the number of jobs since the child's birth, most likely due to the exclusion of mothers who gave birth after the focal child in the restricted sample.

Family Supports

Living Arrangements: Single mothers with young children live in a variety of arrangements. At Year 1, cohabitation was the most common arrangement with 43 percent of mothers living with the father of the focal child. Among mothers not cohabiting, half were living alone and half were living with others, 13 percent with a single parent, 6 percent with both parents, and 10 percent with another adult.

Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites differed significantly on their living arrangements at Year 1. Although cohabitation was the most popular arrangement for unmarried

mothers at Year 1, only 38 percent of Black mothers cohabited in comparison to approximately half of both Hispanic and White mothers. A full third of Black mothers lived alone, significantly more than Hispanics (20%) and Whites (24%). Three times as many Black mothers lived with a single parent in comparison to White mothers (15.7% vs. 5.4%) with Hispanic mothers falling in between the two groups (11.3%). Ten percent of White mothers lived with both parents, twice that of Black mothers (4.4%), with Hispanics again falling in between the two groups (7%). Similar proportions of Hispanic, Black, and White mothers lived with other adults at Year 1.

Living arrangements at Year 1 were not significantly related to employment patterns at Year 3. No differences reach statistical significance in terms of the number of hours employed at Year 3, the number of weeks employed at Year 3, or the number of jobs held since the child's birth.

Child Care by Relative. Slightly over one-fourth of unmarried mothers used relative child care in some capacity during their child's first year of life. Regardless of race/ethnicity, unmarried mothers used relatives for child care in the same proportions. The use of relative childcare was significantly related to the employment patterns in the expected direction. Relative care users worked at higher rates and more weeks in Year 3 than mothers who did not use relative care, while fewer unmarried mothers who were not employed or who worked part-time used relatives for child care in comparison to full-time workers. The majority of mothers (56.9%) who worked full-time used relative care compared to 44 percent of full-time workers who did not. In a similar pattern, 56 percent of mothers who used relative care worked continuously in the past year compared to 45 percent of mothers who worked year-round who did not use relative care. Among

mothers who were not employed in the past year, 11 percent used relative care compared to 21 percent who did not.

The use of relative care was also associated with having one job since the child's birth. Although 45 percent of mothers who used relative care worked one job, only 38 percent of mothers who did not use this care worked one job. Further, while only 8 percent of relative care users report no jobs, 14 percent of non-relative care users report being continuously out of the labor force.

Access to Social Support. The majority of single mothers have access to basic social supports. Seventy-eight percent of mothers reported that they had access to $200 in an emergency both at the time of giving birth and one year later. Even higher proportions could rely on someone to provide emergency child care or a place to live. Eighty-four percent of mothers reported access to child care and 82 percent reported access to a place to live in an emergency.

The access to an array of emergency social supports varied somewhat among Hispanic, Black, and White unmarried mothers with young children. Although only approximately 75 percent of Hispanic and Black mothers reported having access to $200 in an emergency both at Baseline and Year 1, a significantly higher percentage of White mothers, 87 percent, reported access to this support. Similarly, 92 percent of Whites had access to child care help at both earlier survey times compared to significantly lower levels of support available to Hispanics and Blacks, 80 and 84 percent respectively. A place to live in an emergency follows the same pattern. Although a full 87 percent of Whites believed they could count on someone to house them in an emergency at both

Baseline and Year 1, only 79 percent of Hispanics and 81 percent of Blacks reported access to this support.

Access to emergency social supports was also related to employment status. Of mothers working full-time, 50 percent had access to $200 compared to 37 percent of full-time workers without this access. Mothers with access to $200 also worked more weeks in the past year. Over half of mothers who worked continuously throughout the past year had access to emergency financial support, significantly more than the 38 percent of mothers working year-round without access to this support. In terms of jobs held since the child's birth, mothers without access to $200 were more likely not to work or to work multiple jobs compared to mothers with support. Twenty-three percent of those without support worked three or more jobs compared with 19 percent of those with support. At the other end of the continuum, 18 percent of mothers without access to financial help did not work compared to 11 percent of those with access.

Employment was also higher among individuals with access to emergency child care and a place to live. In examining hours employed, the distinctions in access to emergency child care and access to a place to live occurred between mothers who were not employed and those employed full-time. In examining both emergency childcare and an emergency place to live, almost 50 percent of mothers who worked full-time had access to these supports in comparison to approximately 38 percent of mothers who did not.

Similar patterns of access to social support emerge when examining the number of weeks employed during Year 3. Greater proportions of mothers who had emergency financial help, child care help, and housing worked all weeks in the past year with

corresponding higher proportions of individuals without supports being out of the labor force. Although 51 percent of mothers with access to $200 worked all weeks in the past year, only 38 percent of mothers without this support worked consistently. Similarly, half of mothers with emergency child care worked all weeks compared to 38 percent of mothers without this available care. Emergency housing follows the same pattern. Twenty-eight percent of mothers without access to emergency housing did not work any weeks compared to 16 percent of mothers who were not employed with this access.

In terms the number of jobs since the baby's birth, greater proportions of mothers with access to emergency supports worked one or two jobs since the child's birth in relation to not working or working 3 or more jobs. Almost one-fourth of mothers without access to $200 worked 3 or more jobs compared to 19 percent of mothers with this access. Among workers with fewer jobs, 69 percent of mothers with access to child care worked one or two jobs compared to only 58 percent of mothers without emergency child care. Individuals with at least one job since giving birth were also more likely to have an emergency place to live. A full 20 percent of mothers without labor force participation did not have an emergency place to live compared with only 10 percent of mothers not employed with access to emergency housing.

Father Supports

Child Support Receipt and Relationship with Baby's Father. In terms of financial support from the child's father during the child's third year of life, 25 percent of unmarried mothers received formal support or a combination of formal and informal support, 46 percent received informal support only, and 29 percent did not receive any support. Although lower percentages of Hispanics received formal support in

comparison to Whites (21% versus 29%) and higher percentages of Hispanics received informal support (48% versus 42%), these differences did not reach statistical significance. Also, similar proportions of Black and White mothers received formal, informal and no support from their children's fathers.

In terms of relationship strength, almost one-third of unmarried mothers reported that they had an excellent or very good relationship with their child's father at Year 3. Approximately one-fifth had good relationships, and the remaining 47 percent had a fair, poor, or no relationship with the child's father. Similar to financial support from the child's father, there were no statistically significant differences between Hispanic, Black, and White unmarried mothers.

Just as there are no significant racial/ethnic differences among mothers with regard to child support and the strength of their relationships with the child's father, father characteristics were not significantly related to the number of hours employed or the number of weeks employed. Financial support and the strength of the relationship, however, were related to the number of jobs since the child's birth. A greater proportion of mothers with informal support only worked one job. Forty-five percent of mothers who received informal support worked one job since giving birth compared to 36 percent of mothers who did not receive financial support and 37 percent of mothers who received formal support. In addition, a greater proportion of mothers in a very good or excellent relationship with the child's father had one job since their child's birth in comparison to the other groups. Although approximately 36 percent of mothers in both fair, poor, or no relationships and in good relationships work one job, a full 46 percent of mothers in excellent relationships work one job. Therefore, although contributions and relationships

with the child's father were not related to employment status or weeks employed over the course of the year, informal support and excellent/very good relationships were correlated with having one job since the child's birth.

Community Supports

Rent Assistance. One-fourth of unmarried mothers reported receiving rent assistance or living in a public housing project at Year 1. Black single mothers were more than three times as likely to receive housing assistance in comparison to White mothers (30% versus 9%). Hispanic mothers, too, were significantly more likely to receive this type of assistance with 22 percent having received assistance.

The receipt of rent assistance or public housing at Year 1 was significantly associated with employment characteristics at Year 3. In terms of current employment status, 35 percent of people who received rent assistance worked full-time compared to 51 percent of full-time workers who did not. Over 50 percent of rent recipients were not employed compared to 34 percent of mothers who did not receive rent assistance and were not employed. Mothers not receiving rent assistance at Year 1 also worked more weeks at Year 3 than those receiving assistance. Over half of mothers working all weeks did not receive rent assistance compared to only 38 percent of full-year workers who did receive assistance. In a related pattern, a smaller proportion of mothers receiving rent assistance worked one job. Among mothers without rent assistance, 42 percent held one job since the child's birth compared with only 36 percent of mothers receiving rent assistance.

Assistance from an Employment Office. Only 11.5 percent of single mothers with young children received job training during their child's first year of life. Approximately

14 percent of Black unmarried mothers received employment assistance, significantly more than the 8 percent of White mothers. There are no significant differences between Hispanic and White mothers with 8 percent of Hispanic mothers also receiving job assistance.

Similar to the pattern with rent assistance, part-time workers and mothers out of the labor force were significantly more likely to receive assistance from an employment office the year after giving birth than full-time workers. Although 39 percent of mothers who received job assistance worked all weeks in Year 3, nearly half of mothers not receiving assistance worked all weeks. Employment assistance was also more common among mothers who worked part of the previous year. Approximately 43 percent of mothers who received rent assistance worked part of the year compared to 33 percent of mothers who did not receive assistance.

In terms of job stability since the child's birth, significantly more mothers who did not receive job assistance worked one job in comparison to mothers who did receive assistance (41.3% versus 32.1%). A greater proportion of mothers with three or more jobs since the child's birth received job assistance at Year 1. Although 18.5 percent of mothers not receiving job assistance worked three or more jobs, a full third of mothers receiving this assistance fell into the 3 or more jobs category. Only 7 percent of mothers receiving job assistance were continuously out of the labor market since the child's birth compared with 13 percent of mothers who did not receive job assistance. Therefore, job assistance is associated with employment since the child's birth, but it was associated high job turnover.

Assistance from a Childcare Referral Agency. Only 15 percent of unmarried mothers received help from a childcare referral agency at Year 1. Following a similar pattern to assistance from an employment office, Black mothers were significantly more likely to receive referral help in comparison to White mothers (18% versus 11%). Nine percent of Hispanics received child care referral assistance, not significantly different from White mothers.

There are no statistical differences among mothers out of the labor force, those working part-time, and those working full-time in terms of receiving assistance from a childcare referral agency. The number of weeks employed during Year 3, too, is not associated with the receipt of help from a childcare referral agency. Mothers who received this type of help, however, were more likely to report working 2 or more jobs since giving birth. Over 57 percent of mothers who received childcare referral assistance worked 2 or more jobs compared to only 46 percent of mothers who did not receive childcare referral help and worked more than one job.

Assistance from Agency to Collect Child Support. Similar to levels of assistance from childcare referral agencies, 14 percent of unmarried mothers received help to collect child support. There were no racial/ethnic statistical differences in regard to this type of help. These similar levels of collection support to Hispanic, Black, and White mothers complimented the lack of race/ethnic variation with regard to the father support characteristics in terms of financial support and the strength of the mother/father relationship. In addition, help to collect child support at Year 1 was not statistically associated with employment characteristics at Year 3.

Religious Attendance. Religious attendance at Year 1 was common among unmarried mothers with young children. Forty-seven percent of mothers attended religious services at least monthly with over one-fourth attending once a week or more. Thirty-five percent attended less than monthly, and the remaining 18 percent never attended services.

Race/ethnicity was correlated with the frequency of religious participation. Hispanic and Black mothers attended religious services at similar levels and significantly more than White mothers. Both Hispanics and Blacks were significantly more likely than Whites to attend church on a weekly basis. Twenty-nine percent of Hispanics and Blacks attended church weekly compared to only 16 percent of Whites. Likewise, 18 percent and 16 percent of Hispanics and Blacks, respectively, never attended religious services, compared to 27 percent of Whites.

Religious attendance was positively associated with employment status and the number of weeks employed at Year 3. Although the frequency of attendance did not seem to make a difference, any attendance was associated with being employed. Although 49 percent of mothers who attended services weekly or more were employed full-time, only 39 percent of these mothers were out of the labor force at Year 3. Forty-eight percent of mothers who never attended religious services were currently out of the labor force compared to 39 percent of mothers out of the labor force who attended services weekly or more. Attendance to religious services is also associated with working more weeks in the previous year. Only 40 percent of non-attending mothers worked all weeks during Year 3 in comparison to over half of mothers who attended services monthly or more.

The frequency of religious attendance is related to the number of jobs since the child's birth; however, the relationship is not linear. Over 15 percent of both non-attendees and weekly (or more) attendees have not worked since giving birth, relative to approximately 9 percent of mothers who attend services monthly or yearly. A greater proportion of these moderate attendees also report three or more jobs. Twenty-three percent of yearly attendees, for example, worked 3 or more jobs compared to 16 percent of the most frequent attendees.

Human Capital Characteristics

Education. Years of formal education among single mothers were low. Thirty-seven percent of unmarried mothers had less than a high school degree. Thirty-five percent of mothers received a high school degree and the remaining 28 percent received more than a high school degree. Most mothers who had education past high school completed some college or assistantship programs, with only 3 percent of mothers receiving a bachelor's degree or master's degree (results not shown in Table 5).

In examining education levels by race/ethnicity, Hispanic mothers are much more likely to have fewer years of education compared to White mothers. Twelve percent of Hispanic mothers reported less than 9 years of formal education compared to only 4 percent of White mothers (results not shown in Table 5). Half of Hispanics had less than a high school education, significantly higher than the one-third of Whites. Blacks fell between the two groups with 38 percent reporting no high school education. The racial/ethnic differences between Blacks and Whites appear only for education beyond high school. Lower percentages of both Hispanics and Blacks had education past high

school compared to Whites. Approximately 23 percent of Hispanics and 30 percent of Blacks continued education past high school compared to 36 percent of Whites.

The low levels of formal education among respondents correspond to the low levels of formal education of their parents. Seventy percent of respondents' mothers had a high school equivalent or less. Only slightly over 20 percent of the mothers received more education beyond high school and the remaining 8 percent of mothers did not know or report their mother's education. Similar to the respondents themselves, single mothers' parents' education differed significantly by race/ethnicity. Almost 50 percent of Hispanic respondents' mothers had less than a high school education compared with about one-fifth of Blacks and one-fourth of Whites. Hispanic respondents were also the least likely to have mothers educated beyond high school. Ten percent of Hispanic respondents' mothers received higher degrees compared to 24 percent of Blacks and 23 percent of Whites. In contrast to these differences between Hispanics and Whites, Black and White respondents' mothers' educations were remarkably similar.

Respondents' fathers' educations followed a similar pattern with important distinctions. Thirty percent of single mothers did not know the education of their fathers compared with only 8 percent who did not know their mother's education. Over one-third of Hispanics and almost 30 percent of Blacks did not report their father's education, compared to 17 percent of Whites. Following the trend with maternal educations, one-third of Hispanic respondents' fathers had less than a high school degree compared with 13 percent of Blacks and 17 percent of Whites. White respondents' fathers had the highest levels of education with almost one-fourth going beyond high school compared to only 13 percent of Hispanics and 14 percent of Blacks.

Education is associated with employment characteristics at Year 3 in the expected direction. Over one-half of mothers without a high school diploma were not employed while only one-fourth of these mothers were employed full-time. Over 60 percent of mothers with more than a high school diploma worked full-time with only 23 percent of these mothers being not employed. In terms of the number of weeks employed, nearly 60 percent of mothers with more than a high school degree worked all weeks during the previous year compared to only 33 percent of mothers with less than a high school degree. High school graduates fall between the two groups with 55 percent working all weeks.

The relationship between education level and the number of jobs since giving birth was curvilinear. A full 18 percent of mothers without a high school diploma did not work at all compared to 6 percent of mothers with more than a high school diploma. Alternatively, 22 percent of mothers with less than a high school diploma worked three or more jobs compared with 18 percent of mothers with more than a high school diploma. Therefore, education is associated not only with employment, but, also, with job stability.

The education of the respondents' mothers and fathers was also associated with employment levels at Year 3: parents with more formal education had unmarried daughters with children who reported higher employment levels, more weeks employed, and a greater number of jobs. Higher proportions of unmarried mothers with parents with less than a high school degree were not employed in comparison to employed full-time. Forty-five percent of respondents whose mother did not graduate from high school were not employed compared to 31 percent of mothers whose mother went beyond a high school degree. Similarly, 58 percent of mothers whose fathers achieved more than a high

school degree worked full-time compared to only 43 percent of respondents whose father did not receive a high school diploma. Respondents who did not know their parents' level of formal education were more likely to be not employed than working full-time.

The number of weeks employed during Year 3 and the number of jobs since the child's birth follow a pattern similar to hours employed with respondents with parents with high levels of education correlated with a greater number of weeks employed and a higher number of jobs. A maternal or paternal high school diploma was correlated with being employed all year. Approximately 53 percent of respondents whose fathers graduated from high school worked all year in comparison to only 43 percent of respondents whose fathers had less than a high school education. Although still a relatively small percentage, in terms of the number of jobs since the child's birth, a greater proportion of respondents whose mothers did not graduate from high school had not worked after giving birth (18%) in comparison to respondents whose mothers achieved education beyond high school (8%).

Maternal/Child Health. Upon examining health problems among single mothers and their children, 7.6 percent of mothers reported some type of health problem that limited the work that they could do or limited their ability to get to and from work. With 7 percent of Black mothers, 8 percent of Hispanic mothers, and 10 percent of White mothers reporting health barriers, there were no significant racial/ethnic differences. When considering the health of the children of single mothers, only 3 percent of mothers have a child with a disability at Year 1. Although smaller percentages of both Hispanics and Blacks had children with disabilities, there were no statistically significant

racial/ethnic differences. When considering maternal and child together, more than one in ten mothers experience at least one health barrier to work.

The presence of a maternal health problem or a child with a physical disability was highly correlated with employment and employment patterns. Unmarried mothers with health barriers were more likely to be out of the labor force and more likely to work part-time in comparison to full-time work. Although one-quarter of mothers with a health problem worked full-time, half of mothers without health problems worked full-time. Similarly, 50 percent of mothers without health barriers worked all weeks in Year 3 compared to only 28 percent of mothers with these barriers. A full 36 percent of mothers with health problems did not work any weeks during Year 3 compared with only 16 percent of mothers who were healthy and whose children did not have disabilities. The presence of health problems also correlated with the number of jobs since the child's birth. Although there were no differences in health among workers who have worked 2 or more jobs, higher proportions of mothers with health problems had worked one job or not worked at all since the child's birth. One-fifth of mothers with health problems had not worked since the child's birth, for example, in comparison to only 11 percent of mothers without health barriers.

Raised with Both Parents. The large majority of single mothers were not raised in traditional nuclear families. Approximately 65 percent of single parents were not living with both of their parents at age 15. These living arrangements varied among Black mothers in comparison to White mothers. Nearly three-quarters of Black mothers report living in some other type of arrangement, significantly more than the 53 percent of

Whites. Approximately the same number of Hispanics and Whites reported living in another type of arrangement.

There were no statistical differences in hours employed or number of weeks employed between unmarried mothers who lived with both of their parents at age 15 and those who did not. However, these living arrangements were related to the number of jobs since giving birth. Although 16 percent of mothers living in the traditional family arrangement at age 15 were not employed at all after giving birth, only 10 percent of mothers in other arrangements were consistently out of the labor force. At the other end of the continuum, 22 percent of mothers coming from non-traditional arrangements worked three or more jobs compared with only 17 percent mothers who lived with both parents at age 15. Therefore mothers from non-traditional families were more likely to stay out of the labor force or to work multiple jobs compared to mothers in traditional arrangements.

Values. Single mothers generally reported values that could be called liberal. When asked how much they agreed with the statements (0 = not agree at all, 3 = completely agree) "The important decisions in the family should be made by the man in the house" and "It is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the women takes care of the home and the family," unmarried mothers averaged 0.99. Hispanic respondents were statistically more conservative (Mean = 1.16) than Whites (Mean = 0.89). Black mothers fell between the two groups with a mean of 0.95, but did not differ significantly from Whites.

Higher proportions of unmarried mothers with more traditional values were not employed compared to employed full-time at Year 3. On a scale were 0 was liberal and 3

was conservative, the mean score for mothers out of the labor force was 1.08 compared with 0.94 for full-time workers. In terms of the number of weeks employed, greater proportions of mothers were less traditional as mothers worked more weeks. For example, mothers not working at all reported an average of 1.18, significantly higher than 0.94 of mothers who worked all year. As the number of jobs increased since the child's birth, the level of traditional values decreased. Mothers not working since giving birth averaged 1.29 compared with 0.97 of mothers with one job, 0.94 of mothers with 2 jobs, and 0.92 of mothers with 3 or more jobs. Although this relationship trends negatively, it did not reach statistical significance at the .10 level.

Nativity. Slightly over 90 percent of the single mothers were born in the United States. The vast majority of Blacks and Whites (97.3 and 98.8, respectively) were born in the U.S. Hispanics, alternatively, were significantly more likely than Whites to be born outside of the U.S. Only 69 percent of Hispanics were born in the U.S. In terms of country of origin, over 70 percent of Hispanic immigrant mothers were born in Mexico with the remaining coming from Latin American countries.

Nativity among unmarried mothers is not associated with hours employed or the number of weeks worked during Year 3. However, a greater proportion of immigrants had worked fewer jobs since giving birth in comparison to mothers born in the United States. Although 21 percent of US-born mothers worked three or more jobs in the past three years, only 8 percent of immigrants had done so. Employment levels may be similar among the groups, but immigrants do not change jobs as frequently as US-born mothers.

Previous Employment Experience. The vast majority of single mothers have formal labor market experience. Over 85 percent of unmarried mothers worked at some point during the year before giving birth. Work was also common at Year 1 with 57 percent of mothers working at Year 1. When considering the two survey points, less than 12 percent of single mothers were out of the labor force both the year before giving birth and at Year 1.

Labor market experience differed by race/ethnicity. Hispanics were less likely to work than Whites during the year before Baseline (79% vs. 93%) and at Year 1 (53% vs. 61%, results not shown in Table 5). When examining employment over Baseline and Year 1 together, the same difference emerged. Slightly over 18 percent of Hispanics did not work at either point, significantly more than the 5 percent of Whites. Similarly, Hispanics were significantly less likely than Whites to work both the year prior to the Baseline survey and at Year 1 (49.5% vs. 59.3%). The previous employment experience of Blacks fell between Hispanics and Whites. Although a larger proportion of Blacks did not work at either point than Whites (11.0% versus 5.4%) and a smaller proportion worked at both points (53.7% versus 59.3%), the differences were not statistically significant.

Previous employment experience was highly correlated with employment characteristics at Year 3. Seventy-seven percent of mothers who were currently out of the labor force had been out of the labor force both the year before giving birth and at Year 1 compared to only 22 percent of mothers who were employed at both previous points and were out of the labor force. Likewise, 15 percent of full-time workers were not employed at the previous points compared to 62 percent of these workers who

worked at both previous points. Employment experience was also related to the number of weeks employed at Year 3. Sixty-four percent of mothers employed at both previous points worked all year in Year 3 compared to only 20 percent of mothers without employment at either previous point who worked all year. Clearly, employment at earlier points was related to current employment and past year employment.

Because the number of jobs since the child's birth overlaps with the longitudinal measure of employment experience, only participation in the labor force the year prior to giving birth is discussed in relation to the number of jobs held. The dichotomous measure of employment is strongly associated with the number of jobs since the child's birth. Although only 8 percent of mothers who were employed the year before giving birth were not employed during their child's first three years, 37 percent of mothers who were not employed the year before giving birth remained out of the labor market for three years after the birth of their child.

Summary of Descriptive Findings

The descriptive findings provide insight into the employment patterns of Hispanic, Black, and White unmarried mothers, the first objective of this dissertation. Specifically, the objective was to assess the differences in employment patterns and job stability among Hispanic, Black, and White mothers. The descriptive and bivariate analysis showed that most of unmarried mothers were currently employed at Year 3 and very few mothers (12%) were consistently out of the labor force throughout their child's first three years of life. Although there were no differences in employment among Blacks and Whites, Hispanics worked fewer weeks in the past year and had fewer jobs since the child's birth compared to Whites.

In addition to meeting the first objective of the dissertation, the descriptive and bivariate findings provide an understanding of the prevalence of social support among unmarried mothers and the differences between Hispanics and Blacks compared to Whites. Below is a summary of these findings in relation to family, father, community, and human capital supports.

Family Supports

Unmarried mothers lived in a variety of living arrangements and had access to a variety of family supports. In terms of living arrangement, more Black mothers lived in arrangements most related to disadvantage (alone or with a single parent), while White mothers were more likely to live in more advantaged arrangements (cohabiting and with both parents). Hispanics fell between the two groups. The majority of mothers also had access to emergency social support, but Blacks and Hispanics were less likely to have this support compared to Whites. Although living arrangement was not related to employment, access to social support was positively correlated with employment. The use of relative care, used by about one-fourth of each racial/ethnic group, was also indicative of employment.

Father Support

Father support was not abundant among unmarried mothers and did not differ by race/ethnicity. Thirty percent received no financial support from their child's father and almost half had a fair, poor, or no relationship with the child's father. Although father support was not related to hours or weeks employed, receiving informal financial support and having a very good or excellent relationship with the child's father were related to having one job since the child's birth.

Community Supports

A significant minority of mother received agency supports (10 to 25%). Black and Hispanic mothers were more likely to receive these supports than White mothers, and Black mothers received the most assistance. Although assistance from a child care referral agency was related to employment, rent and employment assistance were related to being out of the labor force and job instability. Religious attendance was also more common among Blacks and Hispanics than Whites, and participation was associated with employment and job instability.

Human Capital

In terms of human capital, unmarried mothers were a disadvantaged group. Formal education among unmarried mothers was low with Hispanics faring worse than Blacks or Whites. Single mothers' parents also had low levels of formal education with Hispanics, again, faring worse than the other two groups. Despite their few years of education, the vast majority of unmarried mothers had at least one job since the child's birth. In addition to having lower levels of education, Hispanics were more likely than the other two groups to have stayed out of the labor market. As expected, education and past employment experience were positively related to employment characteristics. Although there were no racial/ethnic differences in health, a significant minority of mothers experienced health problems and these mothers had lower levels of employment. Immigrants, overwhelmingly Hispanic, had similar levels of employment as US-born mothers, but were less likely to hold multiple jobs since their child's birth. Mothers reported liberal values. However, Hispanics reported slightly more traditional values, which were related to being out of the labor force.

Chapter 6: Multivariate Analyses as a Function of Social Support

In this chapter, results are presented from the multivariate analysis examining the effects of race/ethnicity and different levels of social support on employment outcomes at Year 3. Specifically, this chapter examines (a) the relationship between race/ethnicity and employment outcomes at Year 3, (b) the influence of each set of predictor variables (family characteristics, father characteristics, community characteristics, and human capital) individually on employment outcomes, and (c) the sum of all the predictors in the full model. To analyze the moderating effect of race/ethnicity on employment outcomes, separate models are also estimated for Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites. The findings are organized by each set of predictor variables for each outcome: the number of hours employed at Year 3, the number of weeks employed in the previous year, and the number of jobs since the child's birth.

Restricted Models

Basic Model (1)

Number of Hours Employed (Year 3). The first model examines the relationship of unmarried mothers' race/ethnicity to employment after considering the mother's age and the number of toddlers in her household at each survey point (see Table 7a, Model 1). In comparing being out of the labor force to full-time work, Hispanic mothers were 47 percent more likely to be out of the labor force than White mothers. Black and White mothers did not work at rates statistically different from one another. In addition, there are no racial/ethnic differences in part-time versus full-time work. Hispanic, Black, and White unmarried mothers were equally as likely to work part-time after considering maternal age and the number of toddlers in the household. Compared to mothers in their

twenties, mothers under age 20 years old were 56 percent more likely to be out of the labor force compared to working full-time. Younger mothers were 52 percent more likely to work part-time than full-time.

Number of Weeks Employed (Year 3). Compared to White mothers, Hispanic mothers had 86 percent higher odds of having worked no weeks in the past year compared to year-round work relative (see Table 8a, Model 1). Hispanic and Black mothers were just as likely to have worked part of the year in comparison to mothers who worked all year relative to White mothers. There were no statistical differences in the number of weeks worked in the past year between Black and White mothers. Mothers over 30 years of age had 60 percent higher odds of not working any weeks compared to all weeks relative to mothers in their twenties. Younger mothers were almost twice as likely to work 1 to 24 weeks during Year 3 compared to 52 weeks relative to mothers in their twenties. Alternatively, mothers over 30 years were 32 percent less likely to work 1 to 24 weeks. Additional toddlers in the household at Year 3 also lowered the odds that mothers worked 1 to 24 weeks compared to 52 weeks.

Number of Jobs (Since Child's Birth). Following the pattern of having higher odds of being currently out of the labor market and working no weeks during Year 3, Hispanic mothers had an increased likelihood to being consistently out of the labor force since giving birth to the focal child (see Table 9a, Model 1). Compared to White mothers, Hispanic mothers were more than twice as likely to have stayed out of the labor force compared to working one job. Compared to mothers in their twenties, younger mothers had increased odds of not working (OR = 1.45), working 2 jobs (OR = 1.37), and working three of more jobs (OR = 2.07) compared to having one job. Older mothers also

had higher odds of being continuously out of the labor force (OR = 1.57) in comparison to working one job since the child's birth relative to mothers in their twenties. They also had 31 percent lower odds of working 2 jobs and 49 percent lower odds of working 3 or more jobs compared to working one job. Additional toddlers in the household at Year 3 decreased the likelihood of having 2 jobs since the child's birth. For each additional toddler present at Year 3, mothers had 21 percent lower odds of working 2 jobs in comparison to one job.

Family Supports Model (2)

Number of Hours Employed at Year 3. With the addition of family supports, there were no significant differences in the number of hours employed among Hispanic, Black, and White mothers (see Table 7a, Model 2). Family supports explain Hispanic mothers' higher odds of being out of the labor force relative to White mothers. Although the majority of household composition arrangements do not influence the number of hours employed, mothers who lived alone at Year 1 had 48 percent higher odds of working part-time than full-time relative to mothers who were cohabiting with their child's father. The access to relative care and to emergency financial assistance also increased the odds of working. Compared to those not using relative care, mothers who used relatives for child care had 47 percent lower odds of being out of the labor force compared to being employed full-time. Mothers with access to $200 in an emergency had 29 percent lower odds of being out of the labor force and 44 percent lower odds of working part-time in comparison to full-time work. Access to these family and emergency supports increased employment among unmarried mothers. The introduction of family supports into the

model significantly improves the fit of the model in understanding the number of hours employed at Year 3 (LR Chi Squared=60.36, p<.001).

Number of Weeks Employed During Previous Year. After considering family supports and household composition, Hispanics had 69 percent higher odds of not working any weeks relative to working 52 weeks in the previous year (see Table 8a, Model 2). Most living arrangements do not influence the number of weeks employed. However, mothers who lived with other adults at Year 1 had 69 percent higher odds of working 1 to 24 weeks than working all year relative to mothers who were cohabiting with the child's father. Maternal access to emergency supports and the use of relative care increased the number of weeks employed. Mothers who used a relative for child care had 54 percent lower odds of not working and 44 percent lower odds of working 1 to 24 weeks in comparison to working 52 weeks. Mothers with access to $200 in an emergency had 36 percent lower odds of working 1 to 24 weeks in comparison to 52 weeks relative to mothers without access to this support. Family characteristics contribute to a better model fit in relation to number of weeks employed during the previous year (LR Chi Squared=69.25, p<.001).

Number of Jobs Since Child's Birth. In the family characteristics model, Hispanic unmarried mothers maintain increased odds of not working since the child's birth in comparison to working one job relative to White mothers (OR = 1.96; see Table 9a, Model 2). Compared to cohabiting mothers, mothers who lived with a single parent had 60 percent higher odds of working 2 jobs since the child's birth than one job. As with hours and weeks employed, the use of relative care and the access to financial help partially explain the number of jobs that mothers have held since giving birth. Compared

to one job, mothers who used relative care had 43 percent lower odds of not having a job and 23 percent lower odds of having two jobs. Mothers with access to financial help had a 28 percent lower likelihood of working three or more jobs since giving birth relative to working one job. The access to emergency childcare was also associated with being employment. Mothers with this access had 39 percent lower odds of being consistently out of the labor force since giving birth in comparison to having one job. As with the earlier models, family characteristics significantly improve the understanding of the number of jobs that mothers have worked since the child's birth (LR Chi Squared=43.79, p<.01).

Father Supports Model (3)

Number of Hours Employed at Year 3. The type of financial assistance from the child's father and the quality of the mother's relationship with the child's father does not account for Hispanics lower likelihood of working at Year 3. Hispanics maintained increased odds for being out of the labor force rather than being employed full-time relative to whites after considering the child's father's characteristics (OR = 1.47; see Table 7a, Model 3). Although the type of financial support received from the father during the Year 3 was not associated with employment, the mother's relationship with the father was influential. Compared to mothers who had an excellent or very good relationship with the child's father, unmarried mothers with a fair, poor, or no relationship with the child's father were 23 percent less likely to be out of the labor force compared to being employed full-time. Though this relationship was statistically significant, introduction of father characteristics did not significantly improve the model fit (LR Chi Squared=6.40, p=.6021).

Number of Weeks Employed During Previous Year. The influence of father characteristics on the number of weeks employed mirror the impact father characteristics on the number of hours employed. Hispanics had 86 percent higher odds of not working any weeks in comparison to working 52 weeks relative to Whites (see Table 8a, Model 3). The type of financial support from the child's father was not significantly related to the number of weeks employed at Year 3. However, mothers who reported a fair, poor, or lack of relationship had 31 percent lower odds of not working during the previous year in comparison to working 52 weeks relative to mothers who reported a very good or excellent relationship with the child's father. Again, the model fit was not significantly improved with the introduction of father's characteristics (LR Chi Squared=14.07, p=.2963).

Number of Jobs Employed (Since Child's Birth). After considering the influence of father characteristics on the number of jobs since the child's birth, Hispanic mothers remain more than twice as likely to report not working in comparison to working one job relative to White mothers (OR = 2.19; see Table 9a, Model 3). Although this relationship is similar to the relationship in the control model, the influence of financial support from the child's father and the relationship between the parents is noteworthy. Mothers who received informal support had 31 percent lower odds of not working any jobs and 24 percent lower odds of working two jobs relative to working one job. Mothers who reported a fair, poor, or no relationship with the child's father had lower odds of working no jobs (OR = 0.67) and higher odds of working 2 jobs (OR = 1.38) and 3 or more jobs (OR = 1.57) than working one job relative to mothers with a very good or excellent relationship with the child's father. Mothers with "good" relationships with the child's

father also report more jobs. These mothers had 65 percent higher odds of working 2 jobs and 60 percent higher odds of working 3 or more jobs in comparison to one job relative to mothers in a very good or excellent relationship. Father characteristics did contribute significantly to the model fit of the number of jobs since the child's birth (LR Chi Squared=37.48, p<.001).

Community Supports Model (4)

Number of Hours Employed at Year 3. The use of community resources was related to the number of hours employed, although not necessarily in the anticipated direction. Hispanic mothers maintained 41 percent higher odds of being out of the labor force than employed full-time relative to Whites after considering community resources (see Table 7b, Model 4). Rent assistance or public housing and assistance from an employment office at Year 1 increased the likelihood of being out of the labor force. Mothers who received rent assistance were more than twice as likely to be out of the labor force at Year 3 (OR = 2.06) and one and a half times more likely to be employed part-time (OR = 1.55) in comparison to employed full-time. Similarly, mothers who received assistance from an employment office at Year 1 had 53 percent higher odds of being out of the labor force. Alternatively, mothers who received assistance from a child care referral agency were more likely to be employed. Mothers who received this assistance had 30 percent lower odds of being out of the labor force in comparison to being employed full-time. Regardless of the frequency, religious attendance was associated with increased employment. Mothers who attended services on a bimonthly or monthly basis, for example, had 42 percent lower odds of being out of the labor force than being employed full-time relative to mothers who never attended religious services.

The introduction of community resources significantly improved the model fit of the number of hours employed at Year 3 (LR Chi Squared=63.55, p<.001).

Number of Weeks Employed During the Previous Year. Many of the same relationships found with the number of hours worked at Year 3 appeared when examining the number of weeks worked during the previous year (see Table 8b, Model 4). The use of community resources does not explain the racial/ethnic difference among Hispanic mothers in the number of weeks employed during Year 3. Hispanic mother remained more likely to be out of the labor force all year than employed all year relative to Whites (OR = 1.80). Mothers who received public housing or housing vouchers during Year 1 were almost twice more likely to be out of the labor force all year (OR = 1.92) and almost 2.5 times more likely to be employed 1 to 24 weeks compared to employed 52 weeks. In terms of the influence of assistance from an employment office, mothers with this assistance at Year 1 had 58 percent higher odds of working 25 to 51 weeks in comparison to year-round work. Similar to the relationship with hours employed, assistance with a child care referral and religious attendance was associated with employment. Mothers who received assistance from a child care referral agency had 35 percent lower odds of working 1 to 24 weeks relative to working 52 weeks. Mothers who attended religious services once a week or more had 30 percent lower odds of being out of the labor force all year and 46 percent lower odds of working 1 to 24 weeks in comparison to working 52 weeks. Community resources significantly improved the model fit of the number of weeks employed model (LR Chi Squared=82.91, p<.001).

Number of Job Since Child's Birth. Community resources were also related to the number of jobs that a mother held since she gave birth (see Table 9b, Model 4).

Hispanics remained approximately twice as likely to work no jobs in relation to one job relative to Whites (OR = 1.98), and, again, there were no statistically significant differences between Blacks and Whites. The receipt of rent assistance or public housing increased the likelihood of being out of the labor force (OR = 1.69), and, alternatively, employment assistance was associated with multiple jobs. Mothers who received this type of assistance at Year 1 were twice as likely to have worked 3 or more jobs since the child's birth in comparison to working one job. Although the influence of religious attendance on the number of jobs is not as consistent as with the number of hours or weeks employed, religious attendance was associated with work. Mothers who attended services yearly, but not monthly, for example, had 43 percent lower odds of being consistenty out of the labor force compared to having one job relative to mothers who never attended services. The model fit for the number of jobs that mothers have held since the child's birth was significantly improved after the introduction of community resources (LR Chi Squared=56.56, $p<.001$).

Human Capital Model (5)

Number of Hours Employed at Year 3. Human capital characteristics explained Hispanics lower levels of employment (see Table 7b, Model 5). After considering of these characteristics, Hispanic mothers no longer had increased odds of being out of the labor force in comparison to being employed full-time relative to White mothers. Education, health, and values also contribute to the variance in employment status at Year 3. Mothers without a high school diploma were more than 4 times more likely to be out of the labor market and 1.5 times more likely to be employed part-time in comparison to being employed full-time relative to mothers with more than a high school education.

Mothers with a high school diploma also had an increased likelihood of being out of the labor force (OR = 1.46). Although respondents' mothers' education was not significantly related to hours employed at Year 3, respondents whose fathers had less than a high school diploma had 56 percent higher odds of being out of the labor force compared to being employed full-time relative to respondents whose fathers had formal education beyond high school. Mothers who did not know the education of their fathers also had an increased likelihood of being out of the labor force (OR = 1.54). Maternal health problems or children with disabilities also limited mothers' work. Mothers who reported health problems were more than 3 times more likely to be out of the labor market (OR = 3.20) and more than twice as likely to be employed part-time (OR = 2.02) relative to full-time employment. Traditional mothers, too, had an increased likelihood of not being employed relative to being employed full-time (OR = 1.23). Living arrangement at age 15 and immigration status were not significantly related to the number of hours worked at Year 3. Human capital characteristics significantly improved the model fit of the number of hours currently employed at Year 3 (LR Chi Squared=189.02, $p<.001$).

Number of Weeks Employed at Year 3. With the introduction of human capital characteristics, there are no racial/ethnic differences in the number of weeks employed during Year 3 (see Table 8b, Model 5). Similar to the relationships with hours employed, maternal education and health problems strongly influence the number of weeks employed during the previous year. Mothers with less than a high school education had much higher odds of not working any weeks (OR = 4.71) and working 1 to 24 weeks (OR = 2.73) compared to working 52 weeks relative to mothers with more than a high school diploma. Mothers with a high school diploma had 61 percent higher odds of not working

in comparison to working all year. Mothers whose fathers had a high school degree had 33 percent lower odds of working 25 to 51 weeks in comparison to 52 weeks relative to fathers with more than a high school diploma. Health problems increased the likelihood of being out of the labor force. Mothers with job-limiting health problems or children with disabilities at Year 1 were more than 3.5 times more likely to be out of the labor market throughout the year and more than twice as likely to work 1 to 24 weeks in comparison to 52 weeks. Mothers reporting more traditional values were more likely to be not employed compared to employed full-time (OR = 1.54). The level education of the respondent's mother, living arrangement at age 15, and immigration status were not significantly related to the number of weeks worked. The number of weeks employed model was significantly improved by the introduction of human capital characteristics (LR Chi Squared=196.37, p<.001).

Number of Jobs Since Child's Birth. As with the previous models that include human capital characteristics, there are no racial/ethnic differences with regard to the number of jobs since the child's birth (see Table 9b, Model 5). Similar to the earlier models, education plays a large role in explaining the number of jobs. Mothers without a high school degree were 2.5 times more likely to be continuously out of the labor force and had 45 percent higher odds of working 3 or more jobs since giving birth when compared to working one job relative to mothers with more than a high school degree. Mothers with a high school degree had 59 percent higher odds of being consistently out of the labor force compared to having one job relative to mothers with more than a high school education. Low levels of maternal education of the respondent decreased the odds of the mother working multiple jobs relative to one job. Likewise, if their fathers did not

have high school diplomas, mothers had 97 percent higher odds of being consistently out of the labor force compared to working one job relative to mothers with fathers with more than a high school degree. Mothers with a work-limiting health problem or a child with a disability were almost twice as likely to have not worked since giving birth relative to working one job. More traditional mothers also had higher odds of being consistently out of the labor force relative to working one job. Immigrant mothers had a decreased likelihood of working multiple jobs. Immigrants had 30 percent lower odds of working 2 jobs and 62 percent lower odds of working 3 or more jobs in comparison to working one job relative to US-born mothers. Living arrangement at age 15 was not significantly related to the number of jobs since the child's birth. As with the earlier human capital models, human capital characteristics significantly improved the fit of the number of jobs model (LR Chi Squared=128.35, $p<.001$).

Full Models for Unmarried Mothers

Although it is helpful to look at the individual contributions of family, father, community, and human capital characteristics, a complete model enables a better understanding of the main predictors of employment. Two full models are described in the following section: one with all characteristics except previous employment experience and a second final model incorporating the strong predictor of previous employment experience on current employment characteristics.

Race/Ethnic Differences in Full Models

There are no racial/ethnic differences in the number of hours employed at Year 3, the number of weeks worked during the previous year, or the number of jobs held since the child's birth in the full models. There are no differences between Black and White

mothers, and after examining family, community, and human capital characteristics, there remain no differences between Black and White mothers. Among Hispanic and White mothers, the predictor variables in the full model, primarily human capital characteristics, explained the initial lower employment levels of Hispanics. Although race and ethnicity are not significant explanatory variables, several predictor variables were associated with employment characteristics. These significant differences are highlighted in the following sections.

Full Models (6) Without Employment Experience

Number of Hours Employed at Year 3. In the full model without inclusion of previous employment experience, several variables were related to lower levels of current employment or working fewer hours (see Table 7c, Model 6). Mothers in other living arrangements were less likely to be working compared to mothers who were cohabiting. Compared to mothers cohabiting, mothers who lived with both parents at Year 1, for example, had 71 percent higher odds of being out of the labor force compared to being employed full-time. Non-cahabitors were also more likely to be working part-time rather than full-time. Mothers who lived with a single parent, for example, had 66 percent higher odds of being employed part-time. The receipt of community assistance in terms of rent assistance and employment assistance increased the odds of mothers being out of the labor force. Mothers who received public housing or housing vouchers had 70 percent higher odds of being out of the labor force and 39 percent higher odds of being employed part-time in comparison to being employed full-time. Less than a high school degree and only a high school degree also increased the likelihood of being out of the labor force. Mothers with less than a high school diploma were more than 3.5 times more

likely to be out of the labor force in comparison to being employed full-time relative to mothers with education beyond high school. Mothers whose fathers did not graduate from high school or mothers who did not know the education of their fathers had increased odds of being out of the labor force (OR = 1.58 and OR = 1.51, respectively). Health problems among mothers and their children continued to decrease employment levels. Mothers with health problems were more than 3 times more likely to be out of the labor force in comparison to being employed full-time. Values, too, remained a significant predictor of the number of hours employed. Mothers with more traditional values were more likely to be out of the labor force in comparison to mothers employed full-time.

