

A LONGITUDINAL INVESTIGATION OF MOTHERS' AND FATHERS' INITIAL FATHERING IDENTITIES AND LATER FATHER-CHILD RELATIONSHIP QUALITY

Children benefit from high quality relationships with their fathers in a number of ways. However, little is known about the origins of father-child relationships. Here, identity theory and data from the Fragile Families dataset are used to investigate associations between mothers' and fathers' fathering identities at the time of the child's birth and nine years later, and the father-child relationship as reported by children at age nine. Neither mothers' nor fathers' role identity standards at birth were associated with father-child relationship quality, but greater father status centrality and not having considered abortion were associated with better father-child relationships. The association between abortion consideration and relationship quality was mediated by whether parents were romantically involved at Year 9. Implications for theory, policy, and practice are discussed.

Keywords: father-child relationships, identity theory, father identity, fatherhood

It has been well-established that positive fathering behaviors have extensive benefits for children (Lamb, 2010). However, more research has been conducted regarding the outcomes resulting from various forms of *father involvement* (Hofferth, Pleck, Stueve, Bianchi, & Sayer, 2002; Marsiglio, Amato, Day, & Lamb, 2000; Marsiglio & Cohan, 2000; Pleck, 1997) than the benefits or predictors of *relationships* between fathers and their children. This largely has been due to the difficulty of defining and modeling a concept such as father-child relationships in contextually and developmentally appropriate ways (Palkovitz, 2007). Extant research suggests that relationships with fathers are important to children, affecting outcomes in childhood as well as into adulthood (Harper & Fine, 2006; Mallers,

* University of Connecticut.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Kari Adamsons, University of Connecticut, Human Development and Family Studies Dept., 348 Mansfield Rd., U-1058, Storrs, CT 06269. Email: kari.adamsons@uconn.edu



Charles, Neupert, & Almeida, 2010; Seiffge-Krenke, Overbeek, & Vermulst, 2010). However, little has been done to examine the predictors of father-child relationships beyond comparing the relationships of children with resident and nonresident fathers or across various family structures (Aquilino, 2006; Fabricius & Luecken, 2007; Jones-Sanpei, Day, & Holmes, 2009).

One factor found to predict fathering behaviors (quantity and quality of involvement and interactions with children) has been fathers' identities. Based upon identity theory's proposition that identity predicts behavior (Stryker, 1968), numerous studies have examined associations between various aspects of father identity and father involvement (Christiansen & Palkovitz, 1998; DeGarmo, 2010; Dyer, 2005; Pasley, Kerpelman, & Guilbert, 2001; Rane & McBride, 2000). Much of the research on father involvement is valued because of its implications for children's (and to a lesser extent, fathers') outcomes (e.g., Amato, 2000; Marsiglio et al., 2000), and such implications operate largely via the influence of involvement on father-child relationships. Amato and Gilbreth (1999) noted that "the strength of the emotional tie between children and nonresident fathers would appear to be a relationship dimension with clearer implications for children's well-being" compared with frequency of involvement or contact, and that "studies of two-parent families [also] generally show that feelings of closeness between fathers and children are associated with positive child outcomes" (p. 559). However, fathering scholarship has yet to examine potential associations between identity and the quality of father-child relationships. Therefore, the present paper uses identity theory to frame a longitudinal predictive model of father-child relationship quality.

IDENTITY THEORY

The central tenet of identity theory is that identities (self-meanings tied to the occupation of particular social statuses, such as father or employee) guide behavior (Stryker, 1968, 1980). Via interactions with important others (e.g., mothers, children), individuals receive information about the roles and expectations society associates with a given status (e.g., the father status is associated with the roles of mentor, provider, and protector), which then are translated into individual identities—what a man believes it means to be a father (Burke & Reitzes, 1981). Identities lead people to behave in identity-relevant ways, demonstrating to the world that they are fulfilling their identity standards (acting in ways that show they are a "good father").

Identities vary across and within individuals in three important ways (Stryker, 1968; Stryker & Serpe, 1994). First, identities vary in salience or the likelihood that a specific identity will be enacted in a given situation, particularly if a situation could call for the enactment of more than one identity (e.g., getting a phone call from your child while at work). Across situations, more salient identities are more likely to be enacted. Second, identities vary in centrality, or the level of importance an individual assigns to the identity. Like salience, more central identities are more likely to be enacted, although centrality is a conscious characteristic (I assign importance to an identity) whereas salience is not (the likelihood of my enacting an identity might or might not reflect my conscious intentions). Finally, identities vary in their level of commitment. In identity theory, commitment reflects the number and importance of relationships that depend upon the enactment of an identity (i.e., what relationships might the individual lose if s/he chose no longer to enact that identity).

Importantly, identities and their associated standards have been conceptualized as occurring both at the role level (provider, protector) and at the status level (father) (Burke & Reitzes, 1981; Rane & McBride, 2000). Thus, men who hold the father status to be less central (low status centrality) would be less likely to enact any fathering behaviors, and men who believe particular roles have little importance (low role centrality) would be less likely to enact fathering behaviors that reflect such roles. The present study focuses on the identity standards of status and role centrality; therefore, the remaining literature reviewed focuses primarily on these aspects of identity.

Research attempting to confirm the link between father identity and father behavior has been mixed in its success, largely due to inconsistency in ways of operationalizing identity across studies (McBride et al., 2005). Studies have found that status-level centrality (the importance of fathering in general) is not associated with father behavior (Maurer, Pleck, & Rane, 2003; Rane & McBride, 2000), but that role-level centrality might be (Rane & McBride). However, one of the challenges in assessing the identity-behavior link is a tendency for studies not to match the scope of the identity measures with the scope of the fathering behavior measures. For example, studies often assess general measures of status identity (fathering competence, importance of the father status) but role-related behaviors (financial provision, diaper changing). One might expect that status-level identities would be associated with status-level behaviors and role identities with role behaviors, but not expect associations across levels (e.g., status identities with role behaviors). However, this has not been formally tested or proposed theoretically.

Two studies that matched the scope of their measures found complex associations. In the first, fathers' caregiving behavior was predicted not by his own caregiving identity standards, but by his perceptions of the caregiving standards his wife held for him (Maurer, Pleck, & Rane, 2001). Maurer and Pleck (2006) extended these findings and also found that fathers' reflected appraisals of mothers' caregiving identity standards (for fathers) and fathers' perceptions of what other fathers typically do for their children both influenced fathers' caregiving behavior.

