Blended Two-Parent Families & Adolescent Well-Being: Gendered Experiences

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Research on family structure and children's well-being has been remarkably

consistent in demonstrating the negative effects of growing up without both biological

parents in a divorced or never-married family (Amato 2005; Amato and Keith 1991a, 1991b;

Barber, Axinn, and Thornton 2002; Case, Lin, and McLanahan 1999; Hetherington 1993;

Hetherington and Clingempeel 1992; Marchena and Waite 2002; McLanahan and Sandefur

1994; Thornton 1991; Wolfinger 2003). More recently, scholars have questioned the merit

and accuracy of defining family structure based solely on parental marital status. Rates of

nonmarital childbearing, divorce, and remarriage have increased over the past three decades,

giving rise to a host of blended two-parent family structures that are not captured using

traditional measures of family structure. Recent research has examined these more complex

two-parent family structures based on the family system as a whole, including the presence

of half- and step-siblings in their classification schema. This has resulted in a discovery that

all two-biological-parent families are not created equal. Youths being raised by both of their

biological parents, but with half-siblings from a parent's previous relationship in the

household, have significantly worse outcomes in terms of school achievement, delinquency,

and depression compared to those raised in simple two-parent households (Gennetian 2005;

Ginther and Pollack 2004; Halpern-Meekin and Tach 2008; Strow and Strow 2008; Tillman

2008).

There are good reasons to ask whether this blended family structure may affect

youths' outcomes differently based on gender. The existing literature is divided over whether

boys or girls are put at a greater disadvantage by living in single-parent family structures and

experiencing family transitions. Some studies find that girls from divorced and single-parent families display more risky or negative behaviors (Cherlin et al. 1991; Davis and Friel 2001; Lee et al. 1994), while others find that boys are more negatively affected by living outside of a two-parent family structure (Cavanaugh, Crissey, and Raley 2008; Hetherington and Clingempeel 1992; Tillman 2008). What the vast majority of studies do show, however, is that there are gender differences across a wide spectrum of outcomes, including educational attainment, sexual behavior, and delinquency. Yet these studies have mainly conceptualized two-parent families as either simple two-parent families or stepfamilies, ignoring the complex two-parent family structures that have become more common as a consequence of the rising incidence of nonmarital childbearing, divorce, and remarriage.

This paper brings together the recent research on blended families with the existing research on gender differences in family structure effects. We improve on previous research by avoiding two key assumptions. First, we do not assume that family structure effects are created solely by parental marital status; rather, we define family structure based on both parental marital status and the type of siblings (full, step, or half) in the household. Second, we do not assume that family structure effects are the same for both males and females; rather, we allow family structure effects to vary by gender. We use the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health), which includes an oversample of half-siblings, contains direct measures of sibling and parent relations, and has more extensive measures of parent and sibling interaction and relationship quality than those used in most previous studies (Halpern-Meekin and Tach (2008) and Tillman (2008) also use this data set). Finally, we examine multiple outcome measures to provide a broad view of the effects of family structure; these are school achievement, delinquent behavior, and depressive symptoms.

BACKGROUND

Heterogeneity in Two-Parent Families

The distinctions between families frequently made in the literature on youth outcomes do not accurately capture the full variety of family types in which children are raised. Most previous research compares children living with both of their parents in simple two-parent families against those growing up in single-parent families or stepfamilies. Children residing in blended families have received less theoretical and empirical attention.

A blended family is formed when parents in a stepfamily give birth to a shared child, so that it contains both stepchildren and shared children. The shared children in blended families are different from children in simple two-biological-parent families because they reside with half-siblings from their parents' previous relationships and one or both of their parents are often in their second marriage. Most existing research on adolescent outcomes fails to capture the distinction between shared children residing in simple and blended families, classifying all shared children as living in simple two-parent families. Likewise, stepchildren in blended families are usually classified as residing in stepfamilies, even though they have half-siblings.

A handful of recent studies, however, have highlighted the diversity of experiences adolescents and children encounter within two-parent families; these studies propose that the distinction between children raised by two biological parents in a simple family (with their full siblings) versus a blended family (with half-siblings from a parent's previous relationship) has not been adequately recognized by researchers interested in the importance of family structure for child well-being (Gennetian 2005; Ginther and Pollack 2004; Halpern-

Meekin and Tach 2008; Strow and Strow 2008; Tillman 2008). This is an essential task because making distinctions between children living in different types of two-parent families provides a more complete understanding of the biological, family environment, family instability, and parental selection mechanisms through which family structure influences youth outcomes. Children being raised by both of their biological parents in blended families are growing up with half-siblings who have experienced the stresses associated with family instability and who may display more troubled behaviors as a result. Therefore, it is reasonable to expect that their family experiences will differ from those of children raised in simple two-parent families whose siblings have not typically had such stressful family transitions and whose parents have not had children in previous relationships. Notably, Halpern-Meekin and Tach (2008) find that the common mechanisms (biology, family instability, parental selection, and family environment) proposed by family structure research do not explain why adolescents raised by both of their biological parents in blended families have significantly worse outcomes than children raised in simple two-parent families, even though they do explain the disadvantages for children who are being raised with a stepparent. The next question to ask is whether these more complex two-parent family structures differentially affect the educational, psychological, and behavioral outcomes of boys and girls.

Gender & Family Structure

There is a fairly extensive body of research that considers the variation in outcomes for boys and girls by family structure, but this research is inconclusive about which group is more adversely affected by living in divorced or single-parent family structures or experiencing family transitions. The present study contributes to this literature by exploring

this question of gender disadvantage using a more complex, and more accurate, family structure classification schema. In order to situate this study within the present research on gender differences, we briefly review the studies that have found more negative outcomes for boys and for girls in turn.

Many studies find that adolescent boys in divorced and single-parent families show greater behavioral and emotional problems at home and at school, but a similar effect is not found for girls (Emery and O'Leary 1982; Hetherington 1988, 1989; Hetherington, Cox, and Cox 1978, 1979; Rutter 1979; Simons and Chao 1996). For example, Hetherington and Clingempeel (1992) find that adolescent boys show more behavioral problems than girls following family disruption. Harold and Conger (1997) also demonstrate that family disruption is associated with a greater incidence of externalizing behaviors among boys, but not girls. For emotional outcomes, Hetherington, Cox, and Cox (1982) find that within the first two years following a parental divorce, girls show positive emotional adjustment, but boys do not. In their meta-analysis, Amato and Keith (1991b) also find that in divorced families boys have greater problems with social adjustment compared to their female counterparts.

Additional studies have found more negative outcomes for boys in the specific areas of sexual and romantic behaviors and school-related achievement. Boys' romantic relationships and sexual behaviors are more negatively affected by residence in mother-only families and by family instability (Cavanaugh, Crissey, and Raley 2008). For girls, however, family structure is less strongly predictive of sexual behavior than is race (Young, Jensen, Olsen, and Cundick 1991). Newcomer and Udry (1987) also show that changes in family structure are associated with earlier sexual debut for boys, but not for girls. For educational

outcomes, Krein and Beller (1988) find that there are greater negative effects of living in single-mother families on educational attainment for boys than girls. Tillman (2008) uses a more complex family classification schema similar to that used in the present study, and finds that boys are more negatively affected by residence in stepfather and single-mother family forms than are girls. Overall, she shows that step- and blended families are more strongly predictive of lower school achievement for boys than for girls. These results, however, are limited to school GPA.

