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The Father Motive: Predicting the Impact of Father Attitudes on Involvement

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The Father Motive: Predicting the Impact of
Father Attitudes on Involvement

Nathan Lovell Robbins

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Science

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Abstract

The Father Motive: Predicting the Impact of Father Attitudes on Involvement

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The purpose of this study was to evaluate the effects that a man's attitudes towards fathering have on the level of involvement with his children. Of particular interest was whether fathering attitudes moderated some of the more consistent predictors of involvement, such as relationship quality, maternal gatekeeping, mother's and father's employment hours, a man's history with his own father, family structure, and child characteristics.

A sample of 2300 men was used to evaluate the effects of fathering attitudes on engagement and warmth among children ages 2 to 8 and 9 to 11. Results indicate an inconsistent main effect between fathering attitudes and the types of involvement among the two age groups. However, moderated multiple regression analysis revealed that, in many instances, fathering attitudes completely mitigated the effect of several of the traditional predictors of involvement. Among the younger group, men with high fathering attitudes maintained high levels of engagement despite poor history with their own father and high levels of work hours, and engagement increased as maternal employment hours increased. Warmth among these men also remained unchanged at high levels of maternal gatekeeping and low levels of relationship quality. In the older group, high father attitudes mitigated the effects of relationship quality and fathers' work hours on warmth. Attitudes did not moderate engagement among the older group.

Keywords: father involvement, predictors, fathering attitudes, employment hours, relationship quality, maternal gatekeeping, own father history

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Table of Contents	iii
List of Tables	v
List of Figures	v
The Father Motive: Predicting the Impact of Father Attitudes on Involvement.....	1
Models Predicting Father Involvement.....	2
Father Attitudes and the Reasoned Action Approach.....	4
Traditional Predictors of Father Involvement.....	5
Relationship with the Mother.....	5
Employment.....	6
History with Own Father	7
Family Structure.....	8
The Present Study	9
Hypothesis.....	9
Methods.....	10
Sample/Procedure	10
Measures	10
Father involvement.	10
Predictors.	12
Fathering attitudes.....	12
Analysis Plan	14
Regression analyses	14
Moderation analyses	14
Results.....	15
Father Attitudes as Predictor of Father Involvement.....	15
Fathering Attitudes as a Moderator of the Predictors of Father Involvement	15
Relationship quality	15
Maternal gatekeeping.....	16
History with own father	16
Father's employment	16

Mother's employment.....	17
Child gender.....	17
Discussion.....	17
Relationship Quality.....	18
Maternal Gatekeeping.....	19
History with Own Father.....	19
Employment.....	20
Father's employment.....	20
Mother's employment.....	21
Limitations.....	23
Future Directions.....	25
References.....	26
Appendix.....	36
Figure 1. Simplified representation of the ecological model.....	36
Figure 2. Heuristic model.....	37
Table 1. Basic Demographics.....	38
Table 2. Descriptive Statistics.....	38
Table 3. Correlations.....	39
Table 4. Father attitudes as a predictor of father involvement.....	40
Table 5. Father attitudes and engagement among 2-8 year olds.....	41
Figure 3. Father Attitudes by Own Father History, Ages 2-8.....	42
Figure 4. Father Attitudes by Father's Employment, Ages 2-8.....	42
Figure 5. Father Attitudes by Mother's Employment, Ages 2-8.....	43
Table 6. Father attitudes and warmth among 2-8 year olds.....	44
Figure 6. Father Attitudes by Maternal Gatekeeping, Ages 2-8.....	45
Figure 7. Father Attitudes by Relationship Quality, Ages 9-18.....	45
Figure 8. Father Attitudes by Relationship Quality, Ages 2-8.....	46
Table 7. Father attitudes and engagement among 9-18 year olds.....	47
Table 8. Father attitudes and warmth among 9-18 year olds.....	48
Figure 9. Father Attitudes by Relationship Quality, Ages 9-18.....	49
Figure 10. Father Attitudes by Father's Employment, Ages 9-18.....	49

List of Tables

Table 1. Basic Demographics	38
Table 2. Descriptive Statistics.....	38
Table 3. Correlations.....	39
Table 4. Father attitudes as a predictor of father involvement	40
Table 5. Father attitudes and engagement among 2-8 year olds.....	41
Table 6. Father attitudes and warmth among 2-8 year olds.....	44
Table 7. Father attitudes and engagement among 9-18 year olds.....	47
Table 8. Father attitudes and warmth among 9-18 year olds.....	48

List of Figures

Figure 1. Simplified representation of the ecological model.....	36
Figure 2. Heuristic model	37
Figure 3. Father Attitudes by Own Father History, Ages 2-8.....	42
Figure 4. Father Attitudes by Father's Employment, Ages 2-8	42
Figure 5. Father Attitudes by Mother's Employment, Ages 2-8.....	43
Figure 6. Father Attitudes by Maternal Gatekeeping, Ages 2-8.....	45
Figure 7. Father Attitudes by Relationship Quality, Ages 9-18	45
Figure 8. Father Attitudes by Relationship Quality, Ages 2-8	46
Figure 9. Father Attitudes by Relationship Quality, Ages 9-18	49
Figure 10. Father Attitudes by Father's Employment, Ages 9-18	49