The findings by Maurer and colleagues emphasize the importance of accounting for both mothers' and fathers' perspectives on identity, rather than only looking at one parent's standards. Behaviors are not enacted in a vacuum, and identity theory assumes that identities are constructed through social interactions (Stryker, 1968). Burke's self-verification model (1991, 1997), also known as Identity Control Theory (ICT; Burke, 2004, 2006), provides more specific guidance for the ways in which others influence either a person's identity standards or the ways in which s/he enacts those standards. According to Burke (2004), individuals act in ways they believe fulfill the identity standards they hold. In return, individuals receive feedback that either is congruent (I met my identity standards and am "doing just fine" [p. 5]) or incongruent (my standards have not been met or my standards are wrong). When faced with incongruent feedback, individuals experience distress and typically will alter behavior in an attempt to garner congruent feedback. If incongruence continues, individuals either will alter their standards to match the feedback, dismiss or ignore the feedback, or withdraw from the disconfirming relationship (Burke, 1991, 1997, 2004, 2006; Swann, De La Ronde, & Hixon, 1994).

It is important to note here that a related theoretical model, Affect Control Theory, also posits a similar cybernetic model wherein individuals enter situations with expectations and situational definitions, experience deflections (unexpected emotional reactions) if these ex-

pectations are not met, and consequently adjust their expectations or their behaviors (Heise, 1979, 1988; Smith-Lovin & Heise, 1988). ACT is similar in process to Burke's ICT, but the focus of ACT is on emotional reactions and sentiments experienced during social interactions, rather than cognitive interpretations. As the present data contain no measures of emotion or socioemotional dimensions of relationships, Burke's Identity Control Theory (and its focus on cognitive processes and interpretation) was deemed more appropriate to guide the present study.

Identity-related feedback is particularly important when it is given by a person who holds a counter-identity to the person enacting identity-relevant behaviors. Status identities are assumed to exist in pairs, such that someone is a husband because someone else is a wife, and someone is an employee because someone else is an employer. Such dyads are referred to as counter-identities, and counter-identities hold identity standards not only for themselves, but also for their dyad partners (Adamsons, 2010). For example, a mother and father each has a set of identity standards stating both what it means to be a "good mother" and a "good father." A woman who feels that she should be solely responsible for daily caretaking and not at all responsible for financial provision holds an implied and complementary set of standards that the father should be responsible for financial provision and not at all for caretaking. As such, each partner holds two sets of beliefs—one for him/herself and one for his/her counter-identity.

Such dyadic standards become important when counter-identities interact, as feedback to the identity-relevant behavior of a partner would originate from these counter-identity standards (Adamsons, 2010). In the above example, if the father worked long hours, the mother (based on her own emphasis on provision as part of "good fathering") would respond positively to such behaviors, providing congruent feedback and reinforcing the father's pattern of behavior. If the father instead only worked a part-time job and wanted to be involved in making lunches for and bathing his child, the mother likely would provide incongruent feedback, because his behavior would not match her set of fathering identity standards. This process occurs for both members in the counter-identity dyad, creating a process of identity negotiation wherein both members influence and are influenced by the expectations (identity standards) of one another.

Some empirical support exists for the influence of parents on one another's behaviors and identities. Pasley, Futris, and Skinner (2002) found that fathers' reflected appraisals (his perceptions of mothers' views of himself as a father) were the strongest predictor of his fathering behaviors, more so than his own standards; as mentioned above, Maurer, Pleck, and Rane (2001) found similar results. Although typically not conducted from an identity perspective, the maternal gatekeeping literature (mothers' influence or control over the father-child relationship and thus influence on fathers' behaviors) also supports that mothers are influential to fathering. Some studies have found that when mothers act in ways that discourage father involvement, fathers typically are less involved (Allen & Hawkins, 1999; Fagan & Barnett, 2003; Insabella, Williams, & Pruett, 2003), although studies with representative samples have not found similar patterns (Hofferth, 2003). However, these studies all looked at status-level influences (what mothers think about "fathering" generally) rather than role-level standards, and they failed to consider mothers' and fathers' expectations jointly.

Perhaps most importantly, all of the foregoing research focused on father involvement, rather than father-child relationships. It is not surprising that identity scholars would focus

on behaviors, such as the quantity, type, or quality of involvement, given the identity-behavior link predicted by identity theory. Because the quantity, type, and quality of parental behavior toward children are associated with the quality of parent-child relationships, it would be logical to hypothesize that a link between identity and parent-child relationship quality also should exist. However, such a link has not been investigated empirically to date; as such, the present paper fills a significant gap in the literature.

FATHER-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS

It is well established that high quality father-child relationships are beneficial to children in numerous ways (Amato & Gilbreth, 1999; Hakvoort, Bos, van Balen, & Hermanns, 2010) and that the absence of an involved father puts children at risk for negative outcomes in virtually every arena (Lamb, 2010; Marsiglio et al., 2000). However, not all fathers, resident or nonresident, have high quality relationships with their children, and fathers who lack romantic ties to their children's mothers are at particular risk of having poor relationships with their children, due to the numerous obstacles facing nonresident parents (Fox & Blanton, 1995; Nixon, Greene, & Hogan, 2012; Peters & Ehrenberg, 2008).

Father-Child Relationships vs. Father Involvement

As noted, father involvement has been studied far more intensively than father-child relationships. Although father involvement likely is a predictor of father-child relationship quality, it is not the same construct. As noted by Palkovitz (2007), relationship quality would encompass broader questions of affective climate, behavioral styles, and relational synchrony. Despite (or perhaps because of) the lack of research, the area of father-child relationships is important to study. Palkovitz noted that, at their core, "families are about relationships" (p.193). As such, he recommended that research shift from focusing on father involvement to father-child relationships. Following these recommendations, the present study undertakes to understand what factors potentially predict the quality of father-child relationships.

Predictors of Father-Child Relationship Quality

Most of the research involving father-child relationship quality has focused on its outcomes (usually for children), rather than its predictors (e.g., Choo & Shek, 2013; Harper & Fine, 2006; Malmberg & Flouri, 2011). However, some research exists that can suggest hypotheses for the current study.

Fathers' fathering identity standards. Although not undertaken specifically from an identity theory perspective, some research can be reframed using identity theory and would support the importance of identity-related processes for father-child relationships. For example, children in one study reported feeling closer to their fathers when they perceived that fathers were committed to being a parent and to the father-child relationship (i.e., the parenting status was given high centrality) (Nixon et al., 2012). Another study (Ashbourne, Daly, & Brown, 2011) found that in qualitative interviews, fathers described the ways that self-definitions and priorities regarding fathering (i.e., their identity standards and role cen-

trality hierarchies) influenced the ways they chose to be involved with their children. Fathers also were aware of having complementary roles with their children's mothers (sometimes similar, sometimes competing, particularly among divorced parents) and thus, having to take into account both sets of ideas and expectations (i.e., two sets of identity standards) when defining themselves as fathers. Zhang, Chen, Zhang, Zhou, and Wu (2008) found similar results, as father-child relationship quality was higher in their post-divorce sample when fathers reported greater role clarity, felt more competent, and perceived their children's mothers as having low parenting ability. In identity terms, fathers in their study had better relationships with their children when they had clear identity standards, when they felt they were performing up to their own identity standards, and when they accounted for both the identity standards they held for their children's mothers and the identity standards they held for themselves as fathers. Although here, fathers' identity standards of mothers are not specifically assessed, the findings of Zhang et al. reinforce the existence of "pairs" of identity standards and their importance for father-child relationships.