In contrast, an array of studies has demonstrated that living in alternative family structures or experiencing family transitions more negatively affects girls' outcomes. Cherlin et al. (1991) find that girls' behavioral and school achievement outcomes are more affected by a family structure change than are boys', once they control for family conditions prior to the change. Lee et al. (1994) find that girls' reported problem behaviors and school-related emotional adjustment are more affected by family structure than are boys', with girls showing fewer problems than boys in two-parent families but greater troubles in divorced and single-parent families. Zimiles and Lee (1991) show that high school girls are at higher risk of dropping out of school when living in stepfather families, compared to those in stepmother families, and this disparity is larger for girls than for boys. Lauritsen (1994) finds that living in a divorced or single-parent family structure affects the frequency of sexual behavior among girls, but not boys. Similarly, Davis and Friel (2001) show that girls in single-parent families are more likely to begin having sex at younger ages, compared to those from step- and two-parent families; however, this association does not hold for boys.

Finally, at least one study has shown that girls and boys are equally affected by residence in a divorced or single-parent family. Acock and Kiecolt (1989) find that there are

no gender differences in the long-term consequences for adult adjustment of being raised outside of a two-biological-parent family.

Taken together, this body of research does not consistently find that it is just boys or just girls who are affected by variations in family structure, with various studies drawing disparate conclusions. These differences between study results may be due to variations in the samples used, the specific outcomes and family structures examined, or the ages of the focal children. Also, with the exception of Tillman (2008), these studies do not examine more complex two-parent family structures such as blended families. Children in blended families are lumped into either the traditional two-parent family category or the stepfamily category based only on their biological relationships to their residential parents.

Nonetheless, there does seem to be reason to believe that boys and girls may both be affected by family structure, albeit in different ways. Some evidence suggests that boys are more prone to externalizing problems, while girls are more prone to internalizing behaviors (Cherlin 1992; Emery 1982; Hetherington, Stanley-Hagan, and Anderson 1989). We hypothesize, therefore, that the negative associations between living in step- or blended families and psychological outcomes (internalizing) will be stronger for girls, while the negative associations between living in step- or blended families and school achievement and behavioral outcomes (externalizing) will be stronger for boys.

Gender & Family Relationships

Previous research on blended two-parent family forms speculated that the poorer outcomes for youth raised in two-parent families with half-siblings may be driven in part by the presence of and their relationships with their half-siblings (see for example Halpern-Meekin and Tach 2008). In this context, younger half-siblings may be influenced by their

older half-siblings, who, as stepchildren, have experienced prior family transitions and may display more problematic behavior as a result. This possibility is consistent with findings that sibling relationships are more troubled in re-partnered families (Hetherington and Clingempeel 1992; Hetherington et al. 1999; Hetherington and Stanley-Hagan 1999) and that youth with poorer quality sibling relationships have more adjustment problems (Brody 1998). For example, Tucker, Barber, and Eccles (1997) show that female adolescents report feeling more supported and influenced by, and receiving more advice from, their siblings than do males. Similarly, Oliva and Arranz (2005) find that while girls' parental and peer relationships, self-esteem, and life satisfaction are affected by the quality of sibling relationships, this association does not hold for boys. When it comes to delinquent behavior, however, previous research shows a high sibling correlation in offending (Rowe, Linver, and Rodgers 1996) and that this association is stronger for boys than girls (Fagan and Najman 2003). Extending these findings, we examine whether there are differences in how boys and girls experience sibling relationships in step- and blended families, which could help explain any gender differences in outcomes within family types.

Previous research has also suggested that step- and blended family structures could affect the functioning of the family system as a whole (Halpern-Meekin and Tach 2008; see also Bumpass 1984; Hetherington 1999); not only are sibling relations affected, but also those between parents and children. This could result in lower parental investment in children and also in lower quality parent-child relationships (Duncan and Brooks-Gunn 1997; Haveman and Wolfe 1994; Mayer 1997). These relationships may be particularly important since they have been found to play a role in mediating the effects of other conditions (like socioeconomic status) and experiences (like parental divorce) on children's and adolescents'

outcomes (Hetherington, Bridges, and Insabella 1998; Hetherington, et al. 1999). For example, Videon (2002) shows that children's relations with their opposite sex parents are predictive of their experiencing depression. Greenberg, Siegel, and Leitch (1983) also find that stronger parent-child relations can moderate stressful life experiences by preserving self-esteem. Dunn, Davies, O'Connor, and Sturgess (2000) find that parent-child relations are more problematic in blended families, compared to those within a variety of other family types. Consequently, we explore whether parental investment and the quality of parent-child relationships, in addition to sibling relationships, differ for boys and girls from blended two-parent, simple two-parent, and stepparent families and examine how these relationships are associated with their academic, behavioral, and emotional outcomes. Overall, we ask first whether there are gender differences in the relationship between family structure and adolescent outcomes and, second, we explore the extent to which differences in the family environment are consistent with these gendered variations in outcomes.

METHODS

Data

We use two waves of data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health), which is a longitudinal, nationally representative sample of adolescents in grades 7 through 12 (Udry, 2003). Data at the individual, family, and school levels were collected in two waves, in 1994 and 1996, using a stratified random sample of all high schools in the United States. All students in the sampled schools were administered an in-school questionnaire, amounting to more than 900,000 respondents. About 12,000 adolescents were randomly selected from this population of students to participate in the core

in-home sample, which is nationally representative when weighted (see Chantala (2006) for more information on sampling procedures).

In addition to the core sample, additional over-samples were identified based on student responses to the in-school questionnaire. In this study we use the "genetic" over-sample of 3,139 adolescents, which identified siblings based on their relationships to other children residing in the same household, including twins, full siblings, half-siblings, stepsiblings, and unrelated adolescents living together. This over-sample provides an adequate sample size to study shared and stepchildren in blended families as distinct groups. It also samples siblings within the same families, allowing us to make comparisons both within families and between families. Although nontraditional sibling types are naturally over-represented in our sample, the baseline adolescent characteristics do not differ greatly between the over-sample and the core sample because they were drawn from the same schools.