The Father Motive: Predicting the Impact of Father Attitudes on Involvement

A father's involvement with his children has been found to be largely influenced by the context in which it takes place (Marsiglio, Roy, & Fox, 2005). Numerous external forces either allow or hinder this involvement, such as family structure (Hofferth, Pleck, Goldscheider, Curtin, & Hrapczynski, 2013), relationship quality (Erel & Burman, 1995) and employment (Hofferth, 2003). Combining the literature results in the "ideal" context for fathering: a man is most involved with his biological children, in a happy committed relationship, living with the mother and child, all while gainfully employed at the right number of hours per week. However, with a decreasing amount of father who fit this stereotypical context (Smock & Greenland, 2010), there is a need for increasing nuance in how men make decisions about the levels of involvement they have with their children. And though the existing literature may help us understand some correlates of father involvement, they ignore a man's attitudes toward parenting, and overlook how being an engaged father fulfills his personal parenting desires across various contexts.

This is problematic for several reasons. First, it downplays the necessity for researchers to view parenting as a potentially meaningful and enriching experience in the lives of men, reducing it to an oversimplified system of stimuli and responses. This prevents a full understanding of the choices men make regarding fertility and becoming a parent. Second, it perpetuates the notion of fatherhood as a supportive or auxiliary role in parenting by assuming that men get involved only when pressed upon or when the setting is ideal, whereas women are the presumptive de facto primary caregiver. This inequality in the parenting relationship negatively impacts the economic (Andringa, Nieuwenhuis, & van Gerven, 2015) and physical (Levtov, van der Gaag, Green, Kaufman, & Barker, 2015) well-being of women and leads to unhealthy gender attitudes in sons and daughters (Croft, Schmader, Block, & Baron, 2014). Third, and perhaps most importantly, it absolves men of any

individual accountability for their parenting, as their involvement – or lack thereof – can be fully explained through external forces.

Researchers in the social sciences have for years been making efforts to move away from behaviorist models of the individual that “embrace an input-output model linked by an internal conduit that makes behavior possible but exerts no influence of its own on behavior” (Bandura, 2001, p. 2). Though advances have led to the inclusion of more dynamic and reciprocal dyadic-, triadic- and family-level influences in ever-increasingly complex models of father involvement, the father is rarely treated as being able to change his involvement through any internal factor such as attitudes. Up to this point, conceptual models that predict father involvement have rather quietly acknowledged that men have certain characteristics that may motivate them towards involvement. The purpose of this study is to build upon complex systemic models of involvement with ideas from the Reasoned Action Approach (Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010) to support the notion that men have a say in whether or not they become involved with their children. We then test our conceptual model, using father attitudes as a moderator of the most consistent traditional predictors such as paternal history, work, relationships, socioeconomic status (SES), and family structure (Cabrera, Fitzgerald, Bradley, & Roggman, 2014).

Models Predicting Father Involvement

One of the earliest conceptualizations of father involvement was the biosocial perspective created by Lamb et al. (Lamb, Pleck, Charnov, & Levine, 1987). It consisted of four areas of predictors including motivation, skills, social support, and institutional factors. Though the category of motivation had potentially carved out a space for an agentic view of fatherhood, the model was rarely used for empirical study.

Over the years, several other predictive models of involvement have been developed, (Belsky, 1984; Doherty, Kouneski, & Erickson, 1998; Holmes & Huston, 2010; McBride, Schoppe, Ho, & Rane, 2004). One of the most complete predictive models of father involvement to date was proposed by Cabrera, et al (2014). It is an expansion of Belsky's (1984) model and uses an ecological perspective (Bronfenbrenner, 2005) to categorize each of the predictors. One of the major emphases of their model is to reintroduce fathers as a central part of involvement models, with a much more dynamic role that accounts for reciprocal relationships between each of the factors. In other words, they suggest that fathers can act and react to the influences, stressors, and behaviors that various people, events, circumstances and resources have on them. This is an important argument in helping the field acknowledge that involvement is active and participatory, rather than completely dictated by external influences.

While the Cabrera et al. model makes great advancements, two key problems remain. The first is that the predictive models fail to account for some of the wide variability we see in father involvement. For instance, some predictors are known to vary not only in effect size, but in the direction of the outcome for some men, as in the case of parenting stress, (Shapiro, 2014), mental health (Davis, Caldwell, Clark, & Davis, 2009), and family structure (Tach, Edin, Harvey, & Bryan, 2014). Other predictors vary across samples and contexts, as in the case of employment (Minnotte, 2016; Nomaguchi & Johnson, 2014), which will be discussed more fully in a later section.