Thus, current research supports the processes proposed by identity theory—namely, that fathers define their roles as fathers, and these definitions influence their involvement. Children perceive such role definitions and the centrality their fathers associate with the father status, and these perceptions influence how close children feel to their fathers. In the present study, both fathers' status and role centrality standards for the father identity were assessed and tested for their associations with child-reported father-child relationship quality.

Mothers' fathering identity standards. Just as mothers influence father involvement, mothers can support or discourage, enhance or undermine fathers' relationships with their children, with some evidence suggesting that mothers' beliefs and behaviors influence these relationships more strongly than do fathers themselves. In addition to the studies mentioned above regarding the importance of mothers' expectations, Brown, Schoppe-Sullivan, Mangelsdorf, and Neff (2010) found that, particularly in the early years of parenting, supportive coparenting behaviors from the mother, which typically reflect maternal beliefs supporting fathers (see Fagan & Barnett, 2003) were associated with greater father-infant attachment security, even after accounting for fathers' sensitivity in his interactions with his child. As such, mothers' beliefs and behaviors both appear to play a key role in the developing father-child relationship at a critical early time (infancy), when relationship foundations are laid, as well as in an ongoing manner across the child's lifespan. Therefore, here we also included mothers' identity standards about the centrality of various fathering roles as a predictor of the father-child relationship.

Mother-father relationship status. Perhaps the largest area of research has compared father-child relationships among different family structures. A number of nonresident fathers have low quality relationships with their children, particularly compared to resident fathers (Peters & Ehrenberg, 2008); however, great variation exists (Amato, Meyers, & Emery, 2009). Among divorced families, children typically have better relationships with their fathers if they lived with them for some period of time, especially shortly after the divorce (Schwartz & Finley, 2005). Also among nonresident fathers, greater time spent (joint custody, more frequent visitation, overnight visits) typically is associated with better relationships between fathers and children (Aquilino, 2006; Bauserman, 2012; Peters & Ehrenberg; Smith, 2004). However, the meaning of time spent also is important. Specifically, the tim-

ing and frequency of visitation must be such that fathers and children can be fully engaged in one another's daily lives and have a real feeling of connectedness (one reason overnight visits were perceived as more meaningful and were more influential to father-child relationship quality than day-time visits). Conversely, when children perceive that their fathers are not putting in enough effort and have not maintained regular contact, children feel resentful, disappointed, and angry, and father-child relationship quality suffers (Nixon et al., 2012). Time spent also was important for developing knowledge about one another, which in turn could lead to greater responsiveness, understanding, and closeness between fathers and their children (Ashbourne et al., 2011).

When examined from an identity theory perspective, parents' relationship status takes on symbolic and practical importance for fathers. When both parents view fathers as being important to their children, they might be encouraged to continue investing in the romantic relationship, enabling fathers' greater presence in their children's lives and promoting father-child relationships. On the other hand, parents who assign lower importance to fathering roles might be more willing to dissolve the relationship, resulting in decreased opportunities for involvement and more strained father-child relationships. Therefore, mother-father relationship status (romantically involved versus not romantically involved at Year 9) was included as a potential mediator of the association between identity measures and father-child relationship quality. It was hypothesized that fathers with lower status or role centrality (lower value placed on the father status or fathering roles) would be less likely to be romantically involved with their children's mothers, which then would be associated with poorer father-child relationships.

Based on the extant literature, I established the following hypotheses for the present study. First, children will report having higher quality relationships with their fathers at child age 9 years when at the time of the child's birth: fathers have high father status centrality, fathers report greater centrality of fathering roles, and mothers report greater centrality of fathering roles. Second, associations between identity and father-child relationship quality will be mediated by parents' relationship status at Year 9.

METHODS

Participants

For the present study, data from the Fragile Families and Child Well-Being Study (FFCWB; Reichman, Teitler, Garfinkel, & McLanahan, 2001) were used. The FFCWB is a longitudinal study following a birth cohort of 4,898 families. Baseline interviews were conducted with both parents when the child was born, with follow-up interviews conducted with mothers and fathers when the children were 1, 3, 5, and 9 years old. At Year 9, children also were interviewed. For the present study, I used father and mother data collected at baseline (child's birth) as well data collected from fathers and children at child age 9. The sample was restricted to include only families for whom data were available from both the mother and father at birth (3,830), from the father at Year 9 (2,652), and from the child at Year 9 (3,377). When such restrictions were jointly imposed, the present sample included 2,096 families.

These restrictions limit the representativeness of the subsample. Because families with non-interviewed fathers at either birth or Year 9 were excluded, the quality of the father-child

relationship likely is overestimated (non-interviewed fathers had lower involvement levels than interviewed fathers, per mother reports; Teitler, Reichman, & Sprachman, 2003). However, not all children reported high quality relationships with their fathers in the present sample. Approximately 7.5% (160) of children in the present sample had not seen their biological father at all within the past year, and 1/5 reported feeling only “fairly close” (8%) or “not very close” (14%) to their fathers. Thus, variation in the quality of father-child relationships was retained.

Measures

Demographic characteristics. Due to challenges associated with using father-reported values on father age, ethnicity, and household income (e.g., missing data, unexpected variation across waves), variables constructed by the FFCWB study were used for these constructs. Constructed variables were based primarily on father reports, but also imputed missing values, used information combined across all waves of reported data, and used both mother and father reports when appropriate. For the present analyses, Year 9 values were used, so that they would most closely correspond with the outcome of interest, father-child relationship quality at Year 9. It is important to note that although demographic characteristics have not been tested empirically for possible associations with father-child relationships, they have been associated with father involvement (Pleck, 1997); thus, they are included here to test for possible associations.