From the initial sibling over-sample of 3,139 adolescents, 2,843 were classified as full siblings, half-siblings, or stepsiblings. The 296 cases (9%) not classified as one of these three sibling types were excluded from our analysis (including twins, adopted children, cousins, and unrelated children). Additionally, we restricted our analysis to the 1,769 siblings who were living with two married parents, excluding the 1,074 adolescents (38%) living with single parents, unmarried parents, and other families where both a mother and a father were not living in the household. With these restrictions, our sample contains 1,297 children in 687 distinct simple two-parent families, 123 shared children and 183 stepchildren in 186 distinct blended families, and 163 stepchildren in 93 distinct stepfamilies.[1] Most families

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[1] Males and females are similarly distributed across family types: 72.65% of males versus 74.26% of females live in simple families, 6.84% of males versus 7.09% of females are shared children in blended families,

contain two sampled siblings, but some respondents report siblings who are too young or too old for inclusion in the Add Health study. For example, 64 stepchildren in blended families had half-siblings who were too young to be surveyed. Shared children in blended families constitute 7% of our sample, which is comparable to the samples used in studies with similar sibling classification schema, with 6% found in Gennetian's (2005) sample and 11% found in Ginther and Pollack's (2004) samples. Finally, we excluded cases where there were missing values on our dependent variables GPA (n = 199, 11%), delinquency (n = 2, 1%), and depressive symptoms (n = 2, 1%). The lower sample sizes for the school-based dependent variable is due to missing data from the Wave 2 school questionnaire. This resulted in final analytic sample sizes of 1,557 for GPA, 1,767 for delinquency, and 1,767 for depressive symptoms. Missing values were negligible for most independent variables (less than 3%), with the exception of parental income (about 20%). Missing data on all independent variables were imputed using maximum likelihood estimation.

Measures

The Add Health study gathers information about a variety of social, academic, and behavioral outcomes for young adults and contains detailed information about their family contexts. Adolescents were surveyed both at home and at school at Waves 1 and 2, and one parent was surveyed at Wave 1 as well. Mothers were surveyed in 92% of the cases in our sample. We obtain family structure variables and all independent variables from the Wave 1 parent and adolescent in-home questionnaires and adolescent outcomes from the Wave 2 adolescent in-home and school questionnaires.

Outcome Measures

11.10% of males versus 9.61% of females are stepchildren in blended families, and 9.42% of males versus 9.04% of females are stepchildren in stepfamilies.

GPA. We use the adolescent's school grade point average (GPA) as the academic outcome measure. This is calculated on a traditional 4-point scale, with an A corresponding to a 4.0, a B corresponding to a 3.0, and so on. Grades from four subjects—mathematics, English, science, and social studies—are averaged into a single GPA score.

Delinquency. Delinquency is a standardized scale (α = .80) that includes 14 items asking respondents how often in the past 12 months (0 = *never*, 1 = *1 or 2 times*, 2 = *3 or 4 times*, 3 = *5 or more times*) they painted graffiti or signs on someone else's property or in a public place; deliberately damaged property that did not belong to them; lied to their parents about where they had been or who they were with; took something from a store without paying for it; ran away from home; drove a car without its owner's permission; stole something worth more than $50; went into a house or building to steal something; used or threatened to use a weapon; sold marijuana or other drugs; stole something worth less than $50; acted loudly, rowdy, or unruly in a public place; took part in a fight where a group of their friends was against another group; or were initiated into a named gang.

Depressive symptoms. Our standardized scale of depressive symptoms (α = .86) includes 19 items asking adolescents how often during the past week (0 = *rarely or never*, 1 = *sometimes*, 2 = *a lot of the time*, and 3 = *most or all of the time*) they were bothered by things that usually do not bother them; did not feel like eating; felt that they could not shake off the blues, even with help; felt that they were just as good as other people (reverse coded); had trouble keeping their minds on what they were doing; felt depressed; felt that they were too tired to do things; felt hopeful about the future (reverse coded); thought their lives had been a failure; felt fearful; were happy (reverse coded); talked less than usual; felt lonely; people were unfriendly to them; they enjoyed life (reverse coded); felt sad; felt that people

disliked them; it was hard to get started doing things; and felt life was not worth living. These scale components are drawn from the CES-D diagnostic scale developed by the Centers for Disease Control for assessing depression (Radloff, 1977).

Independent Variables

Sibling type. Adolescents were classified into one of four sibling types, based on both their biological relation to their parents and the siblings with whom they reside. Children residing in a *simple two-parent family* are biologically related to both of their residential parents and have both parents in common with their other siblings. *Shared children in blended families* are also the biological children of both residential parents, but have a residential half-sibling who is related to only one of these parents. *Stepchildren in blended families* are the biological children of only one of the residential parents, and they have a half-sibling who is the biological child of both residential parents. *Stepchildren in stepfamilies* are the biological children of only one of the residential parents and have neither parent in common with their other sibling.

Parental characteristics. We include a number of parental characteristics that are known to be associated with both family structure and adolescents' outcomes. Parental education is coded into dummy variables according the educational status of the parent who completed the survey: *less than high school*, *high school*, *some college*, *college graduate*, or *college plus*. *Parents' income* is taken directly from the parental in-home survey questionnaire and measures total annual household income. *Mother employed* is a dummy variable coded 1 if the mother reports being employed full-time and 0 otherwise. *Parent's age* is a continuous variable taken from the parent who answered the survey. *Received welfare* is a dummy variable coded 1 if the parent reported receiving welfare at the time the

survey was administered. *Mother surveyed* is a dummy variable coded 1 if the mother completed the parent survey and 0 if it was another parent or guardian. We also include a variable counting the *number of marriages* (or marriage-like relationships) the parent has had, the age at which the parent *first married*, and the *length of the current relationship* measured in years.

Relationship quality. We measure the relationship quality between adolescents and their parents and between adolescents and their siblings. Adolescents' *relationship quality with mother* and *father* was measured by how much they agreed with the following five statements on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*): most of the time, my mother/father is warm and loving toward me; my mother/father encourages me to be independent; when I do something wrong that is important, my mother/father talks about it; I am satisfied with the way my mother/father and I communicate; and overall, I am satisfied with my relationship with my mother/father. These items were combined into standardized scales for mothers (α = .83) and fathers (α = .89). The relationship measure from the parent's perspective, *close to child* (α = .66), asks how often it would be true for the parent to make each of the following five statements, on a 5-point scale (1 = *never* to 5 = *always*): you get along well with child, your child and you make decisions about his/her life together, you just do not understand him/her (reverse coded), you feel you can really trust him/her, and your child interferes with your activities (reverse coded). The measure of *sibling relationship quality* is a standardized scale of three items that ask how much (1 = *a lot* to 4 = *never*) time they spend together, how much they fight (reverse coded), and whether the child feels the sibling gets more attention from their parents (reverse coded). The sibling measures refer to the sibling who is the full, half-, or stepsibling identified in the oversample.

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Parental investment. Parents involved in decision making is an eight-item

standardized scale (α = .63) that asks the adolescent whether (1 = *yes*, 0 = *no*) your parents

let you make your own decisions about the time you must be home on the weekends, the

people you hang around with, what you wear, how much television you watch, which

television programs you watch, what time you go to bed on week nights, and what you eat.