In addition to the many factors that decreased the number of hours employed in the full model, the use of relative care, the receipt of a child care referral, access to emergency financial help, and poor relationships with the child's father significantly increased employment levels. Relative care users had 41 percent lower odds of being out of the labor force relative to being employed full-time. Mothers receiving a child care referral had 31 percent lower odds of being out of the labor force in comparison to being employed full-time. Mothers with access to $200 in an emergency had 42 percent lower odds of working part-time compared to working full-time. Lastly, in terms of the influence of father support, mothers in a fair, poor, or non-existent relationship with the child's father had 34 percent lower odds of being out of the labor force and 29 percent lower odds of working part-time in comparison to working full-time relative to mothers in an excellent or very good relationship. Although religious participation was

significantly related to employment in the community model, it was no longer significant in the full model examining the number of hours employed.

Number of Weeks Employed at Year 3. Similar to the number of hours employed, the majority of the significant predictors in the separate model maintain significance in the full model (see Table 8c, Model 6). The only living arrangement that influenced the number of weeks employed was living with other adults. Mothers who lived with other adults at Year 1 had 94 percent higher odds of working 1 to 24 weeks compared with 52 weeks relative to cohabiting mothers. Mothers with rent assistance or public housing had higher odds of working no weeks (OR = 1.51) or working 1 to 24 weeks (OR = 2.30) compared to working all year. As in the human capital model, low education levels, health problems, and more traditional values remain significantly associated with working fewer weeks during the previous year. Mothers with less than a high school diploma were more than four times as likely to work no weeks (OR = 4.10) and more than twice as likely to work 1 to 24 weeks (OR = 2.31) compared to mothers who worked 52 weeks, relative to mothers who received more than a high school degree. Mothers with health problems or children with disabilities were more than 3 times more likely to be out of the labor force all year (OR = 3.45) and more than 2 times as likely to be employed 1 to 24 weeks (OR = 2.01). More traditional mothers, too, were more likely to be out of the labor force during the previous year than to work all year (OR = 1.53).

The use of relative care, a poor relationship with the child's father, and religious participation was significantly associated with an increase in the number of weeks that a mother worked. Mothers who used relative care had 45 percent lower odds of not working any weeks during the previous year relative to working 52 weeks. Access to

emergency child care help also increased the number of weeks worked. Mothers with this support had 37 percent lower odds of being continuously out of the labor market during the previous year. Similar to the influence of the mother's relationship with the child's father on the number of hours currently employed, mothers who reported a fair, poor, or non-existent relationship with the child's father had 37 percent lower odds of being continuously out of the labor force during the previous year in comparison to being employed the entire year relative to mothers in a very good or excellent relationship with the child's father. Mothers who attended religious services, also, were employed more weeks. Mothers who attended services weekly or more, for example, had a 42 percent lower likelihood of working 1 to 24 weeks in comparison to working 52 weeks. Although mothers' parents' education predicted the number of weeks employed in the human capital model, these predictors were no longer significant in the full model.

Number of Jobs Since Child's Birth. Many of the same variables influencing the number of hours employed and the number of weeks employed during the previous year were also associated with the number of jobs that a mother has held since the child's birth in the full model (see Table 9c, Model 6). Although the ratios are not as large, similar to the earlier models, low education levels, and health problems predict lower rates of employment or fewer jobs. Mothers with less than a high school degree were more than twice as likely to be out of the labor force since giving birth in comparison to being employed at one job, relative to mothers with more than a high school diploma. Mothers with only a high school diploma were 1.5 times more likely to be continuously out of the labor force. Respondents whose mothers had less than a high school education were less likely to be out of the labor force and less likely to have worked at multiple jobs in

comparison to working one job, relative to respondents whose mothers had more than a high school degree. In addition, respondents who did not know their mothers' education were less likely to work 2 or more jobs. The influence of paternal education affects both employment and employment stability. Respondents whose father did not graduate from high school were nearly twice as likely to be continuously out of the labor force since giving birth in comparison to working one job relative mothers whose fathers had formal education beyond high school. Mothers who did not know their father' education had 84 percent higher odds of working 3 or more jobs in comparison to working one job. More traditional mothers had increased odds of being out of the labor force over the three years in comparison to being employed at one job. Immigrants were as likely to work as US-born mothers, but they worked fewer jobs. Immigrant mothers had 42 percent lower odds of working 2 jobs and 62 percent lower odds of working 3 or more jobs in comparison to working one job since giving birth.

In addition to predictors associated with fewer jobs held, other predictors were related to the multiple jobs held since the child's birth. The use of relative care, the availability of emergency child care assistance, employment assistance, religious attendance, and a poor relationship with the child's father were associated with higher rates of employment. Mothers who used relative care, for example, had 31 percent lower odds of not working and 23 percent lower odds of working 2 jobs in comparison to working one job. Similarly, mothers with access to emergency child care had 44 percent lower odds of not working in comparison to working one job. Employment assistance was associated with employment instability. Mothers who received employment assistance were almost twice as likely to have worked at 3 or more jobs since giving birth

in comparison to mothers working one job. Religious attendance was also associated with multiple jobs. Mothers who attended services monthly, but not weekly, had 61 percent increased odds of working 3 or more jobs since giving birth. A mother's relationship with the child's father was related to working and working multiple jobs. Compared to mothers reporting a very good or excellent relationship with the child's father, mothers with a fair, poor, or no relationship had 36 percent lower odds of not working since the baby's birth, 39 percent higher odds of working 2 jobs, and 60 percent higher odds of working 3 or more jobs compared to working one job. Mothers with good relationships with the child's father followed a similar pattern, but with higher odds ratios closer to one.

Full Model (7) with Employment Experience

Number of Hours Employed at Year 3. Because identical factors influence prior employment and current employment, prior employment experience in the labor market the year prior to the baseline survey or at the Year 1 survey strongly influenced the number of hours employed at Year 3. The explained variance increased by 3 percent (from 9.5% to 13.2%) with the addition of employment experience. Mothers who did not work the year before giving birth or at Year 1 were nearly 8 times more likely to be out of the labor force at Year 3 (OR = 7.88; see Table 7c, Model 7). Mothers who only worked at one of the previous survey points also had increased odds of being out of the labor force at Year 3 (OR = 3.12). Although the odds ratio among the other variables in the model weakened after the consideration of past employment (especially the influence of human capital characteristics that had the highest odds ratios in the previous model), the majority of the significant relationships remained after the entrance of employment

experience. The odds of being out of the labor force among mothers without a high school diploma, for example, decreased from 3.52 to 2.52 with the addition of employment. The predictors of child care referral assistance and the measure of values lost statistical significance after employment was entered into the model.

Number of Weeks Employed at Year 3. The contribution of employment experience to the number of weeks that mothers worked during Year 3 increases the explained variance in the full model from 10 percent to 14.2 percent. Previous employment the year before Baseline and at Year 1 was a strong predictor of the number of weeks employed during the previous year. Mothers not working the year before giving birth or at Year 1 were over 15 times more likely remain out of the labor force the entire year (OR = 15.53) and almost 3 times more likely to work 1 to 24 weeks (OR = 2.96) in comparison to those being employed all year relative to mothers who worked at both previous occasions (see Table 8c, Model 7).

After employment experience was introduced in the model examining the number of weeks employed, the majority of the significant variables in the full model remained significant, albeit with smaller odds ratios. As with the hours employed model, the ratios of the human capital variables were the most sensitive to the introduction of previous employment experience. Although mothers with health barriers were almost 3.5 times more likely to work no weeks during Year 3 in comparison to working 52 weeks, the odds ratio decreased from 3.45 to 2.20 after introducing previous employment experience. In addition to decreased odds ratios, access to emergency child care is no longer significantly (positively) related to the number of weeks employed after considering employment experience.

Number of Jobs Since Child's Birth. Although employment was measured dichotomously in the model for the numbers of jobs since the child's birth (either mothers were employed the year before giving birth or not), this crude measure was strongly associated with the dependent variable. Mothers who worked the year before giving birth had 76 percent lower odds of being out of the labor force continuously after giving birth relative to having one job (see Table 9c, Model 7). At the other extreme, mothers with this labor market experience had 75 percent greater odds of working three of more jobs since the child's birth.

Similar to the earlier models, the majority of the significant relationships remained after considering previous labor market experience with a few notable exceptions. Although mothers who used relative care were less likely to be continuously out of the labor force in the earlier model, this relationship lost significance in later models. Put differently, employment the year before giving birth explained the lower participation rates of mothers who did not use relative care at Year 1. The consideration of employment experience also changes the relationships among the respondent's level of education and the presence of a health problem, key measures of human capital in the earlier model. Although not significant in Model 6, in the inclusive model, mothers with less than a high school education had a greater likelihood of working three or more jobs in comparison to working one job since the child's birth (OR = 1.48). Therefore, employment experience suppressed the relationship between low levels of formal education and multiple jobs in the earlier model. Alternatively, the presence of a health problem was no longer significant after considering whether or not a mother worked in the year before she gave birth.

Full Models By Race/Ethnicity

Full Model By Race/Ethnicity (6) without Employment Experience

To test the possible moderating influence of race/ethnicity on employment patterns, separate regression models including all predictor variables illuminate how social supports worked differently for Hispanic, Black, and White unmarried mothers. Z-tests of coefficients were run to determine how characteristics operate differently between the racial/ethnic groups (Paternoster et al., 1998). Thus, the results of these tests are discussed when applicable. Recall from Chapter 4 that categories of the dependent variables were dichotomized in this analysis due to the smaller sample sizes. Mothers were categorized as currently working or not and having worked in the past year or not. Due to insufficient cell sizes of mothers who had not worked since the child's birth, number of jobs was not analyzed separately by race/ethnicity. Likewise, several predictor variables were collapsed to achieve sufficient cell sizes for analysis.

The findings from each separate model are not discussed individually as in the above models. Instead the full models show the significant predictors of employment when considering supports from multiple sources. Previous employment is not included in these models because the predictors of current employment characteristics are also associated with previous employment. Thus, the introduction of previous employment as a predictor could mask the influence of other important contributions to employment. This section concludes with the presentation of the findings of the likelihood ratio tests run for each set of predictors for Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites.

Black/White Differences

Number of Hours Employed at Year 3. Age and the number of toddlers in the household were not significantly associated with current employment for Blacks. However, additional toddlers in the household at Baseline increased the likelihood of employment at Year 3 among Whites (OR = 1.93; see Table 10). For Blacks, living with others at Year 1 decreased the odds of current employment by 33 percent compared to cohabiting. Living arrangement was not significantly associated with current employment among Whites. Alternatively, the use of relative care increased Black mothers' odds of employment by 59 percent. Relative care was not significantly related to employment at Year 3 for Whites. In fact, no family support was significantly related to current employment among Whites.

When examining father and community supports, only the receipt of rent assistance at Year 1 is related to current employment. Among Blacks, mothers who received this assistance had 38 percent lower odds of being currently employed. Rent assistance was not significant among Whites. Human capital characteristics were also better predictors of employment for Black mothers than White mothers. Black mothers with less than a high school diploma had 75 percent lower odds of being currently employed compared to Black mothers who had more than a high school diploma. Education was not significantly related to current employment among Whites. The presence of a health problem or a child with a disability also was associated with employment among Blacks. Mothers with a health problem had 65 percent lower odds of being currently employed. Among Whites, no human capital characteristic was significantly related to current employment. In fact, the only significant variable

associated with current employment among White mothers was the presence of additional toddlers at Year 1.

The Z-test of coefficients showed that no supports operated significantly differently for Black and White mothers. Although a greater number of supports were significant for Blacks in the model, the relationship between supports and current employment were not statistically different from one another for Black and White mothers in the comparison analysis.

Number of Weeks Employed at Year 3. Similar to the relationship between the number of children and current employment, White mothers with additional children at Baseline had increased odds of working at least one week in the past year (OR = 2.45; See Table 11). This relationship was not significant among Blacks. The only statistically significant relationship among family supports for Blacks was having access to all three emergency supports at both Baseline and Year 1. Black mothers who had access to these supports had 39 percent higher odds of being currently employed than mothers without these supports. Access to these supports was not significantly related to employment among Whites.

As with findings for current employment, neither financial support from the child's father nor the mother's relationship with the father was related to past year employment. Among Blacks, in fact, no father or community characteristics were significantly related to being employed in the past year. Among Whites, receiving rent assistance and receiving employment assistance were significantly related to past year employment. White mothers who received these supports were less likely to have worked in the past year. White mothers who received rent assistance had 71 percent

lower odds of working in the past year. Similarly, White mothers who received employment assistance had 65 percent lower odds of working.

Although father and community supports were not associated with employment among Blacks, several human capital characteristics were. Black mothers with less than a high school diploma had 60 percent lower odds of working in the past year compared to mothers with more than a high school degree. Education was not significantly related to employment for Whites mothers. The education of the respondents' parents was also more influential for Blacks than Whites. Black mothers who parents had at least a high school education had increased odds of being employed some time in the last year. Parental educations were not significantly associated with work in the past year among Whites. The only human capital variable significantly associated with past year employment was the presence of a health problem or child disability. A health problem was significantly related to not working in the past year for both Black and White mothers (Blacks: OR = 0.44 and Whites: OR = 0.40).

The Z-test of coefficients showed one difference in how supports operated among Black and White mothers. As mentioned above, among mothers who had additional toddlers at Baseline, White mothers had an increased likelihood of working in the past year. The relationship was not significant among Blacks.

Hispanic/White Differences

Number of Hours Employed at Year 3. Although the presence of additional toddlers at Year 1 was significantly associated with increased employment at Year 3 among Whites, additional toddlers at Year 3 was significantly associated with not being employed among Hispanics. Hispanic mothers who had additional toddlers in the

household at Year 3 had lower odds of being currently employed (OR = 0.58; see Table 10). Among family supports, as with found with Black mothers, Hispanic mothers who used relative care at Year 1 had greater odds of being currently employed. They were more than twice as likely to be currently employed when compared with mothers not using relative care at Year 1. Again, relative care was not significantly related to current employment among Whites.

Although the relationship between the mother and the child's father was not significantly related to current employment among Whites (or Blacks), Hispanic mothers with a fair, poor, or non-existent relationship with the child's father were twice as likely to be currently employed compared to Hispanic mothers who had a good, very good, or excellent relationship with the child's father.

Community resources were also more strongly related to current employment among Hispanics than among Whites. Hispanic mothers who received employment assistance at Year 1 had 54 percent lower odds of being currently employed. Alternatively, Hispanic mothers who received a child care referral had increased odds of being currently employed (OR = 3.04). As mentioned above, no community resource was significantly related to employment among Whites.

Human capital characteristics, similarly, were more strongly related to current employment for Hispanics than for Whites. Hispanic mothers with less than a high school diploma had 52 percent lower odds of being currently employed compared with mothers with more than a high school diploma. In addition, Hispanic mothers with a health problem or a child with a disability had 72 percent lower odds of being currently employed. Traditional values were also associated with employment for Hispanic

mothers. Mothers with more traditional values were less likely to be currently employed (OR = 0.52). As previously mentioned, no human capital variable was significantly related to employment among White mothers.

The results of the Z-test of coefficients indicated that the level of traditional values worked differently among Hispanic and White mothers. More traditional Hispanic mothers were less likely to be currently employed. Although the relationship did not reach statistical significance among White mothers, the coefficient was in the opposite direction and significantly different than the coefficient for Hispanic mothers.

Number of Weeks Employed at Year 3. Although the number of additional toddlers at Year 1 was related to being employed in the past year for Whites, neither age nor the number of toddlers was significantly related to being employed in the past year for Hispanics. Similar to the findings for current employment, the use of relative care was the only variable that was significantly associated with being employed in the past year. Among Hispanic mothers, relative care users were more than twice as likely to have worked in the past year relative to Hispanic mothers who did not use this care (OR = 2.29; see Table 11). No family supports were related to employment in the past year for White mothers.

Similar to the relationship found with current employment, Hispanic mothers with a fair, poor, or non-existent relationship with the child's father had increased odds of working in the past year compared with Hispanic mothers with a good, very good, or excellent relationship. This relationship was not significant among White mothers. However, the receipt of rent assistance was related to employment for both Hispanic and White mothers. Among both Hispanic and White mothers, mothers who received rent

assistance at Year 1 were less likely to have worked in the past year. Although the receipt of employment assistance was also significantly related to not working in the past year for Whites, the relationship was not significant among Hispanics.

The only significant human capital variable related to whether or not a mother worked in the past year was the presence of a health problem or a child with a disability. Both Hispanic and White mothers who experienced this barrier to employment were less likely to have worked in the past year.

Similar to the Z-test of coefficients findings for Blacks and Whites, the only variable that operated differently for Hispanics and Whites was the number of toddlers at Baseline. Although the relationship was positive and significant among Whites, the relationship was negative, albeit not significant, among Hispanics.

Log Likelihood Chi Squared Tests

Although log likelihood ratio tests indicate many similarities in significant sets of predictors for Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites, differences are important in understanding the relationship of supports to employment characteristics in the lives of unmarried mothers.

Number of Hours Employed at Year 3. In examining whether or not a mother was employed, family characteristics improved the model fit for Hispanics and Blacks, but did not improve the model fit for Whites (see Table 12). Father characteristics improved the model fit for Hispanics, but not for Blacks or Whites. Community characteristics, however, improved the model fit for each group. Although human capital characteristics significantly improved the model fit among Hispanics and Blacks, the model fit was *not* significantly improved among Whites.

Number of Weeks Employed at Year 3. The influence of family characteristics on whether or not a mother worked in the past year was similar to the pattern of whether or not she was currently employed (see Table 13). Family characteristics significantly improved the model fit for Hispanics and Blacks, but not for Whites. Father characteristics did not improve the model fit for any group. Alternatively, community characteristics improved the model fit for all three groups. Likewise, the introduction of human capital characteristics improved the model fit for Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites.

Summary of Multivariate Findings of Full Models

The multivariate analysis meets objectives 2 and 3 of the dissertation. Recall that objective 1 was to access the influence of family, father, community, supports on employment after taking into account human capital characteristics. The factors significantly related to employment in the full model are listed below.

Factors related to higher employment and employment stability:

- Use of relative care
- Access to emergency supports
- Fair, poor, or no relationship with the child's father
- Receipt of a childcare referral
- Religious Participation
- Higher levels of education for the respondent and her parents
- Previous employment experience

Factors related to lower employment or employment instability:

- A living arrangement other than cohabitation
- Receipt of rent assistance

- Receipt of employment assistance
- Health problem or a child with a disability
- Traditional values

Objective 3 was to access if, and, if so, how the influence of these social supports contributes to employment outcomes and how the patterns may differ for Hispanic, Black, and White mothers. The analysis found that there were no racial/ethnic differences in employment after considering family, father, community, and human capital support. Yet, the examination of separate models for Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites demonstrated that many supports operated differently for each group. Overall, a greater number of family, father, community, and human capital supports were more strongly associated with employment for Hispanics and Blacks than Whites. Community supports were the only set of predictors that improved the log-likelihood model fit for Whites when examining the number of hours employed.

Chapter 7: Discussion and Implications

This chapter provides a discussion and a context for interpreting and understanding study results. The chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section discusses the findings in relation to the objectives set forth in the study:

(1) To assess the differences in employment patterns and job stability among Hispanic, black, and white unmarried mothers of three-year-olds.

(2) To assess the influence of family and community material and emotional supports on employment outcomes among unmarried mothers of young children, taking into account individual characteristics.

(3) To assess if and, if so, how the influence of family and community material and emotional supports, and human capital characteristics contribute to employment outcomes differently for Hispanic, Black, and White unmarried mothers.

Following a discussion of the major findings with regard the study's objectives, I discuss additional significant findings which emerged during the analysis. The final section of the chapter addresses the implications of the dissertation, including implications for social welfare policy and social work practice. Methodological limitations are also highlighted. Finally, building from this study's findings, directions for future research are discussed.

Review of Findings with Regard to Objectives

Objective 1: Differences in Employment Patterns

This study, consistent with other data, demonstrates the high employment levels of unmarried mothers. In the Current Population Survey (CPS), for example, 74 percent of never-married mothers who had not given birth in the previous year were employed (US Bureau of the Census, 2002). Somewhat fewer (61 percent) of unmarried mothers were employed in this dissertation, perhaps due to the different groups studied. Although the US Census includes all mothers who did not give birth in the last year, the Fragile Families sample includes only mothers with young children, most of whom are low-income. Compared to the general population of women, mothers in the Fragile Families sample may have more difficulty accessing child care so that they can work outside the home. However, when comparing Year 1 employment rates among unmarried mothers in this study with the CPS data, the employment rates are similar (57 and 51 percent respectively) with the slight variation possibly due to the urban composition of the Fragile Families sample and the additional barriers to employment that rural mothers may face, such as increased problems with transportation (Taylor, 2001).

The relatively small minority of mothers who reported part-time work (14.5%) indicates that working often means working full-time even for unmarried mothers with young children. According to the 2003 American Community Survey completed by the US Census, approximately one-fifth of all females 16 years and older were employed part-time in 2003 (US Census Bureau, 2003a). The lower percentage of part-time employment among single mothers when compared to all mothers supports Drobnic's

(2000) analysis of NSFH data which found that part-time employment was associated with married (and not single) mothers as a way to meet the demands of both work and family. Yet, single mothers also have to meet demands of work and family, however they may not have other income on which to rely, such as a husband's income.

As hypothesized, Hispanic unmarried mothers worked in the formal labor market at significantly lower rates than White mothers. In the basic models, Hispanic mothers were more likely to be currently out of the labor force than employed full-time and out of the labor force all year than employed all year. Hispanic mothers, in addition, had higher odds of being continuously out of the labor force since the child's birth in comparison to having one job relative to White mothers. This racial/ethnic difference, again, mirrors the CPS (US Bureau of the Census, 2002).

In the majority of the models examining family, father, and community supports and employment levels, Hispanics continued to have higher odds of being out of the labor force compared to employed full-time. Thus, these supports did not explain their lower employment patterns. Rather, this Hispanic-White difference was explained largely by human capital characteristics. Namely, Hispanic mothers had substantially lower levels of formal education and more traditional values, to a lesser degree, than Whites. Both of these characteristics were related to being employed.

As anticipated, Black and White unmarried mothers worked similar numbers of hours in their current job and similar numbers of weeks in the past year. This finding further supports Yoon and Waite's (1994) finding of converging employment patterns among Black and White mothers. Although it was hypothesized that Black mothers would have worked significantly more jobs than White mothers, the groups did not

significantly differ on this outcome either. Approximately half of mothers in each category worked two or more jobs since the child's birth. Taniguchi and Rosenfeld (2002) also found that race/ethnicity did not influence whether or not a mother was currently working, but Whites had longer job spells both in and out of employment than Hispanics or Blacks. Therefore, the employment measures used in this study would not detect any variation within the three groups lasting longer than the survey period of three years.

Objective 2: Influence of Various Supports to Employment

In Briggs' (1998) terms, this study indicates that several supports served as a leverage function for unmarried mothers and were associated with increased employment. Alternatively, other supports served as coping functions and may reflect the existence of hardships associated with decreased employment among unmarried mothers. Tables 14 through 16 summarize the significant contributors to each employment outcome. A positive relationship (illustrated by a + sign) indicates that the resource served as a leverage function and supports full-time employment. A negative relationship (illustrated by a – sign) indicates that the resource served as a coping function and limits full-time employment. For example, in Table 14, if mothers used relative care, they had an increased likelihood of being employed full-time compared to not being employed. Thus, relative care served as a leverage function. Alternatively, again in Table 14, if mothers received rent assistance they had a decreased likelihood of being employed full-time compared to being out of the labor force. In this case, rent assistance served as a coping function.

Family Support. The living arrangements of unmarried mothers did not follow the anticipated pattern. Living with other adults, hypothesized to be more prevalent among Hispanics and Blacks, occured in approximately 9 percent of the mothers in each group. However, consistent with previous findings (Winkler, 1993; Benin & Keith, 1995), a larger proportion of both Hispanics and Blacks lived with their own single parents compared to Whites. Although it was hypothesized that both Hispanic and Black mothers were less likely to cohabit than White mothers, the findings were significantly different only between Blacks and Whites. Hispanic and White mothers cohabited at Year 1 at similar levels. The similar levels of cohabitation among Hispanics and Whites are consistent with Oropesa and Landale's (2004) analysis of the living arrangements of Hispanic and White unmarried mothers in the general population.

The PRWORA emphasizes the importance of unmarried mothers' living arrangements by using it as one factor in determining eligibility for benefits, but mothers' living arrangements, whether they were living the child's father, parents, other adults, or alone, were not significantly related to employment at Year 3. Unmarried mothers' living arrangements did change over the survey periods. Over 60 percent of mothers changed living arrangements at least once, with 20 percent of mothers reporting different arrangements at each of the data collection points. With the frequent moves among unmarried mothers, living arrangement at Year 3 was not significantly related to employment at Year 3 either.

However, in the multivariate findings, a living arrangement other than cohabitation decreased employment. Unmarried mothers who were not cohabiting (living in other arrangements) were less likely to work. Mothers living with other adults

(but not their parents) were more likely to work some weeks in the past year rather than working all weeks. Although the particular relationship varies by outcome, the overall finding of lower employment levels among non-cohabiters is consistent with Park's (2002) findings.

Access to emergency supports varied among Hispanic, Black, and White mothers in the hypothesized direction. Hispanic and Black unmarried mothers had less access to emergency financial help, emergency child care, and an emergency place to live compared to White mothers. Similarly, Brewster and Padavic's (2002) found declining supports available to Blacks, and to Whites as well, and Roschelle (1997b) found the same for Hispanics and Whites. The similar use of relative care supports the contention that Black and Hispanic unmarried mothers no longer have greater access to kin care than Whites. Although these findings do not go as far to agree with Parish et al. (1990) who found that the use of home child care is substantially lower among Blacks, they do indicate that the extensive social supports once believed to be available to Blacks and Hispanics are not evident, at least in this highly vulnerable population.

When available, however, emergency supports and the use of relative care were related to increased employment levels as anticipated. Mothers who had access to financial support, for example, were less likely to be currently out of the labor force and less likely to be employed part-time in comparison to employed full-time. The use of relative care, too, consistently increased the likelihood of employment.[7] This finding

[7] Although the use of relative care was significant in increasing employment levels, this finding must be interpreted with caution due to endogeneity concerns mentioned in Chapter 1. Although ethnographic data suggests that the use of child care precedes employment especially among mothers of young children (Chandry, 2004), this study cannot eliminate the possibility that employment results in the use of relative care.

concurs with Edin and Lein's (1997) qualitative findings that financial contributions and supports help mothers enter employment. Using quantitative research, Gault et al. (1998) also found that in-kind supports increased mothers' opportunities for leaving welfare and gaining employment. These findings indicate that policies in the welfare reform era need to increase available supports to increase employment.

Father Support. There were no racial/ethnic differences with regard to type of financial support received from the child's father and the strength of the relationship between the parents. Sagrestano et al. (1999) also found no racial/ethnic differences in financial contributions from the children's fathers among Latina, Black, and White unmarried mothers after controlling for other demographic characteristics. Although Harknett (2001) found that Blacks received significantly less than Whites, the data were collected in 1991 through 1993 among a welfare-to-work population. The PRWORA's emphasis on increased child support enforcement may account for the higher levels of child support and the lack of significant racial/ethnic differences in this study indicating possible success of the recent enforcement efforts.

Financial support from the child's father and the mother's relationship with the child's father provided little insight into mothers' employment. Although mothers who received informal support from the child's father were less likely to work and less likely to work two jobs since the child's birth compared to mothers who received formal support, father's financial assistance did not predict mothers' current employment or the number of weeks worked in the past year. Edin, Lein, and Nelson's (1998) work may explain why. Their qualitative interviews indicated mothers could not depend on support

from their child's father from month to month. Without a dependable source of income, fathers' support may not significantly affect employment characteristics.

However, the strength of the unmarried mother's relationship with her child's father does influence employment patterns. Mothers with a fair, poor, or no relationship with the child's father were more likely to work, work more weeks, and work more jobs. Although this runs counter to the finding that cohabiting mothers are more likely to work, the majority of mothers have fair, poor, or no relationships with the child's father, thus lending support to the hypothesis that mothers are working out of necessity. With only one-fourth of mothers receiving formal support during Year 3, a mother who does not have a good relationship with the child's father probably cannot turn to him for financial assistance. The mother-father relationship is significantly related to receiving financial support from him. Forty-five percent of mothers with a fair, poor, or no relationship with the child's father received no financial support from him in the past year compared with 13 percent of mothers who had a very good or excellent relationship with the child's father. This finding supports the vulnerable position of unmarried mothers both emotionally and financially indicating their high levels of need.

Community Support. Counter to the hypothesized direction, significantly more Black mothers used community resources including rent assistance, assistance from an employment office, and assistance from a childcare referral agency than White mothers. Fewer Hispanic than Black mothers received rent assistance, but Hispanics still exceeded the number of Whites receiving assistance. The higher use of resources among Black and Hispanic mothers runs counter to findings from state samples of welfare recipients following PRWORA's implementation, but may be due to the way assistance was

measured. Using state samples, Gooden (1998) and Pittz and Delgado (2002) examined use rates of discretionary agency supports that caseworkers gave to TANF recipients, such as access to additional education and transportation vouchers. The agency supports examined in the present study were more likely based on formulaic calculations less volatile to caseworker discretion. Thus, Blacks and Hispanics' higher use of agency services may result from their lower availability of family supports when compared to Whites. Kaniasty and Norris (2002) found that individuals would rather ask for help from family than from outside agencies. Because Hispanic and Black mothers more often than Whites cannot turn to family in times of emergency, they may turn to public housing, employment offices, and child care referral offices.

The use of agency supports was also associated with employment levels, although they did not always promote employment. Mothers who received rent or employment assistance were more likely to be currently out of the labor force compared to working full-time. Recipients of employment assistance, additionally, were more likely to have worked three jobs in comparison to one job since the child's birth. Although employment assistance may help mothers find employment, this finding suggests that employment stability may remain problematic. Chaudry's (2004) recent ethnography of child care and employment arrangements of low-income women demonstrates how the complex lives of unmarried mothers with young children create high job turnover rates. Like Chaudry, this study found that available child care can improve employment outcomes. Child care referrals promoted mothers' employment. Mothers who received assistance from a child care referral office were less likely to be out of the labor force and less likely to work some weeks compared to full-time and full-year employment.

Assistance with child care referrals promoted employment, and did not increase job turnover. Thus, agency supports do not necessarily equate to job impediments.

Although this study measured the use of a variety of community resources, it is important to recognize that the actual receipt of resources was measured rather than whether or not mothers applied for resources and were put on waiting lists. Although eligible mothers who apply for TANF or food stamps receive these benefits relatively quickly, access to other resources, such as rent assistance and child care vouchers, have long waiting lists, and eligibility does not equal receipt for many mothers. The Center on Budget and Policy Priorities found that in 2000 the average waiting period to receive a rent subsidy was 28 months. Furthermore, due to shortages in affordable housing, only 69 percent of mothers were able to use their subsidies in the allotted period without being forced to relinquish the voucher (CBPP, 2003). The present study did not measure whether or not mothers applied for community resources and cannot distinguish between those mothers waiting for services and those mothers isolated from services (either by choice or lack of knowledge). Therefore, the negative relationship between receipt of rent assistance and employment assistance refers to mothers who successfully obtained these services at Year 1.

Religious attendance, measured as a community resource, was more common among Hispanic and Black mothers than White mothers. Nearly 30 percent of Hispanics and Blacks attended church once a week or more in comparison to only 16 percent of Whites. Although this study did not measure the tangible or informational supports that individuals received at religious services, religious attendance was associated with increased employment among unmarried mothers. Frequent attenders, relative to non-

attenders, were less likely to be out of the labor force and less likely to be employed part-time compared to full-time work. Even infrequent attendance (measured as a couple of times a year) was positively related to current employment and having one or more jobs since the child's birth. Therefore, complementary to Ferraro and Koch's (1994) findings, this study found that religious attendance was an important resource, associated with increased employment for many Hispanic and Black single mothers.

Human Capital Characteristics. Human capital characteristics differed among Hispanic, Black, and White mothers. Recall that Hispanics' lower human capital levels largely accounted for their lower employment levels. Like Edin and Harris (1999) and Reskin and Charles (1999) found, the education gap among Blacks and Whites has narrowed with no statistical differences between the two groups in this study. Hispanic mothers, however, continue to have significantly less formal education than Whites. Almost one-half of Hispanic respondents and their mothers did not have a high school education, and a full third of respondents' fathers did not. In comparison, 31 percent of White respondents, 25 percent of their mothers, and 17 percent of their fathers lacked a high school diploma. Although fewer mothers reported that their fathers had less than a high school degree, a full 30 percent of respondents reported that they did not know their father's educations, most likely resulting in an underreport of low levels of paternal education.

There were also significant racial/ethnic differences with regard to family background, values, and nativity. Black mothers were significantly less likely to live with both parents at age 15 than White mothers. McLanahan and Booth (1989) also found that slightly more than one-forth of Black respondents in their study lived with

both parents compared to approximately one-half of both Whites and Hispanics. Hispanic mothers had significantly higher levels of traditional values than Whites with Blacks falling between the two groups. These more traditional values of Hispanics concur with Roschelle's (1997b) argument that although Hispanic mothers want to provide resources to kin similar to the networks in which they were raised, structural constraints limit them. Many of the Hispanic mothers in the current study were foreign-born, which may explain their more traditional values.

Human capital characteristics contribute more to understanding unmarried mothers' employment than family and community characteristics and account for Hispanics' lower levels of employment. Maternal employment is significantly and substantively related to education, health, and values. Less than a high school degree and, to a lesser extent, a high school degree, is strongly associated with being out of the labor force, being employed part-time, and being employed part-year. Parental education is not as strongly related to employment outcomes, but operates in a similar pattern. Respondents whose fathers had less than a high school degree were more likely to be currently out of the labor force, and respondents with parents who had less education were less likely to have worked multiple jobs since the child's birth. A job-limiting health problem or a child with a disability increased a mother's chances of being out of the labor force, working part-time, or part-year relative to full-time and year-round employment. As Corcoran, Danziger, and Tolman (2004) found, health problems were a barrier to employment among unmarried mothers with young children.

Although traditional values did not significantly influence part-time or part-year employment, mothers with more traditional values were more likely to be currently out of

the labor force and to have been out of the force since the child's birth. Immigration status was not significantly associated with current employment. Although immigrants were less likely to have worked multiple jobs since the child's birth relative to US-born mothers, immigration status was not significantly associated with being currently employed or working during the past year.

Full Model. After considering family, community, and human capital characteristics, race/ethnicity is not significantly related to labor force participation among unmarried mothers. Hispanic, Black, and White mothers were similar in terms of current labor market participation, the number of weeks they worked in the past year, and the number of jobs that they held since the child's birth. The Hispanic-White difference in the bivariate relationship is largely attributed to Hispanics' lower levels of human capital, including lower levels of formal education and higher level of traditional values. The similar employment levels of Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites after considering supports and human capital is counter to Harknett's (2001) findings and the hypothesis of the current study that Hispanic and Black mothers would work at higher rates than Whites after considering available supports. The lack of significant findings may be due to this study's sample and the dependent variables of interest. The majority of studies examining the labor market patterns of low-income mothers use AFDC or TANF samples (for example, Gault, Hartmann, and Yi, 1998; Harknett, 2001). Although the Fragile Families sample is by design a low-income sample, the sample was not stratified by income. In addition, Taniguchi and Rosenfeld (2000) found that although Black and Hispanic women re-entered the labor market quicker than Whites, Whites were employed longer than Hispanics and Blacks. Because the current study examines maternal

employment over a relatively short (three-year) period, longitudinal trends revealing employment differences among Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites may not appear. Children in the current study were also younger than in many other studies of maternal employment.

This study finds that the Hispanic-White difference in employment levels is largely due to differences in human capital. It also provides insight into what facilitates and what hinders employment for mothers of young children. With few exceptions, the overall relationships found in each of the previous models remained significant in the full models. Although religious attendance remained positively associated with year-round work, religious attendance was no longer significantly associated with the number of hours currently employed. Religious attendance was also related to job instability (working multiple jobs since the child's birth relative to working one job). Overall, access to social supports, the assistance of child care referral agency, and higher education levels were related to increased employment. An excellent or very good relationship with the child's father, rent or employment assistance, health problems, and more traditional values were related to lower employment participation (see Tables 14 through 16).

Influence of Previous Employment. Previous employment experience was associated with both race/ethnicity and employment characteristics at Year 3. Almost one-fourth of Hispanic mothers were out of the labor force the year before giving birth and at Year 1 compared to only 7 percent of Blacks and 4 percent of Whites. Likewise, 30 percent of Hispanics were employed at both previous points compared with 58 percent of Blacks and 71 percent of Whites. As previously mentioned, although previous

employment experience significantly increased the explanatory power of the model, the variable was not included in a separate full model because the same characteristics predictive of current employment levels could also predict previous employment. Indeed, when previous employment was entered into the model, it masked the significant contribution of child care referral receipt and traditional values that shaped employment decisions. Nonetheless, the strong relationship between previous employment and current employment warrants mention. In the full model, mothers who did not work since the year before giving birth were nearly 8 times more likely to be out of the labor force at Year 3. Similarly, mothers without employment experience were more than 15 times more likely to be out of the labor force throughout the previous year than to be employed all year.

Objective 3: Different Influences of Supports for Hispanic, Black, and White Mothers

Family Support. Although it was hypothesized that family, community, and human capital characteristics would operate differently for Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites, there were more similarities than differences. The Z-test of coefficients showed few significant differences in how supports operated among Black and White and Hispanic and White mothers. The lack of significant findings could be a result of the smaller sample sizes of the separate regression equations, and, thus, a decrease in power. Even though differences did not reach statistical significance, several family predictors were significantly related to employment outcomes for one racial/ethnic group and not another (see Tables 17 and 18). Although access to emergency supports was related to increased employment levels over the past year among Blacks, it was not significant for Whites. Edin and Harris (1999) found that financial contributions helped both Black and

White mothers enter employment which does not support this racial difference. Although Hao (1994) did not specifically examine social support, he found that White unmarried mothers were more likely to stay out of the labor market and receive AFDC than Black mothers, irrespective of other personal factors. This finding may help to explain why supports increased employment among Black mothers and not among White mothers. If at all possible, Black mothers enter the labor force while White mothers may opt to stay out of the labor market because of other alternatives.

Relative care was also associated with current employment among Hispanics and Blacks, but not among Whites. Furthermore, relative care was related to working in the past year for Hispanics. As Hirshberg (2002) found among Hispanic neighborhoods in California, this finding suggests that Hispanics and Blacks find it more difficult to obtain child care than Whites; thus, when relatives are available, Hispanics and Blacks use this resource and go to work. Similar to the findings in this study, Uttal (1999) also found that although rates of relative care were similar among Mexican Americans, Blacks, and Whites, Whites did not feel that using relative care was as acceptable as the other two groups. Hispanic and Black mothers may prefer using relatives to provide child care while they work, yet Whites may not want to use relatives on a consistent basis.

Father Support. Father characteristics did not improve the overall fit of the model except for current employment among Hispanics. The negligible influence of financial support from the child's father is remarkable. This finding is counter to Sandfort and Hill's (1996) study, but they examined marriage as an exit (path) to self-sufficiency. The mothers in the current study by design did not exit to marriage. Since mothers who married shortly after giving birth were excluded, the influence of fathers' support on

mothers who did not marry may be less important. This selection may also account for the lack of statistical differences in father support receipt among the racial/ethnic groups. An alternative explanation is that selection bias does not account for the lack of differences in receipt and little influence of father resources on maternal employment. In their in-depth analysis of unmarried fathers, Edin et al. (1998) found that even if mothers received financial support from their child's father, they could not depend on this support in the future. Likewise, intermittent financial support from the father may not, as the findings here suggest, influence employment outcomes.

Although financial support from the child's father was not strongly related to employment, maternal relationship with the child's father did influence employment. However, the influence of the relationship with the child's father operated differently for Hispanic and Black mothers compared to White mothers. A fair, poor, or no relationship with the child's father increased current employment among Hispanic mothers, but not among Black or White mothers. This finding may be related to access to social supports. Hispanic mothers, who are less likely to have access to supports than Whites, may have few options other than employment if they have a poor relationship with the child's father. Whites, alternatively, may have other options for survival, such as family. Research on unmarried parents' relationships is emerging (for example, Carlson, 2004; Osborne, 2005) to better understand the impact of parental relationships on unmarried mothers' employment.

Community Support. The significant community resources were negatively associated with employment. Mothers who used employment or rent assistance were more likely to be out of the labor force than employed full-time, year round. These

community supports negatively impacted all groups, but descriptive statistics show that overwhelmingly, Hispanics and Blacks are the recipients of these services. It is important to note that the negative relationship with rent assistance and employment assistance does not mean that these resources discourage employment. It may mean that mothers use these resources (or become entitled to them) as a last resort when few other resources are available. In a sense, they are more desperate or needy. Similar to the findings of Kaniasty and Norris (2002), mothers often use agency supports after they have exhausted all other options. Mothers in these precarious situations, then, would have the most difficultly securing stable employment.

Contrary to employment and rent assistance, the use of referrals for child care increased current labor market participation among the overall sample. Although not significant for Whites alone, the use of a child care referral agency increased Hispanics' likelihood of employment. As previously mentioned, the positive influence of a child care referral among Hispanic mothers may be due in part to the difficulties that these mothers have in securing adequate child care (Hirshberg, 2002). These findings lend support to expanding child care policies and availability to make employment feasible for additional unmarried mothers.

Among community resources, religion was not significantly related to employment in the full model or for the separate models for Hispanics, Blacks, or Whites. This counters Ferraro and Koch's (1994) finding that the effect of religion on daily practices may be stronger for among Hispanic and Black mothers than among White mothers. The lack of significant findings in this study may be due to the measure. In the models for each racial/ethnic group, religious attendance was treated as a

dichotomous variable, either the mother attended services at all or she did not at Year 1. This dichotomous measure may lack the necessary sensitivity to detect the influence of religious attendance on employment patterns.

Human Capital Characteristics. The differential impacts of human capital characteristics among Hispanic, Black, and White mothers are striking. Though human capital characteristics did not improve the model fit of current employment among Whites, this group of characteristics was the most influential among Hispanics and Blacks. The lack of significant contribution among Whites supports the notion that mothers out of the labor force in this group may be facing other barriers that hinder getting and keeping a job. During data collection (1998-2001), there was an economic boom with unemployment levels at about 5 percent. In addition, real hourly wages at the 25th percentile for single mothers increased 14 percent from $7.01 to $8.00 from 1996 to 2000 (Lerman, 2005). With this economic boom and the availability of jobs, employers may have not have been as concerned with human capital characteristics when hiring Whites. Analysis of the treatment of Hispanic, Black, and White welfare recipients lends support to the differential treatment of applicants (Gooden, 1998; Pittz & Delgado, 2002; Woodside, 2001). For example, in a state evaluation of welfare reform, Pittz and Delgado (2002) found that Black welfare recipients were still more likely to be subjected to pre-employment tests than Whites.

