

**Mothers' Gate-keeping of Father Involvement
in Married- and Cohabiting-Couple Families**

Catherine Kenney
Bowling Green State University

Ryan Bogle
Bowling Green State University

In the past few decades, two possibly conflicting forces have been at play that could influence men's involvement in their children's lives. First, increases in women's labor force participation and more widespread social acceptance of a more hands-on role for fathers may be encouraging fathers to spend more time with their children and possibly to do so in less gender-stereotyped ways—that is, to engage in more of the nurturing and caregiving activities that were once strongly associated with "mothering" under the "separate spheres" gender regime. Second, the increase in non-marital childbearing may be reducing involvement of fathers with their children and perhaps may also influence the content of that involvement if, for example, state interventions emphasize fathers' economic support over their caregiving. Intermixed with each of these influences is the role of mothers in either encouraging or discouraging father involvement—the "gatekeeping" role—which may also affect not only the quantity but also the content or nature of father involvement. Research on such maternal gatekeeping suggests that even employed mothers may guard against fathers assuming responsibility for certain aspects of child care or may attempt to control or direct father involvement by treating fathers as "helpers" in the household, when motherhood is a particularly salient part of the woman's identity. Meanwhile, theory suggests conflicting hypotheses regarding the way in which parents' formal marital status might affect mothers' gatekeeping.

As Allen and Hawkins (1999, at 199) have argued, far more research is needed into "the specific contextual factors that may mediate or regulate men's involvement in family work." A better understanding of these contextual factors, and in particular maternal gatekeeping, is important in light of recent interest by policymakers in programs to encourage higher levels of father involvement, particularly among low-income fathers. If maternal gatekeeping plays a significant role in determining the quantity and content of paternal involvement for these fathers,

involving both parents in such programs, and explicitly addressing gender roles, may offer better prospects for meaningful change in fathering behaviors than directing such programs only to fathers.

In this paper, we use data from the first four waves of the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study (FFCW) to examine the influence of maternal gatekeeping on both the quantity and the content of father involvement in married- and cohabiting-parent families. These data allow us to significantly expand the literature on maternal gatekeeping, which has to date relied almost exclusively on middle-class, often highly-educated samples (e.g., Allen and Hawkins 1999; De Luccie 2001). In addition, this is the first study to our knowledge that compares maternal gatekeeping behaviors and their effects on fathering in married versus cohabiting couples. This study follows the example of recent research on fathering by carefully distinguishing among types of parenting activities as well as the quantity of time spent engaging in them. In particular, we focus on parents' relative involvement in nurturing and caregiving activities with children, as well as those activities that represent assuming responsibility for the child's broader wellbeing as opposed to acting as a helper who is "under orders" from the other parent. Finally, we recognize that fathers' gender and parenting ideologies, as well as mothers', are of course crucial in understanding how parents ultimately negotiate and carry out their roles, so we conceptualize and construct measures of "fathering predispositions" in order to understand how mothers' gatekeeping attempts may operate differently depending on fathers' underlying motivation and ideology. We also investigate measures of the mother's paternal expectations, which may be associated with gatekeeping behavior. We theorize that the father's own parenting expectations may determine how the father reacts to maternal gatekeeping. For example, fathers

with more egalitarian gender expectations may be less receptive to negative critiques of their parenting, and thus more involved in their children's caregiving.

BACKGROUND

Maternal gatekeeping in coresident couples

Maternal gatekeeping is conceptualized as being any behaviors by the mother that would inhibit or encourage a father from learning or engaging in parenting behaviors, and consequentially determine the nature of his relationship with his children (Allen and Hawkins, 1999). In theory, the effect of maternal gatekeeping should be similar for all fathers, however the intent behind gatekeeping is often dependent upon the relationship status of the couples in question. Therefore, we distinguish between two distinct forms of gatekeeping, one involving couples who are currently coresident and one involving couples who are divorced, separated, or otherwise non-coresident. In separated couples, it is more likely that the factors driving gatekeeping are related to animosity between the (former) partners, bargaining over economic support, the father's risk factors, incarceration, or the presence of a new partner. In such instances, maternal gatekeeping is related less to maternal identity, and more towards the child's safety and the mother's needs. An interesting finding presented by Fagan and Barnett (2003) indicated that a single mother's desire to restrict the father's access to the child may be offset by her immediate needs and stress level.

While the non-resident form of gatekeeping may be related to economic and practical needs and safety (and in some cases merely hostility), the form of gatekeeping engaged in by coresident mothers is conceived of as resulting from the mother's investment in maternal identity and separate spheres ideology (Allen and Hawkins, 1999). One difference between co-resident

and non-resident maternal gatekeeping is that non-resident appears to be more conscious than the co-resident form. We expect that fathers' own gender role ideology or parenting beliefs may be as or more important in determining the extent to which parents either specialize in parenting (dividing activities with the child along conventional gender lines) or engage in different parenting domains fairly equally, and therefore we take these into account along with mothers' gatekeeping.