We also include a standardized scale of nine items that assesses the degree to which the

adolescent *shares activities with parents*. They reported which of the following they had

done with their mother (α = .75) and father (α = .65) in the past 4 weeks: gone shopping;

gone to a religious service or church-related event; talked about someone they're dating or a

party they went to; gone to a movie, play, museum, concert, or sports event; had a talk about

a personal problem they were having; had a serious argument about their behavior; talked

about their school work or grades; worked on a project for school; and talked about other

things they were doing in school. These scales re highly correlated for mothers and fathers (*r*

= .75), so they re collapsed into a single scale. A standardized scale of *protective factors* (α =

.70) includes five items about how much (1 = *not at all* to 5 = *very much*) the adolescent feels

that his parents care about him, that people in his family understand him, that he wants to

leave home (reverse coded), that he and his family have fun together, and that his family pays

attention to him. Finally, we include a dummy variable measure of parental health

investment, coded 1 if the adolescent had both a *doctor and dentist appointment* in the past

year and coded 0 otherwise. Each of these measures represents a dimension of parental

investment in the adolescent's academics, health, behavior, and social and cultural

enrichment.

Adolescent characteristics. We include a dummy variable for the adolescent's gender, coded 1 if the respondent is male. Race is coded as a series of dummy variables for *Black*, *White*, and *Other Race*. *Hispanic* ethnicity is a dummy variable indicator. Additionally, we include controls for the age and birth order of the focal child. *Age* is a continuous variable ranging from 10 to 18 at Wave 1. The measure of birth order uses two dummy variables, indicating whether the adolescent is the *oldest sibling* or *youngest sibling* in the household. Middle siblings are the omitted reference category.

ANALYSES

To analyze the association between family structure and academic, behavioral, and psychological outcomes for our four sibling types, we utilize an OLS regression model. The regressions use shared children in simple families as an omitted reference category and compare the other three sibling groups against them for each of our three outcome measures. In the analyses, the first model regresses each of our three outcomes on parental and adolescent characteristics for all four of the family structure categories. The second model then adds interactions by gender for each family structure to determine whether the associations between family structure and adolescent outcomes differ for boys and girls:

$$Y = \alpha + \sum_{n=1}^{3} \beta_n X + \beta_4(Male) + \sum_{n=5}^{8} (\beta_n X * Male) + \sum_{n=1}^{m} \beta_n Z + \varepsilon \qquad (1)$$

where X is a vector of three dummy variables that measure the three complex two-parent family structures and the omitted reference category is shared children in simple two-parent families. Z is the vector m of parental and adolescent control variables. In the second part of our analyses, we replace the family structure dummy variables in the equation with each measure of parental investment and relationship quality to determine whether they are

associated with adolescent outcomes and whether there are gender differences in these associations. Our models utilize adjusted standard errors that take into account the clustered sampling design of the Add Health data within schools and the fact that many of our adolescents are also clustered within families.

RESULTS

In our sample, about 73 % of the children live in simple two-parent families, where they are biologically related to both parents and live with their full siblings. About 7 % are shared children who live in blended families, where they are biologically related to both parents but live with half-siblings who are biologically related to only one parent. 10 % are stepchildren in blended families, who are biologically related to only one parent and live with half-siblings. Finally, 9 % are stepchildren in stepfamilies, who are biologically related to only one parent and are not biologically related to their stepsiblings. Table 1 presents descriptive statistics separately for children from simple, blended, and stepfamilies. Shared and stepchildren in blended families have slightly younger parents with lower earnings and are more likely to be Black. Additionally, shared children in blended families are about one year younger on average than those in other family types.

[Table 1 about here]

Table 2 presents the OLS regressions of our three outcome measures on family structure, gender, and parental and adolescent characteristics. We discuss each of the outcome variables in turn. Model 1 reports the differences in GPA between sibling types, controlling for parental and adolescent characteristics. Stepchildren in blended families have significantly lower GPAs than shared children in simple families. Boys, those whose parents

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have less than a high school education, those whose parents have married multiple times, and those who are older, Hispanic, or Black also report significantly lower GPAs. In contrast, those whose parents graduated from college or did postgraduate work, those whose parents married at older ages or have been together longer, and those who are the oldest sibling in the family report significantly higher GPAs.

[Table 2 about here]

Model 2 adds an interaction between family structure and gender. Female stepchildren in blended families report significantly lower GPAs, compared to girls from simple families, but there are no other significant family structure effects on GPA for girls, controlling for parent and adolescent characteristics. Boys have lower GPAs than girls across all family types, with the exception of stepchildren in blended families, where both boys and girls have similarly low GPAs. The parental education variables, as well as adolescent's age, birth order, and race continue to be significant predictors of school performance and are in the same directions as in Model 1.

Model 3 shows the differences between sibling types for our next outcome, delinquency. Shared children in blended families and stepchildren in stepfamilies both report higher rates of delinquency, compared to those from simple families. Mother's full-time employment, being male, and being Hispanic or Black are significant predictors of higher rates of delinquency. In Model 4, including the interaction term between family structure and gender, we find that boys primarily drive the family structure differences in levels of delinquency; there are no significant effects of family structure on delinquency for girls. Boys have higher levels of delinquency than girls across all family types, and these gender differences are even larger within complex two-parent families.

Finally, we examine the differences in depression between sibling types in Model 5. Both shared and stepchildren in blended families report more depressive symptoms. Those whose parents have less than a high school education, those who are older, and those in the other race category report significantly more depression. Those who are either the oldest or the middle sibling, compared to those who are the youngest in the family, report significantly lower rates of depressive symptoms. In Model 6, with the addition of the gender by family structure interaction variables, we see that girls have significantly higher levels of depression across all family types. For this outcome, the family structure differences in levels of depression are driven primarily by family structure effects for girls; there are no significant differences in rates of depression by family structure for boys. The gender disparities in depression are particularly strong among shared children in blended families, the family structure in which girls have the highest levels of depression.

The results from the regressions in Table 2 are summarized in Figure 1, which displays the mean values of each of the outcome variables, GPA, delinquency, and depression, by gender and family structure. Girls have higher GPAs than boys within all family types, but this difference is only statistically significant among shared children in blended families, where girls are stronger academic performers than their male counterparts. For delinquency, we see poorer outcomes for boys within all family types, and these gender disparities are larger within the blended and stepfamily types. In contrast, for the depression measure girls report more depressive symptoms within each family type, with particularly pronounced differences between girls and boys in blended families and stepfamilies.

[Figure 1 about here]

These results are mostly consistent with the expectations of our hypotheses. Boys in complex two-parent family structures are more negatively affected than girls in complex two-parent families in terms of externalizing behavior (delinquency). We find that boys growing up in either a blended or a stepfamily displayed significantly higher rates of delinquency than girls and than shared boys in simple two-parent families. In contrast, girls in complex two-parent families are more negatively affected in terms of internalizing problems (depression) than boys. We find that girls across all family types report more depressive symptoms than boys and, compared to girls in simple two-parent families, girls in blended and stepfamilies report even higher levels of depression. It is especially notable that we see differences in outcomes among youth being raised by both their biological parents in blended families (with half-siblings in the household). Unlike Tillman (2008), however, we found few consistent gender differences in family structure effects for the GPA outcome once we included the parental and adolescent controls. Boys had lower GPAs than girls across all family types, except among stepchildren in blended families

Our finding that boys in complex two-parent family structures report more externalizing problem behaviors, while girls report more internalizing problem behaviors, is consistent with previous research on gender differences in response to risk and shielding characteristics that influence adolescent development. For example, Fagan et al. (2007) found that boys' greater involvement in serious delinquency was due both to experiencing more risk and less protection than girls and to the greater association between these factors and delinquency outcomes for boys than for girls (see also, Leadbeater, Blatt, and Quinlan 1995). Notably, this includes family-based risk and shielding factors and relationships with parents and siblings. Following this, we examine whether complex two-parent families are social

contexts that expose adolescents to family environments with different sets of risk and shielding characteristics and family relationships, which in turn generate the gender differences in outcomes we identified in Table 2 and Figure 1.