Fathering identity standards (FIS) for role centrality. Mothers’ and fathers’ fathering identity standards for role centrality (what roles are important for fathers to fill; abbreviated hereinafter as FIS) were assessed with six items both at the time of the child’s birth and at Year 9 using the prompt: “Fathers do many things for their children. Please tell me how important each of the following activities is to you.” Responses addressed the importance of six possible fathering roles: financial provision, teach child about life, provide direct care, show love and affection, provide protection, and be an authority figure. Responses ranged from 1 = *very important* to 3 = *not important*; responses were reverse coded so that higher scores reflected greater importance. Interestingly, initial reliability analyses and measurement models indicated that responses regarding the role of “financial provision” were relatively unrelated to responses to the other five items, indicating both mothers and fathers viewed financial provision as “separate” from the other fathering roles. As such, financial provision was not included in further analyses and the five remaining roles were combined to create a measure of FIS for each parent at birth and for fathers at Year 9. Preliminary analyses indicated virtually no change in mothers’ identity standards from birth to Year 9, so only identity standards from birth were included for mothers here.

Measurement models were assessed via structural equation modeling using AMOS for both mothers and fathers; for each parent, the five role centrality items served as five indicators of the larger “fathering identity standards” construct. All models demonstrated excellent fit. For mothers, all items loaded at .3 or higher, $\chi^2(5) = 36.54, p < .001, CFI = .96, RMSEA = .055$. For fathers at birth and Year 9, all items loaded at .3 or higher, $\chi^2(5) = 31.73, p < .001, CFI = .98, RMSEA = .05$; and $\chi^2(5) = 16.69, p < .01, CFI = .97, RMSEA = .03$ (birth and Year 9, respectively).

As currently phrased (“Fathers do many things for their children”), it should be noted that the FIS measure assesses parents’ role centrality standards for fathers overall, rather than re-

ferring to parents' specific standards for themselves/their partners at each point in time (with a newborn or with a nine-year-old). However, because parents are asked how important each of the following activities is "to you," it is believed that this is a reasonable proxy for the identity standards that mothers and fathers hold for these particular fathers and the activities in which they believe it is important for the father to be involved over the life of his child.

Father status centrality. Centrality of the father status was assessed at birth via three questions asked of fathers, reflecting the importance fathers placed upon taking on the status of father: "Being a father and raising children is one of the most fulfilling experiences a man can have," "I want people to know I have a new child," and "Not being a part of my child's life would be one of the worst things that could happen to me." Responses ranged from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 4 = *strongly agree*; higher scores represent higher centrality of the father status. Responses were summed to create a single father status centrality score, $\alpha = .72$.

An additional item was included as a second variable reflecting fathers' views about occupying the status of father. Fathers were asked at the time of the child's birth, "When you found out [baby's mother] was pregnant, did you think about her having an abortion?" Fathers could respond either 1 = *yes* or 2 = *no* (higher scores indicated *less* reluctance about becoming a father, or greater importance assigned to becoming a father). To the author's knowledge, no studies have examined paternal attitudes about abortion before the child's birth and later father-child relationship quality. However, conceptually this item represents an initial reluctance to take on the status of father and a devaluing of the father status at that time, even if by the time the baby was born fathers reported a high level of investment and importance assigned to being a father. As such, this item was included as an additional indicator of the importance placed on becoming a father (status centrality) during the pregnancy. Fathers who never expressed hesitation about taking on the new status of father could differ conceptually (and potentially in terms of their relationships with their children) from those fathers who displayed initial reluctance toward becoming a father, even if such fathers later embraced the idea of fatherhood.

Biological parents' current relationship status. Given the potential influence of mothers on father-child relationship quality, the biological mother and father's relationship status was included as a mediator of the associations between FIS, status centrality, and father-child relationship quality. At Year 9, fathers reported their current relationship with the child's mother as 1 = *married*, 2 = *cohabiting*, 3 = *romantically involved but not cohabiting*, 4 = *separated*, 5 = *divorced*, 6 = *just friends*, or 7 = *no relationship*. These scores were recoded so that parents who were married, cohabiting, or romantically involved but not cohabiting were coded as *romantically involved* (1), and parents who were separated, divorced, just friends, or had no relationship were coded as *nonromantic* (0).

Father-child relationship quality. At Year 9, children were interviewed, and child reports of father-child relationship quality were used in the present study (to avoid possible reporter bias). Children were asked a series of questions about their biological fathers. First, they were asked "Does your dad ... talk over important decisions with you," "Listen to your side of an argument," "Spend enough time with you," and "Miss events or activities that are im-

portant to you?" Responses to these items could range from 0 = *never* to 3 = *always*. Next, children were asked "How close do you feel to your dad?" and "How well do you and your dad share ideas or talk about things that really matter?" (Note: each of these items referenced the biological father; other items asked about relationships with stepfathers or other father figures.) Responses to these items ranged from 0 = *extremely close/well* to 3 = *not very close/well*. Responses were reverse coded when appropriate so that higher values indicated higher quality father-child relationships. A measurement model was tested using all six items as indicators of the latent construct Father-Child Relationship Quality, and this model demonstrated an adequate fit to the data. All items loaded at .5 or higher, $\chi^2(9) = 87.44, p < .001$, CFI = .98, RMSEA = .07.

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Initial descriptive statistics for the sample are available in Table 1. Initial bivariate correlations determined which control variables to include in the structural equation models (results available from first author). Father's age, education, and household income (at Year 9) were correlated with Year 9 father-child relationship quality. Older fathers with higher education and income were reported by their children as having higher quality father-child relationships. Therefore, these variables were included as control variables in the models.

Structural Equation Models

The associations between mothers' and fathers' identity standards at birth and Year 9, parents' Year 9 romantic status, and Year 9 father-child relationship quality were tested via structural equation modeling using AMOS 20. An initial model tested the associations between control variables, mothers' and fathers' identity measures at birth (role and status centrality) and Year 9 (fathers' role centrality), and father-child relationship quality as reported by children at Year 9. The second model tested the mediating role of parents' Year 9 romantic status.

Model with identity variables and controls. The initial model provided a good fit to the data, $\chi^2(290) = 678.45, p < .001$, CFI = .95, TLI = .94, RMSEA = .026, 90% CI = .023 – .028, and accounted for 5% of the variance in father-child relationship quality. Path estimates indicated that, although significant in bivariate correlations, father education and age were not significantly associated with father-child relationship quality in an initial structural equation model. Therefore, only household income was included as a demographic control variable.