Father involvement in married- versus cohabiting-parent households

Although family theories would suggest that marriage, through its associations with commitment and "enforceable trust," would be associated with higher parental investments in children in general and higher father involvement in particular (see Berger, Carlson, Bzostek & Osborne 2008), and that cohabitation, because it is less stable and less institutionalized, would be associated with less involvement, the scant existing empirical evidence comparing father involvement in married and cohabiting-parent households is less clear than the theories would imply. Indeed, Hofferth and Anderson (2003) find that unmarried biological fathers only scored lower than married biological fathers on one of four parenting measures, and Berger et al. (2008) found that cohabiting and married biological fathers were indistinguishable on measures of engagement with the child, shared responsibility for the child, and whether or not the mother would trust the father to care for the child if she had to be away for a week. These authors did find that cohabiting fathers looked marginally worse than married fathers on a measure of "cooperation in parenting." Previous studies that consider parents' marital status and father involvement have not distinguished relative mother and father involvement in specific activities with the child on the basis of how equally parents are engaging in caregiving and sharing responsibility for decisionmaking.

Why might maternal gatekeeping differ in cohabitation and marriage?

Theory and prior research suggest opposing hypotheses regarding the extent to which mothers might "gatekeep" fathers' involvement in caregiving in marriage versus cohabitation. One set of arguments, which draws on research comparing the amount of housework done by men and women in cohabiting versus married relationships, would suggest higher levels of gatekeeping of caregiving activities by married mothers (e.g., Baxter 2005; Cunningham 2005; South and Spitze 1994). This could occur for one of (at least) two reasons. First, it could be due to selection of women with more gender-role specialized beliefs about parental roles into marriage and/or selection of women with more egalitarian beliefs into cohabitation. Second, it could be that the longer expected time horizon of marriage compared to cohabitation encourages or rewards greater specialization in household roles (e.g., Brines and Joyner 1999). In marriage, other members of a couples' social network from grandparents to co-workers may also act to reinforce the division of parenting along gender-specialized lines, offering support for mothers' caregiving and either questioning fathers' competence or encouraging fathers' breadwinning and other non-caregiving parental roles. By contrast, such social network members might welcome any sign of a cohabiting fathers' engagement with a child as evidence of his commitment or the permanence of the relationship.

Another set of arguments, which draws on ethnographic research conducted among low income unmarried mothers, suggests reasons to expect gatekeeping to be higher among cohabiting mothers (e.g., Edin 2000). In this case, the argument would be that unmarried mothers remain unmarried in part because they wish to retain a greater degree of control over parenting (as well as financial) decisions and feel that marriage would undermine their decision-making power in the couple. Alternatively, cohabiting mothers, if they are uncertain about their partner's

commitment, might gatekeep their partners' involvement in caregiving activities either to avoid becoming too dependent on him themselves or to protect the child from the potential disappointment of losing that paternal involvement if the parental relationship breaks up. This form of gatekeeping would likely be less related to the mother's gender role ideology or parenting beliefs and more related to the couple's relationship quality or her trust in her partner's commitment to the relationship and/or the child.

DATA AND METHODS

Data

This study uses data from four waves of the FFCW, a birth cohort study of 4,898 children born between 1997 and 2000. The study was designed to be representative of nonmarital births in U.S. cities with populations over 200,000 (for more on the study design, see Reichman, Teitler, Garfinkel & McLanahan 2000), and as a result, the children included are more likely to be from low-income households than would be the case in a nationally representative sample. Mothers (and many fathers) were first interviewed in the hospital within approximately 48 hours of their child's birth, and they have been reinterviewed when the child was approximately 12, 36, and 60 months old. These data are ideal for this study because, in addition to extensive information on parents' sociodemographic characteristics and relationship quality, they include baseline questions regarding each parent's gender and parenting beliefs as well as questions in each subsequent wave regarding fathers' involvement in a number of specific parenting activities. Several questions that are asked across multiple waves can also be used to measure maternal gatekeeping, such as questions regarding the extent to which the mother wants the father involved in parenting or trusts him to engage in particular activities with the child.

Sample

Overall response rates and retention rates across waves in the FFCW have been good. For example, of the 4,898 participants in the baseline survey, over 86% were interviewed for the 36-month survey, and response rates are higher for married and cohabiting parents than they are for non-coresident parents. In this study, our sample will be limited to couples who are married or cohabiting at the time of the 60-month survey and have either been in that same status throughout the study or have moved from cohabitation to marriage over the course of the study period. Although this means we have a somewhat select group of couples (in particular, among the cohabitators who have remained cohabiting for such a long period of time), this limitation is important because co-resident and non-coresident parents were asked slightly different questions in each time period, and some of these earlier responses are included in our models. Our final sample includes 387 couples who have cohabited through all 4 waves of the study, 351 who were cohabiting at baseline but married by 60 months, and 825 couples who have been married through all 4 waves.