Table 3 shows adolescents' reports for various measures of family investment and relationship quality by family structure. Stepchildren in blended families face the most negative family environments. They report sharing the fewest activities with their parents, having the fewest protective factors, the worst relationships with their siblings, and are the least likely to have seen both a doctor and a dentist in the past year. In contrast, the shared children who reside in many of the same blended families report the closest relationships with their parents and the most protective factors. The only characteristic that is significantly more negative for them than for shared children in simple two-parent families is their report of sibling relationship quality. The differences between siblings in blended families suggest that parents may treat shared and stepchildren differently, or at least that adolescents may perceive that this is the case. Stepchildren in stepfamilies fall in between shared and stepchildren in blended families in their reported experiences of family shielding factors. Based on these measures of investment and relationship quality, more problematic family environments may be a plausible explanation for the worse outcomes of stepchildren in step- and blended families, but not for the shared children in blended families. In addition to these risk characteristics, stepchildren in step- and blended families also experience more instability in their family lives, with more residential instability, and they spend smaller portions of their lives with their current residential parents (Halpern-Meekin and Tach 2008). These experiences do not apply to shared children in blended families. These children present

an interesting challenge to our understanding of family structure effects, which have

frequently focused on transitions and instability as explanatory factors.

[Table 3 about here]

We next examine whether there are gender differences in boys' and girls' experiences

of shielding factors within each family type. As Table 4 indicates, in the full sample, boys

report that their parents are less involved in decision-making, that they were less likely to see

a doctor or dentist in the past year, and that they have lower quality relationships with their

residential mothers and fathers. Girls, in contrast, report lower quality relationships with their

siblings than do boys. When we compare differences across the family structures by gender,

we again see that, while limited by small sample sizes, both boys and girls who are

stepchildren in blended families fare significantly worse than their same-sex counterparts in

simple two-parent families across most measures. We see few significant differences

between the family environments of shared boys and girls in blended families and their same-

sex counterparts in simple two-parent families; exceptions include shared boys' reports of

more protective factors and stronger maternal relationship quality, and shared girls' reports

of sharing fewer activities with parents and weaker sibling relationship quality. When we

look at gender differences within each family type, there are few significant differences

between boys and girls, in part because of the small sample sizes. Thus, the major differences

in parental investment and relationship quality are generated by the different family

environments provided by each family structure, not by differences between boys and girls

within particular family structures.

[Table 4 about here]

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However, boys and girls may respond to the same levels of parental investment and relationship quality in different ways. Table 5 shows the results of regressions of adolescent outcomes on each measure separately by gender. Each model reports the results from a separate regression, which includes all of the parental and adolescent controls from Table 2. In the first column, we find that several of the measures have significant associations with GPA, including shared activities with parents, protective factors, and close to child. Yet, there are few consistent gender differences in the association between these measures and subsequent GPAs, net of controls for adolescent and parent background characteristics. Recall that there were also no consistent gender differences in the association between family structure and GPA in Table 2 and Figure 1.

[Table 5 about here]

Most family investment and relationship measures have significant associations with delinquency outcomes for either boys or girls in column 2, with the exception of shared activities with parents and sibling relationship quality. We also find a consistent gender difference in the association between family shielding factors and delinquency, with boys having stronger associations between these shielding characteristics and reduced delinquency than girls for four of the six variables that have a significant association with delinquency. This is consistent with the stronger associations between living in step- and blended families and higher delinquency for boys than for girls that we found in Table 2 and Figure 1.

Finally, we find the opposite pattern of gender differences in the association between family investment and relationship quality measures and depressive symptoms, with girls having stronger associations between the presence of shielding factors and reduced depressive symptoms for six of the eight measures. This is also consistent with our finding in

Table 2 and Figure 1 that girls are more negatively affected by living in step- and blended families in terms of their depressive symptoms. In sum, boys and girls respond differently to similar levels of family investment and relationship quality in a pattern that is consistent with the gender differences in associations between family structure and delinquency and depression that we found in Table 2 and with the differences in family investment and relationship quality across family types that we found in Table 3. Boys and girls who are shared children in blended families are the one notable exception to this pattern, because they report greater delinquency and depression, respectively, *despite* having family environments that are, by and large, similar to their counterparts in simple two-parent families.

DISCUSSION

Previous research has discovered that all two-biological-parent families are not created equal. Youths being raised by both of their biological parents, but with half-siblings from a parent's previous relationship in the household, have significantly worse outcomes in terms of school achievement, delinquency, and depression compared to those raised in simple two-parent households (Gennetian 2005; Ginther and Pollack 2004; Halpern-Meekin and Tach 2008; Strow and Strow 2008; Tillman 2008). These shared children in blended families therefore have outcomes similar to stepchildren in blended and stepfamilies, despite the fact that they live with their two biological parents in what would typically be classified as a two-parent family in the existing research on family structure effects.

In the present study, we extend this work and find that living in a blended family or stepfamily has different consequences for boys and girls. Living in a complex two-parent family structure – either a blended or stepfamily – was more strongly associated with

delinquency for boys than it was for girls. In contrast, living in a complex two-parent family structure was more strongly associated with experiencing depressive symptoms for girls. Notably, these disparities also existed for shared children in blended families who lived with both biological parents. These findings partially confirm our hypotheses that, among shared children in blended families, boys would manifest problems in their externalizing behaviors (delinquency) and that girls would be more likely to display internalizing behaviors (depression); however, our expectation that family structure would be more strongly associated with GPAs for boys than for girls was not supported (once controls for parent and adolescent characteristics are introduced).

Previous research has suggested that the quality of relationships between family members is lower in blended and stepfamilies than in simple two-parent families, in terms of both sibling relationships and relationships between parents and children (Dunn, Davies, O'Connor, and Sturgess 2000; Halpern-Meekin and Tach 2008). We confirmed and extended this finding by examining the gender-specific associations between measures of the family environment – parental investment and relationship quality – and adolescent outcomes. Boys and girls who are stepchildren in blended and stepfamilies reported significantly lower levels of parental investment and relationship quality than their same-sex counterparts in simple two-parent families. In turn, most of these measures were more strongly associated with delinquency for boys than for girls, while they were more strongly associated with depressive symptoms for girls than for boys. Boys and girls responded differently to similar levels of family investment and relationship quality, a pattern that is consistent with the gender differences we found in associations between family structure and delinquency and depression. For stepchildren, then, fewer shielding factors and lower quality family

relationships were accompanied by higher levels of delinquent behavior for boys and higher levels of depressive symptoms for girls, compared to their counterparts in simple families. The family environment is, therefore, a social context in which adolescents are exposed to a set of risk and shielding characteristics to which they have gender-specific responses, and the quality of these environments differs across family types.