The second problem is the lack of a mechanism to explain how these predictors directly influence father involvement. As an example, Lamb et al.'s (1987) use of motivation as a predictor included a discussion on whether men would spend more time with their children if possible. They cite a 1977 national survey where 51% of husbands said they would spend more time with their children if they worked fewer hours. Without a mechanism for understanding the relationship

between hours worked and involvement, it is impossible to disentangle whether there are fathers who, despite larger workloads, spend more time with their children than men with average workloads. The assumption inherent in this example – and in much of the father involvement literature – is that there is little variability in father involvement associated with employment. As is evident in the above scenario, solving this second problem of identifying a mechanism might go far in solving this problem of variability.

Father Attitudes and the Reasoned Action Approach

One way to conceptualize the mechanism that connects predictors and father involvement is to introduce individual agency, or the ability for a man to make choices about his involvement when influenced by external forces. A theory that is particularly well-positioned to describe this agentic view is the Reasoned Action Approach (RAA; Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010). RAA is a framework for understanding the processes that influence a person's intentions and behaviors. Its authors name three primary components that impact behavior: attitudes, perceived norms, and perceived behavioral control. Though each is potentially relevant to an agentic view of father involvement, for the purpose of the present study I focus on attitudes – specifically father attitudes, as outlined by McGill (2014). Of the many conceptualizations possible for fathering attitudes, McGill focuses on the impact that fathering has on the development of the child. This fits rather well with the tenets of Reasoned Action Approach, as the theory posits that attitudes towards the behavior (involvement with the child) predict behavior better than attitudes toward the object (Ajzen, 2012) – in this case, being a good father.

Adding the element of father attitudes to Cabrera et al.'s (2014) ecological model provides us with a potential mechanism for understanding how each of the individual predictors shapes a man's involvement with his children (see Figure 1). The proposed mechanism is as follows: when men face the influences of the predictor, they are able to compare the effect it *could* have on involvement

against their *attitudes* towards being involved, thereby allowing them space to increase or decrease involvement. For example, a father who views his involvement as crucial to child development and seeks to maximize it might decide that despite a seeming barrier, such as an increase in work hours, he will maintain the same amount of involvement with his children by cutting time from other areas, such as leisure. Conversely, a man who trivializes his role might decrease his involvement with his children when faced with the same barrier. Thus, the purpose of this paper is to establish whether there is enough empirical evidence to support father attitudes as a mechanism of father involvement: are fathers with high attitudes able to overcome the effects of traditional barriers to involvement? Below, we explore traditional predictors of father involvement, and hypothesize possible interactions between fathering attitudes and men's subsequent involvement.

Traditional Predictors of Father Involvement

Scholars of father involvement have detailed extensively the various predictors of men's involvement with their children. The largest and most consistent predictors fall under several different categories: the relationship the father has with the mother of the child, employment, paternal history, family structure, and socioeconomic status. Each is discussed in detail below.

Relationship with the Mother

Several of the most consistent and influential predictors revolve around the relationship the man has with the mother of the children. The two main predictors in this category are relationship satisfaction and maternal gatekeeping. Traditionally, fatherhood has been framed as a "package deal": that marriage and fatherhood are concurrent phenomena in men's lives (Townsend, 2002). Research on men's marital satisfaction supports this notion, showing that higher conflict in marriage results in lower levels of father involvement (Erel & Burman, 1995), particularly among stepfathers (Berger, Carlson, Bzostek, & Osborne, 2008). Marital satisfaction has also been found to be correlated with

men's perception of coparenting quality, which is also correlated with higher levels of involvement (Holland & McElwain, 2013).

Maternal gatekeeping also has an impact on involvement. Father involvement with children is higher when mothers exhibit both high levels of encouragement and low levels of criticism regarding the father's parenting behaviors (Schoppe-Sullivan, Brown, Cannon, Mangelsdorf, & Sokolowski, 2008). Additionally, fathers who felt that their partners saw them as competent caregivers were more likely to engage in caregiving activities (Maurer, Pleck, & Rane, 2001).

Though there is no research on whether father attitudes moderate the influence of relationship quality and/or maternal gatekeeping on involvement, its conceptualization is straightforward and testing its existence is important. If moderation exists, then fathers with high attitudes can find a way to be involved with their children in various types and levels of relationships. Without attitudes as a moderator, men's involvement will be rare or nonexistent during struggles and difficulties in relationships, which are bound to be present from time to time.