Dependent variables

Following Allen & Hawkins (1999), we use *relative* measures of father's versus mother's involvement in parenting activities. For example, the 60-month survey asks mothers and fathers to respond to questions asking how many days per week they (and, in the case of mothers, how often fathers) engaged in different activities with the child, including singing songs, reading stories, telling stories, playing inside with toys, playing outside, taking the child on outings, or watching TV or a video with the child. We create scales from these items for each parent and use those scales to create a relative measure of the proportion of all time spent in these activities with parents is spent by fathers as a measure of how equally the parents are engaging in this aspect of

parenting. We then create two separate scales from the same measures, one that measures the proportion of time in the subset of educational activities that is spent by fathers, and one that measures the proportion of time in the subset of play/recreational activities that is spent by fathers.

Explanatory Variables

Maternal gatekeeping. At each FFCW wave after baseline, mothers were asked a series of questions about their views of the father's parenting. The questions ask, for example, how often the father acts like the father the mother wants for her child and whether she trusts him to take good care of the child, and whether she would trust him to care for the child for a week if she needed to go away. These questions are imperfect measures of gatekeeping—mothers may be responding to genuine misbehavior on the part of fathers. Nevertheless, it seems likely that mothers who do limit fathers' access to the child due to their own mothering ideology would be more likely to say, for example, that they don't trust the father to take good care of the child than would mothers who do not do so. Because our outcome measures are taken from the 60-month survey, we use gatekeeping measures from the 30-month survey to help insure against endogeneity problems.

Parents' marital status. In this paper, we are interested in the differences in gatekeeping behavior and its effects between married and cohabiting couples. Therefore, we consider only couples who were married or cohabiting as of the 60-month survey. Because some of the married couples were cohabiting at baseline, and such couples may have different characteristics than those who were married at the time of their child's birth, in the analyses that use the full sample, we create a separate category for those who made the transition from cohabitation to marriage between baseline and 60 months. In the analyses that consider married and cohabiting

couples separately, however, we limit the samples to those who were married at both times or cohabiting at both times, respectively.

Baseline gender role attitudes. Mothers' gatekeeping behavior and fathers' involvement in parenting may both be due to underlying gender role attitudes—for example, beliefs that it's better if men earn the income while women care for home and family—that preceded their actual involvement in parenting. That is, the gender role attitudes of one or both parents may be what truly drives parents' relative caregiving of children, with mothers' efforts to encourage or limit paternal access having no additional influence. We include measures that combine the mother's and father's responses to baseline questions asking how much they agree that the man should be the main decisionmaker in the household and how much they agree with a male breadwinning/female homemaking division of labor.

Baseline beliefs about a father's role. Men who start off with strong beliefs about the importance of fathers in children's lives, who are proud of and excited about fatherhood, or who see fatherhood as central to their identities may be less likely to be deterred from engagement with the child by mothers' gatekeeping than men with lower initial commitment to fathering. We include a measure of "pro-fathering attitudes" created from several questions asked at baseline that gauge the father's commitment to and excitement about fathering. In addition, we include an indicator variable that is equal to one if the mother said at baseline that she believes direct care is the *least* important thing a father can do for a child (suggesting she may be more likely to gatekeep that role), and another indicator variable that is equal to one if the father said at baseline that he believes direct care is the *most* important thing a father can do for a child (suggesting he may be more determined to adopt that role).

[Insert Table 1 about here.]

Control Variables

Socioeconomic status. Parents who have specialized their division of market labor, with the father engaged in paid work and the mother out of the labor force, are more likely to have different levels of hands-on involvement in child care, as well. We therefore control for the mother's and the father's employment. Mothers' employment is divided into three categories (out of the labor force, unemployed, and employed) in order to differentiate between those who are not working for pay by choice and those who are out of work. This is an important distinction when comparing married and cohabiting couples, as married mothers are far more likely to say they are out of the labor force (32% versus 22% for cohabiting mothers), whereas cohabiting mothers are far more likely to say they are unemployed (18% versus 7% for married mothers). For fathers, we include an indicator variable that is equal to one if the father is unemployed and equal to zero otherwise. Along with each parents' employment, whether or not the child is being cared for by others in addition to the parents may have an influence on fathers' involvement or the relative care provided by mothers versus fathers. We include an indicator variable equal to one if the child is in other-care for more than 5 hours a week, and equal to zero otherwise. We also control for household income (natural log of total household income) and a measure of the mother's education, which differs substantially by marital status. Only 12% of married mothers had less than a high school education, compared to 41% of cohabiting mothers, while over 44 percent of married mothers had a college degree or more, compared to only about 2% of cohabiting mothers. Finally, prior research has suggested that having a child with a disability or poor health may influence women's labor supply (Corman, Reichman & Noonan, 2004), and since this may also influence the balance of parenting, we include an indicator variable equal to

one if the child is disabled or in "fair or poor" health according to the mother, equal to zero otherwise.