In terms of significant associations in the model, initial hypotheses were partly supported (see Table 2 for all estimates). Household income was significantly associated with father-child relationship quality, such that fathers with higher household incomes had children who reported higher quality relationships with their fathers. Fathers' Year 9 FIS also were associated positively with father-child relationship quality (greater importance assigned to roles at Year 9 was associated with higher child-reported relationship quality), but neither mothers' nor fathers' birth FIS were associated with relationship quality, and fathers' birth FIS were not associated with Year 9 FIS. However, both status centrality measures were

Table 1
Means and Standard Deviations for Demographic and Key Variables (N = 2,096)

Variables	Mean	SD
F age at Y9 (years)	37.26	7.16
F household income at Y9 (thousands)	57.03	58.04
	<i>n</i>	%
<i>F education</i>		
Less than high school	383	18.3
High school or equiv.	583	27.8
Some college	762	36.4
College or higher	368	17.6
<i>F ethnicity</i>		
White, non-Hispanic	475	22.7
Black, non-Hispanic	1012	48.3
Hispanic	530	25.3
Other	79	3.8
<i>F thought about M having an abortion</i>		
Yes	351	16.8
No	1739	83.2
<i>M-F Relationship status at Y9</i>		
Married	838	40.2
Cohabiting	243	11.6
Dating, non-cohabiting	46	2.2
Nonromantic	959	46.0
<i>Sex of focal child</i>		
Boy	1100	52.5
Girl	996	47.5
<i>Child reported closeness to F at Y9</i>		
Not very close	288	13.9
Fairly close	167	8.0
Quite close	384	18.5
Extremely close	1240	59.6

Note: M = Mother, F = Father.

significantly associated with relationship quality. Fathers who reported thinking about abortion sometime during the pregnancy had children who reported poorer relationships with those fathers nine years later. On the other hand, fathers for whom the status of parent was highly central at birth had children who reported higher quality relationships.

Mediated model. In the next model, parents' Year 9 romantic status was added as a mediating variable. Because neither fathers' nor mothers' birth FIS were significantly associ-

Table 2

SEM Structural Path Estimates for Identity and Father-Child Relationship Models (N = 2,096)

Model/Variables	ID AND CONTROLS MODEL		MEDIATED MODEL	
	β	B (S.E.)	β	B (S.E.)
F status centrality → Year 9 F-C RQ	.09**	.19 (.06)	.09**	.18 (.05)
F abortion thoughts → Year 9 F-C RQ	.06*	.12 (.05)	.02	.05 (.05)
F FIS Birth → Year 9 F-C RQ	-.03	-.16 (.19)	—	—
M FIS Birth → Year 9 F-C RQ	.05	.27 (.18)	—	—
F FIS Birth → F FIS Year 9	.06	.06 (.04)	—	—
F Household income → Year 9 F-C RQ	.17**	.00 (.00)	.09**	.00 (.00)
F FIS Year 9 → Year 9 F-C RQ	.07*	.46 (.23)	.06	.41 (.22)
F status centrality → M-F Romantic status	—	—	.05*	.07 (.04)
F abortion thoughts → M-F Romantic status	—	—	.13**	.18 (.03)
F FIS Year 9 → M-F Romantic status	—	—	.02	.08 (.14)
M-F Year 9 Romantic status → Year 9 F-C RQ	—	—	.31**	.46 (.04)

Note. Empty cell (—) indicates that association was not measured in model. M = Mother. F = Father. C = Child. RQ = Relationship quality.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

ated with father-child relationship quality in the previous model, these variables were removed for the test of mediation. Therefore, this model tested direct and indirect effects of father status centrality and thoughts about abortion on father-child relationship quality, as potentially mediated by parents' Year 9 romantic status.

This model provided a good fit to the data, $\chi^2(112) = 469.94$, $p < .001$, CFI = .95, TLI = .93, RMSEA = .039, 90% CI = .035 – .043, and a partially mediated model was supported for the status centrality measures. As expected, parents' current romantic status was associated strongly with father-child relationship quality; when mothers and fathers were romantically involved, children reported better relationships with their fathers. Fathers' Year 9 FIS were not associated with parents' romantic status and also were reduced to non-significance in their association with father-child relationship quality. Father status centrality was associated significantly with parents' current romantic status (fathers who held being a father as more central to their identities at birth were more likely to be romantically involved with their children's mothers at Year 9), but centrality remained directly associated with father-child relationship quality.

Fathers' thoughts about abortion also were significantly associated with parents' current romantic status (fathers who had considered abortion were less likely to be romantically involved with mothers by Year 9), and the direct association between thoughts about abortion and relationship quality was reduced to non-significance once parents' romantic status was included in the model, supporting a fully mediated path. Sobel tests revealed a significant mediating effect ($S = 5.48$, $p < .001$) of romantic status for abortion thoughts, further sup-

porting this position. As such, associations between both father status centrality and thoughts about abortion and father-child relationships could be explained at least partly via their associations with parents' current romantic status, and this mediating effect was stronger for thoughts of abortion. Fathers' who thought about the mother having an abortion during the pregnancy, and to a lesser extent, those who held the father status to be less central at the time of the child's birth, were less likely to be romantically involved with mothers 9 years later. That lack of romantic involvement, in turn, was associated with such fathers having lower quality relationships with their children. This model accounted for 12% of the variation in father-child relationship quality; see Figure 1 for a depiction of the final mediated model (only significant paths included).

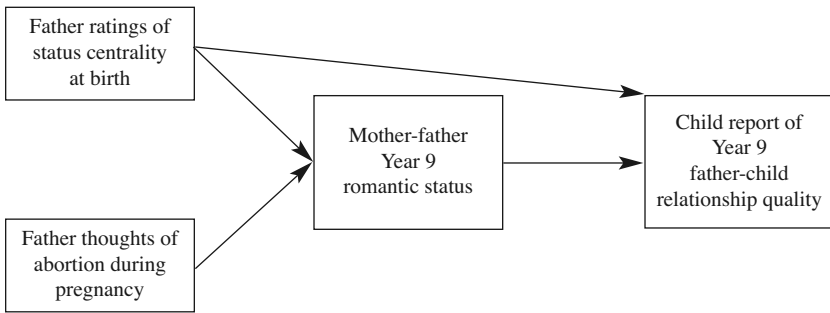


Figure 1. Final model of mediated associations between father identity variables and father-child relationship quality (only significant paths shown).

It should be noted that when mediating variables are dichotomous (as they are in the present study), the use of OLS regression can be problematic; the association between the independent variable and a dichotomous mediator involves logistic regression, whereas the dichotomous mediator predicting the continuous outcome is a standard linear regression. Programs like Mplus utilize procedures that assume an underlying latent continuous structure to the categorical mediator and often are preferable in such cases (MacKinnon & Cox, 2012; MacKinnon & Dwyer, 1993; Muthén & Muthén, 2010). Here, analyses were performed in AMOS structuring the mediator as both a continuous and a dichotomous variable, as well as using Mplus, and the results were substantively similar (in the model using Mplus, status centrality was not associated with parents' romantic status; results from all models are available from the author). Results from AMOS were presented due to their greater ease of interpretation and broader familiarity with the program in the field.