Employment

Men's employment has become a topic of interest recently as women's employment steadily increases, and men are increasingly contributing to domestic tasks and childcare activities (Bianchi, 2006). Although financial provision may still be an important element in the meaning men ascribe to the father role, it places constraints on the amount of time men have in direct contact with their children (Crouter, Bumpas, Head, & McHale, 2001) and is rarely considered when studying the impact of involvement on child outcomes. Thus the main consideration in men's employment is how they balance their time between work and direct involvement. Men who adhere to traditional fathering roles tend to work longer hours and have less involvement than men with less traditional roles (Huffman, Olson, O'Gara, & King, 2014). However, as employment contexts have changed

dramatically from the traditional nine-to-five jobs, there is much more room for variation in job types and shifts, and men's work has shown mixed impacts on involvement. In one study, involvement was found to be impacted by nonstandard work hours more than the number of hours worked (Minnotte, 2016), and others have found that working multiple or odd jobs is highly predictive of involvement (Nomaguchi & Johnson, 2014). Still others have found that the amount of hours a man works does not predict the amount of direct involvement he engages in (Dermott, 2008). Additionally, Norman et al. (2014) and Bailey (1994) found that mothers' employment hours were more predictive of father involvement than fathers' employment hours.

The contradictory nature of these multiple studies points to the necessity for more precision in measuring the impact of employment on involvement. Further evidence that father attitudes play at least some part in this variation (McGill, 2014; Norman, Elliot, & Fagan, 2014) suggests that men's fathering attitudes may moderate the effects of employment on men's fathering behaviors.

History with Own Father

A man's relationship – or lack thereof – with his own father during childhood has been known to effect father involvement in a variety of ways. Negative impacts include the intergenerational transmission of father absence (Pouget, Serbin, Stack, Ledingham, & Schwartzman, 2012) adolescent fatherhood (Sipsma, Biello, Cole-Lewis, & Kershaw, 2010), and a tendency toward harsher discipline (Capaldi, Pears, Kerr, & Owen, 2008). Men are more likely to identify their parenting styles as similar to their fathers than women are to their mothers (Campbell & Gilmore, 2007), suggesting particular salience of a man's history with his own father in predicting involvement.

Men's relationship with their fathers also predict the level of care and involvement they have with their children, as well as the attitudes they have toward fathering. There is some debate as to

whether this association comes from modeling or compensating. One study found that fathering attitudes about involvement were higher among expectant fathers who had either very close or very distant relationships with their own father (Beaton, Doherty, & Rueter, 2003), and that these attitudes regarding involvement were the same at 6 and 12 months after the baby was born (Beaton & Doherty, 2007). According to the compensation model, men seem to react to their own fathers' absence by resolving to be more present with their own children, a notion that is particularly relevant to the present study. However, another study found little evidence of the compensatory hypothesis, instead finding support of the modeling hypothesis that fathers are more likely to do what they saw their fathers do (Guzzo, 2011). If high fathering attitudes enable men to overcome the effects of a negative history with their own father, this would lend empirical support to the compensation hypothesis.

Family Structure

Family structure provides yet another set of predictors for involvement. Divorce often dramatically reduces the amount of time fathers spend with their children (Coiro & Emery, 1998). Even after remarriage, stepfathers engage their stepchildren less, on average, than biological fathers (Hofferth et al., 2013) and are highly susceptible to maternal gatekeeping in their involvement with their nonresident biological children (Allen, Baucom, Burnett, Epstein, & Rankin-Esquer, 2001). Nonresident fathers report several barriers to continued involvement with their children, such as the legal system, distance, and conflict with the former partner (Troilo & Coleman, 2013). Involvement depended on the fathers' motivation to reframe these barriers, once again illustrating the vital role that father attitudes play in influencing common predictors of involvement.

Taken together, this array of predictors is generally viewed by the fathering field as the tell-all of a man's involvement with his children. The problem with this assumption is that these predictors are all external influences and say nothing of a man's desire or motivation to be involved with his

children, his attitudes or beliefs regarding fatherhood, nor the centrality of fatherhood to his identity. Said differently, father involvement tends to be viewed as completely dependent upon context, and men become victims of their circumstances rather than having at least some say in the way they raise their children.

The Present Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the role that fathering attitudes play in predicting father involvement. In particular, this study considers how the exploration of fathering attitudes may help researchers understand how fathers act and react to the circumstances, relationships, stressors, and resources that fathers encounter. This approach acknowledges that involvement is active and participatory, rather than completely dictated by external influences. Based on this view, a significant direct effect of fathering attitudes on father involvement would indicate that attitudes may fit alongside the external forces in predicting involvement, at least to some varying degree.

But exploring attitudes as predictors of involvement is an incomplete approach to understanding how fathers might act and/or react in a multitude of contexts. One must explore attitudes as moderators of contextual factors. For example, if the impact of fathering attitudes on these predictors was such that it nullified their impact on involvement, it would indicate that there are contexts in which men are much more autonomous in choosing their level of involvement than previously acknowledged. Consequently, two hypotheses were formed for this study:

Hypothesis

- 1) Fathering attitudes will have a significant positive direct effect on involvement among the two age groups, where higher attitudes will be associated with more engagement and warmth.
- 2) The effects of relationship quality, gatekeeping, employment, and history with own father on involvement will be moderated by fathering attitudes, such that they are minimized or

disappear completely (see Figure 2). For example, the negative effect that long work hours has on engagement will be reduced for fathers with high attitudes compared to those with low attitudes.