Parents' relationship quality. Parents who are emotionally close may also be more likely to share parenting. Alternatively, a parent may be more likely to report greater involvement with the child if the relationship is strong. We include a measure of the father's assessment of relationship quality based on a scale created from several questions asking him how often the mother supports him in what he wants to do, listens to him, really understands his hurts and joys, and shows love or affection for him.

Other measures of father's "quality." To make the case that the variables we employ as "gatekeeping" measures (discussed above) are indeed indicators of the mother's interest in or efforts to control the father's access to the child *based on her parenting beliefs or mothering identity*, we need to be sure that these measures are not primarily reflecting situations in which there is really something "wrong" with the father's fathering. For example, mothers may well be more likely to say fathers "don't act like the father they want for their child" or that they "don't trust fathers to take good care of the child" if those men are violent, have trouble with the law, or have addiction or serious emotional problems. We therefore include several measures intended to capture whether, in the mother's view, the father has such problems. The first measure is a scale ($\alpha = 0.84$) created from four questions asking the mother how true it is that the father does things likely to get him in trouble with the law, that he often gets into fights, that he lies and cheats, or that he doesn't feel guilty when he misbehaves. The second is an indicator variable equal to one if the mother says the father has a drug or alcohol problem that interferes with his work or with his relationships, equal to zero otherwise. The third is an indicator equal to one if the mother has reported in *any* wave of the study that the father was violent to her, equal to zero

otherwise. The fourth is an indicator equal to one if the father's own responses to a series of questions on his mood and feelings meet a "liberal" threshold for depression, equal to zero otherwise.

Race and ethnicity. Prior research suggests that the division of labor in couple households in the United States varies by race and ethnicity. We include a measure that distinguishes non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, Hispanic, and other.

PRELIMINARY RESULTS

Table 1 provides descriptive statistics on the variables included in the analyses. Consistent with prior research on father involvement that has used the Fragile Families data, we do not find substantial differences in the level of father involvement by fathers in married versus cohabiting parent families, and to the extent that differences exist, they appear to slightly favor cohabiting fathers. However, several interesting gender differences appear in married versus cohabiting parents' attitudes about fathering, gender roles, and in mothers' gatekeeping. Married mothers are far more likely than cohabiting mothers to say they believe that direct care is the *least* important thing a father can do for his child, while cohabiting fathers are somewhat more likely than married fathers to say that direct care is the *most* important thing fathers can do for their child. Although both findings on these measures are consistent in suggesting that both female and male cohabitators may have more liberal or less "traditional" attitudes about fathering, this is not borne out in the other measures. Instead, it appears that while married mothers (18.1%) are more "traditional" in agreeing that it is better if the husband makes decisions than are cohabiting mothers (13.5%), it is cohabiting *fathers* (34.5%) rather than married fathers (27.1%) who are more likely to hold this view. The pattern of gender differences is the same for

the questions that ask whether they agree that it is better if the man earns while the woman takes care of home and family. Finally, although both specialization theories and the mothers' own gender role attitudes might suggest that a higher proportion of married than cohabiting mothers would show positive values on the gatekeeping measures, the descriptive statistics show the reverse. Cohabiting mothers are more likely to say the father does not act like the father they want for their child and more likely to say they don't trust the father to take good care of the child. Given the possibility that cohabiting mothers' responses may relate to other problems with the fathers (such as their lack of employment, drug or alcohol problems, problems with the law, or emotional problems, all of which are higher for cohabiting men), we now turn to the multivariate results, which control for all of these factors.

Table 2 shows the results of an OLS regression of the proportion of total parent time in all activities that is father's time. The most interesting finding of this analysis is that it appears that there are different predictors of father involvement in marriage than in cohabitation. In particular, maternal gatekeeping has a negative and significant effect on fathers' relative involvement with the child among married fathers but no effect among cohabiting fathers. In the full model (column 1), we find that if the mother says she doesn't trust the father to take good care of the child, his proportion of total time in all activities is significantly lower. Comparing the results for married couples (column 2) with those for cohabiting couples (column 3), however, it is clear that this effect is due to the strong negative relationship between mother's gatekeeping and father's involvement in the married couples, as there is no large or significant relationship among cohabiting couples. It is similarly the case that if married mothers agree that husbands should make important decisions, or if they agree that it is better that the man earns while the woman takes care of home and family, married fathers are less involved, whereas these

variables do not predict father involvement among cohabiting couples. On the other hand, the father's own pro-fathering attitudes at baseline are a strong positive predictor of his involvement among cohabiting fathers but have no effect among married fathers.

Turning to Table 3, which shows coefficients from an OLS regression of the father's proportion of all parental time in educational activities only, we find that married mothers' gatekeeping has an even stronger association with this group of activities, but it is still the case that cohabiting mothers' gatekeeping measure has no association with father involvement. Interestingly, however, in the case of educational activities, married fathers who say at baseline that direct care is the most important thing a father can do are likely to show a significantly higher proportion of time in educational activities.