DISCUSSION

Overall, initial hypotheses were partially supported. Among parents in the Fragile Families Child Well-Being study, mothers' and fathers' FIS for the centrality of specific roles were not associated with father-child relationship quality at Year 9, but overall centrality of the father status and an initial reluctance to occupy the father status (via thoughts of abortion) were. Further, the association between thoughts of abortion and father-child relationship quality was mediated by parents' Year 9 romantic status.

Regarding mothers' and fathers' role identity standards, their lack of associations with father-child relationship quality likely was due to the lack of match in the scope of the measures (general relationship quality versus valuing specific fathering roles). As noted earlier, studies that mix measures of the fathering status with measures of fathering roles have resulted in mixed findings (McBride et al., 2005). Consistent with this pattern is the fact that the two measures at the level of the father status (overall father status centrality and reluctance to take on the father status), which would match the broad level of father-child relationship quality as an outcome, *were* associated with father-child relationship quality.

Unlike previous research, the current findings indicated that centrality of the father status (both measures) was more influential than the centrality of particular roles. Previous studies typically found that role centrality was more influential to father behavior than status centrality (Maurer, Pleck, & Rane, 2003; Rane & McBride, 2000). However, the current findings are consistent with studies about father-child relationships, which suggest children are sensitive to fathers' overall commitment to and feelings about being a father and such perceptions influence the quality of their relationships (Nixon et al., 2012). As such, the present findings support the proposition that role centrality is predictive of specific fathering role behaviors, whereas status centrality and measures of general fathering intent are associated with broader "status-level" outcomes like the quality of the father-child relationship. The present findings also suggest that, when assessing relationship quality, children might pay less attention to specific behaviors (father involvement in a particular activity or role), but instead are more attuned to the big picture of whether fathers seem to enjoy and value being a parent. This might be particularly true among this sample of "fragile families," where parents' relationships tend to be more tenuous and less stable (2/3 of families changed relationship statuses between birth and nine years) and families are facing greater risks due to poverty.

It is noteworthy, if not surprising, that fathers' consideration of abortion during the pregnancy was associated with father-child relationships nine years later. Consideration of abortion is perhaps the strongest possible indicator of a person's unwillingness to take on the status of parent among those who become parents (actually terminating a pregnancy would be a stronger indicator for those who do not become parents). Most fathers reported being highly invested in the fathering status when the child was born, signifying a change of heart for many initially reluctant fathers. However, post-hoc analyses revealed that fathers who had considered abortion were significantly less likely to endorse two of the three status centrality statements: "Being a father is one of the most fulfilling experiences for a man" and "I want people to know I have a new child" ($\chi^2 = 10.49, p = .015$ and $\chi^2 = 21.18, p < .001$, respectively). Perhaps equally notable is that fathers who had considered abortion were *not* any less likely to endorse the third statement: "Not being a part of my child's life would be one of the worst things that could happen to me." As such, fathers who had considered abortion appear to demonstrate considerable ambivalence about the status of being father, even at the time of the child's birth. Some appear not to have changed their minds about not wanting to become fathers, and such an attitude negatively influenced their relationships with their children, even nine years later.

Also noteworthy is that such reluctance to take on the status of father appears to have operated entirely through the father's relationship with the child's mother. Fathers who had considered abortion were less likely to be romantically involved with their children's mothers, and consistent with previous research on maternal gatekeeping and nonresident fathers

(Allen & Hawkins, 1999), a lack of romantic ties to the children's mothers was associated with poorer quality father-child relationships. Again, it is not surprising that either mothers would break ties with disinterested fathers, or that disinterested fathers would disengage from the mothers of children they didn't want to have. Which of these two scenarios occurred unfortunately is impossible to tell from the current data. Given that the current sample consisted of primarily unmarried, low-income parents, however, this finding further emphasizes the tenuous ties of some of these families and highlights one possible reason these relationships might dissolve.

General status centrality was not mediated by parents' romantic status, maintaining a direct association with father-child relationship quality. This difference is not surprising, given the large difference in connotation between the two measures of centrality—on the one hand, wanting to terminate a pregnancy to avoid becoming a father, and on the other, thinking that it wouldn't be the worst thing in the world if you weren't involved with your child, not wanting everyone knowing you have a new child, or saying that you don't think fathering is the most fulfilling part of being a man, much milder sentiments. The direct path suggests that children themselves perceive fathers' lack of enthusiasm about fathering, above and beyond what relational decisions mothers might make, and poorer father-child relationships are the result.

Limitations and Future Directions

In the present study, measures of father identity standards only were available at birth and child age 9; FIS at birth were not significantly associated with father-child relationship quality, and Year 9 standards were associated only before mother-father romantic status was added to the model. Given the dynamic nature of parenting and thus, negotiation of parenting identities, it would be helpful to have more frequent measures of identity. This study also was unable to explain the specific mechanisms through which early aspects of fathering identity were associated with later relationship quality. In addition to focusing interventions on these early attitudes, it would be helpful to know possible later points of intervention. Too, mothers were not asked about centrality of the father status, only role importance. Future research should incorporate parallel measures for both mothers and fathers for all aspects and levels of identity to allow for greater exploration of the dyadic nature of identity negotiation.

It would be helpful to know how fathers who changed their attitudes toward fathering did so, and what specific factors or mechanisms were responsible for some fathers changing from considering abortion to being highly invested fathers. Too, the use of a dichotomous variable regarding thoughts about abortion limits the variability likely present in fathers' reactions to learning about the pregnancy. Fathers who had fleeting thoughts about abortion might have different relationships with their children compared to fathers who consistently wanted to avoid becoming a father or who actively planned or tried to persuade the mother to terminate the pregnancy over an extended amount of time. Fathers who expressed their thoughts to the mothers also likely experience different outcomes than those who kept their thoughts to themselves. Too, mothers might never have told the most reluctant fathers about the pregnancy to begin with, knowing that they would not support a decision to keep the baby; therefore, the most reluctant fathers would not be included in the present sample. Finally, pregnancies can vary greatly in their "wantedness" even among individuals who never

consider abortion (Was it planned? Was the timing desirable? Is the current partner someone he wanted to become a father with, even if becoming a father generally was desirable?). As such, future studies should allow for greater variability and change over time in fathers' attitudes toward the pregnancy, thoughts about abortion, and the degree of "wantedness" of a pregnancy.