Methods

Sample/Procedure

Analyses were conducted using data from the Survey of Contemporary Fatherhood (SCF) which includes responses from 2300 men from various fathering roles – biological fathers, stepfathers, adoptive fathers, and father figures in both residential and non-residential settings. To be included in the sample, the men had to be at least 18 years old with a child between the ages of 2 and 18. Data were collected using national Qualtrics online panels. Candidates for the survey were polled when they met the necessary qualifications for the survey, and surveys were collected from these participants until specific quotas were met for characteristics like race, region of residence, gender of child, etc. The result is a sample of fathers with diverse race, family structures, incomes, and education levels (see Table 1). Because the nature of involvement changes as children grow older (Finzi-Dottan & Cohen, 2014), the sample was then divided into two groups of men: those with children ages 2-8 (Group A, $n = 877$) and ages 9-18 (Group B, $n = 735$).

Measures

Father involvement.

Positive engagement among 2-8 year olds. Positive engagement, the frequency and kinds of interaction a father has with his children, was measured using the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study – Birth cohort (Bethel, Green, Nord, Kalton, & West, 2005) engagement scale for Group A. The 26-item measure uses a Likert scale of 0-5 (“never” to “more than once a day”) and asks about involvement in various areas such as playing together, reading to the child, singing songs, and helping

the child to bed. Higher scores indicate higher levels of engagement. Reliability for this scale was $\alpha = .92$.

Positive engagement among 9-18 year olds. Engagement among Group B was measured using the involvement scales found in the National Survey of Family Growth (Lepkowski et al., 2006). Responses were ranked on a Likert scale from 0-4 (“not at all” to “everyday”). The scale had 13 items that assessed the frequency of engagement in activities such as eating evening meals together, going on errands together, and discussing daily activities. Higher scores indicated higher levels of involvement, and reliability for the scale was $\alpha = .90$.

Warmth among 2-8 year olds. Paternal warmth among Group A was measured using the ECLS-B (Bethel et al., 2005). The 11-item scale assessed amounts of affect and support expressed to the child and included items such as “I express my affection by hugging, kissing and holding my child” and “I smile at my child often.” Items were assessed using a Likert scale of 0-4 (“not at all like me” to “exactly like me”). Higher scores indicated higher levels of warmth. Internal reliability for the measure was $\alpha = .84$.

Warmth among 9-18 year olds. For the older group, warmth was assessed using the Parental Warmth, Support & Hostility measure from the Study of Early Child Care and Youth Development survey (National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, 2014). This measure consisted of 17 items and asked questions about activities promoting warmth like listening carefully to the child’s point of view, acting loving and affectionate, and being supporting and understanding. It also contained items regarding hostility, like how often the participant grabbed, hit or pushed their child, or insulted or swore at them. The items were ranked on a Liker-type scale of 0-3 (“never” to “always”). Reliability was .90 for this measure.

Predictors.

Fathering attitudes. The centrality of the fathering role and the behaviors that go with it were assessed using the Fathering Attitude Scale created by McGill (2014). The 8-item scale included questions such as “it is essential for the child’s well-being that fathers spend time interacting and playing with their children” and “a father should be as heavily involved in the care of his child as a mother.” Items were assessed using a Likert scale from 1 (“strongly disagree”) to 5 (“strongly agree”). A single variable was created by taking an average of the items and higher scores indicated higher levels of fathering attitudes. The reliability for the scale was $\alpha = .71$.

Relationship satisfaction. Seven items were taken from the Relationship Satisfaction scale found in the RELATE survey (Busby, Holman, & Taniguchi, 2001) to assess how happy men are in their relationships. Couples included married and non-married cohabiting men and women. Although there were men in the sample with heterosexual, homosexual and bisexual orientations, sample sizes were not sufficient to compare households headed by same-gender and different-gender couples. Items were rated on a Likert scale from 1 (“never”) to 5 (“very often”) and ask the men how satisfied they are with their levels of physical intimacy, love, conflict resolution and communication, among others. Reliability for this scale was $\alpha = .91$.

Maternal gatekeeping. Assessing maternal gatekeeping from a man’s perspective can be problematic because it is difficult to evaluate whether perceived barriers to father-child interaction stem from gatekeeping behaviors from the mother or from the father’s attitudes or beliefs. Further, all gatekeeping assessments to date have included only mother reports. Fagan and Barnett’s (2003) scale of mothers’ self-reported gatekeeping behavior was adapted by changing the language to the fathers’ point of view. For example, the question “If my child’s feelings are hurt, I should talk to them, not their father” became “If my child’s feelings are hurt, the mother should comfort them, not me.” We

feel the use of this measure is adequate for capturing the underlying features of maternal gatekeeping and included it in our analysis (for further conceptual justification, see the original paper). Other items in the measure include “If my child needs to be disciplined, the mother should discipline them, not me,” and “If a decision has to be made for my child, the mother should make it, not me.” The 9 items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (“strongly disagree”) to 5 (“strongly agree”). Reliability for the measure was excellent ($\alpha = .96$).