A few results are worth mentioning among the control variables. First, in both Tables 2 and 3, we note that unemployment has a positive and significant association with fathers' involvement with their children for all fathers and for married fathers, and the association is also positive but not significant for cohabiting fathers. This result appears contrary to findings from other research that suggest that partnered men may do less of other kinds of housework while unemployed (or when they earn less than their partners) in the interest of "doing gender" (e.g., Brines, 1994). Second, we note the initially counter-intuitive finding that if married fathers score higher on the mother's report of their "bad behaviors" (the scale made up of questions asking how true it is that the father does things that may cause trouble with the law, lies and cheats, gets in fights, etc.), they apparently spend *more* time with the child. In separate analyses (not shown), we found that there was a strong positive association between the father's score on this measure of his "bad behavior" and a larger discrepancy between the mother's report and the father's report of the father's time spent in activities with the child. Perhaps, as the mothers suggest, these

fathers really are liars, and they are disproportionately over-reporting the time they spend with the child. Alternatively, perhaps mothers who have such strong negative views of the father under-report the time he spends with the child and/or over-report their own time with the child.

Table 4 shows coefficients from OLS regressions of the father's proportion of total parental time in play or recreational activities on the explanatory variables. For these play activities, mothers' gatekeeping appears to play no role for either married or cohabiting couples. However, married mothers' gender role attitudes continue to influence fathers' engagement in play: if a married mother agrees that husbands should make important decisions in the family, the father's proportion of time in play is lower. Interestingly, it is cohabiting fathers whose fathering attitudes are important in the case of play activities. Those cohabiting men who showed more positive attitudes toward fathering at baseline engage in a higher proportion of parental play activities with their child at 60 months.

PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION, LIMITATIONS, AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This study presents a potentially important extension of prior research on maternal gatekeeping by extending that research beyond the very small samples of (often) middle-class couples that have most often been used in the past. We find evidence that married mothers' gatekeeping—and their gender role attitudes more generally—has a strong negative association with the proportion of parental time in activities that is spent by fathers. This is particularly true for activities that are likely to be more associated with caregiving and/or educational engagement with the child—singing, reading, and telling stories, as would be consistent with the view that gatekeeping in co-resident couples is a manifestation of the mother holding more tightly to a caregiving identity by limiting the father's access to such activities. This relationship did not

hold when we isolated the proportion of father-time in purely recreational activities such as playing with toys, playing outdoors, or watching television together. It seems possible that these activities are more consistent with a gendered division of parenting that assigns fathers the role of playmate to the child and therefore were not considered threats to the mother's caregiving identity. It is important to note, however, that fathers are not helpless pawns when it comes to involvement with their children: married fathers who said at baseline that direct caregiving was the most important thing a father can do spent a significantly higher proportion of time in the educational/caregiving activities when the child was 60 months old, even controlling for the mother's gatekeeping and other gender role attitudes.

We also find substantial differences in the apparent effects of gatekeeping for married versus cohabiting parents. It appears that married mothers' gatekeeping and gender role attitudes have a significant effect on fathers' involvement, whereas cohabiting mothers' gatekeeping and gender role attitudes do not. This is particularly striking, given that cohabiting mothers were slightly more likely to say they don't trust the father to take good care of the child (7.9% versus 6.2% for married mothers) and substantially more likely to say the father doesn't act like the father they want for their child (27.5% versus 19.1%). One interpretation of this finding would be that, indeed, married parents are more "tuned in" to or accepting of specialization, so that married fathers are more likely to reduce their involvement in response to mothers' gatekeeping. However, we are very cautious about proposing such an interpretation. Instead, we emphasize that the sample of couples who are still cohabiting 60 months after the birth of the Fragile Families focal child is an extremely select group. It may well be that cohabiting mothers use their control over the father's co-residence to "gatekeep" if they disapprove of the father's behavior, and therefore many such couples have already broken up or at least the father has

moved out by the 4th wave of the study. We need to explore this issue further before we will feel comfortable coming to any strong conclusions about differences in gatekeeping and its effects between married and cohabiting parents.

We hope to address a number of other limitations with the present study in the near future. These include the fact that in the current analysis, we limit our sample to those for whom responses were complete on all variables included in the analysis. We plan to employ multiple imputation on the data in order to avoid the loss of sample size and possible introduction of bias associated with the current approach. In addition, we plan to increase our sample of cohabiting couples, and (we hope) reduce their selectivity by conducting a pooled cross-sectional analysis that examines associations between gatekeeping at 12 months with father involvement at 30 months as well as the current measure of gatekeeping at 30 months with father involvement at 60 months. Finally, in separate analyses that will shed light on these findings, one author plans to further examine the association of cohabiting mothers' views of the father's parenting with changes in union status.