Theoretical Implications

The present findings provide some insight regarding the associations proposed by identity theory and Burke's (1991, 1997) Identity Control Theory. Role-related centrality standards were not associated with relationship quality, but status centrality standards were. As such, identities appear to influence outcomes differently, depending on whether identity and outcome measures are assessed at the status or role level. Neither fathers' own standards nor mothers' standards for fathers about role-level identities affected a status-level outcome (father-child relationship quality) in the present study. This finding provides an interesting parallel to the work of Maurer and colleagues, who generally found that status-level centrality standards were not associated with role-related behavioral outcomes.

It appears, therefore, that Burke's ICT could use an additional layer. Rather than simply stating that identity-related behaviors are enacted according to identity standards, elicit feedback from others, and result in particular outcomes or patterns over time, it should be noted that identity standards, behaviors, feedback, and outcomes all can occur at either the status or role levels of identity. Depending upon the level of the standards being enacted ("I'm being a good provider" versus "I'm being a good dad") and the feedback received (e.g., "You don't provide enough for your family" versus "You are a lousy father"), outcomes could be differentially affected. In the first case of role-related feedback, behavior as a provider would be most likely influenced; in the second case of status-level feedback, perhaps it would be more likely to affect overall engagement of the father with his family and/or his relationship with his child. Future research should investigate these different levels of identity and outcomes in more detail to further explicate this process. For example, if a father acts on a role-related identity standard (providing), but receives status level feedback ("You're a bad father"), are role standards/behaviors or status standards/behaviors most likely to be influenced? And is this more or less influential than when fathers acting on status-level standards are given role-related feedback? Such questions will be important to explore in order to build upon the usefulness of Burke's ICT model and its implications for families.

Implications for Policy and Practice

The findings of the present study have a number of important implications for policy-makers and practitioners. The present findings clearly indicate the long-term influence of fathers' initial investment in the father status. Fathers who did not value becoming a father at the time of the child's birth and who considered abortion during the pregnancy had children who reported poorer quality father-child relationships nine years later. Practitioners should focus on pre-natal interventions with fathers to increase the level of importance men assign to becoming a father. Also significant is the fact that just considering abortion was associated with poorer quality relationships nine years later. This finding occurred regard-

less of the fact that the pregnancy ultimately was carried to term, and further, that many of these fathers never voiced such considerations to the mother (a separate question asked this information, and relatively few fathers reported having suggested an abortion to the mother). As such, it is important to ask fathers (outside of the presence of mothers) about any hesitation in their willingness to become a father, so that such concerns can be addressed. At a more essential level, more pre-natal programs need to focus on the needs of fathers and not just mothers. The present findings emphasize the importance and substantial long-term impact of early preventive steps, rather than attempting to reengage fathers after years of disengagement.

As fathering scholarship continues to evolve, it will be important to look beyond simple measures of father involvement toward more complex constructions of father-child relationships. Research also must move beyond individual perspectives to account for associations between dyadic and triadic processes and outcomes for mothers, fathers, and children. It is only through such investigations that we will come to a full understanding of the ways fathers influence and benefit (and are influenced and benefited by) their children.

REFERENCES

- Allen, S.M., & Hawkins, A.J. (1999). Maternal gatekeeping: Mothers' beliefs and behaviors that inhibit greater father involvement in family work. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 61*, 199-212.
- Adamsons, K. (2010). Using identity theory to develop a mid-range model of parental gatekeeping and parenting behavior. *Journal of Family Theory and Review, 2*, 137-148.
- Amato, P.R. (2000). The consequences of divorce for adults and children. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 62*, 1269-88.
- Amato, P.R., & Gilbreth, J.G. (1999). Nonresident fathers and children's well-being: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 61*, 557-573.
- Amato, P.R., Meyers, C.E., & Emery, R.E. (2009). Changes in nonresident father-child contact from 1976 to 2002. *Family Relations, 58*, 41-53.
- Aquilino, W. S. (2006). The noncustodial father-child relationship from adolescence into young adulthood. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 68*, 929-946.
- Ashbourne, L.M., Daly, K.J., & Brown, J.L. (2011). Responsiveness in father-child relationships: The experience of fathers. *Fathering, 9*, 69-86.
- Bauserman, R. (2012). A meta-analysis of parental satisfaction, adjustment, and conflict in joint custody and sole custody following divorce. *Journal of Divorce and Remarriage, 53*, 464-488.
- Brown, G.L., Schoppe-Sullivan, S.J., Mangelsdorf, S.C., & Neff, C. (2010). Observed and reported supportive coparenting as predictors of infant-mother and infant-father attachment security. *Early Child Development and Care, 180*, 121-137.
- Burke, P.J. (1991). Identity processes and social stress. *American Sociological Review, 56*, 836-849.
- Burke, P.J. (1997). An identity model for network exchange. *American Sociological Review, 62*, 134-150.
- Burke, P.J. (2004). Identities and social structures: The 2003 Cooley-Mead Award Address. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 67*, 5-15.
- Burke, P.J. (2006). Identity change. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 69*, 81-96.
- Burke, P.J., & Reitzes, D.C. (1981). The link between identity and role performance. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 44*, 83-92.

- Christiansen, S.L., & Palkovitz, R. (1998). Exploring Erikson's psychosocial theory of development: Generativity and its relationship to paternal identity, intimacy, and involvement in childcare. *Journal of Men's Studies*, 7, 133-156.
- Choo, H., & Shek, D. (2013). Quality of parent-child relationship, family conflict, peer pressure, and drinking behaviors of adolescents in an Asian context: The case of Singapore. *Social Indicators Research*, 110, 1141-1157.
- DeGarmo, D.S. (2010). A time varying evaluation of identity theory and father involvement for full custody, shared custody, and no custody divorced fathers. *Fathering*, 8, 181-202.
- Dyer, W.J. (2005). Prison, fathers, and identity: A theory of how incarceration affects men's paternal identity. *Fathering*, 3, 201-219.
- Fabricius, W.V., & Luecken, L.J. (2007). Postdivorce living arrangements, parent conflict, and long-term physical health correlates for children of divorce. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 21, 195-205.
- Fagan, J., & Barnett, M. (2003). The relationship between maternal gatekeeping, paternal competence, mothers' attitudes about the father role, and father involvement. *Journal of Family Issues*, 24, 1020-1043.
- Fox, G.L., & Blanton, P.W. (1995). Noncustodial fathers following divorce. *Marriage and Family Review*, 20, 257-282.
- Hakvoort, E.M., Bos, H.M.W., van Balen, F., & Hermans, J.M.A. (2010). Postdivorce relationships in families and children's psychosocial adjustment. *Journal of Divorce and Remarriage*, 52, 125-146.
- Harper, S.E., & Fine, M.A. (2006). The effects of involved nonresidential fathers' distress, parenting behaviors, inter-parental conflict, and the quality of father-child relationships on children's well-being. *Fathering*, 4, 286-311.
- Heise, D.R. (1979). *Understanding events: Affect and the construction of social action*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Heise, D.R. (1988). Affect Control Theory: Concepts and model. In L. Smith-Lovin & D.R. Heise (Eds.), *Analyzing social interaction: Advances in Affect Control Theory* (pp. 1-34). New York, NY: Gordon and Breach.
- Hofferth, S.L. (2003). Race/ethnic differences in father involvement in two-parent families: Culture, context, or economy? *Journal of Family Issues*, 24, 185-216.
- Hofferth, S.L., Pleck, J., Stueve, J.L., Bianchi, S., & Sayer, L. (2002). The demography of fathers: What fathers do. In C. S. Tamis-LeMonda & N. Cabrera (Eds.), *Handbook of father involvement: Multidisciplinary perspectives* (pp. 63-90). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Insabella, G.M., Williams, T., & Pruett, M.K. (2003). Individual and coparenting differences between divorcing and unmarried fathers: Implications for family court services. *Family Court Review*, 41, 290-306.
- Jones-Sanpei, H.A., Day, R.D., & Holmes, E.K. (2009). Core family process measures in the NLSY97: Variation by gender, race, income, and family structure. *Marriage and Family Review*, 45, 140-167.
- Lamb, M.E. (2010). *The role of the father in child development* (5th ed.). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.
- MacKinnon, D.P., & Cox, M.G. (2012). Commentary on "Mediation analysis and categorical variables: The final frontier" by Dawn Iacobucci. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 22, 600-602.
- MacKinnon, D.P., & Dwyer, J.H. (1993). Estimating mediated effects in prevention studies. *Evaluation Review*, 17, 144-158.