History with own father. The nine-item Nurturant Father Scale (Finley & Schwartz, 2004) was used to assess a man’s relationship with his own father during his childhood and adolescence. The measure included questions such as “How emotionally close were you to your father?” “When you were an adolescent (teenager), how well did you get along with your father” and “Did you feel you could confide in (talk about important personal things with) your father?” Available responses varied depending on the question, but followed a Liker-type scale of 1 (“never” or “not at all close” or “poor”) to 5 (“always” or “extremely close” or “outstanding”). Higher scores reflect a history of a stronger relationship with the man’s father. Reliability for the sample was $\alpha = .96$.

Employment. Both father and mother employment hours were assessed with the question “How many hours do you work in a typical week?” The response field on the survey was an open text box, allowing free input from the users. Responses were screened for typing errors and other incompatible entries and then converted to integer format.

Controls. Various contextual and demographic variables were included in the analysis, such race, income, education level, and family structure (biological, step, or adoptive parents), and residential vs. non-residential fathering status.

Analysis Plan

Regression analyses. Multiple regression analyses will be conducted on two components of the father involvement model – warmth and engagement. The analysis will be further divided into two sub-groups: children ages 2-8 in Group A, and 9-18 in Group B, as involvement has been found to change across the age of the child (Finzi-Dottan & Cohen, 2014). To test the first hypothesis – that fathering attitudes predict father involvement – multiple regression analysis will be used to assess the effect size of fathering attitudes on the four outcomes (age of the child by type of father involvement). The standardized coefficients of fathering attitudes and the other predictors will then be compared. Various controls will be included in each of the models: income, education, race, resident status, and parent status

Moderation analyses. To test the second hypothesis, fathering attitudes will then be included in regression analyses as a moderator of each of the predictors previously discussed: relationship quality, maternal gatekeeping, a man's history with his own father, and employment hours (both fathers' and mothers'). Significant interactions will be identified by including the moderator with each predictor separately. They will then all be included in a combined model to assess whether their effects remain when controlling for the other interactions. The intent is to examine whether or not the relationship between the predictor and each component of father involvement changes at varying levels of fathering attitudes. One of the fundamental assumptions of the Reasoned Action Approach is that attitudes play a large part in influencing our decisions. If, therefore, fathering attitudes moderate the relation between involvement and its predictors, this would support an agentic view of involvement whereby fathers have the capacity to act and react to the circumstances, relationships, stressors, and resources they may encounter. In this view, attitudes become the linchpin that may move individuals to action. In order to test group differences, the Father Attitudes measure will be

recoded into a three-category moderator with low, medium and high groups based on 25, 50 and 75% quartiles (McGill, 2014).

Results

Father Attitudes as Predictor of Father Involvement

Descriptive statistics and correlations are listed in Table 2 and 3, respectively. The results of the multiple regression analysis to test the main effect of fathering attitudes on the four outcomes are listed in Table 4. Briefly, fathering attitudes was not found to significantly predict engagement among Group A, but did predict warmth among Group A ($\beta = .513, p < .001$), and both engagement ($\beta = .162, p < .001$) and warmth ($\beta = .489, p < .001$) among Group B. Additionally, fathering attitudes was the strongest predictor of warmth in both Group A and B, and the second strongest predictor of engagement in Group B. However, the effects of fathering attitudes became inconsistent and dropped off completely in the full model for each of the outcomes but warmth in Group A (see Tables 5-8). Compared to the external predictors, which are much more capable of demanding resources such as time and energy, it is not surprising that fathering attitudes are so inconsistent in predicting involvement directly.

Fathering Attitudes as a Moderator of the Predictors of Father Involvement

The predictors that were significantly moderated by father attitudes were identified by interacting each of the predictors individually using multiple regression. The moderator variable was then added to each of the predictors together in the final model. The regression tables included in the appendix include the individual and full models, while the results reported here are of the four full models of warmth and engagement in both Group A and Group B.

Relationship quality. Interestingly, fathering attitudes did not moderate the association between relationship quality and engagement with Group A or B. There was however, a significant

difference in warmth among fathers with high and low attitudes: men with high fathering attitudes maintained higher levels of warmth than men with low attitudes in Group A ($b = -.132$, $p = .046$; Figure 7). In Group B, men with both medium and high levels of fathering attitudes differed from men with low attitudes in that as relationship quality increased, their warmth increased as well (medium attitudes: $b = .097$, $p = .039$; high attitudes: $b = .099$, $p = .044$; Figure 9), while it decreased for men with low attitudes. This last finding is surprising and seemingly counter-intuitive. One possible explanation is that as children grow older, fathers with low attitudes prioritize their romantic relationship over their relationship with their child, to the detriment of the father-child relationship.