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Table 1. Descriptive Statistics (Means (s.d.) and Percentages) for Variables Included in the Analyses

Variables	Full Sample N = 1,023	Married Baseline and 60 N = 574	Cohabiting Baseline and 60 N = 220
<i>Dependent Variables</i>			
Father's proportion of parental time in all activities	0.44 (0.14)	0.43 (0.13)	0.45 (0.14)
Father's proportion of parental time in educational activities	0.41 (0.17)	0.41 (0.16)	0.43 (0.18)
Father's proportion of parental time in play activities	0.49 (0.12)	0.48 (0.12)	0.49 (0.13)
<i>Baseline attitudes about father's role</i>			
Scale of father's pro-fathering attitudes	3.79 (0.38)	3.80 (0.38)	3.73 (0.42)
Mother: direct care is father's least important role	34.7%	40.3%	23.6%
Father: direct care is father's most important role	9.7%	8.6%	11.8%
<i>Baseline gender role attitudes</i>			
Father: agrees husband should make decisions	29.0%	27.1%	34.5%
Mother: agrees husband should make decisions	15.7%	18.1%	13.5%
Father: better if man earns, woman caregives	42.2%	42.2%	44.0%
Mother: better if man earns, woman caregives	33.4%	35.3%	31.9%
<i>30-month mother's gatekeeping attitudes</i>			
Mother: father does not act like father I want	22.4%	19.1%	27.5%
Mother: don't trust father to take good care	6.5%	6.2%	7.9%
<i>Control variables</i>			
Household income	\$56,634 (61,609)	\$75,087 (73,609)	\$29,309 (26,322)
Mother or father has child from prior relationship	10.2%	4.1%	17.5%
Mother and father have prior child(ren) together	54.2%	61.0%	48.9%
Mother is out of the labor force	28.5%	31.5%	22.3%
Mother is unemployed	11.4%	7.3%	17.5%
Mother is employed	60.1%	61.3%	60.3%
Father is unemployed	9.8%	6.6%	17.5%
Mother is non-Hispanic White	37.6%	49.1%	17.5%
Mother is non-Hispanic Black	27.3%	20.5%	38.4%
Mother is Hispanic	29.7%	23.1%	41.1%
Mother's race is "other"	5.3%	7.2%	3.1%
Mother has less than high school education	22.2%	12.4%	41.1%
Mother has high school degree	25.5%	17.4%	36.7%
Mother has some college	26.2%	26.0%	20.5%
Mother has a college degree or more	26.1%	44.1%	1.8%
Child has poor health or is disabled	2.1%	1.9%	2.6%
Child is in other care 5+ hours per week	48.6%	50.5%	44.5%
Scale of father's relationship quality measures	2.70 (0.33)	2.73 (0.31)	2.60 (0.39)

Table 1, continued

Scale of mother's father=bad man measures	1.08 (0.23)	1.05 (0.17)	1.15 (0.32)
Father has a drug or alcohol problem	1.7%	0.8%	3.9%
Father has ever been violent to mother	6.8%	4.1%	11.4%
Father meets criteria for depression	10.5%	9.6%	13.1%

Table 2. Coefficients from OLS Regression of Father's Proportion of Total Parental Time in Activities with Child on Explanatory Variables

EXPLANATORY VARIABLES	Full Sample N = 1,023	Married Baseline and 60 N = 574	Cohabiting Baseline and 60 N = 220
Cohabiting at baseline, married at 60-months (Married at both times is omitted category)	0.006 (0.649)		
Cohabiting at both times	0.006 (0.652)		
<i>Baseline attitudes about father's role</i>			
Scale of father's pro-fathering attitudes	0.020† (0.075)	0.005 (0.724)	0.057* (0.026)
Mother: direct care is father's least important role	-0.002 (0.800)	0.002 (0.857)	-0.020 (0.422)
Father: direct care is father's most important role	0.015 (0.308)	0.024 (0.225)	0.004 (0.903)
<i>Baseline gender role attitudes</i>			
Father: agrees husband should make decisions	0.003 (0.737)	0.013 (0.333)	-0.021 (0.393)
Mother: agrees husband should make decisions	-0.017 (0.179)	-0.032* (0.041)	-0.002 (0.957)
Father: better if man earns, woman caregives	0.002 (0.870)	0.004 (0.737)	0.002 (0.937)
Mother: better if man earns, woman caregives	-0.018† (0.079)	-0.024† (0.075)	-0.027 (0.326)
<i>30-month mother's gatekeeping attitudes</i>			
Mother: father does not act like father I want	-0.002 (0.885)	0.006 (0.690)	0.009 (0.720)
Mother: don't trust father to take good care	-0.041* (0.023)	-0.071** (0.005)	-0.010 (0.804)
<i>Control variables</i>			
Logged household income	0.001 (0.852)	-0.003 (0.766)	-0.006 (0.676)
Mother or father has child from prior relationship	0.004 (0.809)	-0.018 (0.534)	0.028 (0.326)
Mother and father have prior child(ren) together	0.002 (0.784)	0.017 (0.136)	-0.022 (0.316)
Mother is unemployed (Mother out of labor force omitted)	0.009 (0.561)	-0.002 (0.921)	-0.033 (0.353)
Mother is employed	0.019† (0.096)	0.017 (0.224)	-0.021 (0.528)
Father is unemployed	0.038* (0.014)	0.050* (0.031)	0.029 (0.342)
Mother is non-Hispanic Black (Mother is non-Hispanic White omitted)	0.003 (0.810)	-0.005 (0.765)	0.015 (0.641)
Mother is Hispanic	0.011 (0.374)	0.006 (0.722)	0.015 (0.640)
Mother's race is "other"	0.022 (0.269)	0.017 (0.440)	0.010 (0.878)