This explanation is not as consistent for boys and girls who are shared children in blended families, however. We found that shared boys in blended families engaged in significantly higher levels of delinquent behavior than their counterparts in simple families, and that shared girls in blended families had significantly more depressive symptoms than girls in simple families. That is, despite having the same biological relationship to the parents in their households as shared children in simple families, the presence of half-siblings was associated with worse outcomes for shared adolescents in blended families, albeit in different ways for boys and girls.

For these boys, poorer quality family environments cannot explain this increased delinquency, as it can for stepchildren in blended and stepfamilies. The higher levels of delinquency for boys seem to come *despite* greater parental investment and higher quality relationships. For these girls, however, we see that they report sharing fewer activities with their parents and poor quality relationships with their siblings, compared to those from simple two-parent families. That shared girls have more depressive symptoms and poorer quality sibling relationships (which are predictive of depression for girls but not boys) is in line with our initial expectations. That is, not only do shared children in blended families show variation in outcomes based on gender, there appears to be some differences in the

quality of their family environments; girls report fewer protective factors and poorer quality parental relationships compared to their male counterparts.

What accounts for the differences between boys and girls across complex two-parent family types in the associations between family structure, family environment, and behavioral and emotional outcomes? Research has shown that, under stress, boys are more likely to externalize while girls are more likely to internalize their emotions (Davies and Lindsay, 2001; Shaw et al. 1998). One potential explanation for these tendencies is that boys and girls are socialized differently during childhood. There is evidence, for example, that parents are more likely to use physical punishment with sons and more inductive techniques and reasoning with daughters (Block 1978); this could encourage boys to express negative affect outward towards others, resulting in externalizing behaviors, like delinquency. Relative to boys, mothers encourage girls to have more concern for others (Ross, Tesla, Kenyon, & Lollis 1990), thereby potentially inhibiting their outward expressions of negative emotion, leading them to internalizing behaviors, like depression. We see evidence for these tendencies as early as preschool, with researchers having shown that girls are more likely than boys to recommend prosocial rather than aggressive strategies for resolving conflict (Hay, Zahn-Waxlker, Cummings, and Iannotti 1992). Girls' greater sensitivity to interpersonal stresses and greater socialization for self-regulation have been found to make them more prone to internalizing behaviors, compared to boys (Leadbeater, Blatt, and Quinlan 1995); and girls have been found to be more vulnerable in terms of sensitivities to interpersonal relations and self-esteem compared to boys, and these have been tied to the likelihood of reporting internalizing behaviors (Leadbetter, et al. 1999). This differential socialization may in turn result in variable responses to challenging family situations. For

example, shared girls in blended families may be more sensitive to relationship problems with their older half-siblings than are boys and, among girls, these problems are more likely to lead to internalizing problems, like depression.

A second potential explanation that has received some attention in the literature has to do with the gendered nature of blended and stepfamilies. The majority of children remain with their biological mother following a divorce or separation, so girls who are stepchildren are more likely to remain with their same-sex biological parent than boys. Other work has shown that same-sex parents play an important role in child development (Powell and Downey 1997; Videon 2002; Pettit, Bates, and Dodge 1997). Gender-specific relationships may therefore protect daughters but render sons more vulnerable. This explanation cannot explain the gendered disparities observed for shared children in blended families, however, since they reside with both biological parents. It also cannot explain why girls report more depressive symptoms across family types.

Finally, a third explanation for these gender differences is that there are in fact characteristics of boys' and girls' current family environments that differ but we were unable to accurately measure them with our data, either because boys and girls systematically differ in how they report on their family environments or because they differ on measures of the family environment that we were not able to observe.

This study is, of course, not without limitations. We only focus on a limited set of outcomes during a particular period in the lives of these youth. It is possible that alternative patterns would be visible if other indicators of well-being or other stages in the life course (that is, during childhood or adulthood) were examined. Our analyses, like most other studies of family structure effects, are sensitive to potential omitted variable bias. For example, we

are not able to observe the academic achievement, behavior, or emotions of parents, which are likely correlated with both family structure and adolescent outcomes. Finally, when we break our sample down by family type and gender it yields small sample sizes that make it difficult to detect significant differences between subgroups.

Our study highlights three areas where additional research and data collection are needed. First, in-depth, qualitative work may be necessary to understand the processes that generate boys' higher levels of delinquency and girls' higher levels of depression within blended and stepfamilies versus simple two-parent families. Second, future research must explore what currently unmeasured factors explain why both boys and girls who are shared children in blended families are more troubled *despite* the presence of many factors that should be protective against these outcomes. This requires measuring aspects of family structure above and beyond instability, transitions, and parent-child relationships. This may require developing new ways of operationalizing the interactive characteristics of a family system as a whole. Finally, this study further demonstrates the benefit of using complex family structure classifications that take into account a focal child's relation to both his parents and his siblings. Many of the current datasets available to those interested in exploring child and adolescent well-being simply do not contain the necessary information to properly classify children's family structures; it is essential that future data collection efforts do not repeat this oversight. This is particularly crucial given the rising rates of multiple partner fertility and remarriage than generate complex two-parent families. Our research must expand to reflect the diversity of family types in which children are raised if we are to understand how they affect youth outcomes.