Although education was positively associated with current employment and employment within the past year for Hispanics and Blacks, education was not significant for Whites. In a similar vein, Hao (1994) found that the impact of education differed between Blacks and Whites in the NLSY. White women without a high school diploma

were more likely to be working than women with a high school diploma, while the reverse was true for Blacks. Though a high school diploma is generally regarded as the minimum needed for a decent job, it may be especially important for Hispanic and Black mothers.

Like Corcoran et al. (2003) found, the presence of a health problem was inversely related to employment for all three racial/ethnic groups. Although health was a significant barrier to current employment among Hispanic and Black mothers only in the models separated by race/ethnicity, this may be due to the smaller sample size of White mothers and the subsequent reduced power to detect relationships.

Traditional values, too, were associated with lower employment levels only for Hispanic mothers. Roschelle (1997b) discusses how Hispanic mothers continue to hold onto the ideals of neighborhood and kin support even with the introduction of numerous structural constraints. Thus, mothers with more traditional values who remember how families and communities used to take care of each other may prefer to stay out of the labor market to care for their children (Stack, 1974).

Summary

This research examined the relationship of social support to employment levels for Hispanic, Black, and White unmarried mothers of young children following the implementation of welfare reform. Descriptive findings demonstrate that the vast majority of single mothers with three-year-old children were working some hours and some weeks, but only a minority worked full-time, year-round. Hispanic mothers were less likely to be currently employed, worked fewer weeks during Year 3, and had fewer jobs since giving birth in comparison to Whites. Black and White unmarried mothers

worked at similar rates and had a similar number of jobs. Moreover, human capital characteristics, largely their lower levels of formal education, explained Hispanics' lower employment rates. After considering family and community and human capital, there were no racial/ethnic differences in employment outcomes. However, the supports that affected employment levels differed for Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites. Thus, in order to promote successful employment in this post-welfare reform era, the unique networks of unmarried mothers of different ethnicities must be recognized.

Implications

This study has implications for social welfare policy and social work practice.

Policy Implications

(1) Increase the availability of child care subsidies and child care arrangements for unmarried mothers with young children.

Mothers who used relative care at Year 1 were more likely to be employed and to work more hours than mothers who did not use this care. Separate analyses by race/ethnicity indicate that childcare may be a problem, particularly for Hispanics. Even if child care subsidies are available in theory with the implementation of welfare reform and the increased spending on child care, the availability of subsidies and space allotment in centers may disproportionately affect predominantly Hispanic neighborhoods (Hirshberg, 2002).

Throughout ethnographic as well as other quantitative work, child care is frequently mentioned as a barrier to employment, especially among mothers of young children (Edin & Lein, 1997; Fuller et al., 2002; Hogan et al., 1990; Litt et al., 2000). This finding was also borne out in this quantitative study. Cash infusions for child care spending under

welfare reform have gone flat as work demands have increased. In January, 2005, the Center for Law and Social Policy (CLASP) reported that childcare is the second largest use of TANF funds, but has remained flat or declined for the last 3 years after its peak in 2000 (Greenberg & Rahmanov, 2005). The work focus of welfare reform demands that child care be available for mothers expected to participate in the labor force. In addition, the available child care should provide the flexibility for mothers to choose the type of care that fits with their situations, including quality center care and informal home care options.

(2) Duplicate programs that help unmarried mothers maintain stable employment, not just employment.

Mothers who received employment assistance had an increased likelihood of current out of the labor force, yet they also had an increased likelihood of having 3 or more jobs since the child's birth. The receipt of employment assistance did not cause mother to be out of the labor force; instead, the job programs likely did not meet these mothers' needs. The vast majority of the single mothers in the study had worked after giving birth, and Harris's (1996) work shows that maintaining jobs is much more difficult for unmarried mothers than finding jobs. In the era of work-focused subsidy programs, employment programs must meet the complex needs of unmarried mothers with young children. Rather than preparing mothers for minimum-wage jobs with no benefits and no flexibility, the design of job programs must recognize the merit of investing in recipients through thorough preparation, such as high school education and skills needed in the local labor force.

(3) Modify rent assistance programs and housing projects to better facilitate employment.

The receipt of rent assistance at Year 1 did not lead to employment at Year 3. Similar to the influence of employment assistance programs, unmarried mothers who received this assistance had a greater likelihood of being out of the labor market, rather than being employed. Rent assistance did not serve as a temporary support for mothers to get back on their feet and find stable jobs. Instead, mothers who turned to rent assistance were unable to find the supports necessary for continuous employment, and rent assistance seemed to substitute for employment.

Thus, rent assistance alone does not necessarily facilitate work. The Hope VI public housing demonstration program shows the many complications in trying to use housing projects as a gateway to employment and self-sufficiency. Started in 2001, Hope VI attempts to revitalize housing projects or relocate residents to help them find jobs. Yet, the findings indicate that the majority of both unemployed and employed residents remain below the poverty level and most residents cycle in and out of employment (Popkin, Levy, Harris, Comey, Cunningham, & Burton, 2002). Therefore, rent assistance in its current form is not meeting the multiple needs of residents, such as faciliatating employment.

Although rent assistance provides the necessary shelter that mothers depend on for survival, this assistance should be coupled with additional resources leading to economic success. Programs must recognize that housing is one of many barriers that their clients face in meeting their basic needs. Rent assistance programs must go beyond the immediate shelter needs of their clients to serve as a gateway to additional services.

This study demonstrates that a housing voucher or public housing project does not help unmarried mothers' employment outcomes.

(4) Increase opportunities for unmarried mothers to receive their high school education.

The high school diploma or GED in this study was strongly associated with current employment outcomes, especially among Hispanic and Black mothers. Mothers with a high school diploma were much more likely to be employed full-time and year-round than mothers without this degree. The large education gap between Hispanics and Whites demonstrates the need to provide educational services for this population or encourage Hispanics to use existing services by making them more attractive, accessable, and convenient in their busy lives. Recall that the Hispanics' lower likelihood of employment compared to Whites was explained largely by human capital, most notably education levels. The education gap between Blacks and Whites has narrowed in recent years, but Hispanics remain highly disadvantaged (US Census Bureau, 2004).

Although this study indicates that a high school diploma or equivalent is important for employment, it also indicates that more than a high school diploma does not contribute to employment in the same magnitude. Within this population, more than a high school degree most often means short training programs, such as nurse assistants, or a year in a community college. Only 3 percent of mothers received a bachelor's degree or more years of education. Reimer's (2001) ethnography of low-wage work lends support to the idea that training programs or partially fulfilling degree requirements do not contribute to low-income mothers getting ahead in the labor market. Thus, the most

beneficial educational programs for unmarried mothers may be those that focus on high school equivalency or those that help get a bachelor's degree.

Although increasing funds for high school education is important, a high school diploma cannot be considered a ticket out of poverty for unmarried mothers. Many mothers with high school diplomas live in poverty. Therefore, when allocating funds for mothers to get additional education, the context of the labor markets in the area must be considered. Although many training programs do not encourage mothers' employment in some geographical areas, training programs in other areas may be extremely helpful in securing mothers' employment. Instead of defining the educational needs of unmarried mothers as a group and allocating funds accordingly, mothers should be treated as individuals with unique educational needs.

With the recognition in the literature about inequality in high school degree acquisition for Hispanics (Browne, 1999), work-focused welfare reform does not adequately address the needs of the population that it intends to serve. In January, 2005, CLASP reports that spending for work-related activities, includingeducation , training, and assistance with other work-related expenses was down from 2002 with less than 10 percent of TANF funds going to these purposes (Greenberg & Rahmanov, 2005). Rather than forcing mothers into jobs with the least stability, mothers must have the opportunity to earn their high school degree. In addition, education programs must provide services to individuals whose first language is not English because these individuals are overrepresented in the population with few years of formal education.

(5) Recognize the health barriers that many unmarried mothers face and make allowances for these barriers.

Over one in ten unmarried mothers in this study experienced a personal job-limiting health problem or had a focal child with a physical disability. This high level of disability would undoubtedly increase if mental health or physical disabilities of other children or older adults in the household were considered. A greater proportion of unmarried mothers are physically unable to hold a job than in the general population (Corcoran et al., 2004).

This finding supports other recent studies on health as a barrier to employment in the post-welfare reform era (Corcoran, Danziger, & Tolman, 2003; Acs & Loprest, 2001; Gault et al., 1998). Ideally, under welfare reform unmarried mothers found jobs to support themselves. Realistically, many mothers and their children were left behind without welfare support and without employment due in part to poor health (Acs and Loprest, 2001). Better responses to these mothers' needs are required. Less than one-fourth of mothers in this study who reported that they suffered from a job-limiting disability or had a child with a disability received Supplemental Security Income (SSI). The complicated eligibility process and the high likelihood of initial denial of benefits may discourage potential recipients from the application process (DiNitto, 2005). Instead of concentrating enforcement efforts on the few mothers who may be receiving benefits fraudulently, the SSI program should focus on reaching eligible mothers and possibly expanding criteria to better reach mothers and their families with disabilities.

The large percentage of mothers with job-debilitating health constraints deserves special consideration when applying the goal of self-sufficiency. Ehrenreich's (2002)

descriptions of the physical labor involved in low-wage work demonstrates that not only good health, but excellent health, is a prerequisite for the majority of jobs in which unmarried mothers with low levels of formal education are qualified. Individualized case management can help mothers with health problems receive required treatment and develop a set of realistic and attainable goals for the future. Although many mothers' health may improve with appropriate care, other mothers will not. A supportive safety net must be in place for the mothers and children whose health prevents self-sufficiency. Rather than the specified percentage of cases for exemption under current welfare reform laws, mothers deserve to be treated individually and considered within their unique circumstances.

(6) Consider the multiple barriers of unmarried mothers of young children.

Most importantly, this study shows how family, community, and human capital characteristics each influence employment outcomes for unmarried mothers differently. Mothers must find the appropriate balance of supports in order to basic needs of housing, child care, social supports, and health needs. Rather than focusing resources in one direction, such as education, employment experience, or health care, this study illustrates that resources need to be targeted to mothers' individual needs.

The HOPE VI public housing project study illustrates the overlapping problems of many low-income housing residents. Forty-seven percent of the study's majority-Black residents were obese compared to 33 percent of Black women nationally. In addition, of Black women in the study, 15 percent had diabetes and 22 percent had asthma, more than double the percentage of Black women nationally. Although the program attempted to improve the residents' living environments and employment prospects, employment rates

remained essentially the same (45% in 2001 and 46% in 2003), and the percentage of unemployed residents living in poverty actually increased from 86 percent in 2001 to 92 percent in 2003. Poor health and child care were most frequently mentioned as the barriers that kept residents unemployed (Kantor, 2005).

Programs focused on one aspect of unemployment, such as housing or child care or health, will not provide the necessary resources that unmarried mothers need throughout the multiple aspects of their lives. Comprehensive programs, including assistance for the most influential barriers that mothers face, will assist mothers in being both successful mothers and successful employees. If safe, affordable, and trustworthy child care is not available, the best healthcare, living arrangements, and high-paying job will not lead to successful employment (Scott et al., 2001). Programs operating in isolation without consideration of the other aspects in the lives of unmarried mothers simply do not make sense.

Practice Implications

(1) Recognize the multiple barriers that unmarried mothers face and recognize that remedies to barriers may be different for Hispanic, Black, and White mothers.

Ethnographies in the 1970s and 1980s portray Hispanic and Black mothers as having access to strong kin networks to provide necessary safety nets to mothers in need (Stack, 1974; Keefe, 1979). Although these networks would be particularly helpful in the era of work-focused welfare reform, social work practitioners cannot assume that Hispanic and Black mothers have kin to provide necessary shelter, child care, and resources. No doubt informal networks greatly contribute to the survival of some low-income unmarried mothers (Edin & Lein, 1997; Henley, 2002); however, practitioners should view these kin

as valuable resources for some mothers, rather than take for granted that these resources are available to all of them (Chaudry, 2004).

The findings of the current study support the idea that unmarried mothers find help from many sources as they try to survive each day. Through identifying the individual resources of each unmarried mother, practitioners can help clients maneuver the often laborious and bureaucratic system of assistance designed to help them. The top priority for the vast majority of mothers is the well-being of their children (Scott et al., 2002). With this in mind, practitioners should look to resources to improve the success of the children, thus improving the welfare and employment of the mother. Knowing that their children are in a safe and enriching child care environment would likely make mothers more productive workers. Childcare is a necessity, though perhaps not sufficient, condition for mothers' labor force success. As Anderson and colleagues (2000) found among a sample of previous TANF recipients, the lack of reliable child care increases job instability.

(2) Community resources alone often do not provide the missing link to employment.

Unmarried mothers who received rent assistance or employment assistance were less likely to be continuously employed. As previously mentioned, housing or jobs in isolation will not lead to stable employment for those whose lives are complicated by many problems and few resources. Instead of isolated referrals, practitioners must help mothers utilize all available resources in combination. Rent and employment assistance programs can help as long as they are coupled with other programs that mothers need. Social workers help unmarried mothers with young children connect these resources.

Limitations

This study should be considered in the context of its limitations. First, employment rates are highly sensitive to structural variables, such as the state of the local economy, which were not included in this analysis. In a review of the work-family literature, Barnett (1998) identifies that an inclusive model must consider the work/social system embedded in the larger macroeconomic system with structural factors, which may influence worker's employment options and their decisions. In tight labor markets, mothers may have no work opportunity that provides a fit between work and the family (Kleppner & Theodore, 1997; Sandfort & Hill, 1994; Harris, 1993). In addition, the level of state benefits and available programs, which may differ by racial/ethnic composition of the state, may also impact labor decisions (Soss, 1997). Because data collected took place during an economic boom, the study likely errs on the side of overestimating employment opportunities available to unmarried mothers. The sample was stratified by policy environment, thus including cities with strong, moderate, and weak labor markets at the time of baseline data collection. However, in analyses controlling for city, the study's findings did not change.

Second, this study examines mothers who did not marry or give birth within three years of the birth of the focal child. This sample restriction was made because marriage and the birth of an additional child can fundamentally change employment behavior. Excluding mothers that fall into these categories does introduce a possible selection bias, for example, the sample could no longer be representative of the population of unmarried mothers with young children living in urban areas. In separate analyses which included

mothers who married since giving birth and mothers who had additional children, the findings were similar to those presented for the more restricted sample.

Third, the study is limited by its measures of father support and employment. Because cohabiting mothers were not asked about fathers' financial contributions to their children at Year 1, the measures in the analysis were collected at Year 3. Thus, fathers' financial contributions may have affected employment rather than the reverse.[8] In addition, missing data did not allow for analysis of the influence of the dollar amount of financial support from the father.[9] Similarly, mothers in two cities were not asked about the instrumental tasks that the father may have contributed to the household thus this variable was excluded from the study. Unmarried fathers have been an under-researched group. The Fragile Families Study is helping to rectify that situation. The current study's finding that few mothers receive financial or emotional support from their child's father indicates that fathers may be underutilized resources in the lives of unmarried mothers. Fathers may lack the necessary resources to support their children (see Edin et al., 2002), but steps need to be taken to ensure that children get the necessary support to promote their well-being that would ordinarily come from their fathers.

In addition to the limited father variables, the measure of previous employment does not consider a mother's total labor market experience. Instead, the only information available was if the mother worked during the year before giving birth or at Year 1.

---

[8] Although the ordering of cause and effect is difficult to determine using data collected at Year 3, analyses were conducted using father variables collected at Year 1 for mothers with this available data. Although cohabiting mothers were not included, for mothers living in other arrangement, father support at Year 1 followed a similar pattern as father support at Year 3.

[9] Preliminary data analyses conducted using the dollar amount of fathers' financial contributions indicate that the dollar amount is not significantly related to employment and does not provide additional insight into mothers' employment patterns.

Employment experience is a strong predictor of employment outcomes (for example, see Holzer & LaLonde, 2000), and years of previous labor market experience could help to explain current employment patterns.

Fourth, this study did not examine transportation, which may be a necessary link for mothers to find and maintain jobs (for example, see Scott et al., 2001; Taylor, 2001). Although the Fragile Families survey did not include a general measure of access to transportation, mothers were asked if they owned a car during the Year 1 survey. It is difficult to ascertain whether car ownership would increase the likelihood of employment or if employment would increase the likelihood of car ownership. Analyses conducted that included car ownership did not significantly change the study's findings.[10]

Fifth, although the longitudinal nature of the study supports the possibility that social supports are causally related to employment outcomes, causality cannot be proven. There is a potential for reverse causality that a mother's employment patterns influence the range of supports available to her. Statistical techniques, such as structural equation modeling, should be used in the future to clarify causal relationships.

Directions for Future Research

The findings of this study lead to three main paths for future research regarding social support systems among unmarried mothers with young children. First, the role of social supports among mothers of different races/ethnicities in the post-welfare reform era needs additional examination. This study suggests that social and community

[10] When car ownership at Year 1 was included in the full model with employment experience, mothers who owned cars were less likely to be currently out of the labor force in comparison to working full-time (OR = 0.74). Mothers with a car were also less likely to be working 1 to 24 weeks in the previous compared to working all year (OR = 0.71). Car ownership was not significantly associated with the number of jobs that a mother held since giving birth.

supports positively (and negatively) associated with employment vary for Hispanic, Black, and White mothers. Yet, quantitative data do not answer the "why" questions. In order to support mothers in their quests for employment, we need to understand of why, for example, access to financial resources promotes employment among mothers of color and not among Whites. Ethnographic data can increase understanding of social support systems available to unmarried mothers of different race/ethnicities at this time when work is both a requirement for welfare reform and a necessity for survival.

Second, additional research is needed on the role of community supports in the post-welfare reform era. With increased work mandates, the welfare system dramatically changed available supports, especially the availability of job training programs, childcare vouchers, and opportunities for educational attainment. Yet, this study demonstrates that community supports such as housing and employment training (at least as currently constructed) do not lead to job stability. Indeed, mothers using these supports, disproportionately mothers of color, were less likely to be continuously employed in one job since giving birth. Housing projects and employment assistance classes provide the ideal research opportunity to better understand the barriers that unmarried mothers face and to replicate programs that best meet the employment and well-being needs of their recipients. The role of fathers in the lives of their children and their children's mothers needs further examination. The recognition that fathers often struggle to survive financially themselves, for example, reduce the need for child support enforcement and increase the need for programs to increase employment and employment stability among fathers. In situations where father support is not possible, such as in cases of domestic

violence, universal supports and programs need to be provided to improve family economic well-being.

Third, the influence of social supports on maternal and children's well-being in the future is important because their availability and effects may change. Unmarried mothers work in a different context than even a decade ago. Available supports and additional constraints create a unique environment for employment. Although PROWRA focuses on maternal employment, researchers need to look beyond employment to examine well-being and health. Examination of social support's influence on the multiple dimensions of maternal and child well-being can provide additional understanding about the lives of this vulnerable population.

Finally, social support is a complex phenomenon. This study measures a select group of perceived and received social support measures. Future studies need to include additional measures of neighborhood support, emotional support, and support from the child's father. An additional measure, such as the availability of child care, would also contribute to understanding social support. Although this study measures access to emergency childcare and the use of kin care, access to child care on a regular basis, such as with formal care, would increase the understanding of resources available to unmarried mothers. Mothers' proximity to kin could provide an additional measure of support currently available.

Conclusion

Although additional research is needed to increase the understanding of social support and employment for different racial/ethnic groups, this study contributes to the knowledge base in five important ways. First, this study provides evidence that the social

supports that promote employment differ for Hispanics and Blacks compared to Whites. Policymakers must recognize the differential impacts of policies and the need to develop policies that respond to the needs of members of various racial/ethnic groups. Second, this study found that social support and human capital are less available to Hispanics and Blacks than Whites. Hispanics had much lower formal education than Whites, and Blacks were the least likely to have access to social supports and the most likely to use community supports. Thus, mothers of color may face tougher barriers to work with less available support than Whites.

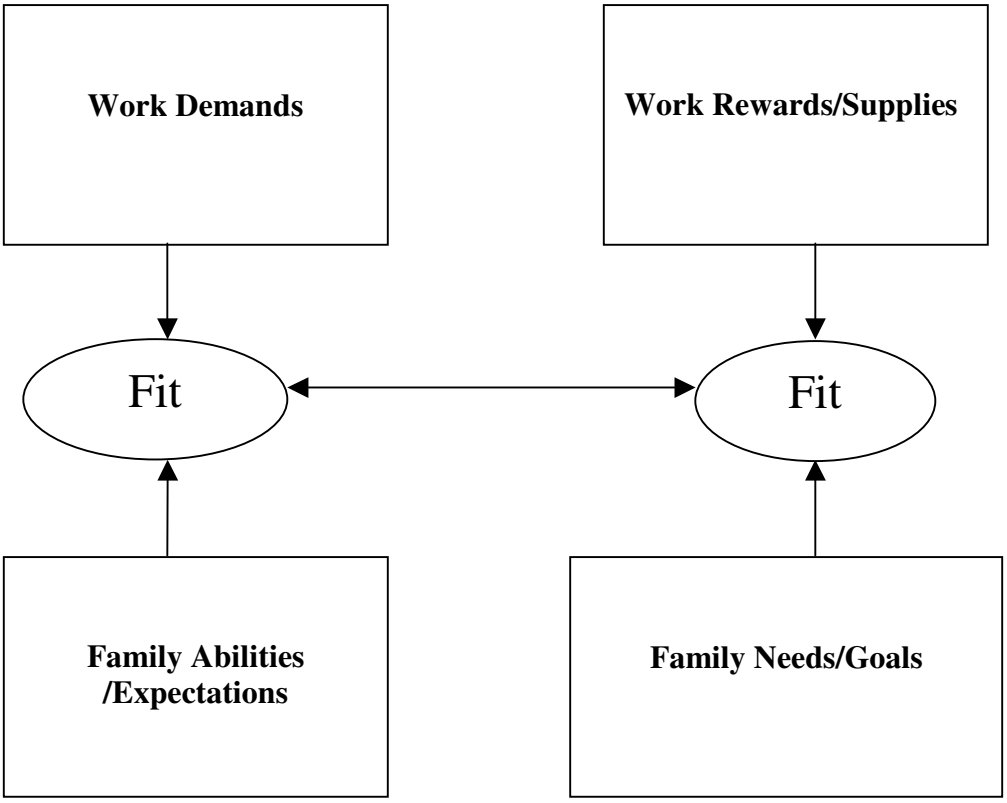
Third, this study increases knowledge about the impact of unmarried mothers' living arrangements on employment patterns. Although additional adult household members are often thought to provide resources, such as child care, mothers living with other household members were less likely to be employed than cohabitors. Additional household members may not provide the necessary supports to encourage employment. Fourth, this study provides data in the post-welfare reform era when work is no longer optional for the vast majority of mothers. Because many unmarried mothers lack social supports that can promote employment, additional supports are needed.

Fifth, and finally, this study address social supports and employment among a particularly vulnerable population dramatically affected by welfare reform-- unmarried mothers of color. The study found that Hispanics and Blacks do have lower levels of family supports available than Whites and thatthe community supports more prevalent among mothers of color, specifically rent and employment assistance, were related to being out of the labor force. Through uncovering the present inequalities faced by unmarried mothers of color with regard to social supports and employment, this study

provides evidence and the impetus to recognize and address the current inequalities in availability of resources to this important group of women and their children.

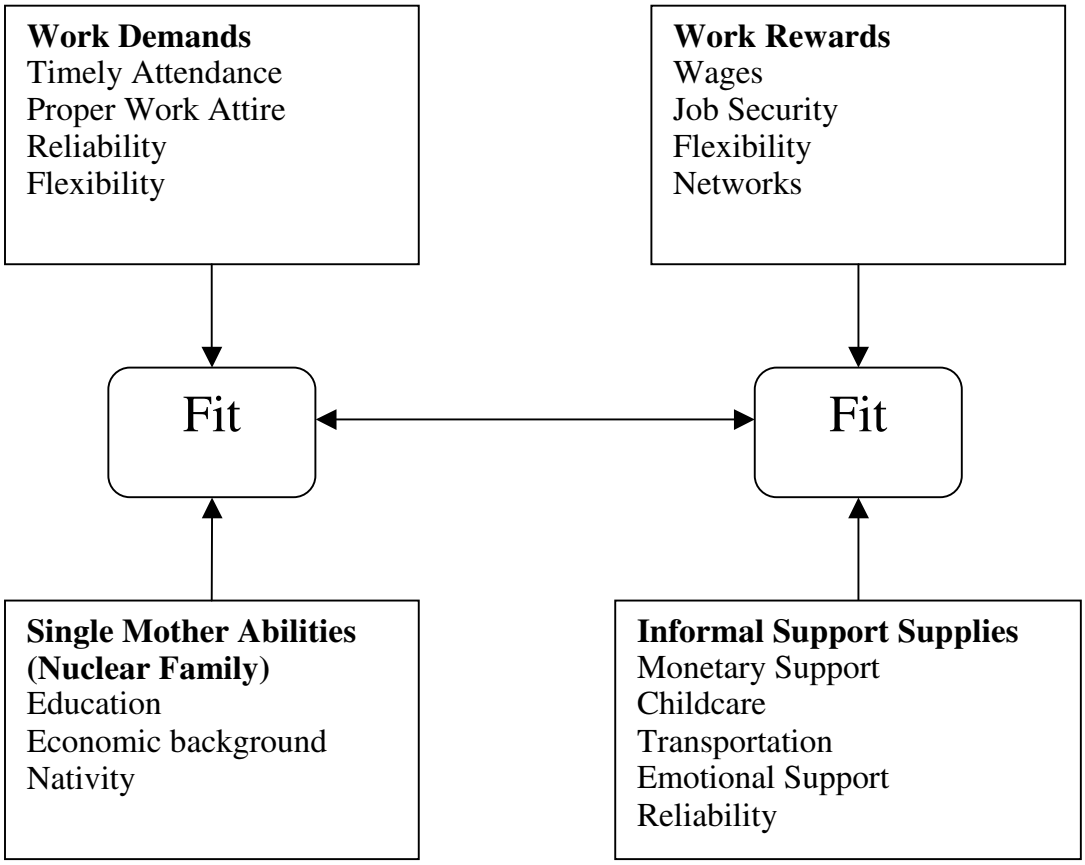
Figures

Figure 1: Dimensions of Work-Family Fit



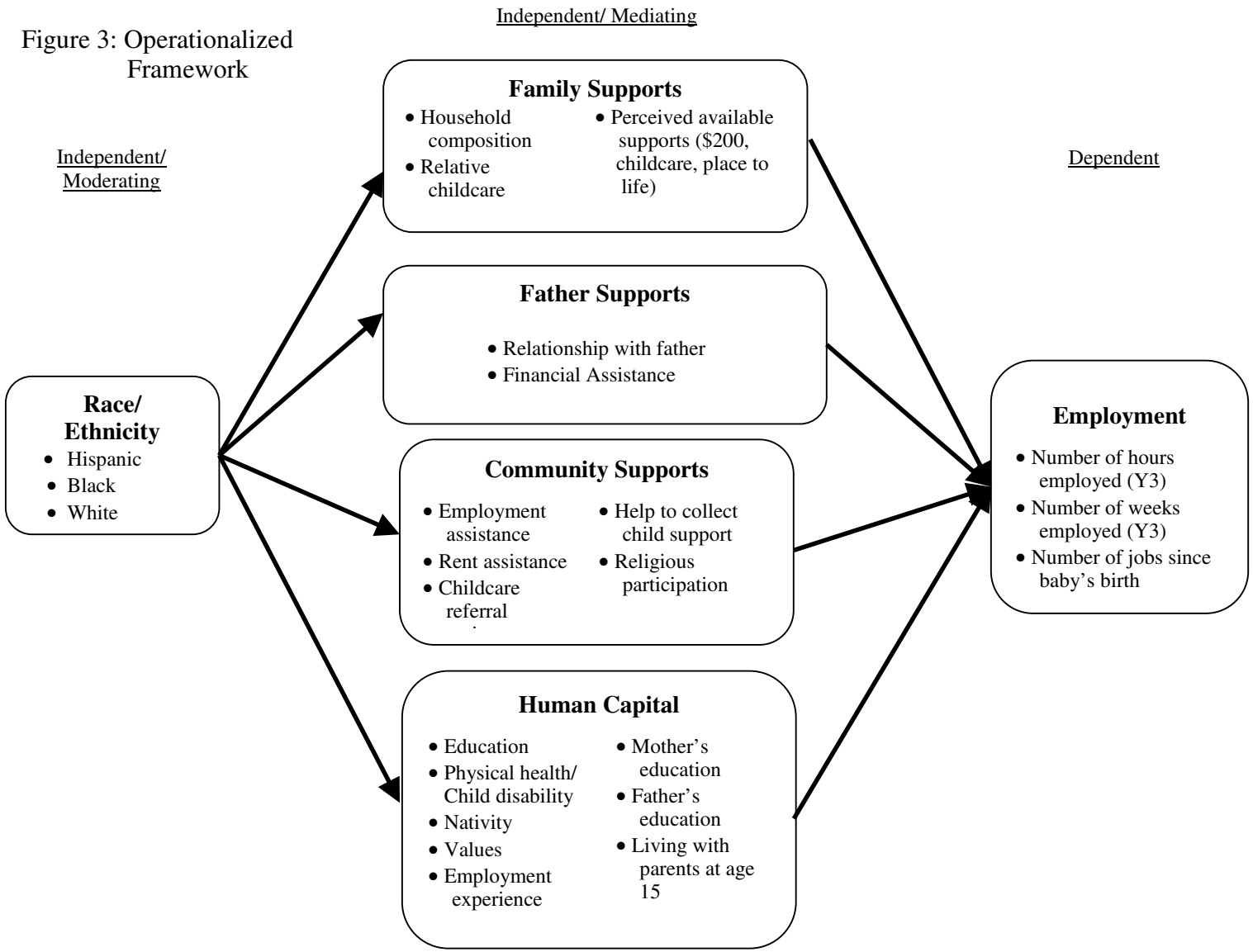
From: Teng, W., & Pittman, J. (1996). Conceptualizing the work-family interface: The work-family fit perspective. Paper presented at the Theory Construction and Research Methodology Pre-Conference of the Annual Meeting of the National Council on Family Relations.

Figure 2: Dimensions of Work-Family Fit for Single Mothers with Young Children



Adapted from: Teng & Pittman (1996) and DeBord, Canu, & Kerpelman (2000)

Figure 3: Operationalized Framework



Tables

Table 1: Summary of Major Findings with Regard to Hypothesis 1: Race/Ethnicity and Employment

Study	Sample	Major Findings Relevant to Proposed Study
Shapiro and Mott (1979)	National Longitudinal Survey of Young Women	• White mothers were less likely than black mothers to participate in the labor market after the birth of the first child.
Yoon and Waite (1994)	NLSY (1979-1987)	• Irrespective of other economic, social, and demographic characteristics, Hispanic, black, and white mothers returned to the labor force after the birth of a first child at the similar rate of approximately 63%. • Other family income positively affected employment returns for blacks, but had no effect on employment returns for whites and Hispanics. • Education was positively related to employment for both black and whites mothers, but to a stronger degree for blacks.
Canican and Reed (2001)	Decennial census (1970, 1980, and 1990) and CPS files (1998-1999)	• Among single mothers with children under six, employment increased differently among Hispanics, blacks, and whites. • Employment increased dramatically among black mothers from 53% in 1990 to 75% in 1999. It increased from 71% to 79% among white mothers, and 50% to 59% among Hispanic mothers

Table 2: Summary of Major Findings with Regard to Hypothesis 2: Race/Ethnicity and Access to Social Support

Study	Sample	Major Findings Relevant to Proposed Study
Stack (1974)	Ethnography of poor, black neighborhood	• Single, black mothers in the Midwestern city neighborhood had elaborate systems of cooperation, including the exchange of money, childcare, transportation, and emotional support.
Tienda & Angel (1982)	Survey of Income and Education (1976)	• After controlling for education, earnings, and employment female-headed households were 3.5 times more likely to be extended. • Poor single households were more likely to be extended for blacks and Hispanics than for whites. • Mexican Americans were 18% more likely to be employed if they lived in an extended household and 14% more likely if they lived in a nuclear family than if they lived alone.
Winkler (1993)	CPS (1986)	• 73% of mothers living with a related female were black. • 59% of blacks lived with their mothers compared to 22% of whites. • 31% of whites lived with both parents compared to 18% of blacks. • If not living with parents, white women were more likely to cohabit than women of other ethnicities. • Single mothers who live together, a more common arrangement among blacks than whites, experience the highest poverty rate at 50%.

(Table continued on following page)

Table 2: Summary of Major Findings with Regard to Hypothesis 2: Race/Ethnicity and Access to Social Support (Continued)

Study	Sample	Major Findings Relevant to Proposed Study
Hogan, Hao, and Parish (1990)	NLSY (1984)	• Black mothers were more involved in support networks than white mothers, after controlling for living arrangements. • White mothers were more likely to receive financial assistance from kin than black mothers. • 33% of black mothers had access to childcare in comparison to 66% of white mothers. • After controlling for kin co-residence, the use of home childcare is substantially lower among black mothers than white mothers.
Folk (1996)	NSFH (1987)	• White single mothers were more likely to cohabit than black mothers (17.8% vs. 9.3%). • Cohabitation was the only living arrangement among white mothers that increased incomes. Incomes for white cohabiters were double that of whites living alone. • Among blacks, living with others led to a $2,800 deduction in income per household adult compared to blacks living alone.
Edin and Lein (1997); Edin and Harris (1999)	Qualitative three-city sample of 379 low-income single mothers	• Financial contributions of family members helped mothers to enter employment. • White mothers received approximately $300 from informal networks while black mothers received approximately $200.
Roschelle (1997b)	NSFH	• Kinship networks traditionally linked with ethnic minority neighborhoods no longer exist today because of structural constraints. • White individuals are more likely to provide financial assistance to one another than people of color.

(Table continued on following page)

Table 2: Summary of Major Findings with Regard to Hypothesis 2: Race/Ethnicity and Access to Social Support (Continued)

Study	Sample	Major Findings Relevant to Proposed Study
Kaniasty and Norris (2000)	Longitudinal study of 404 face-to-face interviews in an urban area in Florida	• In comparison to blacks and whites, Hispanics were least likely to receive emotional, tangible, and informational support from family, friends, and agencies.
Brewster and Padavic (2002)	Cross-sectional analysis of CPS data and SIPP data (1977-1994)	• In-kind support to black individuals declined from 1977 to 1994. • Although black individuals wanted to provide support, financial and social constraints limited the amount of support that they could give.
Sagrestano, Feldman, Rini, and Dunkel-Schetter (1999)	Convenience sample of 750 Mexican American, black, and white single mothers	• White women received more support from friends than blacks and Hispanics. • Women with high socioeconomic status had wider friend networks and more support from friends.
Uttal (1999)	Ethnographic study of 33 white, black, and Mexican American mothers	• Although the use of informal care did not differ by racial/ethnic group, blacks and Mexican Americans perceived informal care as more acceptable than whites.
Gooden (1998); Pittz & Delgado (2002); Woodside (2001)	State samples of welfare recipients after PRWORA	• White recipients were more likely to receive agency assistance for services such as transportation and education than black recipients. • Black recipients were more likely to be subject to pre-employment tests than whites. • Whites were less likely to have their cases closed due to non-compliance than blacks.

(Table continued on following page)

Table 2: Summary of Major Findings with Regard to Hypothesis 2: Race/Ethnicity and Access to Social Support (Continued)

Study	Sample	Major Findings Relevant to Proposed Study
Canican & Reed (2001)	CPS 1971 to 1999	• Living arrangements are shifting over time with a drop in single mothers living alone and a corresponding rise in single mothers cohabiting. • The trends in living arrangements differed by race/ethnicity. Although white single mothers have lived with non-relatives at similar rates over the past 25 years, the number of blacks living with non-relatives has increased reflecting a decline in living with relatives.

Table 3: Summary of Major Findings with Regard to Hypothesis 3: Race and Employment Net of Social Support

Study	Sample	Major Findings Relevant to Proposed Study
Hao (1994)	NLSY (1979-1987)	• After controlling for other explanatory factors, white unmarried mothers were more likely than black unmarried mothers to stay out of the labor market and receive AFDC. • After controlling for other explanatory factors, black women were less likely to leave the job market once employed than white women. • Both predicted income support, including income transfers and co-residence, increases entry into the labor market. • Income supports reduced job exits for whites, but increased job exits for blacks. • Women's market value increased the likelihood of labor market entry for both blacks and whites with a stronger effect for whites. • Low human capital increased the likelihood for labor market exit. • Education influenced employment opportunities. White women without high school diplomas were more likely to work than high school graduates, while black women with high school diplomas were more likely to work than black women without diplomas.
Taniguchi and Rosenfeld (2000)	NLSY (1979-1993)	• Black and Hispanic women demonstrated stronger work efforts than white women. After controlling for job and family variables, black and Hispanic women re-entered the labor market 14.7% and 12.1% quicker, respectively, than whites. • However, the length of employment was longer for whites than for blacks or Hispanics and non-employment spells among whites were the shortest.

(Table continued on following page)

Table 3: Summary of Major Findings with Regard to Hypothesis 3: Race and Employment Net of Social Support (Continued)

Study	Sample	Major Findings Relevant to Proposed Study
Holzer & LaLonde (2000)	NLSY (1978-1993)	• Even though black individuals had higher transitions to non-employment, after controlling for personal and job characteristics, race/ethnicity did not affect overall job stability. • Females, women of color, and individuals with low educations have lower levels of employment.
Gault, Hartmann, and Yi (1998)	IWPR	• In-kind supports, such as income, childcare, and other informal assistance increased mothers' opportunities of leaving welfare and gaining employment. • Access to family members' income on a continuous basis increased the chances of mothers leaving welfare and escaping poverty by almost 8 times.
Harknett (2001)	National Evaluation of welfare-to-work strategies (1991-1993)	• Black mothers were significantly less likely to receive child support than white mothers. Although 13.5% of white mothers received support, only 6.4% and 9.2% of black and Hispanic mothers, respectively, received support. • White mothers worked less than black mothers (43.7% vs. 51.7%) and about the same amount as Hispanics (44.4). • Whites, blacks, and Hispanics were equally as likely to be employed, but blacks and Hispanics had lower total incomes. • Blacks were more likely to return to welfare after working continuously since their last exit than whites (38% vs. 18%).

Table 4: Definition of Variables Included in the Analysis

	Variable	Definition
Dependent Variables:	Employment at Year 3 (ref. not employed)	Employed 1 to 34 hours = 1 Employed 35 or more hours = 2
	Number of Weeks Employed (ref. 0)	Employed 1 to 25 weeks = 1 Employed 26 to 52 weeks = 2
	Number of Jobs Since Child's Birth (ref. 1 job)	No jobs = 0 2 jobs = 2 3 or more jobs = 3
Independent Variables:	Race/Ethnicity (ref. Whites)	Hispanics = 1 Blacks = 2
Control Variables	Toddlers in Household (at BA, Y1, and Y3)	One or more sibling(s) of focal child under age 5 living in household =1 Otherwise = 0 (measured separately at each survey point)
	Maternal Age (ref. 20 to 29 years)	Under 20 years old = 0 30 years or more = 2
Family Variables	Household Composition at Year 1 (ref. cohabiting)	Living alone = 1 Living with single parent = 2 Living with married parents = 3 Living with other adult = 4
	Child care by family	Family member(s) provided childcare arrangement during the year after the child's birth = 1 Otherwise = 0
	Access to Emergency Financial Help ($200)	Respondent reported that she had emergency access to $200 at Baseline and Year 1 = 1 Otherwise = 0
	Access to Child Care Help	Respondent reported that she had emergency access to child care at Baseline and Year 1 = 1 Otherwise = 0
	Access to a Place to Live	Respondent reported that she had a place to live in the case of an emergency at Baseline and Year 1 = 1 Otherwise = 0
Father Variables	Financial Support from the Child's Father (ref. formal support)	Informal financial child support only from the child's father = 1 No financial support from the child's father = 0
	Relationship with Child's Father (ref. very good/ excellent)	Respondent gets along with father good = 1 Respondent gets along with father fair/poor or has no relationship with the child's father = 0

(Table continued on following page)

Table 4: Definition of Variables Included in the Analysis (Continued)

Community Variables	Rent Assistance	Received rent assistance or lived in a public housing project during first year after giving birth = 1 Otherwise = 0
	Assistance from employment or welfare office or welfare job placement	Respondent received assistance from a welfare office or a welfare job placement in first year after giving birth = 1 Otherwise = 0
	Assistance from a child care referral agency	Respondent received assistance from a child care referral agency in first year after giving birth = 1 Otherwise = 0
	Assistance from an enforcement agency to collect child support	Respondent received assistance from an agency to collect child support in first year after giving birth = 1 Otherwise = 0
	Amount of Religious Service Participation (ref. never)	Weekly or more = 3 A few times a month = 2 Yearly or less =1
Human Capital Variables	Respondent's Education (ref. greater than high school degree)	Less than high school degree = 1 High school diploma/ G.E.D. = 2
	Maternal Education (ref. greater than high school degree)	Less than high school degree = 1 High school diploma/ G.E.D. = 2 Don't Know/ Refused = 3
	Paternal Education (ref. greater than high school degree)	Less than high school degree = 1 High school diploma/ G.E.D. = 2 Don't Know/ Refused = 3
	Respondent Health Problem Limiting Work/ Child has a disability	Respondent has health problem limiting amount/kind of work that she can do OR child has a physical disability at Year 1 = 1 Otherwise = 0
	Respondent's living arrangement at age 15	Respondent lived with both of her parents at age 15 = 1 Otherwise = 0
	Respondent's nativity	Born outside of United States = 1 Otherwise = 0
	Level of traditional values	Scale ranging from 0 (most liberal) and 3 (most traditional)
	Employment over time* (ref. Employed both the year before giving birth and at Y1)	Not employed the year before giving birth or at Year 1 = 0 Employed either the year before giving birth or at Year 1 = 1

* Used in the regressions examining the number of hours and the number of weeks employed. In the regression examining the number of jobs that the mother held since giving birth, previous employment was measured dichotomously. If mothers worked during the year prior to giving birth, they were coded as having been employed and if mothers did not work during this time, they were coded as such.