Table 2, continued

Mother has high school degree (Mother has less than high school omitted)	-0.016 (0.241)	-0.020 (0.357)	-0.004 (0.895)
Mother has some college	-0.010 (0.487)	-0.002 (0.931)	-0.013 (0.717)
Mother has a college degree or more	-0.021 (0.221)	-0.014 (0.541)	0.017 (0.845)
Child has poor health or is disabled	0.020 (0.489)	0.045 (0.266)	0.035 (0.604)
Child is in other care 5+ hours per week	-0.005 (0.619)	-0.016 (0.229)	0.029 (0.241)
Scale of father's relationship quality measures	0.035** (0.010)	0.023 (0.218)	0.029 (0.298)
Scale of mother's father=bad man measures	0.048* (0.031)	0.141** (0.000)	-0.024 (0.558)
Father has a drug or alcohol problem	0.039 (0.283)	-0.098 (0.127)	0.105 (0.106)
Father has ever been violent to mother	-0.001 (0.969)	-0.051† (0.078)	0.022 (0.557)
Father meets criteria for depression	-0.010 (0.499)	-0.017 (0.386)	0.018 (0.578)
Constant	0.209** (0.010)	0.237† (0.054)	0.255 (0.164)
R-squared	0.050	0.080	0.096

p values in parentheses

** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.1

Table 3. Coefficients from OLS Regression of Father's Proportion of Total Parental Time in Educational Activities with Child on Explanatory Variables

EXPLANATORY VARIABLES	Full Sample N = 1,028	Married Baseline and 60 N = 578	Cohabiting Baseline and 60 N = 220
Cohabiting at baseline, married at 60-months (Married at both times is omitted category)	-0.003 (0.842)		
Cohabiting at both times	0.008 (0.604)		
<i>Baseline attitudes about father's role</i>			
Scale of father's pro-fathering attitudes	0.012 (0.387)	-0.002 (0.916)	0.042 (0.187)
Mother: direct care is father's least imp. role	0.004 (0.740)	0.001 (0.949)	-0.001 (0.984)
Father: direct care is father's most imp. role	0.029 (0.113)	0.060* (0.016)	-0.015 (0.724)
<i>Baseline gender role attitudes</i>			
Father: agrees husband should make decisions	0.001 (0.928)	0.009 (0.597)	-0.051† (0.099)
Mother: agrees husband should make decisions	-0.015 (0.348)	-0.022 (0.258)	-0.028 (0.473)
Father: better if man earns, woman caregives	0.006 (0.641)	0.010 (0.514)	0.028 (0.367)
Mother: better if man earns, woman caregives	-0.025† (0.053)	-0.020 (0.237)	-0.050 (0.143)
<i>30-month mother's gatekeeping attitudes</i>			
Mother: father does not act like father I want	-0.006 (0.688)	0.017 (0.364)	-0.017 (0.603)
Mother: don't trust father to take good care	-0.058* (0.010)	-0.104** (0.001)	-0.005 (0.922)
<i>Control variables</i>			
Logged household income	0.004 (0.574)	0.002 (0.813)	-0.007 (0.658)
Mother or father has child from prior relationship	0.000 (0.982)	-0.043 (0.217)	0.060† (0.089)
Mother and father have prior child(ren) together	0.009 (0.398)	0.017 (0.226)	0.010 (0.712)
Mother is unemployed (Mother out of labor force omitted)	0.012 (0.540)	0.022 (0.455)	-0.052 (0.234)
Mother is employed	0.015 (0.289)	0.011 (0.519)	-0.023 (0.560)
Father is unemployed	0.046* (0.016)	0.058* (0.041)	0.037 (0.335)
Mother is non-Hispanic Black (Mother is non-Hispanic White omitted)	0.006 (0.681)	-0.004 (0.821)	0.040 (0.318)
Mother is Hispanic	0.012 (0.401)	-0.001 (0.966)	0.038 (0.333)
Mother's race is "other"	0.029 (0.238)	0.019 (0.488)	0.081 (0.304)