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Figure 1. Gender Differences by Family Structure
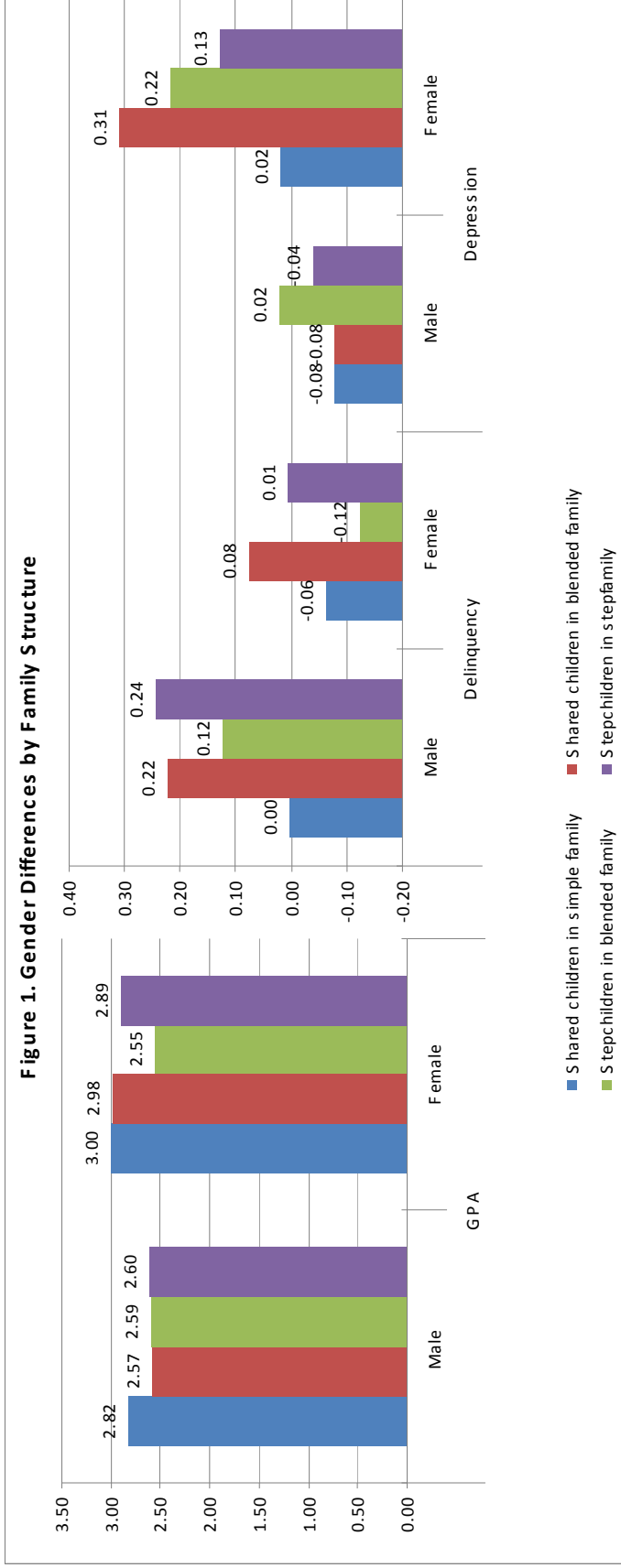
Notes: GPA is measured on a 4-point scale. Delinquency and Depression are measured as standardized scores, with M=0 and SD=1.

Table 1. Characteristics of Adolescents and Their Parents by Biological Relationship and Family Type

Variable Name	Shared Children in Simple Families (N = 1,297)	Shared Children in Blended Families (N = 123)	Stepchildren in Blended Families (N = 183)	Stepchildren in Stepfamilies (N = 163)
Parent Characteristics				
Education				
Less than High School	13	18	25	8
High School	41	43	39	41
Some College	24	28	28	32
College Graduate	16	8	6	11
College Plus	7	3	2	8
Receiving Welfare	4	7	13	6
Mother Employed	76	69	66	65
Parent's Age in Years	41.7	38.3	38.5	39.8
Parents' Income (in $1,000s)	53.1	43.9	38	51.9
Mother Surveyed	97	96	89	54
Age First Married in Years	20.5	20	20.1	20.3
Length of Current Relationship in Years	13.7	12.9	9.5	5.3
Number of Marriages	1	1.5	2.1	2.2
Adolescent Characteristics				
Age	15	14.2	15.6	15
Birth Order				
Oldest Sibling	34	0	56	37
Youngest Sibling	30	38	0	17
Hispanic	15	15	16	9
Race				
Black	9	18	17	5
White	80	73	75	90
Other Race	7	10	13	7
Male	50	50	54	52

Notes: Values are percentages unless otherwise indicated.

Table 2. Results of Baseline OLS Regression Models of Adolescent Outcomes on Family Structure, Gender, and
　Background Characteristics

	GPA		Delinquency		Depression	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Shared children in blended family	-0.020	0.062	0.130 *	0.092	0.155 **	0.316 ***
	0.078	0.106	0.060	0.082	0.056	0.076
* Male	-----	-0.173 +	-----	0.070	-----	-0.319 **
		0.144		0.113		0.104
Stepchildren in blended family	-0.137 +	-0.217 *	0.007	-0.096	0.100 +	0.155 *
	0.081	0.108	0.059	0.080	0.055	0.073
* Male	-----	0.140	-----	0.194 *	-----	-0.101
		0.131		0.095		0.087
Stepchildren in stepfamily	-0.033	0.009	0.105 +	0.012	0.092	0.134 +
	0.096	0.114	0.067	0.086	0.065	0.079
* Male	-----	-0.097	-----	0.184 +	-----	-0.076
		0.133		0.100		0.092
Male	-0.184 ***	-0.176 ***	0.105 ***	0.063 +	-0.138 ***	-0.099 **
	0.038	0.044	0.029	0.033	0.026	0.031
Parent Characteristics						
Less than High School	-0.274 ***	-0.276 ***	-0.026	-0.027	0.197 ***	0.197 ***
	0.065	0.065	0.049	0.049	0.045	0.045
Some College	-0.034	-0.038	0.004	0.005	0.011	0.008
	0.050	0.050	0.038	0.038	0.035	0.035
College Graduate	0.167 **	0.167 **	0.034	0.033	-0.067	-0.069
	0.063	0.063	0.049	0.048	0.045	0.045
College Plus	0.363 ***	0.362 ***	0.080	0.078	-0.020	-0.020
	0.085	0.085	0.067	0.067	0.062	0.062
Receiving Welfare	-0.132	-0.123	0.081	0.078	0.055	0.063
	0.093	0.093	0.070	0.070	0.064	0.064
Mother Employed	0.010	0.011	0.061 +	0.056	0.033	0.037
	0.048	0.048	0.036	0.036	0.033	0.033
Parent's Age in Years	0.000	0.000	-0.004	-0.004	0.002	0.001
	0.005	0.005	0.004	0.004	0.003	0.003
Parents' Income (in $1,000s)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Mother Surveyed	0.110	0.108	0.026	0.031	-0.015	-0.016
	0.082	0.083	0.062	0.062	0.057	0.057
Age First Married in Years	0.011 +	0.011	0.006	0.006	-0.003	-0.004
	0.007	0.007	0.005	0.005	0.005	0.005
Length of Current Relationship in Years	0.004 +	0.004 +	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	0.003	0.003	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.002
Number of Marriages	-0.078 +	-0.072 +	0.049	0.050	0.016	0.013
	0.042	0.042	0.030	0.030	0.028	0.028
Adolescent Characteristics						
Age	-0.034 *	-0.034 *	-0.013	-0.014	0.044 ***	0.045 ***
	0.014	0.014	0.010	0.010	0.009	0.009
Oldest Sibling	0.157 **	0.159 **	-0.017	-0.022	-0.134 **	-0.132 **
	0.059	0.059	0.044	0.045	0.041	0.041
Middle Sibling	0.069	0.071	0.046	0.045	-0.059 +	-0.057
	0.048	0.048	0.038	0.038	0.035	0.035
Hispanic	-0.107 +	-0.105 +	0.097 *	0.097 *	0.043	0.043
	0.063	0.063	0.047	0.047	0.044	0.044
Black	-0.253 ***	-0.244 ***	0.149 +	0.154 *	-0.007	-0.003
	0.064	0.065	0.076	0.076	0.046	0.046
Other Race	-0.033	-0.030	-0.046	-0.046	0.178 *	0.180 *
	0.105	0.105	0.049	0.050	0.070	0.070
Constant	3.136 ***	3.133 ***	-0.034	-0.001	-0.619 **	-0.639 **
	0.282	0.282	0.209	0.209	0.193	0.193
R-Squared	0.110	0.110	0.040	0.040	0.080	0.090