Maternal gatekeeping. Maternal gatekeeping was similar to relationship quality in how it interacted with fathering attitudes. Attitudes did not significantly interact with engagement in either age group. There was a significant interaction between maternal gatekeeping and warmth in Group A among men with high and low attitudes ($b = .135$, $p = .001$; Figure 6), such that warmth among men with high fathering attitudes was not associated with maternal gatekeeping ($b = -.056$, $p = .098$). As maternal gatekeeping increased among men with medium and low fathering attitudes, there was a significant decrease in warmth ($b = -.198$, $p < .001$; $b = -.176$, $p < .001$, respectively).

History with own father. Several interaction effects were found to be significant between a man's history with his own father and the outcome variables. In Group A, the decline in engagement among men who had poor experience with their own fathers was much less steep when they had high fathering attitudes vs low attitudes ($b = .016$, $p < .001$; Figure 3).

Father's employment. Father attitudes was a significant moderator between father work hours and the predictors of involvement. Engagement among Group A was significantly different for fathers with high attitudes compared to those with low attitudes ($b = .016$, $p < .001$; Figure 4). In fact, the effect of employment on engagement among men with high fathering attitudes became

insignificant while there was a significant decline among men with low ($b = -.017, p < .001$) and medium ($b = -.004, p = .016$) attitudes. Another significant interaction was found in Warmth among Group B. For men with both medium and high attitudes, warmth remained high at greater work hours compared to men with low fathering attitudes (medium attitudes: $b = .005, p = .036$; high attitudes: $b = .005, p = .038$). In fact, father's work hours were only found to significantly impact warmth among men with low fathering attitudes ($b = -.003, p = .05$).

Mother's employment. Mother's work hours exhibited significant interactions in many of the same areas as father's work hours. One significant interaction was found between men with high and low attitudes in engagement among Group A ($b = .008, p = .031$; Figure 5). When mother's work hours increased, engagement in this age group did not change significantly among men with low and medium fathering attitudes. Men with high fathering attitudes, however increased their involvement significantly the more the mother worked ($b = .009, p < .001$).

Child gender. Finally, fathering attitudes were also a moderator of the relationship between warmth and child gender among Group A. In general, fathers were found to show more warmth toward their daughters than their sons ($b = .23, p = .001$), but this difference was less evident among men with high fathering attitudes ($b = -.17, p = .037$; Figure 8). In the general models, child gender was a significant predictor of warmth in Group A, with men favoring young daughters over young sons ($b = .094, p = .001$) and engagement in Group B, with men favoring older sons over older daughters ($b = -.159, p = .002$).

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to understand the role that fathering attitudes plays in creating a more participatory model of father involvement. Prior models of father involvement have implicitly assumed that involvement is a result of external forces and beyond the control of the father. This

prevents the conceptualization and research of fatherhood as a potentially meaningful and fulfilling experience for men, minimizes the role of fathers as co-parents, and absolves men of accountability for their parenting. The results of this study provide support for a more agentic view of fathering and suggest evidence of the mechanism through which this happens.

The first hypothesis was that fathering attitudes would have a significant main effect on engagement and warmth. There was little evidence to suggest that fathering attitudes had any direct influence on involvement, except on warmth among children ages two through eight. For the other outcomes among the two age groups, the direct effect was either inconsistent through the various models or non-significant once accounting for interaction effects. The inconsistency of father involvement as a direct predictor of father attitudes is not surprising. According to Rane and McBride (2000), fathers are constrained to make decisions about their behavior among several competing roles: parent, spouse, worker, social and other. The external predictors might therefore come to represent areas of the fathers' lives that demand time away from involvement. Father attitudes make no such claims on a father's time and may be viewed more accurately as interacting with these external forces.

The second hypothesis was that the effects of some of the most consistent predictors of father involvement would be moderated by fathering attitudes. The results for each of the predictors is discussed in detail below.

Relationship Quality

Traditionally, marriage and fathering have been considered to be a "package deal" (Furstenberg & Cherlin, 1991), where one does not take place without the other. Relationship quality was a significant predictor for both engagement and warmth in both age groups: as relationship quality declined, so did involvement. However, this decline was much less severe when father

attitudes were high, indicating that men who gave more meaning and importance to being a father were able to maintain a warm relationship with their children despite what was going on in their relationship with the mother. Further, this influence was evident even after controlling for the type of relationship (e.g. biological, step, or adoptive father) and residential status.

These findings go against the traditional notion that marriage and fatherhood happen together or not at all (see Townsend, 2002), though there is already a great deal of evidence of this uncoupling (Smock & Greenland, 2010). The authors cite widening economic inequality, changing attitudes towards marriage, women's choices regarding education and careers, and voluntary childlessness as contributing factors. Evidence from the present study suggests that men's attitudes regarding fatherhood might be another driving force in addition to these influences.