Table 3, continued

Mother has high school degree (Mother has less than high school omitted)	-0.030† (0.068)	-0.015 (0.588)	-0.026 (0.437)
Mother has some college	-0.010 (0.573)	0.010 (0.715)	-0.018 (0.682)
Mother has a college degree or more	-0.021 (0.311)	-0.001 (0.960)	0.025 (0.818)
Child has poor health or is disabled	0.007 (0.854)	0.089† (0.076)	-0.095 (0.252)
Child is in other care 5+ hours per week	-0.015 (0.238)	-0.029† (0.068)	0.035 (0.248)
Scale of father's relationship quality measures	0.050** (0.003)	0.043† (0.057)	0.038 (0.263)
Scale of mother's father=bad man measures	0.081** (0.004)	0.205** (0.000)	0.004 (0.940)
Father has a drug or alcohol problem	0.031 (0.502)	-0.066 (0.406)	0.079 (0.321)
Father has ever been violent to mother	-0.002 (0.931)	-0.062† (0.085)	0.044 (0.342)
Father meets criteria for depression	-0.015 (0.409)	-0.012 (0.603)	0.009 (0.822)
Constant	0.112 (0.265)	0.054 (0.718)	0.230 (0.309)
R-squared	0.054	0.094	0.123

** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.1
p values in parentheses

Table 4. Coefficients from OLS Regression of Father's Proportion of Total Parental Time in Play Activities with Child on Explanatory Variables

EXPLANATORY VARIABLES	Full Sample N = 1,028	Married Baseline and 60 N = 578	Cohabiting Baseline and 60 N = 220
Cohabiting at baseline, married at 60-months (Married at both times is omitted category)	0.005 (0.667)		
Cohabiting at both times	-0.006 (0.628)		
<i>Baseline attitudes about father's role</i>			
Scale of father's pro-fathering attitudes	0.028** (0.007)	0.023 (0.105)	0.068** (0.003)
Mother: direct care is father's least imp. role	-0.001 (0.896)	0.006 (0.588)	-0.012 (0.595)
Father: direct care is father's most imp. role	-0.007 (0.590)	-0.016 (0.381)	0.003 (0.912)
<i>Baseline gender role attitudes</i>			
Father: agrees husband should make decisions	0.005 (0.636)	0.014 (0.281)	0.002 (0.924)
Mother: agrees husband should make decisions	-0.030** (0.009)	-0.042** (0.005)	-0.031 (0.258)
Father: better if man earns, woman caregives	-0.004 (0.684)	-0.015 (0.217)	-0.007 (0.744)
Mother: better if man earns, woman caregives	-0.007 (0.439)	-0.021† (0.088)	0.010 (0.667)
<i>30-month mother's gatekeeping attitudes</i>			
Mother: father does not act like father I want	-0.004 (0.727)	-0.007 (0.637)	0.027 (0.238)
Mother: don't trust father to take good care	-0.014 (0.406)	-0.033 (0.161)	-0.009 (0.790)
<i>Control variables</i>			
Logged household income	-0.001 (0.796)	-0.009 (0.259)	-0.006 (0.580)
Mother or father has child from prior relationship	0.000 (0.976)	0.016 (0.551)	-0.025 (0.320)
Mother and father have prior child(ren) together	0.010 (0.211)	0.021† (0.055)	-0.008 (0.665)
Mother is unemployed (Mother out of labor force omitted)	-0.004 (0.773)	-0.036† (0.100)	-0.025 (0.411)
Mother is employed	0.019† (0.070)	0.015 (0.239)	-0.029 (0.303)
Father is unemployed	0.020 (0.158)	0.007 (0.736)	0.018 (0.491)
Mother is non-Hispanic Black (Mother is non-Hispanic White omitted)	0.004 (0.687)	0.008 (0.592)	-0.013 (0.643)
Mother is Hispanic	0.017 (0.118)	0.024 (0.117)	-0.005 (0.843)
Mother's race is "other"	0.014 (0.434)	0.015 (0.470)	-0.024 (0.663)

Table 4, continued

Mother has high school degree (Mother has less than high school omitted)	0.000 (0.980)	-0.005 (0.820)	0.023 (0.324)
Mother has some college	-0.008 (0.552)	-0.005 (0.803)	0.013 (0.670)
Mother has a college degree or more	-0.014 (0.369)	-0.009 (0.667)	-0.027 (0.726)
Child has poor health or is disabled	-0.011 (0.693)	0.004 (0.907)	0.016 (0.785)
Child is in other care 5+ hours per week	-0.001 (0.953)	-0.006 (0.643)	0.014 (0.513)
Scale of father's relationship quality measures	0.026* (0.039)	-0.003 (0.853)	0.054* (0.027)
Scale of mother's father=bad man measures	0.012 (0.553)	0.085* (0.014)	-0.051 (0.150)
Father has a drug or alcohol problem	0.009 (0.799)	-0.147* (0.014)	0.113* (0.045)
Father has ever been violent to mother	0.010 (0.559)	-0.020 (0.459)	-0.014 (0.661)
Father meets criteria for depression	0.017 (0.200)	0.006 (0.735)	0.046 (0.110)
Constant	0.301** (0.000)	0.416** (0.000)	0.228 (0.154)
R-squared	0.040	0.073	0.127

p values in parentheses

** p<0.01, * p<0.05, † p<0.1