Notes: Omitted reference categories are shared children in simple families, high school graduate, youngest sibling,
 and non-Hispanic White.　　+ p < .10　*p < .05　**p < .01　***p < .001

Table 3. Family Relationship Characteristics by Family Structure

	Shared Children in Simple Families	Shared Children in Blended Families	Stepchildren in Blended Families	Stepchildren in Stepfamilies
Parental Investment				
Shares Activities with Parents [a]	0.03	-0.05	-0.14 *	-0.02
Protective Factors [a]	0.03	0.13	-0.28 ***	0.05
Parents Involved in Decision Making [a]	0.01	-0.08 +	0.01	-0.01
Doctor and Dentist Appointment	0.49	0.45	0.42 *	0.47
Relationship Quality				
Close to Child [a]	0.02	-0.08	-0.14 ***	-0.09 *
Relationship Quality with Mother [a]	0.01	0.14 +	-0.10 +	-0.14 *
Relationship Quality with Father [a]	0.05	0.06	-0.43 ***	-0.05
Sibling Relationship Quality [a]	0.06	-0.16 **	-0.21 ***	-0.15 **

Notes: a. Variables are standardized scales with M = 0 and SD = 1. Significance tests indicate whether values are significantly different than those for shared children in simple families. + p < .10 *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

Table 4. Family Relationship Characteristics by Adolescent Gender and Family Structure

	Full Sample			Shared Children in Simple Families			Shared Children in Blended Families			Stepchildren in Blended Families			Stepchildren in Stepfamilies		
	Boys	Girls	Sig.	Boys	Girls	Sig.	Boys	Girls	Sig.	Boys	Girls	Sig.	Boys	Girls	Sig.
Parental Investment															
Shares Activities with Parents [a]	-0.01	0.01		0.00	0.05		0.04	-0.13 [b]		-0.13	-0.14 [b]		-0.03	-0.02	
Protective Factors [a]	0.02	-0.03		0.06	0.00	+	0.24 [b]	0.01	+	-0.23 [b]	-0.35 [b]		-0.14 [b]	0.04	
Parents Involved in Decision Making [a]	-0.02	0.02	+	-0.02	0.03		-0.11	-0.05		-0.04	0.07		-0.01	-0.02	
Doctor and Dentist Appointment	0.46	0.50	+	0.47	0.51		0.43	0.47		0.42	0.42 [b]		0.43	0.52	
Relationship Quality															
Close to Child [a]	0.00	0.00		0.03	0.02		0.15	0.02		-0.11 [b]	-0.17 [b]		-0.15 [b]	-0.01	
Relationship Quality with Mother [a]	-0.07	0.06	***	0.08	-0.06	**	0.29 [b]	0.00	*	-0.06 [b]	-0.15		-0.13 [b]	-0.15	
Relationship Quality with Father [a]	-0.09	0.07	***	0.13	-0.03	**	0.20	-0.09	+	-0.34 [b]	-0.56 [b]		-0.02	-0.08	
Sibling Relationship Quality [a]	0.03	-0.03	+	0.09	0.03		-0.08	-0.24 [b]		-0.19 [b]	-0.23 [b]		-0.09 [b]	-0.21 [b]	

Notes: a. Variables are standardized scales with M = 0 and SD = 1. b. Values are significantly different than those for shared children of the same gender in simple families. Significant differences between boys and girls within the same family structure are marked in Sig. column.

+ p < .10 *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

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Table 5. Results from OLS Regressions of Adolescent Outcomes on Family Risk and Protective Factors by Gender

	GPA			Delinquency			Depression		
	Boy	Girl	Difference	Boy	Girl	Difference	Boy	Girl	Difference
Model 1									
Constant	2.715 ***	3.337 ***		0.233	-0.001		-0.955 ***	-0.207	
	0.407	0.372		0.339	0.225		0.241	0.295	
Shares Activities with Parents	0.100 *	0.206 **	+	0.001	-0.037		-0.017	-0.154 **	*
	0.042	0.061		0.037	0.037		0.015	0.048	
Model 2									
Constant	2.581 ***	3.152 ***		0.528	0.198		-0.702	0.184	
	0.412	0.377		0.337	0.224		0.235	0.286	
Protective Factors	0.128 **	0.119 **		-0.194 ***	0.123 ***	*	-0.201 ***	-0.254 ***	
	0.040	0.035		0.036	0.021		0.025	0.027	
Model 3									
Constant	2.907 ***	3.382 ***		0.135	-0.034		-1.177	-0.290	
	0.412	0.381		0.342	0.229		0.242	0.302	
Parents Involved in Decision-Making	0.079	0.019		-0.073 +	-0.018	+	-0.126 ***	-0.033 +	+
	0.051	0.053		0.043	0.032		0.030	0.043	
Model 4									
Constant	2.725 ***	3.311 ***		0.267	-0.021		-1.012 ***	-0.212	
	0.408	0.372		0.340	0.226		0.242	0.297	
Doctor and Dentist Appointment	0.098 +	0.160 **		-0.038	0.027		0.007	-0.078	
	0.057	0.050		0.049	0.032		0.035	0.041	
Model 5									
Constant	2.778 ***	3.328 ***		0.233	0.040		-1.006	-0.154	
	0.402	0.374		0.335	0.223		0.238	0.291	
Close to Child	0.201 ***	0.082 *	*	-0.140 ***	-0.102 ***		-0.106 ***	-0.187 ***	*
	0.048	0.042		0.030	0.025		0.028	0.032	
Model 6									
Constant	2.762 ***	3.353 ***		0.396	0.065		-0.914	-0.088	
	0.412	0.367		0.338	0.224		0.242	0.292	
Relationship Quality with Mother	0.023	0.005		-0.120 ***	-0.065 ***	+	-0.068 **	-0.138 ***	+
	0.043	0.029		0.035	0.017		0.025	0.023	
Model 7									
Constant	2.701	3.213 ***		0.479	0.154		-0.785 **	0.108	
	0.416	0.377		0.341	0.225		0.242	0.291	
Relationship Quality with Father	0.040	0.070 **		-0.110 ***	0.075 ***	**	-0.099 ***	-0.162 ***	+
	0.037	0.027		0.029	0.016		0.020	0.021	
Model 8									
Constant	2.782	3.338 ***		0.232	-0.034		-1.005	-0.280	
	0.405	0.376		0.337	0.226		0.241	0.296	
Sibling Relationship Quality	0.091 **	0.004	+	0.027	-0.023		-0.006	-0.067 **	+
	0.032	0.031		0.027	0.019		0.019	0.024	

Notes: + p < .10 *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001; Models include all control variables from Table 2.