Table 5: Distribution of Variables Used in Models by Race/Ethnicity

	Hispanic	Black	White	Total
Dependent Variables	**N = 382**	**N = 975**	**N = 241**	**N = 1,598**
Hours Employed (Y3)				
Employed full-time	43.7	47.4	50.6	47.0
Employed part-time	14.9	14.0	16.2	14.5
Not employed	41.4	38.7	33.2	38.5
Weeks Employed (Y3)**				
All year (52 weeks)	45.3	48.0	51.9	48.0
26 to 51 weeks	17.0	18.2	18.1	17.9
1 to 24 weeks	12.9	17.4	15.2	16.0
Not employed	24.8	16.4	14.8	18.2
Number of Jobs (Y3)**				
3 or more jobs	14.9	22.2	20.8	20.2
2 jobs	23.8	28.1	30.3	27.4
1 job	41.5	39.7	40.3	40.2
Not employed	19.8	10.0	8.7	12.1
Control Variables				
Respondent Age				
Under 20 years	18.3	21.2	23.7	20.9
20 years to 29 years	63.1	61.4	61.8	61.9
30 years or more	18.6	17.3	14.5	17.2
Number of Toddlers in the Household (BA)***				
1	60.2	58.3	73.0	61.0
2	30.4	32.2	19.9	29.9
3 or more	9.4	9.5	7.1	9.1
Number of Toddlers in the Household (Y1)*				
1	66.0	64.6	70.1	65.8
2	29.1	29.5	21.2	28.2
3 or more	5.0	5.9	8.7	6.1
Number of Toddlers in the Household (Y3)				
1	81.2	79.6	80.5	80.1
2	16.5	18.2	16.2	17.5
3 or more	2.4	2.3	3.3	2.4
Family Variables				
Household composition (Y1)**				
Living alone	19.9	33.1	23.7	28.5
Cohabiting	51.1	38.0	50.2	42.9
Living with a single parent	11.3	15.7	5.4	13.1
Living with both parents	7.1	4.4	10.4	5.9
Living with other adults	10.7	8.8	10.4	9.5

(Table continued on following page)

Table 5: Distribution of Variables Used in Models by Race/Ethnicity (continued)

	Hispanic	Black	White	Total
Child care by relative (Y1)				
Yes	25.1	26.3	27.4	26.2
No	74.9	73.7	72.6	73.8
Access to Emergency Financial Help ($200)**				
Yes	75.7	76.2	87.1	77.7
No	24.4	23.8	12.9	22.3
Access to Childcare Help**				
Yes	79.6	83.5	92.1	83.9
No	20.4	16.5	7.9	16.2
Access to a Place to Live*				
Yes	78.8	81.2	87.1	81.5
No	21.2	18.8	12.9	18.5
Child's Father Supports				
Type of Father Support				
Formal support	20.9	26.1	29.1	25.3
Informal support	47.9	45.7	41.9	45.7
No support	31.2	28.2	29.1	29.0
Maternal Relationship with Child's Father				
Very good/ Excellent	36.1	31.2	33.6	32.7
Good	19.9	20.4	22.4	20.6
Fair/ Poor	44.0	48.4	44.0	46.7
Community Supports				
Rent Assistance (Y1)**				
Yes	22.3	30.1	9.1	25.0
No	77.8	70.0	90.9	75.0
Assistance from employment office (Y1)**				
Yes	8.1	13.6	8.3	11.5
No	91.9	86.4	91.7	88.5
Assistance from childcare referral agency (Y1)**				
Yes	9.4	17.7	11.2	14.8
No	90.6	82.3	88.8	85.2
Assistance to collect child support (Y1)				
Yes	11.5	15.3	14.9	14.3
No	88.5	84.7	85.1	85.7

(Table continued on following page)

Table 5: Distribution of Variables Used in Models by Race/Ethnicity (continued)

	Hispanic	Black	White	Total
Frequency of religious attendance (Y1)**				
Once a week or more	28.8	28.6	15.8	26.7
A couple of times a month	20.9	21.1	15.4	20.2
A couple of times a year or less	32.5	34.4	42.3	35.1
Never	17.8	15.9	26.6	18.0
Human Capital				
Respondent's education**				
Less than HS degree	48.4	33.4	30.7	36.6
HS degree or GED	29.1	37.9	33.2	35.0
Greater than HS degree	22.5	29.7	36.1	28.4
Maternal education**				
Less than HS degree	51.3	19.1	24.9	27.7
HS degree or GED	27.5	49.0	46.5	43.5
Greater than HS degree	10.2	24.0	22.8	20.5
Don't know	11.0	7.9	5.8	8.3
Paternal education**				
Less than HS degree	32.5	13.2	17.4	18.5
HS degree or GED	19.1	42.4	38.6	36.2
Greater than HS degree	12.3	14.6	24.1	15.5
Don't know	36.1	29.9	19.9	29.9
Respondent health problem limiting work or Child disability (Y1)				
Yes	10.2	9.9	12.5	10.3
No	89.8	90.2	87.6	89.7
Raised with Both Parents (age 15)**				
Yes	50.5	26.8	46.9	35.5
No	49.5	73.2	53.1	64.5
Respondent's nativity**				
Born in the US	68.9	97.3	98.8	90.7
Not born in the US	31.2	2.7	1.2	9.3
Mean of Values**				
0 = liberal 3 = traditional	1.16	0.95	0.89	0.99
Employed at Y1				
Yes	53.1	57.5	61.4	57.1
No	46.9	42.5	38.6	42.9
Employment Over Time**				
Not employed	17.8	11.0	5.4	11.8
Employed at one time	32.7	35.3	35.3	34.7
Employed at both times	49.5	53.7	59.3	53.6

Note: Due to rounding, columns may not add to 100 percent.
Tests are significant at the following levels: + $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Table 6: Distribution of Variables Used in Models by Employment Characteristics

	Hours employed at Y3			Weeks employed at Y3				Number of Jobs since Child's birth			
	N = 615 **%** = (38.5)	232 (14.5)	751 (47.0)	**N** =280 **%** = (18.2)	247 (16.0)	276 (17.9)	740 (48.0)	**N** =194 % = (12.2)	642 (40.2)	438 (27.4)	323 (20.3)
Control Variables	None	Part time	Full time	None	Some wks	Most wks	All year	0	1	2	3+
Respondent Age											
Under 20 yrs	42.8**	18.0	39.2	15.8**	23.4	19.9	40.8	10.8	30.8	29.0	29.6
20 to 29 yrs	36.4	14.4	49.2	16.8	15.1	18.5	49.6	10.8	41.3	28.3	19.6
30 yrs or more	40.7	10.9	48.4	25.7	10.4	13.4	50.6	18.6	47.6	22.6	11.3
Number of Toddlers in the HH (BA)											
1	36.1*	16.3	47.5	15.8	15.9	18.5	49.8	11.1	40.4	28.7	19.8
2	41.8	11.5	46.7	22.0	15.9	17.4	44.7	13.5	41.6	23.7	21.2
3 or more	43.1	12.3	44.5	21.1	16.9	15.5	46.5	15.0	34.7	30.6	19.7
Number of Toddlers in the HH (Y1)											
1	35.6**	16.3	48.1	16.3	16.1	17.9	49.7	11.5	41.1	28.0	19.4
2	44.2	10.7	45.1	22.3	16.3	17.4	44.0	13.2	38.8	25.7	22.3
3 or more	43.3	13.4	43.3	19.4	14.0	19.4	47.3	14.3	36.7	29.6	19.4
Number of Toddlers in the HH (Y3)											
1	36.8	15.1	48.1	17.3	16.9	17.5	48.4	11.3	40.2	28.4	20.1
2	44.4	11.5	44.1	21.1	13.5	20.3	45.2	14.6	41.4	23.9	20.0
3 or more	51.3	18.0	30.8	27.0	5.4	13.5	54.1	20.5	33.3	20.5	25.6
Family Supports											
Household composition											
Alone	36.8	16.2	46.9	17.2	16.7	17.6	48.5	12.7	39.5	27.4	19.6
Cohabiting	38.8	12.4	48.8	19.8	13.8	18.8	47.6	13.3	42.2	25.0	22.4
With sing. par.	40.2	15.8	44.0	17.9	17.4	16.4	52.7	9.1	35.2	33.3	22.1
With both par.	37.9	15.8	46.3	18.3	12.9	16.1	44.5	8.4	42.1	27.4	18.5
With oth. adu.	40.1	16.4	43.4	13.7	24.0	17.8	48.5	11.9	39.1	30.5	20.4

(Table continued on following page)

Table 6: Distribution of Variables Used in Models by Employment Characteristics (continued)

	Hours employed at Y3			Weeks employed at Y3				Number of Jobs since Child's birth			
	None	Part time	Full time	None	Some wks	Most wks	All year	0	1	2	3+
Child care by relative											
Yes	28.2**	14.8	56.9	10.9**	12.1	16.9	56.3	7.9**	45.3	26.4	20.4
No	42.2	14.4	43.5	20.7	17.4	20.7	45.0	13.6	38.4	27.8	20.2
Access to Financial Help ($200)											
Yes	35.8**	14.3	50.0	16.6**	14.8	17.8	50.8	10.6**	41.7	28.4	19.3
No	48.0	15.5	36.5	23.6	20.1	18.1	38.2	17.8	34.9	23.9	23.4
Access to Childcare Help											
Yes	36.1**	15.2	48.7	16.1**	15.8	18.1	50.0	10.2**	41.2	28.2	20.4
No	50.8	10.9	38.4	28.9	17.0	16.6	37.6	22.3	35.2	23.1	19.5
Access to a Place to Live											
Yes	35.9**	11.5	48.9	15.9**	15.9	18.3	50.0	10.4**	41.2	28.5	19.9
No	49.8	15.2	38.6	28.1	16.7	16.3	38.9	19.7	35.7	22.8	21.8
Child's Father Supports											
Type of Father Support											
Formal supp.	37.6	15.6	46.8	17.3	15.5	18.0	49.2	10.9*	37.0	31.0	21.1
Informal supp.	37.3	14.3	48.5	16.9	16.4	17.7	49.0	11.0	44.6	26.2	18.1
No support	41.2	14.0	44.8	21.0	15.8	18.1	45.2	15.0	36.1	26.2	22.8
Maternal Relationship with Child's Father											
V good/ Excel.	39.8	14.7	31.7	19.6	15.5	15.9	49.0	14.2**	46.4	23.5	16.0
Good	40.4	14.3	19.8	21.1	15.1	18.3	45.4	13.3	35.8	30.6	20.3
Fair/ Poor	36.7	14.5	48.5	15.8	16.8	19.1	48.3	10.2	37.9	28.8	23.2

(Table continued on following page)

Table 6: Distribution of Variables Used in Models by Employment Characteristics (continued)

Community Supports	Hours employed at Y3			Weeks employed at Y3				Number of Jobs since Child's birth			
	None	Part time	Full time	None	Some wks	Most wks	All year	0	1	2	3+
Rent Assistance											
Yes	51.0**	14.5	34.5	24.7**	24.2	13.7	37.5	16.3**	36.3	25.1	22.3
No	34.3	14.5	51.2	16.0	13.3	19.3	51.4	10.8	41.5	28.2	19.5
Assistance from emp. office											
Yes	47.3*	15.2	37.5	18.0+	20.2	22.5	39.3	7.1**	32.1	27.7	33.2
No	37.3	14.4	48.2	18.2	15.5	17.3	49.1	12.8	41.3	27.4	18.5
Assistance from childcare ref. agency											
Yes	33.1	16.1	50.9	16.0	12.4	20.4	51.1	7.2*	36.2	31.9	24.7
No	39.4	14.2	46.3	18.5	16.6	17.5	47.4	13.0	40.9	26.7	19.5
Assistance to collect child support											
Yes	40.6	15.3	44.1	18.7	16.0	18.3	46.6	10.1	37.3	29.4	23.3
No	38.1	14.4	47.5	18.1	15.9	17.8	48.2	12.5	40.7	27.1	19.7
Frequency of religious attendance											
Weekly+	38.6**	12.2	49.2	21.4**	11.9	15.6	51.1	15.9**	41.8	26.2	16.1
Monthly	33.4	17.7	48.9	13.8	15.4	18.0	52.9	10.5	38.1	30.3	21.1
Yearly or less	36.4	14.6	49.0	14.8	18.0	20.6	46.7	8.4	40.0	28.6	23.0
Never	48.1	14.3	37.6	24.6	18.9	16.1	40.4	15.7	40.6	23.8	19.9

(Table continued on following page)

Table 6: Distribution of Variables Used in Models by Employment Characteristics (continued)

	Hours employed at Y3			Weeks employed at Y3				Number of Jobs since Child's birth			
Human Capital	None	Part time	Full time	None	Some wks	Most wks	All year	0	1	2	3+
Resp.'s edu.											
< HS degree	56.1**	13.0	30.9	29.1**	21.3	16.5	33.1	17.8**	35.5	24.8	21.9
HS deg/ GED	32.3	16.3	51.4	14.7	14.3	16.5	54.5	10.9	41.4	27.3	20.4
> HS degree	23.4	14.4	62.3	8.8	11.5	21.4	58.4	6.4	44.8	30.9	17.9
Maternal edu.											
< HS degree	44.6**	13.6	41.9	21.7**	18.4	18.2	41.7	17.9**	40.1	22.9	19.1
HS deg/ GED	34.8	16.1	49.1	15.1	15.1	17.1	52.7	9.7	43.0	29.0	18.3
> HS degree	31.1	13.4	55.5	12.5	15.0	20.1	52.4	8.2	33.5	32.3	25.9
Don't know	55.6	12.0	32.3	36.2	15.0	15.8	33.1	15.6	42.2	22.2	20.0
Paternal edu.											
< HS degree	44.8**	11.9	43.4	23.9**	15.9	17.0	43.3	19.4**	40.3	21.2	19.1
HS deg./GED	34.0	16.1	49.9	13.1	17.6	14.8	54.5	9.5	41.0	32.9	16.6
> HS degree	27.9	14.2	57.9	12.6	13.8	21.8	51.8	7.3	42.5	30.0	20.2
Don't know	45.5	14.5	40.0	23.5	15.3	20.3	41.0	13.4	38.0	23.3	25.4
Health problem/ Ch. w/ disability											
Yes	60.6**	14.6	24.9	36.1**	18.4	17.1	28.5	19.5*	34.8	25.0	20.7
No	35.9	14.5	49.6	16.1	15.7	18.0	50.2	11.3	40.8	27.7	20.2
Raised with Both Parents											
Yes	37.9	13.6	48.5	20.2	13.5	17.0	49.3	15.5**	42.6	24.7	17.3
No	38.8	15.0	46.2	17.0	17.4	18.4	47.2	10.3	38.9	29.0	21.9
Immigrant											
Yes	45.3	12.8	41.9	30.3**	12.4	18.6	38.6	27.5**	47.7	16.8	8.1
No	37.8	14.7	47.5	16.9	16.4	17.8	48.9	10.6	39.4	28.5	21.5
Mean of Values 0 = liberal 3 = traditional	1.08**	0.94	0.94	1.18*	0.97	0.95	0.94	1.29	0.98	0.94	0.92
Previous Emp.											
Not employed	76.6	8.5	14.9	54.6**	17.5	8.2	19.7	36.6**	34.6	17.3	11.5
Emp. 1 time	51.3	14.6	34.1	24.5	22.0	20.7	32.8	7.8	41.2	29.2	21.8
Emp BA & Y1	21.9	15.8	62.4	6.0	11.8	18.2	63.9	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Note: Due to rounding, columns may not add to 100 percent.
Tests are significant at the following levels: + p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01.

Table 7a: Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Hours as a Function of Supports

	(1) Basic		(2) Family		(3) Child's Father	
Race/Ethnicity	None	Part-time	None	Part-time	None	Part-time
Hispanic	1.47*	1.13	1.34	1.11	1.47*	1.14
	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.25)	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.28)
Black	1.24	0.96	1.16	0.88	1.26	0.97
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.20)
White	-	-	-	-	-	-
Age						
< 20 yrs	1.56**	1.52*	1.56**	1.51*	1.54**	1.52*
	(0.22)	(0.28)	(0.23)	(0.28)	(0.22)	(0.28)
> 30 yrs	1.18	0.75	1.06	0.73	1.16	0.75
	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)
20 to 29 years	-	-	-	-	-	-
Add. todd. (BA)	1.03	0.89	1.00	0.87	1.04	0.89
	(0.11)	(0.14)	(0.11)	(0.14)	(0.11)	(0.14)
Add. todd. (Y1)	1.21	0.88	1.18	0.86	1.19	0.87
	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.16)
Add. todd. (Y3)	1.07	1.08	1.08	1.12	1.07	1.08
	(0.13)	(0.19)	(0.13)	(0.20)	(0.13)	(0.19)
Family Supports						
HH Composition						
Alone			0.97	1.48*		
			(0.13)	(0.28)		
With a single parent			1.24	1.42		
			(0.22)	(0.34)		
With both parents			1.22	1.19		
			(0.30)	(0.39)		
With other adult(s)			1.16	1.44		
			(0.23)	(0.39)		
Cohabiting			-	-		
Relative care use			0.53**	0.76		
			(0.07)	(0.13)		
Financial help			0.71*	0.56**		
			(0.12)	(0.12)		
Childcare help			0.83	1.32		
			(0.16)	(0.38)		
Place to live			0.78	1.16		
			(0.14)	(0.31)		

(Table continued on following page)

Table 7a: Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Hours as a Function of Supports (continued)

Child's Father Supports	**(1) Basic**	**(2) Family**	**(3) Child's Father**	
Financial Support			None	Part-time
No support			1.14	0.94
			(0.17)	(0.19)
Informal support			0.86	0.84
			(0.12)	(0.16)
Formal support			-	-
Relationship				
Fair/ Poor/ None			0.77+	0.85
			(0.11)	(0.16)
Good			1.00	0.96
			(0.15)	(0.21)
Very good/ Excellent			-	-
Pseudo R-squared	0.010	0.029	0.012	

N = 1,598
Tests are significant at the following levels: + p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01.
Standard errors are in parentheses.

Table 8a: Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Weeks as a Function of Supports

	(1) Basic Model			(2) Family Model			(3) Child's Father Model		
	No Weeks	1 to 24 weeks	25 to 51 wks	No weeks	1 to 24 weeks	25 to 51 wks	No weeks	1 to 24 weeks	25 to 51 wks
Race/Ethnicity									
Hispanic	1.86**	1.01	1.11	1.69*	0.92	1.08	1.86**	1.00	1.12
	(0.44)	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.40)	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.44)	(0.25)	(0.26)
Black	1.14	1.25	1.12	1.08	1.12	1.09	1.17	1.24	1.11
	(0.25)	(0.27)	(0.22)	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.22)	(0.25)	(0.27)	(0.22)
White	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Age									
< 20 yrs	1.26	1.93**	1.32	1.28	1.92**	1.35+	1.22	1.93**	1.31
	(0.24)	(0.34)	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.35)	(0.25)	(0.24)	(0.34)	(0.24)
> 30 yrs	1.60**	0.68+	0.71	1.38+	0.61*	0.67+	1.55*	0.68+	0.71
	(0.28)	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.26)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.28)	(0.16)	(0.15)
20 to 29 years	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Add. todd. (BA)	1.22	1.13	0.90	1.17	1.09	0.87	1.23	1.13	0.90
	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.13)	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.13)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.13)
Add. todd. (Y1)	1.19	1.19	1.18	1.17	1.14	1.17	1.17	1.20	1.19
	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.21)	(0.20)
Add. todd. (Y3)	0.98	0.59**	0.96	0.95	0.60**	0.97	0.98	0.58**	0.97
	(0.15)	(0.11)	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.11)	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.11)	(0.16)
Family Supports									
HH Composition									
Alone				0.80	1.16	0.95			
				(0.14)	(0.22)	(0.17)			
With a single parent				1.08	1.21	0.82			
				(0.25)	(0.29)	(0.19)			
With both parents				1.13	0.84	0.72			
				(0.35)	(0.30)	(0.23)			
With other adult(s)				0.74	1.69*	0.95			
				(0.21)	(0.42)	(0.24)			
Cohabiting				-	-	-			

(Table continued on following page)

Table 8a: Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Weeks as a Function of Supports (Continued)

	(1) Basic Model	(2) Family Model			(3) Child's Father Model		
		No weeks	1 to 24 weeks	25 to 51 wks	No weeks	1 to 24 weeks	25 to 51 wks
Relative care use		0.46**	0.56**	1.04			
		(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.16)			
Financial help		0.88	0.64*	0.76			
		(0.18)	(0.13)	(0.16)			
Childcare help		0.68	0.85	0.87			
		(0.16)	(0.22)	(0.22)			
Place to live		0.65+	0.97	1.00			
		(0.15)	(0.25)	(0.25)			
Child's Father Supports							
Financial Support							
No support					1.31	1.04	1.07
					(0.25)	(0.22)	(0.21)
Informal support					0.82	1.11	1.05
					(0.15)	(0.21)	(0.19)
Formal support					-	-	-
Relationship							
Fair/ Poor/ None					0.69*	1.09	1.22
					(0.12)	(0.20)	(0.22)
Good					1.14	1.07	1.25
					(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.25)
Very good/ Excellent					-	-	-
Pseudo R-squared	0.018		0.036			0.022	

N = 1,543
Tests are significant at the following levels: + p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01.
Standard errors are in parentheses.

Table 9a. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Jobs as a Function of Supports

	(1) Basic Model			(2) Family Model			(3) Child's Father Model		
	0	2	3+	0	2	3+	0	2	3+
Hispanic	2.16**	0.77	0.73	1.96*	0.75	0.70	2.19**	0.79	0.74
	(0.61)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.56)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.62)	(0.16)	(0.17)
Black	1.11	0.96	1.12	1.04	0.90	1.04	1.15	0.96	1.11
	(0.30)	(0.17)	(0.22)	(0.28)	(0.16)	(0.21)	(0.31)	(0.17)	(0.22)
White	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Age									
< 20 yrs	1.45+	1.37+	2.07**	1.54+	1.36+	2.09**	1.39	1.37+	2.03**
	(0.33)	(0.22)	(0.35)	(0.35)	(0.22)	(0.36)	(0.32)	(0.22)	(0.34)
> 30 yrs	1.57*	0.69*	0.51**	1.29	0.69*	0.47**	1.51*	0.69*	0.50**
	(0.32)	(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.27)	(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.31)	(0.12)	(0.11)
20 to 29 years	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Add. todd. (BA)	1.19	0.98	1.01	1.12	0.98	0.97	1.21	0.99	1.02
	(0.19)	(0.12)	(0.14)	(0.18)	(0.12)	(0.14)	(0.20)	(0.12)	(0.14)
Add. todd. (Y1)	1.03	1.16	1.15	1.00	1.16	1.16	1.01	1.15	1.15
	(0.20)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.17)	(0.18)
Add. todd. (Y3)	1.20	0.79+	0.97	1.21	0.78+	0.98	1.19	0.78+	0.98
	(0.21)	(0.11)	(0.15)	(0.22)	(0.11)	(0.15)	(0.21)	(0.11)	(0.15)
Family Supports									
HH Composition									
Alone				1.01	1.20	1.15			
				(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.20)			
With a single parent				0.93	1.60*	1.26			
				(0.27)	(0.32)	(0.28)			
With both parents				0.76	1.05	1.04			
				(0.32)	(0.29)	(0.31)			
With other adult(s)				0.98	1.27	0.90			
				(0.30)	(0.28)	(0.23)			
Cohabiting				-	-	-			

(Table continued on following page)

Table 9a. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Jobs as a Function of Supports (continued)

	(1) Basic Model	(2) Family Model			(3) Child's Father Model		
		0	2	3+	0	2	3+
Relative care use		0.57**	0.77+	0.87			
		(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.14)			
Financial help		0.79	0.99	0.72+			
		(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.14)			
Childcare help		0.61+	0.98	1.04			
		(0.16)	(0.22)	(0.26)			
Place to live		0.80	1.04	0.81			
		(0.21)	(0.23)	(0.19)			
Child's Father Supports							
Financial Support							
No support					1.40	0.84	1.04
					(0.32)	(0.15)	(0.20)
Informal support					0.69+	0.76+	0.81
					(0.15)	(0.12)	(0.15)
Formal support					-	-	-
Relationship							
Fair/ Poor/ None					0.67+	1.38*	1.57*
					(0.14)	(0.22)	(0.28)
Good					1.14	1.65**	1.60*
					(0.26)	(0.29)	(0.32)
Very good/ Excellent					-	-	-
Pseudo R-squared	0.023		0.033			0.031	

N = 1,598
Tests are significant at the following levels: + p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01.
Standard errors are in parentheses.

Table 7b. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Hours as a Function of Supports

	(4) Community		(5) Human Capital	
Race/Ethnicity	None	Part-time	None	Part-time
Hispanic	1.41+	1.12	1.06	1.07
	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.22)	(0.28)
Black	1.14	0.91	1.25	0.93
	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.22)	(0.20)
White	-	-	-	-
Age				
< 20 yrs	1.53**	1.51*	1.15	1.35
	(0.22)	(0.28)	(0.18)	(0.26)
> 30 yrs	1.17	0.75	1.11	0.74
	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.17)
20 to 29 years	-	-	-	-
Add. todd. (BA)	0.97	0.86	0.86	0.83
	(0.11)	(0.14)	(0.10)	(0.13)
Add. todd. (Y1)	1.21	0.86	1.17	0.86
	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)
Add. todd. (Y3)	1.07	1.07	1.13	1.10
	(0.13)	(0.19)	(0.14)	(0.20)
Community Supports				
Rent assistance	2.06**	1.55*		
	(0.27)	(0.29)		
Employment assistance	1.53*	1.26		
	(0.28)	(0.31)		
Childcare referral	0.70*	1.05		
	(0.12)	(0.22)		
Child supp. collection	1.10	1.12		
	(0.18)	(0.24)		
Religious Participation				
Weekly or more	0.65*	0.66+		
	(0.11)	(0.16)		
Monthly	0.58**	0.98		
	(0.11)	(0.24)		
Yearly	0.64**	0.79		
	(0.10)	(0.18)		
Never	-	-		

(Table continued on following page)

Table 7b. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Hours as a Function of Supports (continued)

	(4) Community		(5) Human Capital	
Human Capital	None	Part-time	None	Part-time
Respondent's Education				
Less than HS			4.07**	1.59*
			(0.70)	(0.36)
HS diploma or GED			1.46*	1.27
			(0.23)	(0.25)
More than HS			-	-
Maternal Education				
Less than HS			0.95	1.24
			(0.19)	(0.32)
HS diploma or GED			0.85	1.20
			(0.14)	(0.26)
Don't know			1.32	1.18
			(0.35)	(0.44)
More than HS			-	-
Paternal Education				
Less than HS			1.56*	0.98
			(0.35)	(0.29)
HS diploma or GED			1.18	1.22
			(0.23)	(0.29)
Don't know			1.54*	1.31
			(0.32)	(0.34)
More than HS			-	-
Health problem/ Ch. Dis.			3.20**	2.02*
			(0.66)	(0.55)
2 par. house			1.12	0.95
			(0.15)	(0.16)
Traditional values			1.23+	0.92
			(0.13)	(0.13)
Immigrant			0.88	0.99
			(0.20)	(0.31)
Pseudo R-squared	0.037		0.053	

N = 1,598
Tests are significant at the following levels: + p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01.
Standard errors are in parentheses.

Table 8b. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Weeks as a Function of Supports

	(4) Community Characteristics			(5) Human Capital Characteristics		
Race/Ethnicity	No weeks	1 to 24 weeks	25 to 51 wks	No weeks	1 to 24 weeks	25 to 51 wks
Hispanic	1.80*	0.96	1.18	1.17	0.81	0.90
	(0.43)	(0.25)	(0.28)	(0.32)	(0.22)	(0.23)
Black	1.06	1.13	1.16	1.18	1.28	1.14
	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.24)	(0.28)	(0.29)	(0.24)
White	-	-	-	-	-	-
Age						
< 20 yrs	1.25	1.90**	1.30	0.98	1.54*	1.33
	(0.24)	(0.34)	(0.23)	(0.20)	(0.29)	(0.25)
> 30 yrs	1.58*	0.66+	0.73	1.44+	0.69	0.69+
	(0.29)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.28)	(0.16)	(0.15)
20 to 29 years	-	-	-	-	-	-
Add. Toddlers (BA)	1.15	1.07	0.91	1.00	0.99	0.87
	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.13)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.13)
Add. Toddlers (Y1)	1.18	1.22	1.17	1.20	1.14	1.17
	(0.20)	(0.22)	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.20)	(0.20)
Add. Toddlers (Y3)	0.97	0.57**	0.97	1.03	0.61**	1.00
	(0.15)	(0.10)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.11)	(0.16)
Community Supports						
Rent assistance	1.92**	2.46**	0.94			
	(0.32)	(0.42)	(0.18)			
Employment assistance	1.18	1.41	1.58*			
	(0.28)	(0.33)	(0.35)			
Childcare referral	0.81	0.65+	1.01			
	(0.18)	(0.16)	(0.20)			
Child supp. collection	1.07	1.02	1.02			
	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.21)			
Religious Participation						
Weekly or more	0.70+	0.54*	0.78			
	(0.15)	(0.13)	(0.18)			
Monthly	0.44**	0.70	0.88			
	(0.11)	(0.17)	(0.21)			
Yearly	0.57**	0.93	1.15			
	(0.12)	(0.20)	(0.24)			
Never	-	-	-			

(Table continued on following page)

Table 8b. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Weeks as a Function of Supports (Continued)

	(4) Community Characteristics			(5) Human Capital Characteristics		
Human Capital	No weeks	1 to 24 weeks	25 to 51 wks	No weeks	1 to 24 weeks	25 to 51 wks
Resp. Education						
Less than HS				4.71**	2.73**	1.15
				(1.10)	(0.61)	(0.24)
HS diploma or GED				1.61*	1.23	0.79
				(0.37)	(0.26)	(0.14)
More than HS				-	-	-
Maternal Education						
Less than HS				0.78	1.29	1.13
				(0.21)	(0.32)	(0.27)
HS diploma or GED				0.77	0.82	0.92
				(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)
Don't know				1.64	1.15	1.03
				(0.54)	(0.42)	(0.35)
More than HS				-	-	-
Paternal Education						
Less than HS				1.46	1.04	0.91
				(0.43)	(0.31)	(0.24)
HS diploma or GED				0.82	1.06	0.67+
				(0.22)	(0.26)	(0.15)
Don't know				1.26	1.03	1.15
				(0.35)	(0.28)	(0.27)
More than HS				-	-	-
Health problem/ Ch. Dis.				3.57**	2.09**	1.72*
				(0.82)	(0.54)	(0.45)
2 par. House				1.20	0.95	0.96
				(0.20)	(0.16)	(0.15)
Traditional Values				1.54**	0.99	1.03
				(0.21)	(0.14)	(0.14)
Immigrant				1.08	1.03	1.33
				(0.30)	(0.34)	(0.38)
Pseudo R-squared		0.039			0.069	

N = 1,543
Tests are significant at the following levels: + p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01.
Standard errors are in parentheses.

Table 9b. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Jobs as a Function of Supports

	Community Characteristics			Human Capital Characteristics		
	0	2	3+	0	2	3+
Hispanic	1.98*	0.76	0.73	1.42	0.97	0.81
	(0.57)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.44)	(0.21)	(0.20)
Black	1.00	0.91	1.03	1.11	0.91	1.07
	(0.28)	(0.16)	(0.21)	(0.31)	(0.16)	(0.22)
White	-	-	-	-	-	-
Age						
< 20 yrs	1.43	1.38*	2.07**	1.27	1.30	1.91**
	(0.32)	(0.23)	(0.35)	(0.30)	(0.22)	(0.34)
> 30 yrs	1.50*	0.69*	0.51**	1.38	0.75	0.55**
	(0.31)	(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.30)	(0.13)	(0.12)
20 to 29 years	-	-	-	-	-	-
Add. todd. (BA)	1.12	0.98	1.01	1.05	0.97	0.96
	(0.18)	(0.12)	(0.14)	(0.17)	(0.12)	(0.14)
Add. todd. (Y1)	1.05	1.14	1.11	1.07	1.19	1.16
	(0.20)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.21)	(0.18)	(0.19)
Add. todd. (Y3)	1.20	0.79+	0.98	1.21	0.78+	1.00
	(0.22)	(0.11)	(0.15)	(0.22)	(0.11)	(0.16)
Community Supports						
Rent assistance	1.69**	1.03	1.24			
	(0.32)	(0.16)	(0.20)			
Employment assistance	0.70	1.20	2.03**			
	(0.23)	(0.25)	(0.42)			
Childcare referral	0.69	1.28	1.23			
	(0.20)	(0.23)	(0.24)			
Child supp. Collection	0.93	1.13	1.15			
	(0.24)	(0.20)	(0.23)			
Religious Participation						
Weekly or more	1.00	1.11	0.87			
	(0.23)	(0.22)	(0.19)			
Monthly	0.74	1.42+	1.27			
	(0.20)	(0.30)	(0.29)			
Yearly	0.57*	1.26	1.31			
	(0.14)	(0.24)	(0.27)			
Never	-	-	-			

(Table continued on the following page)

Table 9b. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Jobs as a Function of Supports (continued)

	Community Characteristics			Human Capital Characteristics		
Human Capital	0	2	3+	0	2	3+
Resp. Education						
Less than HS				2.59**	1.07	1.45+
				(0.69)	(0.19)	(0.30)
HS diploma or GED				1.59+	0.98	1.21
				(0.41)	(0.16)	(0.23)
More than HS				-	-	-
Maternal Education						
Less than HS				0.67	0.65*	0.58*
				(0.21)	(0.14)	(0.13)
HS diploma or GED				0.60+	0.66*	0.50**
				(0.16)	(0.12)	(0.10)
Don't know				0.60	0.58+	0.45*
				(0.23)	(0.17)	(0.14)
More than HS				-	-	-
Paternal Education						
Less than HS				1.97*	0.92	1.34
				(0.67)	(0.22)	(0.36)
HS diploma or GED				1.30	1.27	0.95
				(0.42)	(0.25)	(0.22)
Don't know				1.54	1.03	1.79*
				(0.51)	(0.22)	(0.42)
More than HS				-	-	-
Health problem/ Ch. Dis.				1.96**	1.12	1.27
				(0.49)	(0.25)	(0.30)
2 par. House				1.23	0.86	0.95
				(0.23)	(0.12)	(0.15)
Tradit. val.				1.90**	0.99	0.93
				(0.30)	(0.12)	(0.12)
Immigrant				0.97	0.60+	0.38**
				(0.27)	(0.16)	(0.13)
Pseudo R-squared		0.037			0.053	

N = 1,598
Tests are significant at the following levels: + p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01.
Standard errors are in parentheses.

Table 7c. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Hours as a Function of Supports

	(6) Full Model without Employment Experience		(7) Full Model with Employment Experience	
Race/Ethnicity	None	Part-time	None	Part-time
Hispanic	0.99	1.04	0.98	1.06
	(0.22)	(0.28)	(0.22)	(0.28)
Black	1.14	0.83	1.10	0.85
	(0.21)	(0.19)	(0.21)	(0.19)
White	-	-	-	-
Age				
< 20 yrs	1.13	1.37	1.02	1.33
	(0.18)	(0.27)	(0.17)	(0.27)
> 30 yrs	1.05	0.73	0.91	0.72
	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.16)	(0.17)
20 to 29 years	-	-	-	-
Add. todd. (BA)	0.84	0.81	0.81+	0.81
	(0.10)	(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.13)
Add. todd. (Y1)	1.08	0.80	1.06	0.79
	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.16)
Add. todd. (Y3)	1.30+	1.26	1.30+	1.26
	(0.19)	(0.25)	(0.20)	(0.25)
Family Supports				
HH Composition				
Alone	0.96	1.60*	1.05	1.63*
	(0.16)	(0.34)	(0.18)	(0.35)
With a single parent	1.46+	1.65+	1.34	1.60+
	(0.29)	(0.43)	(0.28)	(0.42)
With both parents	1.71+	1.60	1.72+	1.59
	(0.47)	(0.57)	(0.49)	(0.57)
With other adult(s)	1.28	1.68+	1.23	1.64+
	(0.29)	(0.48)	(0.29)	(0.47)
Cohabiting	-	-	-	-
Relative care use	0.59**	0.76	0.78+	0.83
	(0.08)	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.15)
Financial help	0.84	0.58*	0.83	0.57*
	(0.15)	(0.13)	(0.15)	(0.13)
Childcare help	0.82	1.35	0.87	1.37
	(0.17)	(0.39)	(0.19)	(0.40)
Place to live	0.92	1.28	0.96	1.28
	(0.18)	(0.35)	(0.20)	(0.35)
Child's Father Supports				
Financial Support				
No support	1.04	0.90	0.99	0.89
	(0.18)	(0.20)	(0.18)	(0.20)
Informal support	0.94	0.96	0.89	0.94
	(0.16)	(0.20)	(0.15)	(0.20)
Formal support	-	-	-	-
Relationship				
Fair/ Poor/ None	0.66**	0.71+	0.68*	0.71+
	(0.11)	(0.15)	(0.11)	(0.15)
Good	0.99	0.93	1.02	0.92
	(0.17)	(0.20)	(0.18)	(0.20)
Very good/ Excellent	-	-	-	-

(Table continued on following page)

Community Supports	**(6) Full Model without Employment Experience**		**(7) Full Model with Employment Experience**	
	None	Part-time	None	Part-time
Rent assistance	1.69**	1.38+	1.36*	1.28
	(0.25)	(0.27)	(0.21)	(0.25)
Employment assistance	1.60*	1.27	1.43+	1.21
	(0.31)	(0.32)	(0.29)	(0.31)
Childcare referral	0.69*	1.02	0.78	1.03
	(0.12)	(0.22)	(0.14)	(0.23)
Child supp. collection	1.16	1.02	1.23	1.03
	(0.21)	(0.24)	(0.23)	(0.24)
Religious Participation				
Weekly or more	0.80	0.67	0.78	0.67
	(0.15)	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.17)
Monthly	0.73	1.03	0.75	1.05
	(0.15)	(0.26)	(0.16)	(0.27)
Yearly	0.89	0.87	0.87	0.87
	(0.16)	(0.20)	(0.16)	(0.20)
Never	-	-	-	-
Human Capital				
Resp. Education				
Less than HS	3.50**	1.44	2.50**	1.29
	(0.62)	(0.33)	(0.47)	(0.30)
HS diploma or GED	1.35+	1.23	1.18	1.18
	(0.22)	(0.25)	(0.20)	(0.24)
More than HS	-	-	-	-
Maternal Education				
Less than HS	0.90	1.24	0.88	1.24
	(0.18)	(0.33)	(0.19)	(0.33)
HS diploma or GED	0.80	1.19	0.78	1.19
	(0.14)	(0.26)	(0.14)	(0.26)
Don't know	1.25	1.12	1.21	1.11
	(0.34)	(0.42)	(0.34)	(0.42)
More than HS	-	-	-	-
Paternal Education				
Less than HS	1.58*	0.95	1.54+	0.94
	(0.37)	(0.29)	(0.37)	(0.28)
HS diploma or GED	1.24	1.25	1.22	1.25
	(0.25)	(0.31)	(0.25)	(0.31)
Don't know	1.52*	1.32	1.46+	1.31
	(0.32)	(0.35)	(0.32)	(0.35)
More than HS	-	-	-	-
Health problem/ Ch. Dis.	3.16**	2.06**	2.29**	1.85*
	(0.68)	(0.58)	(0.51)	(0.52)
2 par. house	1.11	0.96	1.00	0.94
	(0.15)	(0.17)	(0.14)	(0.17)
Traditional values	1.23+	0.93	1.10	0.91
	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Immigrant	0.91	1.16	0.82	1.09
	(0.22)	(0.38)	(0.21)	(0.36)
Previous employment				
Never			7.85**	1.95+
			(1.91)	(0.68)
Once			3.12**	1.49*
			(0.44)	(0.27)
Both times			-	-
Pseudo R-squared	.096		.133	

N = 1,598
Tests are significant at the following levels: + p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01.
Standard errors are in parentheses.

Table 8c. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Weeks as a Function of Supports

	(6) Full Model without Employment Experience			(7) Full Model with Employment Experience		
Race/Ethnicity	No weeks	1 to 24 weeks	25 to 51 wks	No wks	1 to 24 weeks	25 to 51 wks
Hispanic	1.11	0.74	0.95	1.02	0.76	1.00
	(0.31)	(0.21)	(0.24)	(0.30)	(0.22)	(0.26)
Black	1.14	1.10	1.19	1.01	1.08	1.21
	(0.28)	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.26)
White	-	-	-	-	-	-
Age	0.97	1.57*	1.34	0.86	1.46+	1.29
< 20 yrs	(0.21)	(0.31)	(0.26)	(0.20)	(0.29)	(0.25)
	1.32	0.64+	0.68+	1.08	0.60*	0.66+
> 30 yrs	(0.27)	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.24)	(0.15)	(0.15)
20 to 29 years						
Add. todd. (BA)	0.99	0.95	0.86	0.98	0.94	0.86
	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.13)	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.13)
Add. todd. (Y1)	1.18	1.14	1.15	1.08	1.10	1.11
	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.20)
Add. todd. (Y3)	0.98	0.59**	1.00	0.99	0.59**	1.00
	(0.17)	(0.11)	(0.16)	(0.18)	(0.11)	(0.17)
Family Supports						
HH Composition						
Alone	0.81	1.14	0.91	0.96	1.24	0.95
	(0.18)	(0.25)	(0.18)	(0.22)	(0.28)	(0.19)
With a single parent	1.24	1.44	0.76	1.07	1.36	0.73
	(0.32)	(0.37)	(0.19)	(0.30)	(0.36)	(0.18)
With both parents	1.42	1.21	0.68	1.42	1.24	0.69
	(0.50)	(0.46)	(0.23)	(0.54)	(0.48)	(0.24)
With other adult(s)	0.77	1.94*	0.82	0.77	1.93*	0.83
	(0.24)	(0.53)	(0.23)	(0.26)	(0.54)	(0.23)
Cohabiting	-	-	-	-	-	-
Relative care use	0.55**	0.58**	1.03	0.82	0.72+	1.19
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.14)	(0.20)
Financial help	1.13	0.69+	0.77	1.14	0.69	0.77
	(0.25)	(0.15)	(0.17)	(0.28)	(0.16)	(0.17)
Childcare help	0.63+	0.85	0.88	0.67	0.89	0.91
	(0.16)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.19)	(0.25)	(0.24)
Place to live	0.80	1.11	1.14	0.85	1.11	1.14
	(0.20)	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.23)	(0.30)	(0.29)

(Table continued on following page)

Table 8c. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Weeks as a Function of Supports (continued)

	(6) Full Model without Employment Experience			(7) Full Model with Employment Experience		
Child's Father Supports	No weeks	1 to 24 weeks	25 to 51 wks	No wks	1 to 24 weeks	25 to 51 wks
Financial Support						
No support	1.23	0.97	1.00	1.19	0.96	0.99
	(0.27)	(0.22)	(0.21)	(0.28)	(0.22)	(0.21)
Informal support	0.87	1.29	0.98	0.84	1.25	0.96
	(0.19)	(0.28)	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.27)	(0.20)
Formal support	-	-	-	-	-	-
Relationship						
Fair/ Poor/ None	0.63*	0.95	1.21	0.68+	0.91	1.17
	(0.13)	(0.20)	(0.24)	(0.15)	(0.19)	(0.23)
Good	1.22	1.01	1.26	1.32	0.99	1.24
	(0.26)	(0.23)	(0.26)	(0.30)	(0.23)	(0.26)
Very good/ Excellent	-	-	-	-	-	-
Community Supports						
Rent assistance	1.51*	2.30**	0.86	1.10	1.96**	0.75
	(0.28)	(0.42)	(0.17)	(0.22)	(0.37)	(0.15)
Employment assistance	1.19	1.36	1.51+	0.98	1.23	1.40
	(0.30)	(0.33)	(0.34)	(0.27)	(0.30)	(0.32)
Childcare referral	0.84	0.66+	1.04	1.06	0.71	1.08
	(0.20)	(0.16)	(0.21)	(0.26)	(0.18)	(0.22)
Child supp. Collection	1.15	1.05	1.02	1.32	1.09	1.05
	(0.28)	(0.25)	(0.23)	(0.34)	(0.26)	(0.24)
Religious Participation						
Weekly or more	0.85	0.58*	0.81	0.82	0.57*	0.82
	(0.20)	(0.15)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.15)	(0.20)
Monthly	0.55*	0.75	0.91	0.54*	0.75	0.90
	(0.14)	(0.19)	(0.23)	(0.15)	(0.19)	(0.23)
Yearly	0.81	1.12	1.24	0.79	1.10	1.23
	(0.18)	(0.25)	(0.28)	(0.19)	(0.25)	(0.28)
Never	-	-	-	-	-	-

(Table continued on following page)

	(6) Full Model without Employment Experience			(7) Full Model with Employment Experience		
Human Capital	No weeks	1 to 24 weeks	25 to 51 wks	No wks	1 to 24 weeks	25 to 51 wks
Resp. Education						
Less than HS	4.10**	2.31**	1.16	2.53**	1.78*	0.99
	(0.99)	(0.54)	(0.24)	(0.66)	(0.43)	(0.21)
HS diploma or GED	1.49+	1.16	0.78	1.20	1.00	0.71+
	(0.35)	(0.26)	(0.15)	(0.30)	(0.23)	(0.13)
More than HS						
Maternal Education						
Less than HS	0.72	1.15	1.07	0.63	1.15	1.07
	(0.20)	(0.30)	(0.26)	(0.19)	(0.30)	(0.26)
HS diploma or GED	0.72	0.73	0.91	0.68	0.73	0.90
	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.18)
Don't know	1.57	1.00	1.02	1.51	0.99	1.04
	(0.53)	(0.37)	(0.35)	(0.54)	(0.37)	(0.36)
More than HS	-	-	-	-	-	-
Paternal Education						
Less than HS	1.53	0.99	0.91	1.49	1.00	0.92
	(0.46)	(0.30)	(0.24)	(0.48)	(0.31)	(0.25)
HS diploma or GED	0.85	1.07	0.68+	0.82	1.06	0.69
	(0.23)	(0.27)	(0.15)	(0.24)	(0.27)	(0.16)
Don't know	1.22	0.91	1.12	1.15	0.91	1.14
	(0.35)	(0.25)	(0.26)	(0.35)	(0.26)	(0.27)
More than HS	-	-	-	-	-	-
Health problem/ Ch. Dis.	3.45**	2.01**	1.77*	2.20**	1.62+	1.55
	(0.83)	(0.55)	(0.47)	(0.57)	(0.45)	(0.42)
2 par. House	1.19	1.01	1.00	1.03	0.93	0.95
	(0.21)	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.17)	(0.16)
Traditional values	1.53**	1.00	1.04	1.31+	0.97	1.03
	(0.22)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.20)	(0.14)	(0.14)
Immigrant	1.09	1.12	1.41	1.02	1.03	1.30
	(0.32)	(0.39)	(0.42)	(0.33)	(0.36)	(0.39)
Previous employment						
Never				15.53**	2.96**	1.45
				(4.22)	(0.88)	(0.49)
Once				5.96**	2.66**	2.22**
				(1.22)	(0.48)	(0.37)
Both times				-	-	-
Pseudo R-squared		0.010			0.142	

N = 1,543
Tests are significant at the following levels: + p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01.
Standard errors are in parentheses.