- Mallers, M.H., Charles, S.T., Neupert, S.D., & Almeida, D.M. (2010). Perceptions of childhood relationships with mother and father: Daily emotional and stressor experiences in adulthood. *Developmental Psychology, 46*, 1651-1661.
- Malmberg, L-E., & Flouri, E. (2011). The comparison and interdependence of maternal and paternal influences on young children's behavior and resilience. *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology, 40*, 434-444.
- Marsiglio, W., Amato, P., Day, R.D., & Lamb, M.E. (2000). Scholarship on fatherhood in the 1990s and beyond. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 62*, 1173-1191.
- Marsiglio, W., & Cohan, M. (2000). Contextualizing father involvement and paternal influence: Sociological and qualitative themes. *Marriage & Family Review, 29*, 75-95.
- Maurer, T.W., & Pleck, J.H. (2006). Fathers' caregiving and breadwinning: A gender congruence analysis. *Psychology of Men and Masculinity, 7*, 101-112.
- Maurer, T.W., Pleck, J.H., & Rane, T.R. (2001). Parental identity and reflected-appraisals: Measurement and gender dynamics. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 63*, 309-321.
- Maurer, T.W., Pleck, J.H., & Rane, T.R. (2003). Methodological considerations in measuring paternal identity. *Fathering, 1*, 117-129.
- McBride, B.A., Brown, G.L., Bost, K.K., Shin, N., Vaughn, B., & Korth, B. (2005). Paternal identity, maternal gatekeeping, and father involvement. *Family Relations, 54*, 360-372.
- Muthén, L.K., & Muthén, B.O. (2010). *Mplus (Version 6.0) Computer Software*. Los Angeles, CA: Muthén & Muthén.
- Nixon, E., Greene, S., & Hogan, D. (2012). "Like an uncle but more, but less than a father"—Irish children's relationships with nonresident fathers. *Journal of Family Psychology, 26*, 381-390.
- Palkovitz, R. (2007). Challenges to modeling dynamics in developing a developmental understanding of father-child relationships. *Applied Developmental Science, 11*, 190-195.
- Pasley, K., Futris, T., & Skinner, M. (2002). Effects of commitment and psychological centrality on fathering. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 64*, 130-139.
- Pasley, K., Kerpelman, J., & Guilbert, D.E. (2001). Gendered conflict, identity disruption, and marital instability: Expanding Gottman's model. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 18*, 5-28.
- Peters, B., & Ehrenberg, M.F. (2008). The influence of parental separation and divorce on father-child relationships. *Journal of Divorce and Remarriage, 49*, 78-109.
- Pleck, J.H. (1997). Paternal involvement: Levels, sources and consequences. In M.E. Lamb (Ed.), *The role of the father in child development* (3rd ed., pp. 66-103). New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Rane, T.R., & McBride, B.A. (2000). Identity theory as a guide to understanding fathers' involvement with their children. *Journal of Family Issues, 21*, 347-366.
- Reichman, N.E., Teitler, J.O., Garfinkel, I., & McLanahan, S. (2001). Fragile families: Sample and design. *Children and Youth Services Review, 23*, 303-326.
- Schwartz, S.J., & Finley, G.E. (2005). Divorce-related variables as predictors of young adults' retrospective fathering reports. *Journal of Divorce and Remarriage, 44*, 145-163.
- Seiffge-Krenke, I., Overbeek, G., & Vermulst, A. (2010). Parent-child relationship trajectories during adolescence: Longitudinal associations with romantic outcomes in emerging adulthood. *Journal of Adolescence, 33*, 159-171.
- Smith, M. (2004). Relationships of children in stepfamilies with their non-resident fathers. *Family Matters, 67*, 28-35.
- Smith-Lovin, L., & Heise, D.R. (Eds.). (1988). *Analyzing social interaction: Advances in Affect Control Theory*. NY: Gordon and Breach.

- Stryker, S. (1968). Identity salience and role performance: The relevance of symbolic interaction theory for family research. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, *30*, 558-564.
- Stryker, S. (1980). *Symbolic interactionism: A social structural version*. Menlo Park, CA: Benjamin Cummings.
- Stryker, S., & Serpe, R.T. (1994). Identity salience and psychological centrality: Equivalent, overlapping, or complementary concepts? *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *57*, 16-35.
- Swann, W.B., Jr., De La Ronde, C., & Hixon, J.G. (1994). Authenticity and positivity strivings in marriage and courtship. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *66*, 857-969.
- Teitler, J.O., Reichman, N.E., & Sprachman, S. (2003). Costs and benefits of improving response rates for a hard-to-reach population. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *67*, 126-138.
- Zhang, X., Chen, H-C., Zhang, G-F., Zhou, B-F., & Wu, W. (2008). A longitudinal study of parent-child relationships and problem behaviors in early childhood: Transactional model. *Acta Psychologica Sinica*, *40*, 571-582.

Copyright of *Fathering: A Journal of Theory, Research, & Practice about Men as Fathers* is the property of Men's Studies Press and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.