Table 9c. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Jobs as a Function of Supports

	(6) Full Model without Employment Experience			(7) Full Model with Employment Experience		
Race/Ethnicity	0	2	3+	0	2	3+
Hispanic	1.35	0.94	0.81	1.19	0.95	0.82
	(0.43)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.40)	(0.21)	(0.21)
Black	1.02	0.84	0.98	0.88	0.85	1.00
	(0.30)	(0.16)	(0.21)	(0.26)	(0.16)	(0.22)
White	-	-	-	-	-	-
Age	1.33	1.29	1.88**	1.30	1.30	1.91**
< 20 yrs	(0.33)	(0.22)	(0.34)	(0.33)	(0.23)	(0.35)
	1.17	0.73+	0.52**	0.99	0.75	0.54**
> 30 yrs	(0.26)	(0.14)	(0.12)	(0.23)	(0.14)	(0.13)
20 to 29 years						
Add. todd. (BA)	1.01	0.98	0.95	0.95	0.98	0.95
	(0.17)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.17)	(0.13)	(0.14)
Add. todd. (Y1)	1.05	1.18	1.14	1.02	1.17	1.13
	(0.21)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.21)	(0.18)	(0.19)
Add. todd. (Y3)	1.20	0.77+	1.00	1.25	0.77+	1.02
	(0.23)	(0.11)	(0.16)	(0.24)	(0.12)	(0.16)
Family Supports						
HH Composition						
Alone	1.07	1.00	0.82	1.22	0.99	0.81
	(0.26)	(0.18)	(0.16)	(0.30)	(0.17)	(0.16)
With a single parent	1.01	1.34	0.99	0.87	1.37	1.02
	(0.32)	(0.28)	(0.24)	(0.28)	(0.29)	(0.24)
With both parents	0.74	0.94	0.88	0.61	0.96	0.91
	(0.34)	(0.28)	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.28)	(0.30)
With other adult(s)	0.95	1.08	0.64	0.83	1.11	0.68
	(0.32)	(0.26)	(0.18)	(0.29)	(0.27)	(0.19)
Cohabiting	-	-	-	-	-	-
Relative care use	0.69+	0.77+	0.86	0.69	0.77+	0.85
	(0.15)	(0.11)	(0.14)	(0.16)	(0.11)	(0.14)
Financial help	0.96	0.94	0.71	0.94	0.94	0.71+
	(0.23)	(0.18)	(0.15)	(0.24)	(0.18)	(0.15)
Childcare help	0.56*	0.98	1.02	0.57+	0.99	1.02
	(0.16)	(0.23)	(0.26)	(0.17)	(0.23)	(0.26)
Place to live	0.87	1.03	0.91	0.90	1.03	0.91
	(0.24)	(0.23)	(0.22)	(0.26)	(0.23)	(0.22)

(Table continued on following page)

Table 9c. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Jobs as a Function of Supports (continued)

	(6) Full Model without Employment Experience			(7) Full Model with Employment Experience		
Child's Father Supports	0	2	3+	0	2	3+
Financial Support						
No support	1.24	0.90	1.08	1.17	0.91	1.10
	(0.31)	(0.17)	(0.22)	(0.31)	(0.17)	(0.22)
Informal support	0.68	0.81	0.82	0.66	0.82	0.85
	(0.17)	(0.14)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.14)	(0.17)
Formal support	-	-	-	-	-	-
Relationship						
Fair/ Poor/ None	0.64+	1.39+	1.60*	0.74	1.37+	1.55*
	(0.15)	(0.24)	(0.31)	(0.18)	(0.23)	(0.30)
Good	1.18	1.67**	1.65*	1.26	1.65**	1.60*
	(0.28)	(0.30)	(0.34)	(0.31)	(0.30)	(0.34)
Very good/ Excellent	-	-	-	-	-	-
Community Supports						
Rent assistance	1.26	1.03	1.13	1.17	1.04	1.14
	(0.26)	(0.17)	(0.20)	(0.25)	(0.17)	(0.20)
Employment assistance	0.65	1.18	1.89**	0.60	1.20	1.91**
	(0.22)	(0.25)	(0.40)	(0.21)	(0.25)	(0.41)
Childcare referral	0.71	1.19	1.12	0.72	1.19	1.13
	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.23)
Child supp. collection	1.02	0.99	1.11	1.00	1.00	1.12
	(0.29)	(0.19)	(0.24)	(0.29)	(0.19)	(0.24)
Religious Participation						
Weekly or more	0.83	1.50+	1.61*	0.91	1.50+	1.60+
	(0.24)	(0.33)	(0.39)	(0.27)	(0.32)	(0.39)
Monthly	1.04	1.13	1.07	1.04	1.14	1.10
	(0.27)	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.28)	(0.24)	(0.26)
Yearly	0.74	1.30	1.59*	0.78	1.30	1.59*
	(0.19)	(0.25)	(0.34)	(0.21)	(0.25)	(0.34)
Never	-	-	-	-	-	-

(Table continued on following page)

	(6) Full Model without Employment Experience			(7) Full Model with Employment Experience		
Human Capital	0	2	3+	0	2	3+
Resp. Education						
Less than HS	2.29**	1.08	1.41	1.83*	1.11	1.48+
	(0.63)	(0.20)	(0.30)	(0.52)	(0.21)	(0.32)
HS diploma or GED	1.56+	1.02	1.21	1.62+	1.02	1.19
	(0.42)	(0.17)	(0.24)	(0.44)	(0.17)	(0.23)
More than HS						
Maternal Education						
Less than HS	0.58+	0.67+	0.56*	0.52*	0.68+	0.57*
	(0.18)	(0.15)	(0.13)	(0.17)	(0.15)	(0.14)
HS diploma or GED	0.57*	0.67*	0.48**	0.57+	0.68*	0.49**
	(0.16)	(0.12)	(0.10)	(0.16)	(0.12)	(0.10)
Don't know	0.54	0.58+	0.44*	0.52	0.59+	0.46*
	(0.21)	(0.17)	(0.14)	(0.22)	(0.18)	(0.15)
More than HS	-	-	-	-	-	-
Paternal Education						
Less than HS	1.98+	0.93	1.36	1.85+	0.94	1.36
	(0.69)	(0.23)	(0.37)	(0.67)	(0.23)	(0.37)
HS diploma or GED	1.24	1.30	1.03	1.13	1.31	1.04
	(0.40)	(0.26)	(0.24)	(0.38)	(0.26)	(0.24)
Don't know	1.45	1.08	1.84*	1.16	1.11	1.90**
	(0.49)	(0.24)	(0.45)	(0.41)	(0.25)	(0.47)
More than HS	-	-	-	-	-	-
Health problem/ Ch. Dis.	1.73*	1.09	1.21	1.29	1.12	1.27
	(0.46)	(0.24)	(0.29)	(0.36)	(0.25)	(0.31)
2 par. House	1.26	0.91	1.02	1.21	0.92	1.04
	(0.25)	(0.13)	(0.17)	(0.24)	(0.13)	(0.17)
Traditional values	1.83**	0.99	0.91	1.64**	1.00	0.93
	(0.29)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.27)	(0.12)	(0.13)
Immigrant	0.88	0.58+	0.38**	0.98	0.58+	0.37**
	(0.27)	(0.16)	(0.14)	(0.31)	(0.16)	(0.14)
Previously employed				0.24**	1.38	1.75*
				(0.05)	(0.30)	(0.44)
Pseudo R-squared		0.078			0.095	

N = 1,598
Tests are significant at the following levels: + p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01.
Standard errors are in parentheses.

Table 10. Binomial Regression Model of Current Employment as a Function of Supports

Control Variables	**Hispanics** (N = 382)	**Blacks** (N = 975)	**Whites** (N = 241)
Age			
< 20 yrs	0.59	1.09	1.10
	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.44)
> 30 yrs	1.00	0.82	0.84
	(0.35)	(0.17)	(0.37)
20 to 29 years	-	-	-
Add. todd. (BA)	1.33	0.99	1.93+
	(0.31)	(0.14)	(0.73)
Add. todd. (Y1)	0.65	0.91	1.22
	(0.18)	(0.15)	(0.55)
Add. todd. (Y3)	0.58+	0.90	0.58
	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.28)
Family Characteristics			
HH Composition			
Alone	1.30	1.12	1.12
	(0.52)	(0.21)	(0.51)
With others	0.95	0.67*	1.05
	(0.31)	(0.13)	(0.48)
Cohabiting	-	-	-
Relative care use	2.13*	1.59**	1.20
	(0.64)	(0.28)	(0.44)
Emergency supports	1.23	1.10	1.38
	(0.33)	(0.17)	(0.52)
Father Supports			
Financial Support			
No support	1.88	0.90	0.83
	(0.73)	(0.19)	(0.36)
Informal support	1.54	1.25	0.67
	(0.58)	(0.24)	(0.29)
Formal support	-	-	-
Fair/Poor/ No relationship	2.28**	1.18	1.13
	(0.69)	(0.20)	(0.43)
Community Supports			
Rent assistance	0.77	0.62**	0.54
	(0.23)	(0.10)	(0.29)
Employment assistance	0.46+	0.72	0.56
	(0.21)	(0.15)	(0.32)
Childcare referral	3.04*	1.26	1.58
	(1.48)	(0.25)	(0.82)
Child supp. Collection	0.75	1.03	0.54
	(0.32)	(0.22)	(0.24)
Attends religious services	1.28	1.13	1.42
	(0.41)	(0.23)	(0.49)

(Table continued on following page)

Table 10. Binomial Regression Model of Current Employment as a Function of Supports (continued)

Human Capital	**Hispanics**	**Blacks**	**Whites**
Resp. Education			
Less than HS	0.48*	0.25**	0.56
	(0.17)	(0.05)	(0.25)
HS diploma or GED	0.87	0.77	0.75
	(0.32)	(0.15)	(0.30)
More than HS	-	-	-
Mat. Ed: High School +	1.05	1.15	1.68
	(0.31)	(0.20)	(0.64)
Pat. Ed: High School +	1.60	1.27	1.04
	(0.47)	(0.20)	(0.37)
Health problem/ Ch. Dis.	0.28**	0.35**	0.57
	(0.12)	(0.09)	(0.26)
2 par. house	0.77	1.04	0.75
	(0.20)	(0.18)	(0.23)
Traditional values	0.52**┼	0.84	1.25
	(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.36)
Pseudo R-squared	0.188	0.129	0.079

Tests are significant at the following levels: + p< .10, * p< .05, ** p<.01.
Standard errors in are in parentheses.
┼ Z-test of Coefficients test significant at the p<.10 level (ref. category=Whites)

Table 11. Binomial Regression Model of Employment in Last Year as a Function of Supports

Controls	Hispanics (N = 371)	Blacks (N = 935)	Whites (N = 237)
Age			
< 20 yrs	0.65	0.79	0.94
	(0.21)	(0.15)	(0.36)
> 30 yrs	1.24	1.16	1.37
	(0.41)	(0.23)	(0.61)
20 to 29 years	-	-	-
Add. todd. (BA)	0.96┼	1.01┼	2.45*
	(0.22)	(0.14)	(0.91)
Add. todd. (Y1)	0.85	0.89	0.95
	(0.24)	(0.15)	(0.42)
Add. todd. (Y3)	0.89	1.10	0.93
	(0.25)	(0.19)	(0.44)
Family Supports			
HH Composition			
Alone	0.97	1.05	1.72
	(0.36)	(0.19)	(0.78)
With others	1.22	0.80	1.65
	(0.38)	(0.15)	(0.72)
Cohabiting	-	-	-
Relative care use	2.29**	1.18	0.96
	(0.61)	(0.19)	(0.34)
Emergency supports	1.47	1.39*	0.72
	(0.38)	(0.22)	(0.27)
Father Supports			
Financial Support			
No support	1.25	0.90	1.16
	(0.45)	(0.18)	(0.47)
Informal support	1.42	0.96	0.89
	(0.50)	(0.18)	(0.37)
Formal support	-	-	-
Fair/Poor/ No relationship	1.75+	1.02	0.74
	(0.50)	(0.16)	(0.27)
Community Supports			
Rent assistance	0.57+	0.83	0.29*
	(0.17)	(0.14)	(0.17)
Employment assistance	0.82	0.78	0.35+
	(0.35)	(0.16)	(0.22)
Childcare referral	0.98	1.20	1.24
	(0.40)	(0.23)	(0.63)
Child supp. Collection	1.25	0.77	1.55
	(0.52)	(0.16)	(0.71)
Attends religious services	1.19	1.20	0.82
	(0.37)	(0.24)	(0.29)

(Table continued on following page)

Table 11. Binomial Regression Model of Employment in Last Year as a Function of Supports (continued)

Human Capital	**Hispanics**	**Blacks**	**Whites**
Resp. Education			
Less than HS	0.73	0.40**	0.74
	(0.24)	(0.08)	(0.32)
HS diploma or GED	1.17	0.94	1.26
	(0.37)	(0.16)	(0.48)
More than HS	-	-	-
Mat. Ed: High School +	0.94	1.44*	1.51
	(0.26)	(0.25)	(0.58)
Pat. Ed: High School +	1.21	1.30+	1.05
	(0.33)	(0.20)	(0.37)
Health problem/ Ch. Dis.	0.36*	0.44**	0.40+
	(0.16)	(0.11)	(0.20)
2 par. house	0.90	0.87	1.22
	(0.22)	(0.14)	(0.37)
Traditional values	0.75	0.89	0.91
	(0.16)	(0.12)	(0.25)
Pseudo R-squared	0.108	0.083	0.108

Tests are significant at the following levels: + p< .10, * p< .05, ** p<.01.
Standard errors in are in parentheses.
┼ Z-test of Coefficients test significant at the p<.10 level (ref. category=Whites)

Table 12: Test of Improved Fit of Model (Employment at Year 3)

	Hispanic		Black		White	
	LR Chi2	p	LR Chi2	P	LR Chi2	p
Family Characteristics	22.56	.000	21.24	.000	2.39	.665
Father Characteristics	10.44	.015	5.82	.121	2.18	.537
Community Characteristics	17.25	.004	31.46	.000	10.07	.073
Human Capital Characteristics	54.19	.000	122.79	.000	11.48	.176

Table 13: Test of Improved Fit of Model (Employment in the Past Year)

	Hispanic		Black		White	
	LR Chi2	p	LR Chi2	p	LR Chi2	p
Family Characteristics	25.96	.000	17.29	.002	2.09	.720
Father Characteristics	6.01	.111	1.74	.627	1.01	.799
Community Characteristics	9.54	.0892	18.42	.003	13.91	.016
Human Capital Characteristics	23.92	.002	79.08	.000	16.08	.041

Table 14. Summary of Significant Predictors of Full-time Employment Among Unmarried Mothers

Independent variables		Full-time compared to Not Employed	Full-time compared to Part-time
Race/Ethnicity and Control variables (Model 1)	Hispanic		
	Black (Non-Hispanic)		
	Older maternal age		
	Additional toddlers in household		
Family variables (Model 2)	Living arrangement (other than cohabiting)	-	-
	Relative care	+	
	Emerg. Financial help		+
	Emerg. Childcare help		+
	Emerg. Place to live		
Father variables (Model 3)	Financial support		
	Fair/Poor relationship	+	+
Community variables (Model 4)	Rent assistance	-	-
	Employment assistance	-	
	Referral for childcare	+	
	Child support enforcement assistance		
	Religious participation		
Human Capital variables (Model 5)	Higher education	+	
	Higher mat. education		
	Higher pat. education	+	
	Both parents in HH		
	Health problems or child with a disability	-	-
	Traditional values	-	
	Immigrant		
R2		0.10	

Note: + signs indicate positive relationships (variable is positively related to employment) and – signs indicate negative relationships (variable is negatively related to employment). Shaded blocks indicate that the addition of the blocked group of variables improved the model fit using log likelihood ratio test ($p < .10$).

Table 15. Summary of Significant Predictors of Year-Round Employment Among Unmarried Mothers

Independent variables		Year-round compared to None	Year-round compared to Part-Year
Race/Ethnicity and Control variables (Model 1)	Hispanic		
	Black (Non-Hispanic)		
	Older maternal age		+
	Additional toddlers in household		+
Family variables (Model 2)	Living arrangement (other than cohabiting)		-
	Relative care	+	+
	Emerg. Financial help		+
	Emerg. Childcare help	+	
	Emerg. Place to live		
Father variables (Model 3)	Financial support		
	Fair/Poor relationship	+	
Community variables (Model 4)	Rent assistance	-	-
	Employment assistance		-
	Referral for childcare		+
	Child support enforcement assistance		
	Religious participation	+	+
Human Capital variables (Model 5)	Higher education	+	+
	Higher mat. education		
	Higher pat. education		
	Both parents in HH		
	Health problems or child with a disability	-	-
	Traditional values	-	
	Immigrant		
R2		0.10	

Note: + signs indicate positive relationships (variable is positively related to continuous employment) and – signs indicate negative relationships (variable is negatively related to continuous employment). Shaded blocks indicate that the addition of the blocked group of variables improved the model fit using log likelihood ratio test ($p < .10$).

Table 16. Summary of Significant Predictors of 1 Job Since the Child's Birth Among Unmarried Mothers

Independent variables		One Job compared to No Jobs	One Job compared to Multiple Jobs
Race/Ethnicity and Control variables (Model 1)	Hispanic		
	Black (Non-Hispanic)		
	Older maternal age		+
	Additional toddlers in household		-
Family variables (Model 2)	Living arrangement (other than cohabiting)		
	Relative care	+	-
	Emerg. Financial help	+	
	Emerg. Childcare help		
	Emerg. Place to live		
Father variables (Model 3)	Financial support		
	Fair/Poor relationship	+	
Community variables (Model 4)	Rent assistance		
	Employment assistance		-
	Referral for childcare		
	Child support enforcement assistance		
	Religious participation		-
Human Capital variables (Model 5)	Higher education	+	
	Higher mat. education	-	-
	Higher pat. education	+	
	Both parents in HH		
	Health problems or child with a disability	-	
	Traditional values	-	
	Immigrant		+
R2		0.078	

Note: + signs indicate positive relationships (variable is positively related to one job) and – signs indicate negative relationships (variable is negatively related to one job). Shaded blocks indicate that the addition of the blocked group of variables improved the model fit using log likelihood ratio test ($p < .10$).

Table 17. Summary of Significant Predictors by Race/Ethnicity:
Currently Employed Compared to Not Employed

Independent variables		Hispanic	Black	White
Control variables (Model 1)	Older maternal age			
	Additional toddlers in household	-		+
Family variables (Model 2)	Living arrangement (relative to cohabiting)			
	Alone			
	With others		-	
	Relative care	+	+	
	Emerg. Supports			
Father variables (Model 3)	Financial support			
	Fair/Poor relationship	+		
Community variables (Model 4)	Rent assistance		-	
	Employment assistance	-		-
	Referral for childcare	+		
	Child support enforcement assistance			
	Religious participation			
Human Capital variables (Model 5)	Higher education	+	+	
	Higher Mat. education			
	Higher Pat. education			
	Both parents in HH			
	Health problems or child with a disability	-	-	
	Traditional values	-		
R2		.188	.129	.079

Note: + signs indicate positive relationships (variable is positively related to employment) and – signs indicate negative relationships (variable is negatively related to employment). Shaded blocks indicate that the addition of the blocked group of variables improved the model fit using log likelihood ratio test ($p < .10$).

Table 18. Summary of Significant Predictors by Race/Ethnicity:
Employed in Past Year Compared to Continuously Not Employed

Independent variables		Hispanic	Black	White
Control variables (Model 1)	Older maternal age			
	Additional toddlers in household			+
Family variables (Model 2)	Living arrangement (relative to cohabiting)			
	Alone			
	With others			
	Relative care	+		
	Emerg. Supports		+	
Father variables (Model 3)	Financial support			
	Fair/Poor relationship	+		
Community variables (Model 4)	Rent assistance	-		-
	Employment assistance			-
	Referral for childcare			
	Child support enforcement assistance			
	Religious participation			
Human Capital variables (Model 5)	Higher education		+	
	Higher Mat. education		+	
	Higher Pat. education		+	
	Both parents in HH			
	Health problems or child with a disability	-	-	-
	Traditional values			
R2		.108	.083	.108

Note: + signs indicate positive relationships (variable is positively related to continuous employment) and – signs indicate negative relationships (variable is negatively related to employment). Shaded blocks indicate that the addition of the blocked group of variables improved the model fit using log likelihood ratio test ($p < .10$).

Appendix A: Comparative Distribution of Valid and Missing Cases

	Valid	Missing	Total
Dependent Variables	**N = 1,598**	**N~= 263**	**N~=1,861**
Race/Ethnicity+			
Hispanic	23.9	22.1	23.6
Black	61.0	67.3	61.9
White	15.1	10.7	14.5
Hours Employed (Y3)**			
Employed full-time	47.0	40.0	46.0
Employed part-time	14.5	11.4	14.1
Not employed	38.5	48.6	39.9
Weeks Employed (Y3)**			
All year (52 weeks)	48.0	41.9	47.1
26 to 51 weeks	17.9	14.9	17.5
1 to 24 weeks	16.0	14.5	15.8
Not employed	18.2	28.6	19.6
Number of Jobs (Y3)			
3 or more jobs	20.2	16.9	19.8
2 jobs	27.4	29.5	27.7
1 job	40.2	37.0	39.7
Not employed	12.1	16.5	12.8
Control Variables			
Respondent Age+			
Under 20 years	20.9	16.0	20.2
20 years to 29 years	61.9	62.7	62.0
30 years or more	17.2	21.3	17.8
Number of Toddlers in the Household (BA)			
1	61.0	62.4	61.2
2	29.9	28.1	20.5
3 or more	9.1	9.5	7.8
Number of Toddlers in the Household (Y1)			
1	65.8	70.1	66.2
2	28.2	23.4	27.7
3 or more	6.1	6.5	6.1
Number of Toddlers in the Household (Y3)			
1	80.1	84.0	80.7
2	17.5	14.5	17.0
3 or more	2.4	1.5	2.3
Family Supports			
Household composition (Y1)			
Living alone	28.5	33.6	29.0
Cohabiting	42.9	38.3	42.5
Living w/ a sing.parent	13.1	13.4	13.1
Living w/ both parents	5.9	4.0	5.8
Living w/ other adults	9.5	10.7	9.6

(Table continued on following page)

Appendix A: Comparative Distribution of Valid and Missing Cases (continued)

	Valid	Missing	Total
Child care by relative**			
Yes	26.2	18.8	25.5
No	73.8	81.2	74.5
Access to Emergency Financial Help ($200)**			
Yes	77.7	62.5	76.4
No	22.3	37.5	23.6
Access to Childcare Help**			
Yes	83.9	68.9	82.6
No	16.2	31.1	17.4
Access to Place to Live**			
Yes	81.5	67.6	80.4
No	18.5	32.4	19.6
Child's Father Supports			
Type of Father Support**			
Formal support	25.3	16.3	24.2
Informal support	45.7	41.0	45.1
No support	29.0	42.7	30.7
Maternal Relationship with Child's Father			
Very good/ Excellent	32.7	31.3	32.5
Good	20.6	16.9	20.1
Fair/ Poor	46.7	51.8	47.4
Community Supports			
Rent Assistance (Y1)+			
Yes	25.0	32.6	25.6
No	75.0	67.4	74.4
Assistance from employment office (Y1)			
Yes	11.5	13.3	11.7
No	88.5	86.8	88.3
Assistance from childcare referral agency (Y1)			
Yes	14.8	14.8	14.8
No	85.2	85.2	85.2
Assistance to collect child support (Y1)			
Yes	14.3	15.5	14.4
No	85.7	84.5	85.6

(Table continued on following page)

Appendix A: Comparative Distribution of Valid and Missing Cases (continued)

	Valid	Missing	Total
Frequency of religious attendance (Y1)			
Once a week or more	26.7	23.7	26.5
A couple of times a month	20.2	22.4	20.4
A couple of times a year or less	35.1	33.6	35.0
Never	18.0	20.4	18.2
Human Capital			
Respondent's education+			
Less than HS degree	36.6	44.1	37.7
HS degree or GED	35.0	32.2	34.6
Greater than HS degree	28.4	23.8	27.7
Grandmother's edu**			
Less than HS degree	27.7	27.3	27.6
HS degree or GED	43.5	34.4	42.7
Greater than HS degree	20.5	22.1	20.7
Don't know	8.3	16.2	9.0
Grandfather's edu**			
Less than HS degree	18.5	12.3	17.9
HS degree or GED	36.2	30.5	35.7
Greater than HS degree	15.5	10.4	15.0
Don't know	29.9	46.8	31.3
Respondent health problem limiting work or Child disability (Y1)			
Yes	10.3	14.5	10.7
No	89.7	85.5	89.3
Raised with Both Parents (age 15)			
Yes	35.5	34.1	35.3
No	64.5	65.9	64.7
Respondent's nativity			
Born in the US	90.7	89.2	90.5
Not born in the US	9.3	10.8	9.5
Mean of Values			
0 = liberal 3 = traditional	0.99	1.07	1.01
Employed at Y1**			
Yes	57.1	41.5	55.7
No	42.9	58.6	44.3
Employment Over Time**			
Not employed	11.8	19.7	12.5
Employed at one time	34.7	40.1	35.1
Employed at both times	53.6	40.1	52.4

Note: Due to rounding, columns may not add to 100 percent.
Tests are significant at the following levels: + $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Appendix B: Descriptive and Multivariate Analyses of Married Mothers

This dissertation examines unmarried mothers. For comparative purposes, the Appendix examines social support and employment among married mothers who tend to be more advantaged than their single counterparts. In 2003, 28 percent of children in unmarried families lived in poverty compared to 5.4 percent of children in married families (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Mills, 2004). This difference is striking when considering that poverty is a dominant social factor associated with negative outcomes for parents and their children (Schor et al., 2003). Furthermore, married parents tend to have more social support, including economic support from kin. In addition to this outside support, marriage often makes parenting easier because mothers are not trying to raise their children by themselves on scarce resources (Schor et al., 2003; Jayakody et al., 1993).

The resources of marriage may also affect the employment rates of Hispanic, Black, and White mothers differently because employment may no longer be a necessity. In an analysis of CPS data from 1978-1998, Cohen and Bianchi (1999) found that access to other income, primarily spouses' earnings for married mothers, had a negative relationship to the number of hours spent in paid work. In this study, after considering social support, there were no racial/ethnic differences in employment for unmarried mothers, but this may be different for married mothers, a more advantaged group, often with more options with regard to employment decisions.

Thus, this appendix examines how social support influences employment patterns for married Hispanic, Black, and White mothers compared to unmarried mothers examined in the main part of the dissertation. Mothers who were unmarried when they gave birth and later married were compared to mothers who were married at Baseline and remained married through Year 3. In the first section, percentage distributions and binomial comparisons for key variables of interest for each group of mothers are summarized with regard to both race/ethnicity and employment patterns. Differences between unmarried and mothers are highlighted. The second section examines the predictors of employment among married mothers through multinomial regressions, similar to the models for unmarried mothers in Chapter 7.

Descriptive and Bivariate Analyses for Mothers Married Before Giving Birth

Employment

Fewer mothers who were married at the time of giving birth were employed at Year 3 relative to unmarried mothers. Thirty-six percent of married mothers were employed full-time, 19 percent were employed part-time, and 45 percent were unemployed (see Tables 19 and 20). Similarly, 39 percent were employed all weeks in the previous year, 29 percent were employed part of the year, and 33 percent of mothers were unemployed continuously throughout the previous year. In terms of the number of jobs since giving birth, the majority of married mothers had one job (54%), approximately one-fifth had two or more jobs, and approximately one-fourth were unemployed since the child's birth.

The employment patterns differed significantly for married Hispanic, Black, and White mothers. Significantly higher proportions of Black mothers worked full-time in

comparison to both Hispanic and White mothers (59% versus 34% and 27% respectively). Alternatively, significantly lower proportions of Hispanic and Black mothers worked part-time compared to White mothers (11% and 9% versus 27%). Fifty-five percent of Hispanics were unemployed, significantly more than Whites (46%). Blacks were the least likely to be unemployed with less than one-third not currently employed at Year 3.

The high employment of Blacks is also noticeable when examining the number of weeks employed in the past year. The majority of Black married mothers were employed all year (54%), significantly more than the 35 percent of Whites. Slightly less than one-third of Hispanics were employed all year, not significantly different from Whites. Although similar levels of Whites and Hispanics also worked part of the year, significantly fewer Black mothers worked 26 to 52 weeks compared to White mothers (20% versus 13%). A full 43 percent of Hispanics were not employed at all in the past year compared to 35 percent of Whites and only 17 percent of Blacks. Likewise, more than one-third of Hispanics were unemployed since the child's birth compared to 24 percent of Whites and only 13 percent of Blacks. Over 80 percent of Blacks held either one or two jobs since giving birth compared to only 70 percent of Whites and 60 percent of Hispanics.

Family Supports

Mothers who were married at the time of the child's birth had access to emergency supports at higher levels than unmarried mothers. Although fewer married mothers used relative care at Year 1 (18%), approximately 90 percent of the married sample had access to financial support, emergency child care, and a place to live at both

Baseline and Year 1. Similar to the availability of supports among unmarried mothers, significantly lower proportions of Hispanic and Black mothers had access to supports in comparison to White mothers. A full 95 percent of White mothers had access to a place to live, for example, compared to 81 percent of Hispanics and 85 percent of Blacks.

Although the use of relative care correlated with employment among married mothers, as it did with unmarried mothers, the access to various social supports did not. Unlike the significant differences found among unmarried mothers, access to $200, emergency child care, and a place to live were not significantly related to the number of hours employed or the number of jobs held since the child's birth for mothers who were married at the time of the child's birth. A greater proportion of married mothers with access to a place to live worked more weeks than mothers without this availability. Approximately 60 percent of mothers with an emergency place to live worked 25 or more weeks in the past year compared to only 47 percent of mothers without this support.

Father Support

Over four-fifths of married mothers reported having a very good or excellent relationship with the child's father. Although there were no differences by race/ethnicity for unmarried mothers, among married mothers, only 77 percent of Hispanics and 75 percent of Blacks reported an excellent of very good relationship with the child's father compared to 88 percent of White mothers.

Similar to the pattern with unmarried mothers, married mothers with a fair or poor relationship with the baby's father were somewhat more likely to be working full-time. Fifty-three percent of mothers with a fair or poor relationship worked 35 or more hours a week compared to only 45 percent of mothers in a good relationship and 34 percent of

mothers in an excellent or very good relationship. The strength of the relationship with the child's father was not significantly related to the number of weeks worked in the past year or the number of jobs since the child's birth.

Community Supports

The lower levels of poverty among married mothers may explain why they used community resources less than unmarried mothers. Only 2 percent of married mothers received assistance from an employment office, 6 percent received help from a child care referral agency, and 17 percent received rent assistance or public housing. Again following the pattern among unmarried mothers, Black mothers were more likely than Whites to use these resources with Hispanics falling between the two groups. Twenty-three percent of Blacks received rent assistance or public housing, followed by 18 percent of Hispanics, and 5 percent of Whites. Somewhat more married mothers participated in religious services compared to unmarried mothers (92% versus 82%). The pattern of higher religious participation among unmarried Hispanic and Black mothers also was found among married mothers. Over 50 percent of both Hispanics and Blacks attended religious services weekly or more compared to 37 percent of Whites.

Assistance from an employment office, the receipt of a child care referral, and assistance for rent were not significantly related to the number of hours employed for mothers married before giving birth. However, a significantly smaller proportion of rent recipients worked all weeks (27% versus 40%) and one job since the child's birth (34% versus 55%). A significantly larger proportion of child care referral recipients worked since the child's birth (79% versus 66%). Religious participation was not related to employment outcomes.

Human Capital

In terms of human capital, married mothers are a more advantaged group than unmarried mothers with higher levels of education and fewer health problems. In addition to having parents with higher educations, nearly two-thirds of married mothers had education beyond high school compared to only 28 percent of unmarried mothers. About half as many married mothers as unmarried mothers had health limitations at Year 1 (6% versus 10 %). Twice as many married mothers as unmarried mothers, however, were immigrants (20% versus 9%). Although married mothers were better educated and were less likely to have health limitations, they were more likely to be unemployed since giving birth. Seventeen percent of married mothers were unemployed both the year before giving birth and at Year 1 in comparison to 12 percent of unmarried mothers.

With the higher levels of human capital among married mothers, as with unmarried mothers, racial/ethnic differences persisted. Forty-three percent of Hispanic mothers, for example, had less than a high school education compared to only 9 percent of Blacks and 4 percent of Whites. Three-fourths of White mothers lived with both of their parents at age 15 compared to 67 percent of Hispanics and 46 percent of Blacks. As with unmarried mothers, Hispanics had the most traditional values (mean = 1.39) followed by Blacks (mean = 1.11) and Whites (mean = 0.96).

Levels of human capital were associated with employment in the anticipated direction for mothers who were married when they gave birth. Fifty-five percent of married mothers who worked the year before giving birth and at Year 1 worked full-time at Year 3 compared to only 7 percent of mothers who worked full-time at Year 3 without working during the two previous periods. Forty-one percent of mothers with more than a

high school diploma worked full-time compared to only 18 percent of mothers with less than a high school diploma. Likewise, 45 percent of mothers with more than a high school diploma were employed all year compared to 17 percent of mothers without a high school diploma. Forty-six percent of mothers without a high school diploma did not work since the child's birth compared to only 26 percent of high school graduates and 18 percent of mothers with more than a high school degree. Immigrants were also less likely to work. Nearly 60 percent of immigrants were unemployed at Year 3 compared to 41 percent that were US-born. Only 28 percent of immigrants were employed all weeks in the past year compared to 42 percent of US-born parents. Similarly, only 16 percent of immigrants worked 2 or more jobs since the baby's birth compared to 24 percent of US-born married mothers.

Descriptive and Bivariate Analyses for Mothers Married After Giving Birth

Employment

Mothers married after giving birth were similar to mothers married before giving birth with regard to the number of hours and number of weeks employed, although a lower proportion of mothers who married later did not work at all in the previous year (22% versus 33%) (see Tables 21 and 22). Mothers who married later also had significantly more jobs than mothers married at baseline. Only 20 percent of mothers married before giving birth had 2 or more jobs since the baby's birth compared to 42 percent of mothers who married later.

Similar to mothers married before giving birth, mothers married after giving birth also had racial/ethnic differences in employment. Over half of Black mothers were employed 35 or more hours a week compared with only 35 percent of Hispanics and 30

percent of Whites. In a similar pattern, over half of Black mothers worked 2 or more jobs since giving birth compared to 32 percent of Hispanic mothers and 42 percent of White mothers.

Family Supports

When examining the use and availability of family supports, mothers who married after giving birth fall between mothers continuously unmarried and those married before giving birth. Between 80 to 85 percent of the mothers who married after giving birth had access to social supports both at the time of giving birth and at Year 1. In terms of racial/ethnic differences in access to support, among mothers married after giving birth, Hispanics and Whites looked similar with lower percentages of Black mothers having had access to support. Approximately 88 percent of Hispanics and Whites, for example, had access to child care support, significantly more than the 80 percent of Blacks.

The influence of family characteristics on mothers who married after giving birth was similar to those mothers who married before the child's birth. Among mothers who later married, 46 percent of mothers who used relative care at Year 1 were employed full-time at Year 3 compared to 39 percent of mothers who did not use relative care. Similarly, half of mothers who used relative care were employed all year compared to 36 percent of mothers who did not use relative care. Sixteen percent of mothers not using relative care did not work since giving birth compared to 5 percent of mothers who used relative care. Although access to all emergency supports trended towards greater employment, access to childcare was the only significant emergency support significantly associated with number of hours employed. Fifty-seven percent of married mothers without this access were unemployed compared to 44 percent of mothers with this access.

Access to financial help was the only significant predictor of weeks employed. Forty-eight percent of mothers without access to $200 worked only part of the year compared to only 37 percent of mothers who had this support. Access to emergency supports was not related to the number of jobs held since the child's birth for mothers who married after giving birth.

Father Supports

The influence of mothers' relationships with their children's fathers on employment for mothers married after the child's birth was not as strong as for mothers who married before giving birth and stronger than for continuously unmarried mothers. Approximately 62 percent of mothers who later married reported an excellent or very good relationship. Similar to the pattern for mothers married before giving birth, lower proportions of Hispanic and Black mothers, 63 and 57 percent, reported very good or excellent relationships relative to 69 percent of White mothers.

The relationship with the child's father was not significantly related to the number of hours employed at Year 3, the number of weeks employed during the previous year, or the number of jobs held since the child's birth. Although almost 40 percent of mothers with a fair or poor relationship with the child's father had two jobs since the child's birth compared to 24 percent of mothers in the other groups and the relationship approached significance, the relationship was not statistically significant.

Community Supports

Approximately 10 percent of mothers who married after giving birth received assistance from employment offices and child care referrals, a similar level as with unmarried mothers. Seventeen percent received rent assistance or public housing which

mirrors the level among mothers who married before giving birth. Black and Hispanic mothers used these resources significantly more than White mothers. The religious participation of mothers married after giving birth fell between the continuously unmarried and married groups with more frequent participation, again, among Black and Hispanic mothers.

Although smaller percentages of mothers who married after the child's birth and who received various community supports were currently employed, none of these relationships reached statistical significance for mothers who married after giving their child's birth. In fact, a significantly greater proportion of mothers who received assistance from an employment office did not work any weeks during the previous year (23% versus 14%). In addition, 60 percent of mothers who received employment assistance had two or more jobs after the child's birth compared to only 40 percent of mother not receiving this assistance. Help from a child care referral agency increased weeks employed with 92 percent of these recipients working some weeks during the previous year compared with 76 percent of mothers who did not receive this assistance. A full 28 percent of mothers who received this assistance had three or more jobs since the child's birth compared to 14 percent of mothers who did not get this assistance. Religious participation was not related to the number of hours, the number of weeks employed during the previous year, nor the number of jobs worked since the child's birth.

Human Capital

Mothers who married after giving birth were more similar to continuously unmarried mothers than to mothers married before giving birth. Mothers who married later were evenly distributed among having less than a high school degree, a high school

degree, and more than a high school degree. Approximately 10 percent of mothers were unemployed both the year before giving birth and at Year 1, similar to unmarried mothers. Nine percent of mothers had maternal or child health problems, again similar to the level among continuously unmarried mothers. Nineteen percent of mothers who married after giving birth were immigrants, about the proportion as with mothers who married before giving birth. In terms of values, mothers who married after giving birth fall between the other two groups.

The racial/ethnic differences in human capital among continuously unmarried and continuously married mothers were also present for mothers who married after giving birth. Nearly half of Hispanic mothers had less than a high school diploma compared to 23 percent of both Blacks and Whites. The differing levelsof labor force participation the year before and after giving birth were sharpest among mothers who married after the birth. Sixty-five percent of Black mothers worked both the year before birth and at Year 1 compared to 41 percent of Hispanics and 47 percent of Whites.

Human capital was also strongly associated with employment outcomes among mothers who married after giving birth. Almost 60 percent of mothers who worked both the year before giving birth and at Year 1 worked full-time at Year 3 compared to only 10 percent of mothers who did not work at either time. Fifty-six percent of mothers working at the previous points worked all year compared to only 8 percent of mothers who were not in the labor force at these previous points. As with mothers married at birth, a high school diploma was strongly related to employment among mothers who married after birth. Approximately 48 percent of mothers with a high school diploma worked full-time at Year 3 compared with 26 percent of mothers with less than a high school diploma.

Forty-six percent of mothers with at least a high school diploma worked all year compared to 30 percent of mothers without a high school diploma. Mothers with only a high school diploma experienced the highest job turnover. Forty-three percent of these mothers had two or more jobs compared to approximately one-third of mothers with either more or less than a high school diploma. Similar to married mothers at birth, immigrant mothers who married after giving birth were less likely to work multiple jobs. Only 7 percent of immigrant mothers worked three or more jobs in comparison to 17 percent of US-born mothers.

Summary of Descriptive and Binomial Comparisons for Married Mothers

Employment

Employment was lower among married mothers than unmarried mothers regardless of whether the mother married before or after giving birth. Among married mothers, mothers who were married at the time of the child's birth worked less than mothers who married after. There were also racial/ethnic differences in employment among married mothers. Among both mothers married before and after giving birth, there was higher employment among Black mothers in terms of number of hours, number of weeks, and the number of jobs held than among White mothers. Although Hispanic and Whites had worked a similar number of hours and weeks, a greater proportion of Hispanic married mothers (regardless of time of marriage) were continuously unemployed since the child's birth.

Family Supports

Although fewer mothers who were married at the child's birth used relative care, these mothers had greater access to emergency supports than continuously unmarried

mothers. Roughly 90 percent of mothers who married before the child's birth had access to supports. Roughly 83 percent of mothers who married after the child's birth had access, falling between the two groups. Access to supports was higher among married mothers, but the racial/ethnic differences persisted. Black mothers had the least access to emergency supports followed by Hispanics, with Whites having the highest levels of access.

*Father Support*s

Over four-fifths of mothers married before giving birth reported very good or excellent relationships with their children's fathers, much higher than the one-third of continuously unmarried mothers and also higher than the 62 percent of mothers married after the child's birth. Although not found among continuously unmarried mothers, in both groups of married mothers, fewer Blacks and Hispanics reported excellent or very good relationships with their children's fathers than Whites. Although relationship strength was not related to employment among mothers married after their child's birth, as found with continuously unmarried mothers, a greater proportion of mothers married before the child's birth who had fair, poor, or no relationship worked full-time than those in a very good or excellent relationship.

Community Supports

Mothers married before giving birth used considerably less community supports than continuously unmarried mothers. Mothers married after the child's birth fell between the two groups. The racial/ethnic differences found among continuously unmarried mothers were also found among married mothers. Blacks and, to a somewhat lesser degree, Hispanics used community supports at higher levels than Whites. The

relationship between the receipt of community supports and employment for both groups of married mothers was similar to the relationship found among continuously unmarried mothers, yet to a lesser degree. Rent assistance, for example, was associated with working fewer weeks, while a childcare referral was related to higher employment.

Human Capital

Although a greater proportion of mothers who married before the child's birth had not worked since giving birth and a greater proportion were immigrant mothers, they had higher levels of education and better health than both continuously unmarried mothers and mothers who married after the child's birth. Unmarried mothers, regardless of whether they married after giving birth, were similar to each other. As with continuously unmarried mothers, Hispanic and Black mothers had lower levels of human capital than White mothers. Likewise, low levels of human capital were related to unemployment and job instability.

Multivariate Analyses: Married Before Giving Birth

The following section examines the multivariate analyses for married mothers. Due to sample size limitations, categories of the number of weeks employed in the past year and the number of jobs held since the child's birth were collapsed for married mothers. The analysis compares mothers who were continuously unemployed throughout the past year, and mothers who had worked some weeks to mothers who worked continuously. For the number of jobs held since the child's birth, mothers who were continuously unemployed and mothers who held two or more jobs since the child's birth are compared to mothers who held one job.

Basic Model (1)

Number of Hours Employed at Year 3. In the first model that considers maternal age and the number of toddlers in the household at Baseline, Year 1, and Year 3, Black mothers married before giving birth had 70 percent lower odds of being unemployed and 85 percent lower odds of being employed part-time in comparison to full-time work relative to Whites (see Table 23a, Model 1). Although there were no significant differences between Hispanics and Whites when comparing unemployment to full-time employment, Hispanics had 67 percent lower odds of being employed part-time. The number of toddlers in the household did not predict part-time versus full-time employment, but mothers with additional toddlers in the household were more likely to be unemployed compared to being employed full-time.

Number of Weeks Employed during Previous Year. Race/ethnicity was significantly related to the number of weeks employed among mothers married at the time of birth and operated in different directions for Hispanics and Blacks. Hispanic mothers had 48 percent more likely to be unemployed all year compared to employed all year relative to Whites (see Table 24a, Model 1). Alternatively, Black mothers had 69 percent lower odds of working no weeks compared to working all year, relative to Whites. Younger mothers and mothers with additional toddlers in the household were more likely to work fewer weeks than all year.

Number of Jobs Employed Since Child's Birth. The likelihood of working after giving birth operated differently for Hispanic and Black mothers married before giving birth relative to White mothers married before giving birth. Hispanic mothers had 71 percent increased odds of not working since giving birth compared to working one job

relative to Whites (see Table 25, Model 1). Blacks, alternatively, had 54 percent decreased odds of not working. Mothers over age 30 were less likely to work 2 jobs in comparison to one job. Having additional toddlers at Year 1 increased the odds of not working since giving birth.

Family Supports Model (2)

Number of Hours Employed at Year 3. For mothers married before giving birth, the access to relative care and emergency supports did not explain Hispanic and Black increased odds of employment compared to Whites. Black mothers were still 71 percent less likely to be unemployed and 86 percent less likely to work part-time compared to working full-time relative to White mothers (see Table 23a, Model 2). Also similar to the basic model, Hispanics had 70 percent lower odds of working part-time. The presence of additional toddlers in the household continued to increase the odds of unemployment relative to full-time work. Mothers who used relative care had 73 percent lower odds of being unemployed compared to working full-time.

Number of Weeks Employed During Previous Year. With the consideration of family supports, Hispanic mothers continued to have increased odds of continuous unemployment (OR = 1.56) compared to continuous employment (see Table 24a, Model 2). In fact, the odds increased indicating that family supports increase the Hispanic-White difference in the number of weeks employed in the past year. For Black mothers, the odds of unemployment remained very similar after the consideration of access to supports. Black mothers had 69 percent lower odds of not working at all in the previous year in comparison to working all year relative to White mothers. Similar to the influence of relative care on hours employed, mothers who used relative care at Year 1

had lower odds of working no weeks and working some weeks compared to working all year.

Number of Jobs Employed Since Child's Birth. The introduction of family supports only slightly strengthened the relationship between race/ethnicity and the number of jobs since giving birth. Hispanic mothers had 64 percent increased likelihood of not working in comparison to having one job since birth relative to White mothers (see Table 25a, Model 2). Black mothers had 58 percent decreased odds of not working compared to working one job. Use of relative care at Year 1 decreased the odds of continuous unemployment by 85 percent.

Father Supports Model (3)

Number of Hours Employed at Year 3. The strength of the relationship with the child's father at Year 3 was not a significant predictor of the number of hours employed for mothers married before giving birth. The odds ratios of employment for Hispanic, Black, and White mothers remained very similar to the control model (see Table 23a, Model 3).

Number of Weeks Employed During Previous Year. Similar to the model examining the number of hours employed, the mother-father relationship did not significantly influence the number of weeks employed in the past year. Hispanic mothers had 49 percent greater odds of continuous unemployment compared to continuous employment relative to White mothers (see Table 24a, Model 3). Black mothers had 69 percent lower odds of continuous unemployment and 32 percent lower odds of working some weeks compared to continuous employment relative to White mothers.

Number of Jobs Employed Since Child's Birth. The number of jobs since giving birth was relatively unaffected after considering the strength of the relationship between the mother and the child's father. The relationship was not a significant predictor in the model. Hispanic mothers were still more likely to remain unemployed, and Black mothers were still less likely to remain unemployed after giving birth relative to White mothers (see Table 25a, Model 3).

Community Supports Model (4)

Number of Hours Employed at Year 3. Community supports did not influence the relationship of race/ethnicity to the number of hours employed for Hispanic, Black, and White mothers (see Table 23b, Model 4). Black mothers continued to have lower odds of unemployment and part-time employment compared to full-time employment relative to Whites. Hispanic mothers had 69 percent lower odds of working part-time compared to working full-time relative to Whites. Religious attendance was associated with lower levels of full-time employment among mothers married before giving birth. Mothers who attended religious services once a week or more were more than twice as likely to be both unemployed or employed part-time (OR = 2.12 and OR = 2.19, respectively) compared to full-time work relative to mothers who never attended services.

Number of Weeks Employed During Previous Year. After considering the influence of community characteristics, Hispanics were no longer more likely to work no weeks compared to Whites. Blacks, however, remain less likely to be continuously unemployed. Black mothers had 72 percent lower odds of not working and 36 percent lower odds of working some weeks compared to working all year relative to White mothers (see Table 24b, Model 4). The receipt of rent assistance or public housing and

frequent (weekly or more) or rare religious participation (yearly, but not monthly) increased the odds that mothers work only some weeks in the past year compared to all weeks. Mothers who rarely attended religious services, for example, were 2.5 times more likely to work some weeks in comparison to working all year relative to mothers who never attended services.

Number of Jobs Employed Since Child's Birth. Community characteristics were not strongly related to number of jobs since giving birth for mothers who were married at the time of giving birth. After their introduction into the model, Hispanic mothers had 58 percent higher odds for continuous unemployment compared to working one job after giving birth relative to White mothers (see Table 25b, Model 4). Black mothers had 60 percent decreased odds for continuous unemployment. The receipt of rent assistance or public housing was the only community factor that was significantly related to the number of jobs that a mother worked since giving birth. Mothers who received rent assistance were three times more likely to be continuously unemployed compared to working one job (OR = 3.04).

Human Capital Model (5)

Number of Hours Employed at Year 3. With the introduction of human capital characteristics, Black mothers had 79 percent lower odds of being unemployed and 85 percent lower odds of being employed part-time compared to being employed full-time relative to Whites (see Table 23b, Model 5). Hispanic mothers had 58 percent lower odds of being unemployed and 66 percent lower odds of being employed part-time relative to full-time work. Education and other human capital characteristics increased the likelihood of Black and Hispanic married mothers' employment relative to Whites.

Mothers without a high school degree and mothers with only a high school degrees had increased odds of unemployment compared to full-time employment (OR = 4.27 and OR = 2.22, respectively) relative to mothers with more than a high school education. Mothers with a high school education were also more than twice as likely to work part-time compared to full-time work. An unexpected finding was that respondents whose mothers did not receive a high school diploma had 68 percent lower odds of working part-time compared to full-time relative to respondents whose mothers had more than a high school degree. Mothers with more traditional values and immigrant mothers were more likely to be unemployed compared to being employed full-time.

Number of Weeks Employed During Previous Year. Human capital characteristics strongly influenced the relationship between race/ethnicity and the number of weeks employed in the previous year for mothers married before giving birth (see Table 24b, Model 5). Hispanic mothers had 50 percent decreased odds of continuous unemployment compared to working all year relative to Whites. Human capital characteristics strengthened the tendency for Black mothers to work more weeks. Black mothers had 80 percent lower odds for working no weeks and 46 percent lower odds for working some weeks compared to working all year relative to White mothers. The level of maternal education was a strong predictor of the number weeks employed. Having less than a high school degree or a high school degree only increased the odds of being continuously unemployed or working only some weeks compared to all year relative to having more than a high school degree. Respondents' parents' education levels influenced the number of weeks employed in opposite directions. Respondents whose mothers had less than a high school degree or a high school degree only had lower odds of working some weeks

than working all weeks. Alternatively, respondents whose fathers had less than a high school degree or mothers who did not know their father's education level had higher odds of working some weeks than all weeks relative to respondents whose father had more than a high school degree. Mothers with more traditional values were more likely to be continuously unemployed (OR = 1.73).

Number of Jobs Employed Since Child's Birth. As with other employment characteristics, human capital strongly influenced the number of jobs that mothers held since giving birth (see Table 25b, Model 5). Hispanic mothers were no longer more likely to be unemployed after considering education, health, and level of traditional values. Instead, Hispanic mothers were more likely to work 2 jobs than one job compared to White mothers (OR = 1.67). Compared to the control model, Black mothers decreased their odds of continuous unemployment from 54 percent to 66 percent compared to working one job relative to White mothers. Thus, human capital characteristics strengthened the likelihood of working after giving birth among Blacks relative to Whites. Mothers with less than a high school degree or a high school degree only were more likely to be continuously unemployed (OR = 3.06 and OR = 1.61, respectively) compared to working one job relative to mothers with more than a high school degree. Mothers whose fathers had less than a high school degree had 59 percent lower odds of having two jobs compared to one job relative to mothers whose father had more than a high school degree. Counter to expectations, mothers with health problems were more likely to work 2 jobs than one job (OR = 2.11). More traditional mothers and immigrant mothers were more likely to stay out of the labor market after giving birth.

Full Model (6)

Number of Hours Employed at Year 3. In the full model for mothers married at the time of the child's birth, race/ethnicity was a significant predictor of the number of hours employed at Year 3 (see Table 23c, Model 6). Black and Hispanic mothers were less likely to be unemployed and employed part-time in comparison to White mothers. Black mothers had 79 percent lower odds of being unemployed and 86 percent lower odds of being employed part-time in comparison to being employed full-time relative to White mothers. Hispanic mothers had 58 percent lower odds of being unemployed and 67 percent lower odds of working part-time. The significant family, father, and community support predictors of employment were the use of relative care and a good relationship with the child's father compared to a very good or excellent relationship. Religious attendance increased the odds of being unemployed and of being employed part-time. Human capital characteristics, namely high levels of education and less traditional values, were associated with employment. Mothers without a high school degree or those with a high school degree only had increased likelihoods of unemployment (OR = 3.97 and OR = 2.42 respectively). Respondents whose mothers did not receive a high school diploma had lower odds of unemployment and part-time employment while respondents whose fathers had little formal education had an increased likelihood of unemployment.

Number of Weeks Employed During Previous Year. The full model for the number of weeks employed revealed racial/ethnic differences in the number of weeks employed among mothers who were married at the time of giving birth (see Table 24c, Model 6). Social support and human capital increased the differences in employment among Hispanics and Blacks compared to Whites. Blacks had 79 percent lower odds

continuous unemployment and 47 percent lower odds of working some weeks relative to working all year. Hispanics had 49 percent lower odds of continuous unemployment compared to working all year relative to Whites. Use of relative care decreased odds of not working or working some weeks relative to working all year. Religious attendance increased the likelihood of working some weeks.

Similar to the full model for hours employed, respondents whose mothers had only a high school degree were less likely to work some weeks than all weeks in the previous year. Mothers whose fathers had less than a high school degree were more likely to be continuously unemployed or work some weeks compared to working all year relative to respondents whose fathers had more than a high school degree. Although not significant in earlier models, mothers with a health problem were 2.5 times more likely to be continuously unemployed compared to working all year relative to mothers without a job-limiting health problem or child with a disability. More traditional mothers also had higher odds of being continuously unemployed than employed all year.

Number of Jobs Employed Since Child's Birth. The full model revealed differences in employment between Blacks and Whites and, similar to the models with unmarried mothers, there was a strong association between human capital characteristics and the number of jobs since the child's birth (see Table 25c, Model 6). Black mothers had 70 percent lower odds of continuous unemployment compared to working one job relative to White mothers. Hispanics had 67 percent higher odds of working 2 jobs than one job relative to Whites. Mothers who used relative care were less likely to be continuously unemployed. Receipt of a childcare referral increased mothers' likelihood of having 2 or more jobs compared to one job and was the only community or father

characteristic that was significantly related to the number of jobs since birth for mothers married before giving birth. Low levels of education were related to continuous unemployment compared to working one job since birth. Respondents whose father had less than a high school education had lower odds of working two or more jobs compared to working one job relative to respondents whose fathers' had more than a high school degree. Mothers with a health problem were twice more likely to work 2 or more jobs since the child's birth. Counter to the human capital model, more traditional mothers had 33 percent increased odds of working 2 or more jobs compared to working one job. Immigrant mothers continued to be more likely to be continuously unemployed compared to having one job relative to US-born mothers.

Multivariate Analyses: Mothers who Married After Child's Birth

Basic Model (1)

Number of Hours Employed at Year 3. In the basic model for mothers who married after giving birth, race/ethnicity, maternal age, and the number of toddlers in the household were all significantly related to the number of hours employed at Year 3 (see Table 26a, Model 1). Although Hispanics and Whites were not significantly different from each other, Blacks had 61 percent lower odds of being unemployed and 74 percent lower odds of being employed part-time compared to employed full-time relative to Whites. Mothers over age 30 were less likely to be unemployed and less likely to be employed part-time compared to employed full-time (OR = 0.48 and OR = 0.44) relative to mothers in their twenties. Mothers with additional toddlers were more likely to be unemployed than employed full-time.

Number of Weeks Employed During Previous Year. There were differences in weeks employed in the past year among Hispanic, Black, and White mothers who married after giving birth (see Table 27a, Model 1). After considering maternal age and the number of toddlers in the household, Black mothers had 81 percent lower odds of unemployment and 55 percent lower odds of working some weeks compared to working all year relative to White mothers. Mothers with additional toddlers at Year 3 had an increased likelihood of continuous unemployment and working some weeks compared to working all year (OR = 2.17 and OR = 2.05, respectively).

Number of Jobs Employed Since Child's Birth After considering maternal age and the number of toddlers in the household, there were no significant differences between Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites with regard to the number of jobs since the child's birth (see Table 28a, Model 1). Although the number of toddlers in the household was not significantly related to the number of jobs from child's birth to Year 3, mothers over age 30 had 66 percent lower odds of working two jobs and compared to having one job relative to mothers in their twenties.

Family Supports Model (2)

Number of Hours Employed at Year 3. Family supports were not significantly related to the number of hours employed at Year 3 for mothers who married after giving birth (see Table 26a, Model 2). Hispanic mothers did not differ significantly from Whites. Blacks, similar to the basic model, had 63 percent lower odds of being unemployed and 73 percent lower odds of working part-time compared to working full-time relative to Whites. Neither relative care nor access to emergency supports was significantly related to the number of hours employed.

Number of Weeks Employed During Previous Year. With the addition of family supports, the Black/White differences with regard to the number of weeks employed in the past year strengthened (see Table 27a, Model 2). Blacks were more likely to be employed and to work more weeks in the previous year than Whites. They had 83 percent lower odds of unemployment and 58 percent lower odds of working some weeks compared to working all year relative to Whites. This increased difference between Blacks and Whites was likely due to differences in the use of relative care. Mothers who used relative care at Year 1 were 81 percent less likely to be unemployed all year compared to employed all year.

Number of Jobs Employed Since Child's Birth. Family characteristics did not change the relationship between race/ethnicity and the number of jobs since the child's birth (see Table 28a, Model 2). There were no significant differences between Black and Hispanic mothers compared to White mothers. Use of relative care was the only significant family predictor of the number of jobs in the child's first three years of life. Mothers who used relative care had 70 percent lower odds of being continuously unemployed since giving birth compared to working one job.

Father Supports Model (3)

Number of Hours Employed at Year 3. The strength of the relationship with the child's father was not significant in predicting the number of hours employed at Year 3 (see Table 26a, Model 3). Blacks' lower likelihood of employment continued in this model while Hispanics continued to be employed at similar levels as Whites.

Number of Weeks Employed During Previous Year. As with the number of hours employed, the mother's relationship with the child's father was not significantly related

to the number of weeks employed in the past year (see Table 27a, Model 3). The introduction of these variables did not change the odds ratios among race/ethnicity and weeks employed. Black mothers continued to be less likely to work no or some weeks compared to working all year.

Number of Jobs Employed Since Child's Birth. The introduction of father characteristics did not significantly change the relationship between race/ethnicity and the number of jobs since the child's birth (see Table 28a, Model 3). There were no statistical differences in the number of jobs employed since the child's birth among Hispanics and Blacks compared to Whites. Mothers' relationships with their children's father were not significantly related to the their number of jobs since giving birth.

Community Supports Model (4)

Number of Hours Employed at Year 3. Similar to mothers who were married when giving birth, community resources played a small role in predicting the number of hours employed among mothers married after giving birth (see Table 26b, Model 4). Hispanics did not differ significantly in their likelihood of working or working part-time compared to Whites. Black mothers had 55 percent lower odds of being unemployed and 81 percent lower odds of working part-time compared to full-time relative to Whites. The increase in the strength of the relationship between Blacks and part-time employment was likely due to their increased likelihood to receive rent assistance or public housing. Mothers who received this assistance were almost 3 times more likely to work part-time than full-time (OR = 2.90). No other community supports were significantly related to employment for mothers who married after giving birth.

Number of Weeks Employed During Previous Year. The introduction of community characteristics left the relationship between race/ethnicity and the number of weeks employed nearly unchanged for Hispanic, Black, and White mothers who married after giving birth (see Table 27b, Model 4). Black mothers had 78 percent lower odds of unemployment and 56 percent lower odds of working some weeks compared to working all year. Mothers who received employment assistance had higher odds of working some weeks in the last year compared to all year. Mothers who received a childcare referral had 67 percent lower odds of unemployment compared to year-round employment. Yearly, but not monthly, religious participation increased the odds of working only some weeks in the past year compared to working all year relative to mothers who never attended religious services (OR = 1.93).

Number of Jobs Employed Since Child's Birth. After the introduction of community characteristics, there remained no racial/ethnic differences with regard to the number of jobs since the child's birth for mothers married after giving birth (see Table 28b, Model 4). Employment assistance was the only community support that was significantly related to the number of jobs held since the child's birth. Mothers who received this assistance at Year 1 were twice more likely to be have two jobs compared to one job (OR = 2.05).

Human Capital Model (5)

Number of Hours Employed at Year 3. Several human capital variables affected the number of hours at Year 3, and their consideration strengthened the racial/ethnic differences (see Table 26b, Model 5). Although Hispanics did not differ significantly from Whites in their likelihood of current employment, the lower likelihood of

unemployment among Hispanics approached significance. Blacks were significantly less likely to be currently unemployed or to be employed part-time compared to employed full-time relative to Whites (OR = 0.34 and OR = 0.21, respectively). Mothers with less than a high school diploma were over three times more likely to be unemployed compared to working full-time relative to Whites. Similar to the findings for mothers who married when giving birth, among mothers who married after giving birth, respondents whose mothers had lower educations had lower odds of working part-time relative to full-time. In addition, mothers with health barriers had higher odds of working part-time than of full-time relative to mothers without these barriers.

Number of Weeks Employed During Previous Year. The introduction of human capital characteristics helped to explain variation in the number of weeks employed in the previous year and strengthened racial/ethnic differences between Hispanic and Black mothers when compared to White mothers (see Table 27b, Model 4). Hispanic mothers had 68 percent lower odds of continuous unemployment and 46 percent lower odds of working some weeks compared to working all year relative to Whites. Black mothers had 84 percent lower odds of unemployment and 62 percent lower odds of working some weeks compared to working all year. Although less influential than in other models, less than a high school education increased the odds of not working in the past year relative to working all year (OR = 2.39). Respondents who did not know the education of their mothers were more likely to be continuously unemployed than continuously employed relative to respondents whose mothers had more than a high school education. Mothers holding more traditional values were more likely to work some weeks compared to all year relative to mothers with less traditional values. Immigrants had increased odds of

continuous unemployment compared to continuous employment relative to US-born mothers.

Number of Jobs Employed Since Child's Birth. With the entrance of human capital characteristics, there remained no significant differences between Hispanics and Blacks compared to Whites in the number of jobs held since the child's birth (see Table 28b, Model 4). Surprisingly, the level of education among mothers who marry after giving birth was not associated with the number of jobs held since giving birth. However, respondents whose mothers had a high school education or less were less likely to be continuously unemployed (OR = 0.40 and OR = 0.45, respectively) compared to working one job relative to respondents whose mothers had more than a high school degree. Respondents whose fathers had only a high school degree had increased odds of having 2 or more jobs since the child's birth compared to one job. Mothers with more traditional values had higher odds of being continuously unemployed since giving birth than having one job (OR = 1.78). Nativity was not significantly related to the number of jobs the mother held since the child's birth.

Full Model (6)

Number of Hours Employed at Year 3. When considering all of the characteristics together, Blacks had 61 percent lower odds of unemployment and 85 percent lower odds of part-time employment compared to full-time employment relative to Whites (see Table 26c, Model 6). As with the previous models, Hispanics and Whites did not differ significantly from each other in the number of hours that they worked at Year 3. Although access to an emergency place to live decreased the odds of being unemployed as compared to employed full-time, no other family variable was significant in the full

model. Mothers with a fair, poor, or no relationship with the child's father had 61 percent lower odds of working part-time than full-time relative to mothers in a very good or excellent relationship. As with the community support model, the receipt of rent assistance was the only significant community predictor increasing the odds of part-time employment when compared to full-time employment (OR = 2.86). Respondents who had less than a high school education had increased odds of unemployment (OR = 3.09) and low educations among respondents' mothers decreased the odds of part-time employment relative to full-time employment. No other human capital characteristic was significantly related to current employment status at Year 3.

Number of Weeks Employed During Previous Year. In the complete model for mothers who married after giving birth, there were statistically significant racial/ethnic differences in the number of weeks employed in the past year for both Hispanic and Black mothers compared to Whites (see Table 27c, Model 6). Hispanic mothers had 69 percent lower odds of being unemployed all year and 50 percent lower odds of being employed some weeks when compared to being employed all year relative to White mothers. Black mothers had 82 percent lower odds of continuous unemployment and 66 percent lower odds of working some weeks compared to working all year. The only family or father characteristic significantly related to the number of weeks employed was the use of relative care. Mothers who used relative care had a decreased likelihood of continuous unemployment (OR = 0.15).

Similar to the community supports model, mothers who received employment assistance had higher odds of working some weeks and mothers who received a child care referral had lower odds of unemployment. Mothers who attended religious services

monthly, but not weekly, had 66 percent lower odds of consistent unemployment compared to working all year relative to mothers who never attended services. In addition, mothers who attended services yearly were almost twice more likely to work some weeks than all year. Human capital characteristics continued to influence employment in the expected directions. Mothers with less than high school degrees and immigrant mothers had higher odds of being unemployed all year compared to working all year. Mothers with more traditional values had higher odds of working some weeks compared to all weeks.

Number of Jobs Employed Since Child's Birth Considering family, father, community, and human capital characteristics together, there were no racial/ethnic differences in the number of jobs that mothers who married after giving birth held since their children were born (see Table 28c, Model 6). The use of relative care was the only significant contribution from family or father supports. Mothers who used relative care had 69 percent lower odds of continuous unemployment since the child's birth compared to working one job. Likewise, the only significant community predictor was the receipt of employment assistance at Year 1. Mothers who received this assistance were more than twice as likely to have worked two jobs since the child's birth (OR = 2.23) compared to working only one job.

In terms of human capital, neither education level nor the presence of health problems were significant predictors in the number of jobs since the child's birth for mothers who married after the child was born. Respondents whose fathers graduated from high school were more likely to have had 2 or more jobs compared to one job since the child's birth relative to respondents whose fathers had more than a high school

education. Traditional mothers were more likely to be continuously unemployed compared to working one job (OR = 1.68). Nativity was not significantly related to the number of jobs a mother held since the child's birth.

Summary of Multivariate Analyses for Married Mothers (Full Model)

Employment

Although there were no racial/ethnic differences in employment among continuously unmarried mothers, Hispanic and Black married mothers had higher levels of employment than Whites. Compared to Whites, married Blacks, regardless of the time of marriage, were less likely to be employed part-time or not employed compared to being employed full-time. Although there were no statistical differences between Hispanic and White mothers who married after giving birth in the number of hours employed, Hispanic mothers who married before giving birth were less to likely to be working part-time or not working than working full-time compared to Whites. Married Black and Hispanic mothers, regardless of the timing of the marriage, were less likely to work no weeks and less likely to work some weeks than work all year relative to Whites. In terms of the number of jobs held, although there were no racial/ethnic differences for mothers who married after the child's birth, Black mothers married before giving birth were less likely to be continuously unemployed compared to having one job relative to Whites. Hispanics married before giving birth were more likely to have 2 jobs compared to one job.

Social Supports

Relative care and access to emergency supports were less influential in employment for married mothers, regardless of the time of the marriage, than for

continuously unmarried mothers. Although relative care was consistently related to employment, access to emergency supports was rarely significant in the full models. Similar to continuously unmarried mothers, when significant, married mothers who had fair or poor relationships with their children's fathers were more likely to have increased levels of employment.

The influence of community support on employment was less for married mothers than for continuously unmarried mothers. However, rent assistance and religious attendance were associated with lower levels of continuous employment, and a childcare referral was associated with employment and with multiple jobs since the child's birth. Human capital operated similarly for mothers married at the child's birth, mothers married after the child's birth, and continuously unmarried mothers. Higher education levels were strongly associated with employment and traditional values were associated with unemployment.

Summary of Analysis of Married Mothers

In order to determine if the impact of social support among unmarried mothers varied significantly from that of married mothers, a separate analysis was conducted. In this analysis, clear differences arose in terms of (1) the higher levels of social support and human capital among married mothers and (2) the racial/ethnic differences in employment among married mothers. Similar to Tables 14 through 18 in Chapter 7, Tables 29 through 31 summarize the predictors of employment among married mothers compared to continuously unmarried mothers.

Married mothers were more advantaged in terms of their available supports than continuously unmarried mothers. Mothers who married after their child's birth fell

between the mothers who married before giving birth and continuously unmarried mothers. With this higher level of advantage among married mothers, White mothers maintained higher levels of advantage than Hispanics or Blacks.

Although they fared worse than married White mothers, in terms of social support, Hispanic and Black married mothers, regardless of whether they married before or after their child's birth, were more likely to be employed and continuously employed than White mothers. The introduction of social supports increased the racial/ethnic differences in employment between these groups. Thus, after considering social support and human capital, Hispanics and Blacks had even greater likelihoods of employment when compared to Whites.

Table 19: Distribution of Variables Used in Models by Race/Ethnicity for Mothers Married at the Time of Giving Birth

	Hispanic	Black	White	Total
Dependent Variables	**N = 190**	**N = 181**	**N = 390**	**N = 761**
Hours Employed (Y3)**				
Employed full-time	33.7	59.1	27.2	36.4
Employed part-time	11.1	9.4	27.2	18.9
Not employed	55.3	31.5	45.6	44.7
Weeks Employed (Y3)**				
All year (52 weeks)	31.7	54.3	35.1	38.8
26 to 51 weeks	13.4	20.6	20.4	18.7
1 to 24 weeks	11.8	8.6	9.0	9.6
Not employed	43.0	16.6	35.4	32.9
Number of Jobs (Y3)**				
3 or more jobs	5.3	6.6	5.4	5.7
2 jobs	15.8	21.0	14.4	16.3
1 job	45.3	59.7	55.9	54.2
Not employed	33.7	12.7	24.2	23.9
Control Variables				
Respondent Age**				
Under 20 years	7.4	1.1	2.1	3.2
20 years to 29 years	57.4	54.1	40.0	47.7
30 years or more	35.3	44.8	58.0	49.2
Number of Toddlers in the Household (BA)				
1	57.9	50.8	52.8	53.6
2	33.7	40.9	40.8	39.0
3 or more	8.4	8.3	8.3	7.4
Number of Toddlers in the Household (Y1)				
1	62.6	53.0	55.4	56.6
2	32.1	41.4	39.7	38.2
3 or more	5.3	5.5	4.9	5.1
Number of Toddlers in the Household (Y3)				
1	64.7	66.9	56.4	61.0
2	31.1	29.3	38.0	34.2
3 or more	4.2	3.9	5.6	4.9

(Table continued on following page)

Table 19: Distribution of Variables Used in Models by Race/Ethnicity for Mothers Married at the Time of Giving Birth (continued)

Family Supports	Hispanic	Black	White	Total
Child care by relative (Y1)				
Yes	17.9	22.1	15.9	17.9
No	82.1	77.9	84.1	82.1
Access to Emergency Financial Help ($200)**				
Yes	82.6	84.0	96.7	89.6
No	17.4	16.0	3.3	10.4
Access to Childcare Help**				
Yes	86.3	83.4	94.1	89.6
No	13.7	16.6	5.9	10.4
Access to a Place to Live**				
Yes	81.1	84.5	95.4	89.2
No	19.0	15.5	4.6	10.8
Child's Father Supports				
Maternal Relationship with Child's Father**				
V good/ Excellent	77.4	74.6	88.0	82.1
Good	17.4	17.7	9.5	13.4
Fair/ Poor	5.3	7.7	2.6	4.5
Community Supports				
Rent Assistance (Y1)**				
Yes	10.0	9.4	1.3	5.4
No	90.0	90.6	98.7	94.6
Assistance from employment office (Y1)				
Yes	2.6	2.2	2.1	2.2
No	97.4	97.8	98.0	97.8
Assistance from childcare referral agency (Y1)**				
Yes	2.6	9.9	5.1	5.7
No	97.4	90.1	94.9	94.4
Frequency of religious attendance (Y1)**				
Once a week or more	51.1	56.9	36.7	45.1
A couple of times a month	18.4	17.7	22.3	20.2
A couple of times a year or less	25.8	19.9	30.8	26.9
Never	4.7	5.5	10.3	7.8

(Table continued on following page)

Table 19: Distribution of Variables Used in Models by Race/Ethnicity for Mothers Married at the Time of Giving Birth (continued)

Human Capital	Hispanic	Black	White	Total
Respondent's education**				
Less than HS degree	42.6	9.4	4.1	15.0
HS degree or GED	19.5	28.7	13.3	18.5
Greater than HS degree	37.9	61.9	82.6	66.5
Maternal education**				
Less than HS degree	64.2	18.2	10.0	25.5
HS degree or GED	18.4	43.1	42.1	36.4
Greater than HS degree	10.0	33.2	45.6	45.6
Don't know	7.4	5.2	2.3	2.3
Paternal education**				
Less than HS degree	42.6	16.6	9.7	19.6
HS degree or GED	10.0	36.5	31.3	27.2
Greater than HS degree	13.7	24.9	44.6	32.2
Don't know	33.7	22.1	14.4	21.0
Respondent health problem limiting work or Child disability (Y1)				
Yes	5.3	7.2	5.4	5.8
No	94.7	92.8	94.6	94.2
Raised with Both Parents (age 15)**				
Yes	66.8	46.4	74.9	66.1
No	33.2	53.6	25.1	33.9
Respondent's nativity**				
Born in the US	44.2	86.7	93.6	79.6
Not born in the US	55.8	13.3	6.4	20.4
Mean of Values+				
0 = liberal 3 = traditional	1.39	1.11	0.96	1.10
Employment Over Time**				
Not employed	32.1	8.8	13.3	16.7
Employed at one time	28.4	28.2	29.7	29.0
Employed at both times	39.5	63.0	56.9	54.0

Note: Due to rounding, columns may not add to 100 percent.
Tests are significant at the following levels: + $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Table 20: Distribution of Variables Used in Models by Employment Characteristics for Married Mothers at Time of Giving Birth

	Hours employed at Y3			Weeks employed at Y3				Number of Jobs since Child's birth			
	N = 340 **%** = (44.7)	144 (18.9)	277 (36.4)	**N =**246 **%** = (32.8)	72 (9.6)	140 (18.7)	292 (38.9)	**N =**181 **%** = (23.8)	412 (54.1)	125 (16.4)	43 (5.7)
Control Variables	None	Part time	Full time	None	Some wks	Most wks	All year	0	1	2	3+
Respondent Age											
Under 20 yrs	55.3**	11.1	33.7	40.9**	36.4	13.6	9.1	29.2**	37.5	16.7	16.7
20 to 29 yrs	31.5	9.4	59.1	32.9	10.1	18.3	38.8	24.1	49.3	20.5	6.1
30 yrs or more	45.6	27.2	27.2	32.3	7.5	19.4	40.9	23.1	59.8	12.5	4.5
Number of Toddlers in the HH (BA)											
1	41.9**	19.4	38.7	29.4*	9.2	18.2	43.3	18.6*	56.9	18.4	6.1
2	45.8	17.5	36.7	34.4	9.6	21.0	35.1	28.7	51.7	14.5	5.1
3 or more	58.9	23.2	17.9	49.1	12.3	10.5	28.1	35.1	47.4	12.3	5.3
Number of Toddlers in the HH (Y1)											
1	37.6**	19.5	42.9	27.1**	8.9	18.1	45.9	18.6**	57.8	18.8	4.9
2	52.9	18.9	28.2	40.0	10.5	20.0	29.5	30.3	49.3	13.1	7.2
3 or more	61.5	12.8	25.6	42.5	10.0	15.0	32.5	32.5	50.0	15.0	2.5
Number of Toddlers in the HH (Y3)											
1	37.5**	19.6	42.9	29.5**	8.8	15.8	46.0	22.8	56.5	16.2	4.5
2	55.0	17.3	27.7	37.5	9.8	23.8	28.9	25.4	48.9	18.5	7.3
3 or more	62.2	21.6	16.2	40.5	18.9	18.9	21.6	24.3	62.2	5.4	8.1

(Table continued on following page)

Table 20: Distribution of Variables Used in Models by Employment Characteristics for Married Mothers at Time of Giving Birth (continued)

Family Supports	None	Part time	Full time	None	Some wks	Most wks	All year	0	1	2	3+
Child care by relative											
Yes	21.3**	26.5	52.2	6.7**	3.7	26.9	62.7	5.2**	64.7	22.1	8.1
No	49.8	17.3	33.0	38.5	10.9	16.9	33.8	27.8	51.8	15.2	5.1
Access to Financial Help ($200)											
Yes	43.7	19.5	36.7	32.6	9.2	18.9	39.3	22.7	55.2	16.6	5.5
No	53.3	13.3	33.3	34.3	13.7	16.4	35.6	33.8	44.6	14.9	6.8
Access to Childcare Help											
Yes	44.3	19.1	36.7	32.6	9.2	18.8	39.3	22.6+	54.8	16.4	6.2
No	48.1	17.7	34.2	34.2	13.2	17.1	35.5	34.2	48.1	16.5	1.3
Access to a Place to Live											
Yes	43.9	19.1	37.0	32.4+	8.8	19.4	39.4	22.5	55.1	16.8	5.6
No	51.2	17.1	31.7	35.9	16.7	12.8	34.6	34.2	46.3	13.4	6.1
Child's Father Supports											
Maternal Relationship with Child's Father											
V good/ Excellent	35.3	11.8	52.9	33.3	9.7	18.3	38.7	23.8	55.2	15.8	5.1
Good	40.2	14.7	45.1	31.0	10.0	19.0	40.0	21.6	52.0	17.7	8.8
Fair/ Poor	45.9	20.0	34.1	28.1	6.3	25.0	40.6	29.4	41.2	23.5	5.9

(Table continued on following page)

Table 20: Distribution of Variables Used in Models by Employment Characteristics for Married Mothers at Time of Giving Birth (continued)

Community Variables	None	Part time	Full time	None	Some wks	Most wks	All year	0	1	2	3+
Rent Assistance											
Yes	56.1	9.8	34.2	34.2*	22.0	17.1	26.8	41.5*	34.2	22.0	2.4
No	44.0	19.4	36.5	32.7	8.9	18.8	39.6	22.8	55.3	16.1	5.8
Assistance from emp. office											
Yes	47.1	11.8	41.2	37.5	25.0	6.3	31.3	11.8	58.8	23.5	5.9
No	44.6	19.1	36.3	32.7	9.3	18.9	39.1	24.1	54.0	16.3	5.7
Assistance from childcare ref. agency											
Yes	34.9	18.6	46.5	21.4+	2.4	31.0	45.2	16.3	51.2	25.6	7.0
No	45.3	18.9	35.8	33.5	10.0	17.9	38.6	24.2	54.3	15.9	5.6
Frequency of religious attendance											
Weekly+	48.4	16.3	35.3	35.8	8.3	18.1	37.9	26.5	54.4	14.2	4.9
Monthly	44.8	22.1	33.1	33.8	8.4	15.6	42.2	23.4	50.7	18.8	7.1
Yearly or less	39.5	22.0	38.5	26.4	13.4	23.4	36.8	20.1	55.9	18.6	5.4
Never	40.7	15.3	44.1	35.1	7.0	14.0	43.9	22.0	55.9	15.3	6.8

(Table continued on following page)

Table 20: Distribution of Variables Used in Models by Employment Characteristics for Married Mothers at Time of Giving Birth (continued)

Human Capital Variables	None	Part time	Full time	None	Some wks	Most wks	All year	0	1	2	3+
Resp.'s edu.											
< HS degree	70.2**	11.4	18.4	54.6**	15.5	12.7	17.3	46.5**	36.8	13.2	3.5
HS deg/ GED	53.9	10.6	35.5	38.7	11.0	16.1	34.3	25.7	52.1	15.0	7.1
> HS degree	36.4	22.9	40.7	26.4	8.0	20.7	44.9	18.2	58.6	17.6	5.7
Maternal edu.											
< HS degree	52.1**	8.8	39.2	41.6**	10.0	15.8	32.6	33.5**	50.5	13.4	2.6
HS deg/ GED	43.3	21.3	35.4	32.1	9.1	14.6	44.2	19.9	56.3	18.1	5.8
> HS degree	38.5	24.5	37.0	25.9	9.8	25.5	38.8	19.1	55.6	17.9	7.4
Don't know	60.6	15.2	24.2	41.9	9.7	16.1	32.3	36.4	45.5	9.1	9.1
Paternal edu.											
< HS degree	55.7*	10.1	34.2	41.9+	11.5	15.5	31.1	31.5*	55.0	10.1	3.4
HS deg./GED	38.2	22.2	39.6	26.8	7.3	21.0	44.8	19.1	58.9	18.7	3.4
> HS degree	43.3	21.2	35.5	31.3	9.5	18.1	41.2	20.9	52.9	17.6	8.6
Don't know	45.0	19.4	35.6	34.4	11.0	19.5	35.1	27.0	49.1	17.6	6.3
Health problem/ Ch. w/ disability											
Yes	56.8	11.4	31.8	46.5	7.0	16.3	30.2	31.8	38.6	22.7	6.8
No	43.9	19.4	36.7	32.0	9.8	18.8	39.5	23.3	55.1	16.0	5.6
Raised with Both Parents											
Yes	44.7+	14.7	40.7	34.7	8.6	17.9	38.8	24.5+	55.8	15.3	4.4
No	44.6	21.1	34.2	29.0	11.5	20.4	39.3	22.4	51.0	18.5	8.1
Immigrant											
Yes	58.7**	11.6	29.7	45.4**	11.2	15.1	28.3	38.7**	45.2	12.9	3.2
No	41.1	20.8	38.1	29.6	9.2	19.6	41.6	20.0	56.4	17.3	6.3
Mean of Values											
0 = liberal	1.23*	0.98	1.01	1.27	1.13	1.01	0.99	1.26	1.01	1.08	1.17
3 = traditional											
Previous Emp.											
Not employed	83.0**	10.1	7.0	73.0**	10.3	6.4	10.3	57.0**	38.0	4.2	0.7
Emp. 1 time	66.5	14.5	19.0	56.4	14.2	14.7	14.7	16.2	57.8	19.2	6.8
Emp BA & Y1	20.9	24.1	55.0	7.6	6.9	24.6	60.8	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Note: Due to rounding, columns may not add to 100 percent.
Tests are significant at the following levels: + p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01.

Table 21: Distribution of Variables Used in Models by Race/Ethnicity for Mothers Married After Child's Birth

	Hispanic	Black	White	Total
Dependent Variables	**N = 179**	**N = 182**	**N = 109**	**N = 470**
Hours Employed (Y3)**				
Employed full-time	35.2	52.2	30.3	40.6
Employed part-time	15.6	8.2	18.4	13.4
Not employed	49.2	39.6	51.4	46.0
Weeks Employed (Y3)**				
All year (52 weeks)	36.6	49.1	27.5	39.2
26 to 51 weeks	13.7	22.0	20.2	18.4
1 to 24 weeks	25.1	16.2	20.2	20.6
Not employed	24.6	12.7	32.1	21.9
Number of Jobs (Y3)**				
3 or more jobs	12.9	17.6	14.7	15.1
2 jobs	19.6	34.1	27.5	27.0
1 job	46.4	41.8	45.0	44.3
Not employed	21.2	6.6	12.8	12.8
Control Variables				
Respondent Age				
Under 20 years	21.2	13.7	21.1	18.3
20 years to 29 years	60.3	68.7	62.2	64.5
30 years or more	18.4	17.6	14.7	17.2
Number of Toddlers in the Household (BA)+				
1	59.8	49.5	61.5	56.2
2	31.8	38.5	33.9	34.9
3 or more	8.4	12.1	4.6	8.9
Number of Toddlers in the Household (Y1)				
1	60.9	53.9	60.6	58.1
2	33.0	36.3	33.0	34.3
3 or more	6.2	9.9	6.4	7.7
Number of Toddlers in the Household (Y3)**				
1	59.2	46.7	46.8	51.5
2	31.8	36.8	47.7	37.5
3 or more	8.9	16.5	5.5	11.1

(Table continued on following page)

Table 21: Distribution of Variables Used in Models by Race/Ethnicity for Mothers Married After Child's Birth (continued)

Family Supports	**Hispanic**	**Black**	**White**	**Total**
Child care by relative (Y1)				
Yes	25.1	21.4	24.8	23.6
No	74.9	78.6	75.2	76.4
Access to Emergency Financial Help ($200)*				
Yes	82.7	74.7	87.2	80.6
No	17.3	25.3	12.8	19.4
Access to Childcare Help+				
Yes	87.7	80.2	89.0	85.1
No	12.3	19.8	11.0	14.9
Access to a Place to Live*				
Yes	86.0	76.9	89.0	83.2
No	14.0	23.1	11.0	16.8
Child's Father Supports				
Maternal Relationship with Child's Father*				
Very good/ Excellent	62.6	57.1	68.8	61.9
Good	22.9	17.0	13.8	18.5
Fair/ Poor	14.5	25.8	17.4	19.6
Community Supports				
Rent Assistance (Y1)**				
Yes	17.9	22.5	4.6	16.6
No	82.1	77.5	95.4	83.4
Assistance from employment office (Y1)				
Yes	11.2	11.0	4.6	9.6
No	88.8	89.0	95.4	90.4
Assistance from childcare referral agency (Y1)**				
Yes	8.4	18.1	5.5	11.5
No	91.6	81.9	94.5	88.5
Frequency of religious attendance (Y1)**				
Once a week or more	34.6	38.5	17.4	32.1
A couple of times a month	25.1	25.3	14.7	22.8
A couple of times a year or less	25.7	24.2	47.7	30.2
Never	14.5	12.1	20.2	14.9

(Table continued on following page)

Table 21: Distribution of Variables Used in Models by Race/Ethnicity for Mothers Married After Child's Birth (continued)

Human Capital	Hispanic	Black	White	Total
Respondent's education**				
Less than HS degree	49.2	23.1	22.9	33.0
HS degree or GED	25.1	42.3	35.8	34.3
Greater than HS degree	25.7	34.6	41.3	32.8
Maternal education**				
Less than HS degree	61.5	16.5	17.4	33.8
HS degree or GED	20.1	46.2	46.8	36.4
Greater than HS degree	11.2	29.1	29.4	22.3
Don't know	7.3	8.2	6.4	7.4
Paternal education**				
Less than HS degree	35.8	10.4	10.1	20.0
HS degree or GED	18.4	37.4	37.6	30.2
Greater than HS degree	11.7	18.1	26.6	17.7
Don't know	34.1	34.1	25.7	32.1
Respondent health problem limiting work or Child disability (Y1)*				
Yes	5.0	13.7	8.3	9.2
No	95.0	86.3	91.7	90.9
Raised with Both Parents (age 15)**				
Yes	53.1	30.8	40.4	41.5
No	46.9	69.2	59.6	58.5

Note: Due to rounding, columns may not add to 100 percent.
Tests are significant at the following levels: + $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Table 22: Distribution of Variables Used in Models by Employment Characteristics for Married Mothers After Giving Birth

	Hours employed at Y3			Weeks employed at Y3				Number of Jobs since Child's birth			
	N = 216	63	191	**N =** 100	95	85	179	**N =** 64	208	127	73
	% =	(13.4)	(40.6)	**%** =	(20.7)	(18.5)	(39.0)	**%** =	(44.1)	(26.9)	(15.5)
	(46.0)			(21.8)				(13.6)			
Control Variables	None	Part time	Full time	None	Some wks	Most wks	All year	0	1	2	3+
Respondent Age											
Under 20 yrs	53.5*	12.8	33.7	25.9*	28.2	11.8	34.1	12.8**	36.1	29.1	22.1
20 to 29 yrs	47.2	14.5	38.3	20.8	21.8	19.4	38.1	13.8	41.1	28.6	16.5
30 yrs+	33.3	9.9	56.8	21.3	8.8	22.5	47.5	13.4	63.4	18.3	4.9
Number of Toddlers in the HH (BA)											
1	43.2*	14.8	42.1	20.2+	21.0	16.4	42.4	12.4	46.2	25.2	16.2
2	47.6	12.8	39.6	26.1	17.2	19.8	36.9	16.5	41.5	28.7	13.4
3 or more	57.1	7.1	35.7	15.0	32.5	27.5	25.0	9.5	40.5	31.0	19.1
Number of Toddlers in the HH (Y1)											
1	37.2	14.7	42.1	20.7	20.3	16.2	42.8	13.5	45.5	25.8	15.3
2	48.5	12.4	39.1	24.7	18.2	21.4	35.7	14.3	44.1	24.2	17.4
3 or more	55.6	8.3	36.1	17.7	35.3	23.5	23.5	11.1	33.3	47.2	8.3
Number of Toddlers in the HH (Y3)											
1	37.2**	15.7	47.1	18.4**	17.2	15.5	49.0	14.0	47.7	23.9	14.4
2	51.7	10.8	37.5	25.6	22.7	21.5	30.2	13.0	41.2	29.4	16.4
3 or more	67.3	11.5	21.2	25.0	31.3	22.9	20.8	13.5	36.5	32.7	17.3

(Table continued on the following page)

Table 22: Distribution of Variables Used in Models by Employment Characteristics for Married Mothers After Giving Birth (Continued)

Family Variables	None	Part time	Full time	None	Some wks	Most wks	All year	0	1	2	3+
Child care by relative											
Yes	36.0*	18.0	46.0	7.2**	20.7	22.5	49.6	5.4*	46.8	30.6	17.1
No	49.0	12.0	39.0	26.4	20.7	17.2	35.6	16.1	43.2	25.8	15.0
Access to Financial Help ($200)											
Yes	44.6	14.5	40.9	22.0+	18.3	18.8	40.9	13.1	45.1	26.5	15.2
No	51.7	8.8	39.6	20.7	31.0	17.2	31.0	15.4	39.6	28.6	16.5
Access to Childcare Help											
Yes	44.0*	14.8	41.3	21.8	19.0	18.8	40.4	12.9	45.0	26.9	15.2
No	57.1	5.7	37.1	21.5	30.8	16.9	30.8	17.1	38.6	27.1	17.1
Access to a Place to Live											
Yes	44.3	14.6	41.2	21.9	19.8	18.0	40.4	13.5	45.3	26.0	15.3
No	54.4	7.6	38.0	21.3	25.3	21.3	32.0	13.9	38.0	31.7	16.5
Child's Father Variables											
Maternal Relationship with Child's Father											
V good/ Excellent	46.4	14.1	39.5	24.5	17.8	18.5	39.2	14.8	46.1	24.1	15.1
Good	40.2	18.4	41.4	18.6	23.3	16.3	41.9	12.4	43.8	23.6	20.2
Fair/ Poor	50.0	6.5	43.5	16.1	27.6	20.7	35.6	10.9	38.0	39.1	12.0

(Table continued on following page)

Table 22: Distribution of Variables Used in Models by Employment Characteristics for Married Mothers After Giving Birth (continued)

Community Variables	None	Part time	Full time	None	Some wks	Most wks	All year	0	1	2	3+
Rent Assistance											
Yes	44.9	20.5	34.6	20.0	25.3	16.0	38.7	11.4	43.0	29.1	16.5
No	46.2	12.0	41.8	22.1	19.8	19.0	39.1	14.0	44.3	26.5	15.3
Assistance from emp. office											
Yes	35.6	17.8	46.7	14.0+	20.9	32.6	32.6	6.7+	33.3	40.0	20.0
No	47.1	12.9	40.0	22.6	20.7	17.1	39.7	14.3	45.2	25.5	15.0
Assistance from childcare ref. agency											
Yes	37.0	11.1	51.9	7.7*	30.8	13.5	48.1	3.7*	40.7	27.8	27.8
No	47.1	13.7	39.2	23.6	19.4	19.2	37.8	14.8	44.5	26.8	13.9
Frequency of religious attendance											
Weekly	43.1	13.9	43.1	20.7	19.3	22.8	37.2	17.2	43.1	25.8	13.9
Monthly	40.2	16.8	43.0	15.1	19.8	17.0	48.1	10.2	43.5	30.6	15.7
Yearly or less	53.5	9.9	36.6	25.9	24.5	17.3	32.4	11.2	49.7	24.5	14.7
Never	45.7	14.3	40.0	26.1	17.4	14.5	42.0	15.7	35.7	28.6	20.0

(Table continued on following page)

Table 22: Distribution of Variables Used in Models by Employment Characteristics for Married Mothers After Giving Birth (continued)

Human Capital Variables	None	Part time	Full time	None	Some wks	Most wks	All year	0	1	2	3+
Resp.'s edu.											
< HS degree	63.6**	10.3	26.5	30.1**	26.7	13.0	30.1	20.0*	41.3	21.3	17.4
HS deg/ GED	42.2	11.8	46.0	20.6	19.4	17.5	42.5	12.4	45.1	26.5	16.1
> HS degree	32.5	18.2	49.4	15.0	16.3	24.8	43.8	8.4	45.8	32.9	12.9
Maternal edu.											
< HS degree	53.5*	11.3	35.2	26.6	24.7	14.3	34.4	18.1*	48.8	20.0	13.1
HS deg/ GED	42.7	9.9	47.4	18.9	18.3	18.9	43.8	8.1	41.3	34.3	16.3
> HS degree	40.0	21.9	38.1	17.5	18.4	22.3	41.7	13.3	41.0	26.7	19.1
Don't know	45.7	14.3	40.0	27.3	21.2	24.2	27.3	20.0	45.7	22.9	11.4
Paternal edu.											
< HS degree	54.3+	13.8	31.9	28.1	25.8	10.1	36.0	23.4**	50.0	19.2	7.4
HS deg./GED	43.7	8.4	47.9	22.1	20.0	17.9	40.0	9.9	36.6	32.4	21.1
> HS degree	39.8	19.3	41.0	20.0	13.8	27.5	38.8	10.9	49.4	30.1	9.6
Don't know	46.4	14.6	39.1	18.7	22.0	19.3	40.0	12.4	44.4	24.8	18.3
Health problem/ Ch. w/ disability											
Yes	53.5	16.3	30.2	21.4	31.0	16.7	31.0	14.0	46.5	27.7	20.9
No	45.2	13.1	41.7	21.8	19.7	18.7	39.8	13.5	43.8	18.6	14.9
Raised with Both Parents											
Yes	41.5	14.9	43.6	23.3	19.1	20.6	37.0	17.9+	44.4	24.5	13.3
No	49.1	12.4	38.6	20.7	21.9	17.0	40.4	10.5	43.8	28.6	17.0
Immigrant											
Yes	48.3	14.9	36.8	28.2	20.0	20.0	31.8	25.0**	45.6	22.7	6.8
No	45.4	13.1	41.5	20.3	20.9	18.2	41.6	10.9	43.8	27.9	17.4
Mean of Values											
0 = liberal	1.08	1.17	1.04	1.11	1.26	1.02	0.96	1.32	1.05	1.01	1.03
3 = traditional											
Previous Emp.											
Not employed	74.5**	15.7	9.8	51.0**	26.5	14.3	8.2	40.3**	41.9	11.3	16.8
Emp. 1 time	58.8	15.3	26.0	32.0	26.2	18.0	23.8	9.5	44.4	29.3	6.4
Emp BA & Y1	30.6	11.6	57.9	8.4	15.6	20.0	56.3	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Note: Due to rounding, columns may not add to 100 percent.
Tests are significant at the following levels: + p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01.

Table 23a. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Hours as a Function of Supports

Mothers Married Before Child's Birth	(1) Basic		(2) Family		(3) Child's Father	
Race/Ethnicity	None	Part-time	None	Part-time	None	Part-time
Hispanic	0.98	0.33**	0.95	0.30**	1.02	0.34**
	(0.21)	(0.10)	(0.21)	(0.09)	(0.22)	(0.10)
Black	0.30**	0.15**	0.29**	0.14**	0.32**	0.16**
	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.04)	(0.07)	(0.05)
White	-	-	-	-	-	-
Age						
< 20 yrs	2.58	0.89	2.39	0.80	2.79+	0.99
	(1.50)	(0.79)	(1.43)	(0.72)	(1.64)	(0.89)
> 30 yrs	0.76	0.85	0.72+	0.85	0.77	0.86
	(0.14)	(0.19)	(0.13)	(0.19)	(0.14)	(0.19)
20 to 29 years	-	-	-	-	-	-
Add. todd. (BA)	1.00	1.21	0.93	1.23	1.01	1.23
	(0.18)	(0.28)	(0.17)	(0.29)	(0.19)	(0.29)
Add. todd. (Y1)	1.83**	1.13	1.93**	1.13	1.82**	1.11
	(0.38)	(0.30)	(0.40)	(0.30)	(0.37)	(0.30)
Add. todd. (Y3)	1.71**	1.29	1.74**	1.28	1.71**	1.28
	(0.28)	(0.27)	(0.30)	(0.27)	(0.29)	(0.27)
Family Supports						
Relative care use			0.27**	1.10		
			(0.07)	(0.28)		
Financial help			0.71	1.09		
			(0.27)	(0.57)		
Childcare help			0.96	0.82		
			(0.33)	(0.36)		
Place to live			0.86	0.59		
			(0.32)	(0.28)		
Child's Father Supports						
Relationship						
Poor					0.66	0.56
					(0.27)	(0.33)
Good					0.68	0.70
					(0.17)	(0.23)
Very good/ Excellent					-	-
Pseudo R-squared	0.079		0.106		0.081	

N = 761
+ p< .10, * p< .05, ** p<.01
Standard errors in parentheses

Table 24a. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Weeks as a Function of Supports

Mothers Married Before Child's Birth	(1) Basic		(2) Family		(3) Child's Father	
Race/Ethnicity	No Wks	Some Wks	No Wks	Some Wks	No Wks	Some Wks
Hispanic	1.48+	0.99	1.56+	1.01	1.49+	0.99
	(0.33)	(0.24)	(0.37)	(0.25)	(0.33)	(0.24)
Black	0.31**	0.68+	0.31**	0.67+	0.31**	0.68+
	(0.08)	(0.15)	(0.08)	(0.15)	(0.08)	(0.15)
White	-	-	-	-	-	-
Age						
< 20 yrs	4.19+	7.07*	3.82	6.86*	4.21+	6.95*
	(3.39)	(5.58)	(3.17)	(5.43)	(3.41)	(5.49)
> 30 yrs	1.02	1.00	0.94	0.97	1.03	1.00
	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.20)
20 to 29 years	-	-	-	-	-	-
Add. todd. (BA)	1.20	1.11	1.08	1.07	1.20	1.10
	(0.23)	(0.22)	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.22)
Add. todd. (Y1)	1.64*	1.21	1.75*	1.24	1.64*	1.22
	(0.35)	(0.27)	(0.39)	(0.28)	(0.35)	(0.27)
Add. todd. (Y3)	1.62**	1.89**	1.68**	1.93**	1.63**	1.89**
	(0.28)	(0.33)	(0.31)	(0.34)	(0.28)	(0.33)
Family Supports						
Relative care use			0.09**	0.57*		
			(0.03)	(0.13)		
Financial help			0.92	0.88		
			(0.39)	(0.36)		
Childcare help			0.90	0.89		
			(0.34)	(0.33)		
Place to live			0.99	0.99		
			(0.39)	(0.39)		
Child's Father Supports						
Relationship						
Poor					1.05	1.17
					(0.49)	(0.53)
Good					0.91	0.99
					(0.25)	(0.27)
Very good/ Excellent					-	-
Pseudo R-squared	0.053		0.093		0.053	

N = 750
+ p< .10, * p< .05, ** p<.01
Standard errors in parentheses

Table 25a. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Jobs as a Function of Supports

Mothers Married Before Child's Birth	(1) Basic		(2) Family		(3) Child's Father	
Race/Ethnicity	No Jobs	2+ Jobs	No Jobs	2+ Jobs	No Jobs	2+ Jobs
Hispanic	1.71*	1.11	1.64*	1.11	1.71*	1.07
	(0.37)	(0.27)	(0.38)	(0.27)	(0.37)	(0.26)
Black	0.46**	1.22	0.42**	1.22	0.45**	1.15
	(0.12)	(0.27)	(0.12)	(0.28)	(0.12)	(0.26)
White	-	-	-	-	-	-
Age						
< 20 yrs	1.20	1.67	1.07	1.69	1.15	1.57
	(0.65)	(0.85)	(0.59)	(0.86)	(0.62)	(0.80)
> 30 yrs	0.81	0.54**	0.76	0.55**	0.83	0.54**
	(0.16)	(0.11)	(0.15)	(0.11)	(0.16)	(0.11)
20 to 29 years	-	-	-	-	-	-
Add. todd. (BA)	1.30	0.89	1.22	0.90	1.27	0.88
	(0.24)	(0.18)	(0.23)	(0.18)	(0.24)	(0.18)
Add. todd. (Y1)	1.49+	1.03	1.57*	1.03	1.53*	1.04
	(0.31)	(0.23)	(0.34)	(0.23)	(0.32)	(0.23)
Add. todd. (Y3)	0.94	1.02	0.91	1.02	0.95	1.03
	(0.16)	(0.18)	(0.16)	(0.18)	(0.16)	(0.18)
Family Supports						
Relative care use			0.15**	1.12		
			(0.06)	(0.25)		
Financial help			0.76	0.89		
			(0.30)	(0.36)		
Childcare help			0.69	1.16		
			(0.24)	(0.47)		
Place to live			0.84	1.02		
			(0.31)	(0.41)		
Child's Father Supports						
Relationship						
Fair/ Poor/ None					1.93	1.66
					(0.86)	(0.73)
Good					0.95	1.37
					(0.27)	(0.36)
Very good/ Excellent					-	-
Pseudo R-squared	0.038		0.066		0.040	

N = 761
+ p< .10, * p< .05, ** p<.01
Standard errors in parentheses

Table 23b. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Hours as a Function of Supports

Mothers Married Before Child's Birth	(4) Community		(5) Human Capital	
Race/Ethnicity	None	Part-time	None	Part-time
Hispanic	0.87	0.31**	0.42**	0.34**
	(0.19)	(0.09)	(0.12)	(0.13)
Black	0.26**	0.15**	0.21**	0.15**
	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
White	-	-	-	-
Age				
< 20 yrs	2.76+	1.00	1.71	0.78
	(1.64)	(0.90)	(1.08)	(0.73)
> 30 yrs	0.77	0.84	0.90	0.86
	(0.14)	(0.19)	(0.17)	(0.20)
20 to 29 years	-	-	-	-
Add. todd. (BA)	0.99	1.21	0.89	1.12
	(0.18)	(0.28)	(0.17)	(0.28)
Add. todd. (Y1)	1.87**	1.14	2.13**	1.25
	(0.39)	(0.30)	(0.47)	(0.35)
Add. todd. (Y3)	1.72**	1.31	1.78**	1.21
	(0.29)	(0.27)	(0.31)	(0.26)
Community Characteristics				
Rent assistance	1.69	1.08		
	(0.67)	(0.65)		
Employment assistance	0.63	0.49		
	(0.37)	(0.41)		
Childcare referral	0.68	0.83		
	(0.26)	(0.38)		
Religious Participation				
Weekly or more	2.12*	2.19+		
	(0.70)	(0.96)		
Monthly	1.83+	2.46+		
	(0.65)	(1.14)		
Yearly	1.30	1.96		
	(0.45)	(0.87)		
Never	-	-		

(Table continued on following page)

Table 23b. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Hours as a Function of Supports (continued)

Human Capital	**(4) Community**		**(5) Human Capital**	
	None	Part-time	None	Part-time
Respondent's Education				
Less than HS			4.27**	2.28+
			(1.49)	(1.07)
HS diploma or GED			2.22**	0.91
			(0.56)	(0.33)
More than HS			-	-
Maternal Education				
Less than HS			0.59	0.32**
			(0.20)	(0.14)
HS diploma or GED			0.95	0.88
			(0.23)	(0.24)
Don't know			1.74	1.03
			(0.93)	(0.68)
More than HS			-	-
Paternal Education				
Less than HS			1.59	1.37
			(0.51)	(0.58)
HS diploma or GED			0.89	1.34
			(0.23)	(0.39)
Don't know			0.91	1.54
			(0.27)	(0.52)
More than HS			-	-
Health problem/ Ch. Dis.			1.45	0.82
			(0.57)	(0.46)
2 par. house			1.03	1.26
			(0.21)	(0.32)
Traditional values			1.63**	1.17
			(0.23)	(0.20)
Immigrant			1.62+	1.27
			(0.44)	(0.47)
Pseudo R-squared	0.088		0.130	

N = 761
+ p< .10, * p< .05, ** p<.01
Standard errors in parentheses

Table 24b. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Weeks as a Function of Supports

	(4) Community		(5) Human Capital	
Race/Ethnicity	No Wks	Some Wks	No Wks	Some Wks
Hispanic	1.36	0.90	0.50*	0.60
	(0.31)	(0.23)	(0.15)	(0.19)
Black	0.28**	0.64+	0.20**	0.54*
	(0.07)	(0.15)	(0.06)	(0.13)
White	-	-	-	-
Age				
< 20 yrs	4.08+	7.47*	2.87	6.31*
	(3.33)	(5.95)	(2.45)	(5.22)
> 30 yrs	1.04	1.03	1.26	1.09
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.26)	(0.22)
20 to 29 years	-	-	-	-
Add. todd. (BA)	1.18	1.03	1.07	1.02
	(0.23)	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.21)
Add. todd. (Y1)	1.65*	1.24	1.92**	1.35
	(0.35)	(0.28)	(0.44)	(0.31)
Add. todd. (Y3)	1.62**	1.93**	1.75**	1.90**
	(0.28)	(0.34)	(0.32)	(0.35)
Community Characteristics				
Rent assistance	1.68	2.28+		
	(0.76)	(0.99)		
Employment assistance	1.05	0.80		
	(0.69)	(0.55)		
Childcare referral	0.62	0.90		
	(0.27)	(0.34)		
Religious Participation				
Weekly or more	1.51	1.94+		
	(0.52)	(0.77)		
Monthly	1.15	1.48		
	(0.43)	(0.62)		
Yearly	0.97	2.58*		
	(0.36)	(1.04)		
Never	-	-		

(Table continued on following page)

Table 24b. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Weeks as a Function of Supports (continued)

Human Capital

Respondent's Education			
Less than HS		4.47**	2.29*
		(1.65)	(0.88)
HS diploma or GED		2.35**	1.56
		(0.64)	(0.44)
More than HS		-	-
Maternal Education			
Less than HS		0.88	0.49*
		(0.31)	(0.17)
HS diploma or GED		0.87	0.45**
		(0.22)	(0.11)
Don't know		1.21	0.48
		(0.68)	(0.27)
More than HS		-	-
Paternal Education			
Less than HS		1.62	2.11*
		(0.55)	(0.73)
HS diploma or GED		0.82	1.38
		(0.22)	(0.36)
Don't know		1.03	1.68+
		(0.32)	(0.50)
More than HS		-	-
Health problem/ Ch. Dis.		1.94	0.99
		(0.80)	(0.45)
2 par. house		1.05	0.81
		(0.23)	(0.17)
Traditional values		1.73**	1.18
		(0.25)	(0.18)
Immigrant		1.46	1.44
		(0.43)	(0.43)
Pseudo R-squared	0.065	0.103	

N = 750
+ p< .10, * p< .05, ** p<.01
Standard errors in parentheses

Table 25b. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Jobs as a Function of Supports

Mothers Married Before Child's Birth	(4) Community		(5) Human Capital	
Race/Ethnicity	No Jobs	2+ Jobs	No Jobs	2+ Jobs
Hispanic	1.52+	1.14	0.64	1.67+
	(0.34)	(0.28)	(0.20)	(0.51)
Black	0.40**	1.23	0.34**	1.22
	(0.11)	(0.28)	(0.10)	(0.29)
White	-	-	-	-
Age				
< 20 yrs	1.26	1.71	0.79	1.81
	(0.70)	(0.88)	(0.45)	(1.00)
> 30 yrs	0.85	0.54**	0.95	0.52**
	(0.17)	(0.11)	(0.20)	(0.11)
20 to 29 years	-	-	-	-
Add. todd. (BA)	1.26	0.88	1.24	0.89
	(0.24)	(0.18)	(0.24)	(0.19)
Add. todd. (Y1)	1.49+	1.03	1.63*	0.99
	(0.31)	(0.23)	(0.36)	(0.23)
Add. todd. (Y3)	0.93	1.02	0.93	0.98
	(0.16)	(0.18)	(0.16)	(0.18)
Community Characteristics				
Rent assistance	3.04**	1.37		
	(1.23)	(0.62)		
Employment assistance	0.36	1.13		
	(0.29)	(0.66)		
Childcare referral	0.80	1.68		
	(0.37)	(0.62)		
Religious Participation				
Weekly or more	1.33	0.89		
	(0.48)	(0.33)		
Monthly	1.26	1.41		
	(0.49)	(0.55)		
Yearly	0.90	1.14		
	(0.34)	(0.43)		
Never	-	-		

(Table continued on following page)

Table 25b. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Jobs as a Function of Supports (continued)

Human Capital	**(4) Community**		**(5) Human Capital**	
	No Jobs	2+ Jobs	No Jobs	2+ Jobs
Respondent's Education				
Less than HS			3.06**	0.82
			(1.02)	(0.31)
HS diploma or GED			1.61+	0.97
			(0.44)	(0.26)
More than HS			-	-
Maternal Education				
Less than HS			1.10	0.74
			(0.38)	(0.26)
HS diploma or GED			0.87	1.02
			(0.23)	(0.24)
Don't know			1.66	0.62
			(0.86)	(0.35)
More than HS			-	-
Paternal Education				
Less than HS			0.89	0.41*
			(0.30)	(0.15)
HS diploma or GED			0.79	0.66
			(0.22)	(0.17)
Don't know			0.80	0.86
			(0.26)	(0.25)
More than HS			-	-
Health problem/ Ch. Dis.			1.82	2.11+
			(0.73)	(0.85)
2 par. house			0.90	0.76
			(0.19)	(0.16)
Traditional values			1.37*	1.23
			(0.20)	(0.18)
Immigrant			1.75*	0.78
			(0.49)	(0.24)
Pseudo R-squared	0.051		0.082	

N = 761
+ p< .10, * p< .05, ** p<.01
Standard errors in parentheses

Table 23c. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Hours as a Function of Supports

Mothers Married Before Child's Birth	(6) Full Model without Employment Experience	
Race/Ethnicity	None	Part-time
Hispanic	0.42**	0.33**
	(0.13)	(0.13)
Black	0.21**	0.14**
	(0.05)	(0.05)
White	-	-
Age	2.28	0.94
< 20 yrs	(1.51)	(0.90)
	0.88	0.86
> 30 yrs	(0.18)	(0.21)
20 to 29 years	-	-
Add. todd. (BA)	0.83	1.15
	(0.17)	(0.30)
Add. todd. (Y1)	2.23**	1.21
	(0.51)	(0.35)
Add. todd. (Y3)	1.83**	1.22
	(0.33)	(0.26)
Family Supports		
Relative care use	0.28**	1.17
	(0.08)	(0.32)
Financial help	0.86	1.06
	(0.35)	(0.57)
Childcare help	0.80	0.67
	(0.30)	(0.31)
Place to live	1.17	0.54
	(0.47)	(0.27)
Child's Father Supports		
Relationship		
Poor	0.55	0.62
	(0.26)	(0.38)
Good	0.62+	0.71
	(0.18)	(0.25)
Very good/Excellent	-	-
Community Supports		
Rent assistance	1.21	1.20
	(0.55)	(0.79)
Employment assistance	0.41	0.39
	(0.26)	(0.34)
Childcare referral	0.68	0.85
	(0.28)	(0.40)
Religious Participation		
Weekly or more	2.36*	2.38+
	(0.88)	(1.14)
Monthly	2.23*	2.73*
	(0.88)	(1.35)
Yearly	1.60	2.29+
	(0.60)	(1.08)
Never	-	-

(Table continued on following page)

Table 23c. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Hours as a Function of Supports (continued)

Human Capital	None	Part-time
Resp. Education		
Less than HS	3.97**	2.25+
	(1.44)	(1.08)
HS diploma or GED	2.42**	0.94
	(0.63)	(0.34)
More than HS	-	-
Maternal Education		
Less than HS	0.54+	0.28**
	(0.19)	(0.12)
HS diploma or GED	0.84	0.81
	(0.21)	(0.22)
Don't know	2.07	1.03
	(1.14)	(0.70)
More than HS	-	-
Paternal Education		
Less than HS	1.88+	1.36
	(0.63)	(0.59)
HS diploma or GED	0.94	1.30
	(0.25)	(0.39)
Don't know	1.07	1.58
	(0.33)	(0.54)
More than HS	-	-
Health problem/ Ch. Dis.	1.65	0.88
	(0.69)	(0.51)
2 par. house	1.02	1.21
	(0.22)	(0.31)
Immigrant	1.59	1.17
	(0.45)	(0.45)
Traditional values	1.44*	1.11
	(0.22)	(0.20)
Pseudo R-squared	0.163	

N = 761
+ p< .10, * p< .05, ** p<.01
Standard errors in parentheses

Table 24c. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Weeks as a Function of Supports

Mothers Married Before Child's Birth	(6) Full Model without Employment Experience	
Race/Ethnicity	No Wks	Some Wks
Hispanic	0.51*	0.61
	(0.17)	(0.20)
Black	0.21**	0.53*
	(0.06)	(0.14)
White	-	-
Age	3.45	7.24*
< 20 yrs	(3.03)	(6.11)
	1.22	1.08
> 30 yrs	(0.27)	(0.22)
20 to 29 years	-	-
Add. todd. (BA)	0.96	0.90
	(0.21)	(0.20)
Add. todd. (Y1)	2.06**	1.45
	(0.50)	(0.34)
Add. todd. (Y3)	1.86**	2.01**
	(0.36)	(0.38)
Family Characteristics		
Relative care use	0.08**	0.54**
	(0.03)	(0.13)
Financial help	1.21	1.15
	(0.55)	(0.50)
Childcare help	0.76	0.81
	(0.31)	(0.32)
Place to live	1.55	1.13
	(0.66)	(0.47)
Child's Father Characteristics		
Relationship		
Poor	0.76	0.94
	(0.43)	(0.46)
Good	0.75	0.83
	(0.24)	(0.24)
Very good/Excellent	-	-
Community Characteristics		
Rent assistance	0.85	1.70
	(0.44)	(0.82)
Employment assistance	0.90	0.65
	(0.64)	(0.47)
Childcare referral	0.57	0.95
	(0.27)	(0.38)
Religious Participation		
Weekly or more	1.85	2.45*
	(0.73)	(1.03)
Monthly	1.49	1.76
	(0.61)	(0.78)
Yearly	1.33	3.28**
	(0.54)	(1.37)
Never	-	-

(Table continued on following page)

Table 24c. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Weeks as a Function of Supports (continued)

Human Capital	No Wks	Some Wks
Resp. Education		
Less than HS	4.05**	2.04+
	(1.59)	(0.82)
HS diploma or GED	2.55**	1.52
	(0.74)	(0.43)
More than HS	-	-
Maternal Education		
Less than HS	0.96	0.46*
	(0.36)	(0.16)
HS diploma or GED	0.82	0.40**
	(0.22)	(0.10)
Don't know	1.67	0.48
	(1.00)	(0.28)
More than HS	-	-
Paternal Education		
Less than HS	1.96+	2.54**
	(0.71)	(0.91)
HS diploma or GED	0.91	1.52
	(0.26)	(0.41)
Don't know	1.30	1.88*
	(0.43)	(0.58)
More than HS	-	-
Health problem/ Ch. Dis.	2.65*	1.03
	(1.19)	(0.49)
2 par. house	1.09	0.82
	(0.25)	(0.18)
Immigrant	1.39	1.37
	(0.44)	(0.43)
Traditional values	1.58**	1.15
	(0.25)	(0.18)
Pseudo R-squared	0.152	

N = 750
+ p< .10, * p< .05, ** p<.01
Standard errors in parentheses

Table 25c. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Jobs as a Function of Supports

Mothers Married Before Giving Birth	(6) Full Model without Employment Experience	
Race/Ethnicity	No Jobs	2+ Jobs
Hispanic	0.60	1.67+
	(0.20)	(0.51)
Black	0.30**	1.20
	(0.09)	(0.30)
White	-	-
Age	0.93	1.81
< 20 yrs	(0.55)	(1.02)
	0.93	0.52**
> 30 yrs	(0.20)	(0.11)
20 to 29 years	-	-
Add. todd. (BA)	1.14	0.89
	(0.23)	(0.19)
Add. todd. (Y1)	1.70*	0.99
	(0.38)	(0.23)
Add. todd. (Y3)	0.93	0.99
	(0.17)	(0.18)
Family Supports		
Relative care use	0.17**	1.27
	(0.07)	(0.30)
Financial help	1.01	0.89
	(0.44)	(0.38)
Childcare help	0.59	1.26
	(0.22)	(0.53)
Place to live	1.05	0.85
	(0.42)	(0.36)
Child's Father Supports		
Relationship		
Poor	1.53	1.52
	(0.77)	(0.72)
Good	0.87	1.27
	(0.27)	(0.36)
Very good/Excellent	-	-
Community Supports		
Rent assistance	1.90	0.94
	(0.85)	(0.46)
Employment assistance	0.25	1.06
	(0.22)	(0.67)
Childcare referral	0.61	1.92+
	(0.30)	(0.75)
Religious Participation		
Weekly or more	1.74	0.82
	(0.69)	(0.32)
Monthly	1.71	1.28
	(0.72)	(0.53)
Yearly	1.17	1.09
	(0.47)	(0.43)
Never	-	-

(Table continued on following page)

Table 25c. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Jobs as a Function of Supports (continued)

Human Capital	No Jobs	2+ Jobs
Resp. Education		
Less than HS	2.63**	0.83
	(0.93)	(0.32)
HS diploma or GED	1.69+	0.97
	(0.49)	(0.27)
More than HS	-	-
Maternal Education		
Less than HS	1.09	0.76
	(0.40)	(0.27)
HS diploma or GED	0.88	1.06
	(0.24)	(0.26)
Don't know	2.36	0.61
	(1.29)	(0.35)
More than HS	-	-
Paternal Education		
Less than HS	0.99	0.37**
	(0.34)	(0.14)
HS diploma or GED	0.90	0.65+
	(0.26)	(0.17)
Don't know	0.92	0.85
	(0.31)	(0.25)
More than HS	-	-
Health problem/ Ch. Dis.	1.83	2.04+
	(0.78)	(0.84)
2 par. house	0.96	0.78
	(0.22)	(0.17)
Immigrant	1.72+	0.79
	(0.51)	(0.25)
Traditional values	1.19	1.33+
	(0.19)	(0.21)
Pseudo R-squared	0.117	

N = 750
+ p< .10, * p< .05, ** p<.01
Standard errors in parentheses

Table 26a. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Hours as a Function of Supports

Mothers Married After Child's Birth	(1) Basic		(2) Family		(3) Child's Father	
Race/Ethnicity	None	Part-time	None	Part-time	None	Part-time
Hispanic	0.89	0.77	0.88	0.79	0.90	0.74
	(0.25)	(0.28)	(0.25)	(0.29)	(0.26)	(0.27)
Black	0.39**	0.26**	0.37**	0.27**	0.40**	0.27**
	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)
White	-	-	-	-	-	-
Age						
< 20 yrs	1.12	0.85	1.20	0.81	1.11	0.84
	(0.31)	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.33)	(0.31)	(0.34)
> 30 yrs	0.48**	0.44+	0.46**	0.45+	0.47**	0.43+
	(0.14)	(0.19)	(0.13)	(0.19)	(0.14)	(0.19)
20 to 29 years	-	-	-	-	-	-
Add. todd. (BA)	1.25	0.94	1.24	0.97	1.24	0.98
	(0.26)	(0.30)	(0.26)	(0.31)	(0.26)	(0.31)
Add. todd. (Y1)	0.80	0.85	0.76	0.88	0.80	0.84
	(0.18)	(0.29)	(0.17)	(0.30)	(0.18)	(0.29)
Add. todd. (Y3)	2.07**	1.27	2.01**	1.33	2.07**	1.29
	(0.36)	(0.33)	(0.36)	(0.35)	(0.36)	(0.34)
Family Supports						
Relative care use			0.68	1.22		
			(0.17)	(0.40)		
Financial help			1.25	1.17		
			(0.42)	(0.59)		
Childcare help			0.73	1.77		
			(0.25)	(1.10)		
Place to live			0.64	1.05		
			(0.22)	(0.59)		
Child's Father Supports						
Relationship						
Poor					0.96	0.47
					(0.26)	(0.23)
Good					0.81	1.22
					(0.23)	(0.44)
Very good/ Excellent					-	-
Pseudo R-squared	0.058		0.070		0.064	

N = 472
* p< .05, ** p<.01
Standard errors in parentheses

Table 27a. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Weeks as a Function of Supports

Mothers Married After Child's Birth	(1) Basic		(2) Family		(3) Child's Father	
Race/Ethnicity	No Wks	Some Wks	No Wks	Some Wks	No Wks	Some Wks
Hispanic	0.61	0.75	0.58	0.73	0.62	0.76
	(0.20)	(0.23)	(0.19)	(0.22)	(0.20)	(0.23)
Black	0.19**	0.45**	0.17**	0.42**	0.20**	0.44**
	(0.07)	(0.13)	(0.06)	(0.13)	(0.07)	(0.13)
White	-	-	-	-	-	-
Age						
< 20 yrs	1.19	0.99	1.23	1.04	1.21	0.99
	(0.40)	(0.29)	(0.43)	(0.31)	(0.41)	(0.29)
> 30 yrs	0.91	0.68	0.95	0.65	0.89	0.70
	(0.32)	(0.20)	(0.34)	(0.20)	(0.31)	(0.21)
20 to 29 years	-	-	-	-	-	-
Add. todd. (BA)	1.34	1.30	1.37	1.28	1.33	1.30
	(0.36)	(0.28)	(0.37)	(0.28)	(0.36)	(0.29)
Add. todd. (Y1)	0.87	0.99	0.75	0.98	0.87	0.99
	(0.25)	(0.23)	(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.25)	(0.23)
Add. todd. (Y3)	2.17**	2.05**	2.06**	1.96**	2.20**	2.04**
	(0.48)	(0.39)	(0.47)	(0.37)	(0.49)	(0.38)
Family Supports						
Relative care use			0.19**	0.92		
			(0.08)	(0.23)		
Financial help			0.97	0.77		
			(0.42)	(0.27)		
Childcare help			0.94	0.82		
			(0.42)	(0.30)		
Place to live			0.75	0.78		
			(0.34)	(0.29)		
Child's Father Supports						
Relationship						
Poor					0.77	1.45
					(0.29)	(0.42)
Good					0.75	1.06
					(0.27)	(0.30)
Very good/ Excellent					-	-
Pseudo R-squared	0.054		0.081		0.059	

N = 459
+ p< .10, * p< .05, ** p<.01
Standard errors in parentheses

Table 28a. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Jobs as a Function of Supports

Mothers Married After Giving Birth	(1) Basic		(2) Family		(3) Child's Father	
Race/Ethnicity	No Jobs	2+ Jobs	No Jobs	2+ Jobs	No Jobs	2+ Jobs
Hispanic	1.62	0.75	1.63	0.74	1.65	0.74
	(0.59)	(0.20)	(0.60)	(0.20)	(0.60)	(0.20)
Black	0.53	1.34	0.49	1.30	0.54	1.30
	(0.23)	(0.35)	(0.22)	(0.35)	(0.24)	(0.35)
White	-	-	-	-	-	-
Age						
< 20 yrs	0.95	1.37	0.99	1.43	0.95	1.38
	(0.38)	(0.37)	(0.41)	(0.39)	(0.38)	(0.37)
> 30 yrs	0.63	0.34**	0.64	0.33**	0.63	0.35**
	(0.24)	(0.10)	(0.25)	(0.10)	(0.24)	(0.10)
20 to 29 years	-	-	-	-	-	-
Add. todd. (BA)	1.22	1.01	1.18	1.00	1.21	1.02
	(0.36)	(0.21)	(0.35)	(0.21)	(0.36)	(0.21)
Add. todd. (Y1)	0.90	1.07	0.84	1.08	0.90	1.08
	(0.29)	(0.23)	(0.27)	(0.24)	(0.29)	(0.24)
Add. todd. (Y3)	1.17	1.18	1.07	1.18	1.17	1.16
	(0.28)	(0.20)	(0.26)	(0.20)	(0.28)	(0.19)
Family Characteristics						
Relative care use			0.30**	1.23		
			(0.14)	(0.30)		
Financial help			0.87	1.11		
			(0.39)	(0.37)		
Childcare help			0.68	0.88		
			(0.31)	(0.30)		
Place to live			0.85	0.68		
			(0.41)	(0.24)		
Child's Father Characteristics						
Relationship						
Fair/ Poor/ None					0.95	1.39
					(0.39)	(0.37)
Good					0.85	1.20
					(0.33)	(0.32)
Very good/ Excellent					-	-
Pseudo R-squared	0.049		0.064		0.051	

N = 472
+ p< .10, * p< .05, ** p<.01
Standard errors in parentheses

Table 26b. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Hours as a Function of Supports

Mothers Married After Child's Birth	(4) Community		(5) Human Capital	
Race/Ethnicity	None	Part-time	None	Part-time
Hispanic	0.98	0.56	0.58	0.75
	(0.29)	(0.22)	(0.20)	(0.33)
Black	0.45**	0.19**	0.34**	0.21**
	(0.13)	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.09)
White	-	-	-	-
Age				
< 20 yrs	1.12	0.96	0.88	1.04
	(0.32)	(0.40)	(0.26)	(0.45)
> 30 yrs	0.46**	0.50	0.59+	0.50
	(0.13)	(0.22)	(0.18)	(0.22)
20 to 29 years	-	-	-	-
Add. todd. (BA)	1.26	0.86	1.15	1.04
	(0.26)	(0.28)	(0.25)	(0.34)
Add. todd. (Y1)	0.79	0.86	0.80	0.82
	(0.18)	(0.28)	(0.19)	(0.29)
Add. todd. (Y3)	2.08**	1.17	2.19**	1.25
	(0.37)	(0.31)	(0.40)	(0.34)
Community Supports				
Rent assistance	1.17	2.90**		
	(0.35)	(1.15)		
Employment assistance	0.67	1.45		
	(0.25)	(0.69)		
Childcare referral	0.74	0.61		
	(0.25)	(0.32)		
Religious Participation				
Weekly or more	1.06	1.26		
	(0.35)	(0.60)		
Monthly	0.93	1.44		
	(0.33)	(0.71)		
Yearly	1.48	0.81		
	(0.50)	(0.40)		
Never	-	-		

(Table continued on following page)

Table 26b. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Hours as a Function of Supports (continued)

Human Capital	**(4) Community**		**(5) Human Capital**	
	None	Part-time	None	Part-time
Respondent's Education				
Less than HS			3.01**	0.83
			(0.96)	(0.39)
HS diploma or GED			1.26	0.79
			(0.35)	(0.30)
More than HS			-	-
Maternal Education				
Less than HS			0.86	0.32*
			(0.31)	(0.16)
HS diploma or GED			0.78	0.41*
			(0.24)	(0.17)
Don't know			0.93	0.56
			(0.46)	(0.37)
More than HS			-	-
Paternal Education				
Less than HS			1.61	1.54
			(0.67)	(0.87)
HS diploma or GED			0.98	0.60
			(0.34)	(0.29)
Don't know			1.02	1.14
			(0.36)	(0.52)
More than HS			-	-
Health problem/ Ch. Dis.			1.84	2.57+
			(0.74)	(1.38)
2 par. house			0.70	0.87
			(0.16)	(0.28)
Traditional values			0.92	1.53
			(0.18)	(0.42)
Immigrant			1.30	1.31
			(0.43)	(0.59)
Pseudo R-squared	0.078		0.110	

N = 470
+ p< .10, * p< .05, ** p<.01
Standard errors in parentheses

Table 27b. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Hours as a Function of Supports

Mothers Married After Child's Birth	(4) Community		(5) Human Capital	
Race/Ethnicity	No Wks	Some Wks	No Wks	Some Wks
Hispanic	0.67	0.76	0.32**	0.54+
	(0.23)	(0.24)	(0.13)	(0.19)
Black	0.22**	0.44**	0.16**	0.38**
	(0.08)	(0.14)	(0.06)	(0.12)
White	-	-	-	-
Age				
< 20 yrs	1.22	0.98	1.03	1.02
	(0.42)	(0.30)	(0.37)	(0.32)
> 30 yrs	0.82	0.65	0.93	0.61
	(0.29)	(0.20)	(0.34)	(0.19)
20 to 29 years	-	-	-	-
Add. todd. (BA)	1.29	1.32	1.29	1.34
	(0.36)	(0.29)	(0.36)	(0.30)
Add. todd. (Y1)	0.93	1.01	0.88	0.98
	(0.28)	(0.24)	(0.26)	(0.24)
Add. todd. (Y3)	2.17**	2.10**	2.28**	2.19**
	(0.49)	(0.40)	(0.52)	(0.42)
Community Supports				
Rent assistance	1.18	1.02		
	(0.44)	(0.31)		
Employment assistance	1.04	1.95+		
	(0.56)	(0.75)		
Childcare referral	0.33+	0.93		
	(0.19)	(0.32)		
Religious Participation				
Weekly or more	1.15	1.78		
	(0.47)	(0.64)		
Monthly	0.58	1.05		
	(0.25)	(0.39)		
Yearly	1.35	1.93+		
	(0.54)	(0.70)		
Never	-	-		

(Table continued on following page)

Table 27b. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Hours as a Function of Supports (continued)

	(4) Community		(5) Human Capital	
Human Capital	No Wks	Some Wks	No Wks	Some Wks
Respondent's Education				
Less than HS			2.39*	0.92
			(0.98)	(0.31)
HS diploma or GED			1.32	0.78
			(0.48)	(0.22)
More than HS			-	-
Maternal Education				
Less than HS			1.33	1.24
			(0.61)	(0.46)
HS diploma or GED			0.94	1.03
			(0.38)	(0.32)
Don't know			2.94+	2.39
			(1.86)	(1.28)
More than HS			-	-
Paternal Education				
Less than HS			1.04	0.98
			(0.53)	(0.42)
HS diploma or GED			1.10	1.07
			(0.48)	(0.38)
Don't know			0.65	0.94
			(0.30)	(0.33)
More than HS			-	-
Health problem/ Ch. Dis.			1.47	1.91
			(0.74)	(0.78)
2 par. house			1.05	1.03
			(0.30)	(0.25)
Traditional values			1.32	1.73**
			(0.32)	(0.34)
Immigrant			1.91+	1.46
			(0.75)	(0.49)
Pseudo R-squared	0.073		0.088	

N = 459
+ p< .10, * p< .05, ** p<.01
Standard errors in parentheses

Table 28b. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Jobs as a Function of Supports

Mothers Married After Child's Birth	(4) Community		(5) Human Capital	
Race/Ethnicity	No Jobs	2+ Jobs	No Jobs	2+ Jobs
Hispanic	1.58	0.68	1.12	1.00
	(0.60)	(0.19)	(0.50)	(0.31)
Black	0.54	1.25	0.48	1.38
	(0.25)	(0.35)	(0.22)	(0.38)
White	-	-	-	-
Age				
< 20 yrs	0.96	1.41	0.93	1.52
	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.40)	(0.43)
> 30 yrs	0.55	0.36**	0.66	0.30**
	(0.22)	(0.11)	(0.27)	(0.10)
20 to 29 years	-	-	-	-
Add. todd. (BA)	1.17	0.99	1.28	1.06
	(0.36)	(0.20)	(0.39)	(0.22)
Add. todd. (Y1)	0.98	1.08	0.89	1.04
	(0.33)	(0.24)	(0.30)	(0.24)
Add. todd. (Y3)	1.14	1.19	1.13	1.18
	(0.27)	(0.20)	(0.28)	(0.20)
Community Supports				
Rent assistance	0.85	0.96		
	(0.36)	(0.27)		
Employment assistance	0.64	2.05*		
	(0.43)	(0.73)		
Childcare referral	0.31	1.10		
	(0.24)	(0.36)		
Religious Participation				
Weekly or more	1.06	0.71		
	(0.47)	(0.24)		
Monthly	0.57	0.80		
	(0.29)	(0.28)		
Yearly	0.54	0.61		
	(0.25)	(0.20)		
Never	-	-		

(Table continued on following page)

Table 28b. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Jobs as a Function of Supports (continued)

	(4) Community		(5) Human Capital	
Human Capital	No Jobs	2+ Jobs	No Jobs	2+ Jobs
Respondent's Education				
Less than HS			2.07	0.76
			(0.97)	(0.23)
HS diploma or GED			1.48	0.75
			(0.64)	(0.20)
More than HS			-	-
Maternal Education				
Less than HS			0.40+	0.80
			(0.21)	(0.28)
HS diploma or GED			0.45+	1.13
			(0.22)	(0.33)
Don't know			0.99	0.84
			(0.63)	(0.41)
More than HS			-	-
Paternal Education				
Less than HS			1.70	0.88
			(0.98)	(0.35)
HS diploma or GED			1.50	2.03*
			(0.79)	(0.67)
Don't know			1.03	1.33
			(0.54)	(0.44)
More than HS			-	-
Health problem/ Ch. Dis.			1.03	0.86
			(0.55)	(0.32)
2 par. house			1.54	1.03
			(0.49)	(0.23)
Traditional values			1.78*	0.99
			(0.47)	(0.18)
Immigrant			1.42	0.97
			(0.57)	(0.32)
Pseudo R-squared	0.068		0.089	

N = 472
+ p< .10, * p< .05, ** p<.01
Standard errors in parentheses

Table 26c. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Hours as a Function of Supports

Mothers Married After Giving Birth	(6) Full Model without Employment Experience	
Race/Ethnicity	None	Part-time
Hispanic	0.69	0.48
	(0.25)	(0.24)
Black	0.39**	0.15**
	(0.12)	(0.07)
White	-	-
Age		
< 20 yrs	0.93	1.10
	(0.29)	(0.49)
> 30 yrs	0.52*	0.58
	(0.17)	(0.27)
20 to 29 years	-	-
Add. todd. (BA)	1.16	1.03
	(0.27)	(0.36)
Add. todd. (Y1)	0.74	0.87
	(0.18)	(0.31)
Add. todd. (Y3)	2.20**	1.29
	(0.42)	(0.37)
Family Supports		
Relative care use	0.66	1.61
	(0.18)	(0.58)
Financial help	1.25	1.15
	(0.44)	(0.65)
Childcare help	0.85	2.02
	(0.30)	(1.31)
Place to live	0.54+	1.06
	(0.20)	(0.66)
Child's Father Supports		
Relationship		
Fair/ Poor/ None	0.93	0.39+
	(0.27)	(0.20)
Good	0.70	1.32
	(0.22)	(0.53)
Very good/ Excellent	-	-
Community Supports		
Rent assistance	0.98	2.86*
	(0.32)	(1.23)
Employment assistance	0.74	1.90
	(0.29)	(0.99)
Childcare referral	0.62	0.58
	(0.23)	(0.33)
Religious Participation		
Weekly or more	1.09	1.09
	(0.39)	(0.57)
Monthly	0.94	1.35
	(0.36)	(0.73)
Yearly	1.66	0.65
	(0.60)	(0.35)
Never	-	-

(Table continued on following page)

Table 26c. Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Hours as a Function of Supports (continued)

Human Capital Characteristics	None	Part-time
Resp. Education		
Less than HS	3.09**	0.84
	(1.02)	(0.41)
HS diploma or GED	1.24	0.80
	(0.35)	(0.32)
More than HS	-	-
Maternal Education		
Less than HS	0.81	0.28*
	(0.31)	(0.15)
HS diploma or GED	0.74	0.40*
	(0.24)	(0.18)
Don't know	0.85	0.60
	(0.45)	(0.41)
More than HS	-	-
Paternal Education		
Less than HS	1.60	1.77
	(0.68)	(1.06)
HS diploma or GED	0.99	0.52
	(0.35)	(0.26)
Don't know	1.03	1.23
	(0.37)	(0.58)
More than HS	-	-
Health problem/ Ch. Dis.	1.92	2.10
	(0.80)	(1.20)
2 par. house	0.68	0.93
	(0.17)	(0.32)
Immigrant	1.33	1.18
	(0.45)	(0.57)
Traditional values	0.85	1.54
	(0.17)	(0.46)
Pseudo R-squared	0.152	

N = 470
+ p< .10, * p< .05, ** p<.01
Standard errors in parentheses

Table 27c: Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Weeks as a Function of Supports

Mothers who Married After Giving Birth	(6) Full Model without Employment Experience	
Race/Ethnicity	No Wks	Some Wks
Hispanic	0.31**	0.50+
	(0.14)	(0.19)
Black	0.18**	0.34**
	(0.07)	(0.11)
White	-	-
Age		
< 20 yrs	1.10	1.06
	(0.42)	(0.35)
> 30 yrs	0.90	0.56+
	(0.36)	(0.18)
20 to 29 years	-	-
Add. todd. (BA)	1.22	1.34
	(0.36)	(0.32)
Add. todd. (Y1)	0.81	1.00
	(0.26)	(0.25)
Add. todd. (Y3)	2.32**	2.16**
	(0.57)	(0.43)
Family Supports		
Relative care use	0.15**	0.94
	(0.07)	(0.25)
Financial help	0.86	0.71
	(0.42)	(0.27)
Childcare help	0.88	0.78
	(0.43)	(0.30)
Place to live	0.79	0.82
	(0.41)	(0.33)
Child's Father Supports		
Relationship		
Fair/ Poor/ None	0.75	1.55
	(0.31)	(0.48)
Good	0.67	1.16
	(0.27)	(0.36)
Very good/Excellent	-	-
Community Supports		
Rent assistance	0.97	0.91
	(0.40)	(0.30)
Employment assist.	1.45	2.31*
	(0.83)	(0.94)
Childcare referral	0.27*	0.82
	(0.16)	(0.29)
Religious Participation		
Weekly or more	0.90	1.51
	(0.40)	(0.58)
Monthly	0.44+	1.07
	(0.21)	(0.43)
Yearly	1.40	1.96+
	(0.61)	(0.76)
Never	-	-

(Table continued on following page)

Table 27c: Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Weeks as a Function of Supports (continued)

Human Capital	No Wks	Some Wks
Resp. Education		
Less than HS	3.00*	0.94
	(1.33)	(0.32)
HS diploma or GED	1.59	0.78
	(0.61)	(0.23)
More than HS	-	-
Maternal Education		
Less than HS	1.64	1.28
	(0.79)	(0.51)
HS diploma or GED	0.93	1.01
	(0.39)	(0.33)
Don't know	3.40+	2.57+
	(2.34)	(1.43)
More than HS	-	-
Paternal Education		
Less than HS	0.78	0.97
	(0.42)	(0.43)
HS diploma or GED	1.01	1.14
	(0.46)	(0.42)
Don't know	0.54	0.92
	(0.26)	(0.34)
More than HS	-	-
Health problem/ Ch. Dis.	1.22	1.87
	(0.65)	(0.79)
2 par. House	1.10	1.07
	(0.34)	(0.27)
Immigrant	2.37*	1.58
	(1.00)	(0.56)
Traditional values	1.11	1.82**
	(0.29)	(0.38)
Pseudo R-squared	0.145	

N = 459
+ p< .10, * p< .05, ** p<.01
Standard errors in parentheses

Table 28c: Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Jobs as a Function of Supports

Mothers Married After Giving Birth	(6) Full Model without Employment Experience	
Race/Ethnicity	No Jobs	2+ Jobs
Hispanic	1.09	0.90
	(0.52)	(0.30)
Black	0.47	1.23
	(0.23)	(0.36)
White	-	-
Age		
< 20 yrs	1.04	1.67+
	(0.46)	(0.49)
> 30 yrs	0.61	0.31**
	(0.27)	(0.10)
20 to 29 years	-	-
Add. todd. (BA)	1.20	1.00
	(0.39)	(0.22)
Add. todd. (Y1)	0.87	1.07
	(0.32)	(0.25)
Add. todd. (Y3)	0.97	1.18
	(0.26)	(0.21)
Family Supports		
Relative care use	0.31*	1.32
	(0.15)	(0.33)
Financial help	0.83	1.31
	(0.43)	(0.46)
Childcare help	0.58	0.72
	(0.29)	(0.26)
Place to live	0.92	0.66
	(0.50)	(0.24)
Child's Father Supports		
Relationship		
Poor	1.01	1.48
	(0.45)	(0.42)
Good	0.72	1.23
	(0.32)	(0.36)
Very good/Excellent	-	-
Community Supports		
Rent assistance	0.74	0.98
	(0.34)	(0.30)
Employment assist.	0.82	2.23*
	(0.58)	(0.84)
Childcare referral	0.29	1.00
	(0.23)	(0.33)
Religious Participation		
Weekly or more	0.90	0.65
	(0.44)	(0.23)
Monthly	0.53	0.78
	(0.29)	(0.28)
Yearly	0.52	0.58
	(0.26)	(0.20)
Never	-	-

(Table continued on following page)

Table 28c: Multinomial Regression Model of Number of Jobs as a Function of Supports

Human Capital	No Jobs	2+ Jobs
Resp. Education		
Less than HS	1.94	0.75
	(0.95)	(0.24)
HS diploma or GED	1.61	0.74
	(0.71)	(0.20)
More than HS	-	-
Maternal Education		
Less than HS	0.48	0.78
	(0.26)	(0.28)
HS diploma or GED	0.47	1.12
	(0.23)	(0.34)
Don't know	0.95	0.86
	(0.64)	(0.43)
More than HS	-	-
Paternal Education		
Less than HS	1.53	0.95
	(0.91)	(0.40)
HS diploma or GED	1.55	2.31*
	(0.85)	(0.78)
Don't know	1.15	1.37
	(0.63)	(0.47)
More than HS	-	-
Health problem/ Ch. Dis.	1.08	0.84
	(0.60)	(0.33)
2 par. House	1.69	1.11
	(0.57)	(0.26)
Immigrant	1.33	0.91
	(0.57)	(0.31)
Traditional values	1.68+	1.09
	(0.48)	(0.21)
Pseudo R-squared	0.124	

N = 472
+ p< .10, * p< .05, ** p<.01
Standard errors in parentheses

Table 29. Summary of Significant Predictors for Full-time Employment

Independent variables		Unmarried Mothers	Mothers Married Before Delivery	Mothers Married After Delivery
Race/Ethnicity and Control variables (Model 1)	Hispanic		+	
	Black (Non-Hispanic)		+	+
	Older maternal age			+
	Additional toddlers in household		-	-
Family variables (Model 2)	Living arrangement other than cohabiting	-	N/A	N/A
	Relative care	+	+	
	Emerg. Financial help	+		
	Emerg. Childcare help	+		
	Emerg. Place to live			+
Father variables (Model 3)	Financial support		N/A	N/A
	Fair/Poor relationship	+		+
Community variables (Model 4)	Rent assistance	-		-
	Employment assistance	-		
	Referral for childcare	+		
	Child support enforcement assistance			
	Religious participation		-	
Human Capital variables (Model 5)	Higher education	+	+	+
	Higher mat. education		-	-
	Higher pat. education	+	+	
	Both parents in HH			
	Health problems or child with a disability	-		
	Traditional values	-	-	
	Immigrant			
R2		0.10	0.16	0.15

Note: + signs indicate positive relationships (variable is positively related to employment) and – signs indicate negative relationships (variable is negatively related to employment). Shaded blocks indicate that the addition of the blocked group of variables improved the model fit using log likelihood ratio test ($p < .10$).

Table 30. Summary of Significant Predictors for Year-Round Employment

Independent variables		Unmarried Mothers	Mothers Married Before delivery	Mothers Married After Delivery
Race/Ethnicity and Control variables (Model 1)	Hispanic		+	+
	Black (Non-Hispanic)		+	+
	Older maternal age	+	+	+
	Additional of toddlers in household	+	-	-
Family variables (Model 2)	Living arrangement other than cohabiting	-	N/A	N/A
	Relative care	+	+	+
	Emerg. Financial help	+		
	Emerg. Childcare help	+		
	Emerg. Place to live			
Father variables (Model 3)	Financial support		N/A	N/A
	Fair/Poor relationship	+		
Community variables (Model 4)	Rent assistance	-		
	Employment assistance	-		-
	Referral for childcare	+		+
	Child support enforcement assistance		N/A	N/A
	Religious participation	+	-	+/-
Human Capital variables (Model 5)	Higher education	+	+	+
	Higher mat. education		-	
	Higher pat. education		+	
	Both parents in HH			
	Health problems or child with a disability	-	-	
	Traditional values	-	-	-
	Immigrant			-
R2		0.10	0.15	0.15

Note: + signs indicate positive relationships (variable is positively related to continuous employment) and – signs indicate negative relationships (variable is negatively related to unemployment). Shaded blocks indicate that the addition of the blocked group of variables improved the model fit using log likelihood ratio test ($p < .10$).

Table 31. Summary of Significant Predictors for One Job Since Child's Birth

Independent variables		Unmarried Mothers 1 Job Compared to:		Mothers Married Before Delivery 1 Job Compared to:		Mothers Married After Delivery 1 Job Compared to:	
		No Jobs	Multiple Jobs	No Jobs	Multiple Jobs	No Jobs	Multiple Jobs
Race/Ethnicity and Control variables (Model 1)	Hispanic				-		
	Black (Non-Hispanic)			+			
	Older maternal age		+		+		+
	Additional toddlers in household		-	-			
Family variables (Model 2)	Living arrangement other than cohabiting			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Relative care	+	-	-		-	
	Emerg. Financial help	+					
	Emerg. Childcare help						
	Emerg. Place to live						
Father variables (Model 3)	Financial support			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Fair/Poor relationship	+					
Community variables (Model 4)	Rent assistance						
	Employment assistance		-				-
	Referral for childcare				-		
	Child support enforcement assistance			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Religious participation		-				
Human Capital variables (Model 5)	Higher education	+		+			
	Higher mat. education	-	-				
	Higher pat. education	+			+		-
	Both parents in HH						
	Health problems or with a child disability	-			-		
	Traditional values	-			-	-	
	Immigrant		+	-			
R2		0.08		0.12		0.12	

Note: + signs indicate positive relationships (variable is positively related to one job) and – signs indicate negative relationships (variable is negatively related to one job). Shaded blocks indicate that the addition of the blocked group of variables improved the model fit using log likelihood ratio test ($p < .10$).

References

Acs, G. & Loprest, P. (2001). Final Synthesis Report of Findings From ASPE's 'Leavers' Grants. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.

Anderson, S. Halter, A., Julnes, G., & Schuldt, R. (2000). Job stability and wage progression patterns among early TANF leavers. Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare, 27, 39-59.

Barnett, R. (1998). Toward a review and reconceptualization of the work/family literature. Genetic, Social, and General Psychology Monographs, 124(2), 125-183.

Balcazar, H., Peterson, G., & Krull, J. (1997). Acculturation and family cohesiveness in Mexican American pregnant women. Family and Community Health, 20(3), 16-32.

Barnett, R. & Baruch, G. (1985). Women's involvement in multiple roles and psychological distress. Journal of Personality and Social Behavior, 49, 135-145.

Bauman, K. (2000). The effect of work and welfare on living conditions in single parent households. US Census Bureau, Working Paper No. 46. http://www.census.gov/population/www/twps0046.pdf

Bavier, R. (2001). Welfare reform data from the survey of income and program participation. Monthly Labor Review, 124(3), 13-30.

Benin, M. & Keith, V. (1995). The social support of employed African American and Anglo mothers. Journal of Family Issues, 16(3), 275-297.

Berry, J. & Rao, J. (1997). Balancing employment and fatherhood: A systems perspective. Journal of Family Issues, 18(4), 386-403.

Blau, D., & Robins, P. (1989). Fertility, employment, and child care costs. Demography, 26(2), 287-299.

Bowen, G. & Pittman, J. (1995). Introduction. In G. Bowen & J. Pittman (Eds.), The Work-Family Interface: Towards a Contextual Effects Perspective. Minneapolis, MN: National Council on Family Relations.

Boyce, W. (1985). Social support, family relations, and children. In S. Cohen & S. Syme (Eds.) Social Support and Health. Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Brady-Smith, C., Brooks-Gunn, J., Waldfogel, J., & Fauth, R. (2001). Work or welfare? Assessing the impacts of recent employment and policy changes on very young children. Evaluation and Program Planning, 24, 409-425.

Brayfield, A. & Hofferth, S. (1995). Balancing the family budget: Differences in child care expenditures by race/ethnicity, economic status, and family structure. Social Science Quarterly, 76(1), 158-177.

Brewster, K. & Padavic, I. (2002). No more kin care? Change in black mothers' reliance on relatives for child care, 1977-94. Gender & Society, 16(4), 546-563.

Briggs, X. (1998). Brown kids in white suburbs: Housing mobility and the many faces of social capital. Housing Policy Debate, 9(1), 177-221.

Brooks, M. & Buckner, J. (1996). Work and welfare: Job histories, barriers to employment, and predictors of work among low-income single mothers. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 66(4), 526-537.

Browne, I. (1999). Latinas and African American women in the U.S. labor market. In I. Browne (Ed.). Latinas and African American Women at Work: Race, Gender, and Economic Inequality. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Brownell, A. & Shumaker, S. (1984). Social support: An introduction to a complex phenomenon. Journal of Social Issues, 40(4), 1-9.

Burtless, G. (1998). Can the labor market absorb three million welfare recipients? Focus, 19(3), 1-6.

Campbell, M. & Moen, P. (1992). Job-family role strain among employed mothers of preschoolers. Family Relations, 41, 205-211.

Cancian, M. & Reed, D. (2001). Changes in family structure: Implications for poverty and related policy. In S. Danziger & R. Haveman (Eds.). Understanding Poverty. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Caplan, G. (1974). Support Systems and Community Mental Health. New York, NY: Behavioral Publications.

Casper, L. & O'Connell, M. (1998). State estimates of organized childcare facilities. Population Division Working Paper No. 21. Washington D.C.: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Avail:

http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0021.html [2004, February]

Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (CBPP) (2003). Introduction to the housing voucher program. Washington, DC: CBPP.

Chaudry, A. (2004). Putting children first : how low-wage working mothers manage child care. New York, New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Cheng, T. (2003). Welfare 'recidivism' among former welfare recipients. Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Human Services, 84(1), 63-74.

Citro, C. F. & Michael, R. T. (1995). Measuring poverty: A new approach. Washington D.C.: National Academy Press. Summary and Recommendations (pp. 1-15).

Cohen, P. & Bianchi, S. (1999). Marriage, children, and women's employment: What do we know? Monthly Labor Review, 122(12), 22-31.

Coleman, J. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. American Journal of Sociology (Supplement), 94, S95-S120.

Corcoran, M., Danziger, S., & Tolman, R. (2004). Long-term employment of African-American and white welfare recipients and the role of persistent health and mental health problems. Women & Health, 39(4).

Crispell, D. (1994). Child-care choices don't match moms' wishes. American Demographics, 16, 11-13.

Cutrona, C. (1986). Behavioral manifestations of social support: A microanalytic investigation. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 51, 201-208.

Danziger, S., Cocoran, M., Danziger, S., & Heflin, C. (2000). Work, income, and material hardship after welfare reform. The Journal of Consumer Affairs, 34(1), 6-30.

Danziger, S., Heflin, C., Corcoran, M., Oltmans, E. & Wang, H. (2002). Does It Pay to Move from Welfare to Work? Journal of the Association for Policy Analysis and Management, 21, 671-692.

Danziger, S. & Wang, H. (2004). Does it pay to move from welfare to work? A reply to Robert Moffitt and Katie Winder. Unpublished manuscript. Avaiable on-line at: http://www.fordschool.umich.edu/poverty/publications.htm Accessed May 2004.

DeBord, K., Canu, R., Kerpelman, J. (2000). Understanding a work-family fit for single parents moving from welfare to work. Social Work, 45(4), 313-324.

DeNavas-Walt, C., Proctor, B. D., & Mills, R. J. (2004). U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Reports, P60-226, Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2003, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC.

DiNitto, D. (2005). Social Welfare: Politics and Public Policy (6th edition). New York, NY: Pearson Education, Inc.

Drobnic, S. (2000). The effect of children on married and lone mothers' employment in the United States and (West) Germany. European Sociological Review, 16(2), 137-157.

Dunkel-Shetter, C. & Bennett, T. (1990). Differentiating the cognitive and behavioral aspects of social support. In B. Sarason, I. Sarason, & G. pierce (Eds.), Social Support: An Interactional View (pp. 267-296), New York: Wiley.

Edin, K. & Harris, K. (1999). Getting off and staying off: Racial differences in the work route off welfare. In I. Browne (Ed.). Latinas and African American Women at Work: Race, Gender, and Economic Inequality. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Edin, K. & Lein, L. (1997). Making Ends Meet: How Single Mothers Survive Welfare and Low-Wage Work. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Edin, K. & Lein, L. (1996). Work, welfare, and single mothers' economic survival strategies. American Sociological Review, 61, 253-266.

Edin, K., Lein, L., & Nelson, T. (1998). Low-income, non-residential fathers: Off-balance in a competitive economy, in initial analysis. Health and Human Services Fatherhood Initiative Report. Available on-line at: http://www.fatherhood.hhs.gov/ELN/eln98.htm

Ehrenreich, B. (2002). Nickel and Dimed On (Not) Getting by in America. New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company.

Ellison, C. & George, L. (1994). Religious involvement, social ties, and social support in a Southeastern community. Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 33(1), 46-61.

Ferraro, K. & Koch, J. (1994). Religion and health among black and white adults: Examining social support and consolation. Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 33(4), 362-375.

Folk, K. (1996). Single mothers in various living arrangements: Differences in economic and time resources. American Journal of Economics and Sociology, 55(3), 277-292.

Frone, M., Russell, M., & Cooper, M. (1992). Antecedents and outcomes of work-family conflict: Testing a model of the work-family interface. Journal of Applied Psychology, 77, 65-78.

Frone, M., Yardley, J., & Markel, K. (1997). Developing and testing an integrative model of the work-family interface. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 50, 145-167.

Garfinkel, I. & McLanahan, S. (1994). Single-mother families, economic insecurity, and government policy. In S. Danziger, G. Sandefur, & D. Weinberg (Eds.) Confronting Poverty, New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Gault, B., Hartmann, H., & Yi, H. (1998). Prospects for low-income mothers' economic survival under welfare reform. Publius, 28(3), 175-187.

George, L., Ellison, C. & Larson, D. (2002). Explaining the relationships between religious involvement and health. Psychological Inquiry, 13(3), 190-200.

Giannarelli, L., Adelman, S., & Schmidt, S. (2003). Getting help with childcare expenses. Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute. Assessing the New Federalism Occasional Paper Number 62.

Goode, W. (1960). A theory of strain. American Sociological Review, 25, 483-496.

Gooden, S. (1998). All things not being equal: Differences in caseworker support toward black and white welfare clients. Harvard Journal of African American Policy.

Greenberg, M. & Rahmanov, H. (2005). TANF spending in 2003. Washington DC: CLASP.

Hagen, J. (1999). Public welfare and human services: New directions under TANF? Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Human Services, 80(1), 78-92.

Hale, J. (1991). The transmission of cultural values to young African American Children. Young Children, 7-14.

Hao, L. (1994). Kin Support, Welfare, and Out-of-Wedlock Mothers. New York, NY: Garland Publishing Inc.

Hao, L. & Brinton, M. (1997). Productive activities and support systems of single mothers. American Journal of Sociology, 102(5), 1305-1344.

Harknett, K. (2001). Working and leaving welfare: Does race or ethnicity matter? Social Service Review, 75, 359-385.

Harris, K. (1993). Work and welfare among single mothers in poverty. American Journal of Sociology, 99(2), 317-352.

Henly, J. (1997). The complexity of support: The impact of family structure and provisional support on African American and white adolescent mothers' well-being. American Journal of Community Psychology, 25(5), 629-655.

Henly, J., Danziger, S., & Offer, S. (2005). The contribution of social support to the material well-being of low-income families. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 67, 122-140.

Henly, J. & Lyons, S. (2000). The negotiation of child care and employment demands among low-income parents. Journal of Social Issues, 56(4), 683-705.

Hertz, R. (1999). Working to place family at the center of life: Dual-earner and single-parent strategies. The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 562, 16-29.

Hertz, R. & Ferguson, F. (1996). Childcare choice and constraints in the United States: Social class, race, and the influence of family views. Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 27, 249-280.

Hertz, R. & Ferguson, F. (1997). Kinship strategies and self-sufficiency among single mothers by choice: Post modern family ties. Qualitative Sociology, 20(2), 187-209.

Hertz, R. & Ferguson, F. (1998). Only one pair of hands: Ways that single mothers stretch work and family resources. Community, Work, and Family, 1(1), 13-37.

Hirshberg, D. (2002). Child care demand and supply under CALWorks: The early impacts of welfare reform for California's children, 1998-2000. Working Paper Series 02-3. Berkeley, CA: Policy Analysis for California Education.

Hofferth, S., Brayfield, A., Deich, S., & Holcomb, P. (1991). National Childcare Survey 1990. Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute Press.

Hofferth, S. (1999). Child care, maternal employment, and public policy. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 563, 20-38.

Hofferth, S. (1984). Kin networks, race and family structure. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 46, 791-806.

Hofferth, S. & Wissoker, D. (1992). Price, quality, and income in child-care choice. Journal of Human Resources, 27, 70-111.

Hogan, D., Eggebeen, D., & Clogg, C. (1993). The structure of intergenerational exchanges in American families. American Journal of Sociology, 98(6), 1428-1458.

Hogan, D., Hao, L., & Parish, W. (1990). Race, kin networks, and assistance to mother-headed families. Social Forces, 68, 797-812.

Holzer, H. & LaLonde, R. (2000). Job change and job stability among less skilled young workers. In D. Card & R. Blank (Eds.) Finding Jobs: Work and Welfare Reform. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

House, J. & Kahn, R. (1985). Measures and concepts of social support. In S. Cohen & S. Syme (Eds.) Social Support and Health. Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Institute for Women's Policy Research (IWPR) (1996). Child Care Usage Among Low-Income and AFDC Families. Washington, D.C.: Institute for Women's Policy Research.

Jackson, A., Brooks-Gunn, J., Huang, C., & Glassman, M. (2000). Single mothers in low-wage jobs: Financial strain, parenting, and preschoolers' outcomes. Child Development, 71(5), 1409-1423.

Jayakody, R., Chatters, L., & Taylor, J. (1993). Family support to single and married African American mothers: The provision of financial, emotional, and childcare assistance. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 55, 261-276.

Kaniasty, K. & Norris, F. (2000). Help-seeking comfort and receiving social support: The role of ethnicity and context of need. American Journal of Community Psychology, 28(4), 545-581.

Kantor, H. (2005). Health woes beset residents from HOPE VI Public Housing. The Urban Institute: Washington D.C.

Kaye, K. & Nightingale, D. (1999). The Low-Wage Labor Market: Challenges and Opportunities for Economic Self-Sufficiency (Executive Summary). Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute.

Keefe, S. (1979). The Mexican American extended family as an emotional support system. Human Organization, 38, 144-152.

Keefe, S. (1996). The myth of the declining family: Extended family ties among urban Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans. In G. Gmelch & W. Zenner (Eds.). Urban Life (3rd ed.). Prospects Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Kessler, R., McGonagle, K., Zhao, S., Nelson, C., Hughes, M., Eshleman, S., Wittchen, H., & Kendler, K. (1994). Lifetime and 12-month prevalence of DSM-III psychiatric disorders in the United States: Results from the National Comorbidity Survey. Archives of General Psychiatry, 51, 8-19.

Kleppner, P. & Theodore, N. (1997). Work After Welfare: Is Illinois' booming economy creating enough jobs? Dekalb: Northern Illinois University, Office of Social Policy Research.

Kneipp, S., Castleman, J., & Gailor, N. (2004). Informal caregiving burden: An overlooked aspect of the lives and health of women transitioning from welfare to employment? Public Health Nursing, 21(1), 24-31.

Kossek, E. (1991). Childcare Challenges for Employers. Horsham, PA: LRP Press.

Kuhlthau, K. & Mason, K. (1996). Market child care versus care by relatives: Choices made by employed and nonemployed mothers. Journal of Family Issues, 17(4), 561-578.

Lambert, S. (1998). Expanding theories of occupational structure: Examining the relationship between employer responsiveness and worker well-being. In D. Tucker, R. Sarri, and C. Garvin (Eds.) The Integration of Social Work and Social Science. New York, NY: Greenwood Press.

Lambert, S. (1999). Lower-wage workers and the new realities of work and family. The Annnals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 562, 174-189.

Leibowitz, A., Klerman, J., & Waite, L. (1992). Employment of new mothers and child-care choice: Differences by children's age. Journal of Human Resources, 27, 112-133.

Lerman, R. (2005). Single parents earning monitor: How did the recession affect single mothers? Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.

Lewin, K. (1951). Field Theory in Social Science. New York, NY: Harper & Row.

Litt, J., Gaddis, B., Fletcher, C., & Winter, M. (2000). Leaving welfare: Independence or continued vulnerability? The Journal of Consumer Affairs, 34(1), 82-96.

London, R. (2000). The interaction between single mothers' living arrangements and welfare participation. Journal of Policy Analysis and Management, 19(1), 93-117.

Long, D. (2001). From support to self-sufficiency: How successful are programs in advancing the financial independence and well-being of welfare recipients? Evaluation and Program Planning, 24, 389-408.

Lurie, I. (2001). State implementation of TANF: Where do we stand in 2001? Evaluation and Program Planning, 24, 379-388.

Marks, N. & McLanahan, S. (1993). Gender, family structure, and social support among parents. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 55, 481-493.

Marks, S. (1977). Multiple roles and role strain: Some notes on human energy, time, and commitment. American Sociological Review, 42, 921-936.

Maynard, R. & McGiniss (1992). Policies to enhance access to high-quality child care. In S. Kamerman and A. Kahn, (eds.) Childcare, Parental Leave, and the Under Threes: Policy Innovation in Europe. New York: Aubrun House, 201-224.

McDonald, K. & Armstrong, E. (2001). De-Romanticizing the black intergenerational support: The questionable expectations of welfare reform. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 63, 213-223.

McLanahan, S. (1997). Parent absence or poverty: Which matter more? In G. Duncan & J. Brooks-Gunn (Eds) Consequences of Growing Up Poor. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

McLanahan, S. & Booth, K. (1989). Mother-only families: Problems, prospects, and politics. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 51, 557-580.

McLanahan, S. & Sandefur, G. (1994). Uncertain Childhood, Uncertain Future Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

McLanahan, S., Wedemeyer, N., & Adelberg, T. (1981). Network structure, social support, and psychological well-being in the single-parent family. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 43, 601-612.

Meyers, M. (1992). Child care preferences and choices: Are AFDC respondents unique? Social Work Research & Abstracts, 28(1), 28-34.

Mirowsky, J. (1999). Applying associations between mental health and social circumstances. In S. Carol & J. Phelan (Eds.) Handbook of the Sociology of Mental Health. Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.

Moffitt, R. & Winder, K. (2004). Does it pay to move from welfare to work? A comment on Danziger, Heflin, Corcoran, Oltmans, and Wang. Unpublished manuscript.

Available on-line at: http://www.fordschool.umich.edu/poverty/publications.htm Accessed May 2004.

Murray, H. (1938). Explorations in Personality. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD) Early Child Care Research Network (1997). Familial factors associated with the characteristics of nonmaternal care for infants. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 59, 389-408.

Nelson, M. & Smith, J. (1999). Working Hard and Making Do: Surviving in Small Town America. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.

Nordhaus, W. (2002). "The mildest recession: Output, profits, and stock prices as the U.S. emerges from the 2001 recession. NBER Working Paper No. W8938, May.

O'Brien, K., Wortman, C., Kessler, R., & Joseph, J. (1993). Social relationships of men at risk for AIDS. Social Science and Medicine, 36, 1161-1167.

Oropesa, R. & Landale, N. (2004). The future of marriage and Hispanics. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 66, 901-920.

Parish, W., Hao, L., & Hogan, D. (1991). Family support networks, welfare, and work among young mothers. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 53, 203-215.

Park, J. (2002). Living Arrangements, Support Resources, and Single Mothers' Employment. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania.

Paternoster, R., Brame, R., Mazerolle, P., & Piquero, A. (1998). Using the correct statistical test for the equality of regression coefficients. Criminology, 36(4), 859-866.

Pavetti, L. (2000). Creating a new welfare reality: Early implementation of the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families program. Journal of Social Issues, 56(4), 601-616.

Pavetti, L. (2002). Welfare policy in transition: Redefining the social contract for poor citizen families with children and immigrants. In S. Danziger & R. Haveman (Eds.), Understanding Poverty. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Pittz, W., & Delgado, G. (2002). Race and Recession. Applied Research Center.

Pleck, J. (1995).Work roles, family roles, and well-being: Current conceptual perspectives. In G. Bowen & J. Pittman (Eds.), The work and family interface:

Toward a contextual effects perspective (Vol. 1, pp. 17-22). Minneapolis, MN: National Council on Family Relations.

Pleck, J., Staines, G., & Lang, L. (1980). Conflicts between work and family life. Monthly Labor Review, March, 29-32.

Powers, D. & Xie, Y. (2000). Statistical Methods for Categorical Data Analysis. San Francisco, CA: Academic Press.

Reichman, N.E., Teitler, J.O., Garfinkel, I., & McLanahan, S.S. (2001). The fragile families and child wellbeing study: Sample and design. Children and Youth Services Review, 23(4/5).

Reskin, B. & Charles, C. (1999). Now you see 'em, now you don't: Race, ethnicity, and gender in the labor market research. . In I. Browne (Ed.). Latinas and African American Women at Work: Race, Gender, and Economic Inequality. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Response Rates for First Three Waves. (2004). The Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study. Center for Research on Child Well-being Retrieved December 2, 2004, from http://lotka.princeton.edu/archive/ff/datausers/responserates.html

Rolston, H. (2001). A welfare reform evaluation agenda. Evaluation and Program Planning, 24, 445-449.

Roschelle, A. (1997a). Declining networks of care: Ethnicity, migration, and poverty in a Puerto Rican community. Race, Gender, & Class, 4(2), 107-125.

Roschelle, A. (1997b). No More Kin Care. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Sagrestano, L., Feldman, P., Rini, C., Woo, G., Dunkel-Schetter, C. (1999). Ethnicity and social support during pregnancy. American Journal of Community Psychology, 27(6), 869-898.

Sandfort, J. & Hill, M. (1996). Assisting young, unmarried, mothers to become self-sufficient: The effects of different types of early economic support. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 58, 311-326.

Sarason, B., Pierce, G., & Sarason, I. (1990). Social support: The sense of acceptance and the role of relationships. In B. Sarason, I. Sarason, & G. Pierce (Eds.), Social Support: An Interactional View (pp. 97-128). New York, NY: Wiley.

Schor, E., Billingsley, M., Golden, A., McMillan, J., Meloy, L. & Pendarvis, B. (2003). Family Pediatrics: Report on the Task Force on the Family. Pediatrics, 111(6), 1541-1571.

Schwarz, J. & Volgy, T. (1992). Social support for self-reliance: The politics of making work pay. American Prospect, 9, 67-72.

Scott, E., Edin, K., London, A., Maxelis, J. (2001).My children come first: Welfare-reliant women's post-TANF views of work-family trade-offs and marriage. In P. Chase-Lansdale & G. Duncan (Eds.) For Better and For Worse: Welfare Reform and the Well-being of Children and Families. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Scott, E., London, A., & Edin, K. (2000). Looking to the future: Welfare-reliant women talk about their job aspirations in the context of welfare reform. Journal of Social Issues, 56(4), 727-746.

Shaprio, D. & Mott, F. (1979). Labor supply behavior of prospective and new mothers. Demography, 16, 199-208.

Smith, J., Brooks-Gunn, J., Klebanov, P., & Lee, K. (2000). Welfare and work: Complementary strategies for low-income women? Journal of Marriage and the Family, 62, 808-821.

Sonenstein, F., Gates, G., Schmidt, S., & Bolshun, N. (2002). Primary child care arrangements of employed parents: Findings from the 1999 National Survey of America's Families. Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute. Assessing the New Federalism Occasional Paper Number 59.

Soss, J. (2002). Race and Welfare in the United States, Presentation to the Coalition on Human Needs.

Stack, C. (1974). All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community. New York, NY: Harper & Row.

Stegman, M., Quercia, R., & McCarthy, G. (2000). Housing America's Working Families. Washington, D.C.: Center for Housing Policy.

Taniguchi, H. & Rosenfeld, R. (2002). Women's employment exit and reentry: Differences among whites, blacks, and Hispanics. Social Science Research, 31 , 432-471.

Taylor, L. (2001). Work attitudes, employment barriers, and mental health symptoms in a sample of rural welfare recipients. American Journal of Community Psychology, 29(3), 443-463.

Teng, W., & Pittman, J. (1996). Conceptualizing the work-family interface: The work-family fit perspective. Paper presented at the Theory Construction and Research

Methodology Pre-Conference of the Annual Meeting of the National Council on Family Relations.

Tienda, M. & Angel, A. (1982). Hardship and household composition among blacks, Hispanics, and other whites. Social Forces, 61(2), 508-531.

Tienda, M. & Glass, J. (1985). Household structure and labor force participation of black, Hispanic and white mothers. Demography, 22(3), 381-394.

Tilly, C. (1996). The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly: Good and Bad Jobs in the United States at the Millennium. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Trent, K. & Harlan, S. (1994). Teenage mothers in nuclear and extended households: Differences by marital status and race/ethnicity. Journal of Family Issues, 15(2), 309-337.

Turner, R. & Marino, F. (1994). Social support and social structure: A descriptive epidemiology. Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 35, 193-212.

Turner, R. & Turner, J. (1999). Social integration and social support. In C. Aneshensel & J. Phelan (Eds.), Handbook of the Sociology of Mental Health (pp. 301-319). Kluwer Academic/Plenum.

Tweedie, J., Reichert, D., & O'Conner, M. (1999). Tracking Respondents After They Leave Welfare. Denver, CO: National Conference of State Legislatures.

US Census Bureau (2003a). American Community Survey (P064). Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.

US Census Bureau (2003b). Current Population Survey Annual Social & Economic Supplement. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.

US Census Bureau. (2002). Current Population Survey. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.

US Census Bureau. (2004). Educational Attainment in the United States: 2003. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.

US Census Bureau. (1999). Statistical abstract of the United States: 1999 (660). Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.

U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) (1998). Welfare reform: Early fiscal effects of TANF block grant. Washington, D.C.: GAO.

Uttal, L. (1996). Racial safety and cultural maintenance: The childcare concerns of employed mothers of color. Ethnic Studies Review, 19(1), 43-59.

Uttal, L. (1999). Using kin for child care: Embedment in the socioeconomic networks of extended families. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 61, 845-857.

Wethington, E. & Kessler, R. (1986). Perceived support, received support, and adjustment to stressful life events. Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 27, 78-89.

Wijnberg, M. & Reding, K. (1999). Reclaiming a stress focus: The hassles of rural, poor single mothers. Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Human Services, 80(5), 506-519.

Wijnberg, M. & Weinger, S. (1998). When dreams wither and resources fail: The social support systems of poor single mothers. Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Human Services, 79(2), 212-223.

Williams, D. (2002). Racial/Ethnic variations in women's health: The social embeddedness of health. American Journal of Public Health, 92(4), 588-597.

Wills, T. (1985). Supportive functions of relationships. In S. Cohen & S. Syme (Eds.) Social Support and Health. Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Wilson, W. (1996). When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor. New York: NY: Knopf.

Winkler, A. (1993). The living arrangements of single mothers with dependent children: An added perspective. The American Journal of Economics and Sociology, 52(1), 1-18.

Woodside, C. (2001). Recommendations for the reauthorization of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act Public Law 104-193, Summary. National Association of Social Workers.

Yoon, Y. & Waite, L. (1994). Converging employment patterns of black, white, and Hispanic women: Return to work after first birth. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 56, 209-217.

Youngblut, J., Bradey, N., Brooten, D., & Thomas, D. (2000). Factors influencing single mother's employment status. Health Care for Women International, 21, 125-136.

Vita

Melissa Dalton Radey was born in Tallahassee Florida on July 30, 1976. She is the daughter of John and Kathleen Radey. After completing Leon High School, she attended the University of Notre Dame in South Bend, Indiana. She received a Bachelor of Arts in Sociology and Computer Applications in January, 1998. In Fall 1999, she entered graduate school at the University of Texas at Austin (UT). In Spring 2002, she received her Masters of Science in Social Work and in Summer, 2003, she received her Masters of Arts in Sociology.

Permanent Address: 4308 Avenue G, Austin, Texas, 78751

This dissertation was typed by Melissa Radey.