Maternal Gatekeeping

Though maternal gatekeeping has been consistently found to influence involvement (Fagan & Barnett, 2003; McBride et al., 2005; Schoppe-Sullivan et al., 2008), in our sample it predicted warmth in both age groups, but was not related to engagement in either group. Regarding warmth, high levels of maternal gatekeeping predicted lower levels of warmth, except among men with high fathering attitudes in the younger age group. In fact, among fathers with high attitudes, the change in the level of warmth was not significant, meaning that maternal gatekeeping had no effect on warmth for these men. In other words, despite whatever gatekeeping behaviors the mother may exhibit, men with high fathering attitudes find a way to ensure the level of warmth they want with their children.

History with Own Father

A man's upbringing experience with his own father – or lack thereof – was found to be an inconsistent predictor of involvement in the present sample. It had a main positive effect on engagement with the younger age group but not the older group, and it positively predicted warmth in

the older group, but not the younger group. A man's history with his own father has been shown to be predictive of fathering attitudes towards involvement (Beaton et al., 2003; Guzzo, 2011) and the timing of family formation (Furstenberg & Weiss, 2000), but there is no research to inform the types of involvement it predicts. One possible explanation is father involvement takes the form of the involvement a man's own father had with him, and that this correlates with engagement at younger ages and warmth at older ages.

Of the two significant main effects, fathering attitudes were found to moderate only the relationship between engagement and a man's history with his own father. Where a poor relationship with their own father would typically be associated with men's lower levels of involvement, the effect was nullified by high fathering attitudes. This adds support to existing evidence of an agentic view of father involvement. Specifically in relation to men's history with their own father, more positive feelings about fatherhood existed among men who were very close to as well as those who were very distant from their fathers in childhood (Beaton et al., 2003). This points to men's ability to decide that the negative experiences they had with their own fathers would not be passed on to their children, instead of letting circumstances dictate their involvement.

Employment

Father's employment. The amount of hours a father works in a week has recently become an inconsistent predictor of involvement (see Astone, Dariotis, Sonenstein, Pleck, & Hynes, 2010; Crouter et al., 2001; Huffman et al., 2014; McGill, 2014). Findings from this study echo this inconsistency: father's employment hours were found to be a consistent predictor of engagement among younger children. Work hours were also significant in some of the individual models of warmth among younger children, though they became non-significant in the full model, most likely due to the much stronger influences of relationship quality and maternal gatekeeping on warmth.

Interaction analyses indicated that fathering attitudes significantly impacted the relationship between work hours and engagement among younger children, and with warmth among older children. Engagement among the younger group was not significantly associated with employment hours when fathering attitudes were high, and the same was true for warmth among the older group. But when fathering attitudes were low, work hours were a significant predictor of these outcomes.

Mother's employment. Mother's employment was also found to be an inconsistent predictor in this sample. It predicted warmth among the younger children, and was significant in some of the individual models of engagement among the younger group, but was non-significant in the full model. The other two categories of involvement were not predicted by mother's employment. These findings are not surprising, given the relatively sluggish progress among men in becoming equal contributors in childcare activities (Bianchi, 2006; Craig & Mullan, 2011), despite working the same amount of hours as women.

Fathering attitudes were found to moderate only the relationship between engagement with younger children and mother's work hours. As her work hours increased, a father's engagement plateaued among men with low and medium work hours, but increased dramatically among men with high fathering attitudes. These findings add another element to the argument of fathers' autonomous involvement. Maternal employment was not a significant predictor of engagement, yet men with high fathering attitudes became much more engaged when the mother worked longer hours, compared to those with low and medium attitudes. It seems in this case, men with high fathering attitudes were acting in a way to ensure a certain level of overall involvement between both parents and the child: the less the mother was able to contribute, the more the father stepped in. Thus, fathering attitudes may be seen as not only a measure of a father's desire to be involved, but also a father's desire for the

most positive outcomes for his child. Both seem to affect the way fathers make decisions about how and when to get involved, rather than lying dormant until pressed upon by external circumstances.

Taken together, there is strong evidence to support an agentic view of father involvement. Many of these traditional predictors were found to have no effect on a man's involvement when he viewed fatherhood as a meaningful and important role. Previous conceptualizations of father involvement such as ecosystemic models (Doherty et al., 1998; Holmes & Huston, 2010) and Cabrera et al.'s ecological model (2014) offer tremendous insight into the study of what predicts father involvement. Borrowing from the Reasoned Action Approach to add father attitudes takes these conceptualizations further, highlighting some important implications.

The first implication is the need for researchers to approach father involvement as heavily influenced by the individual, not just by relationships and other external forces. In researching father involvement, men's beliefs, attitudes, and other personal characteristics should receive greater focus. There has been some great work done in this area by scholars who use identity theory to frame the centrality of the father role in men's lives and its impact on involvement (Adamsons & Pasley, 2013; W. J. Dyer, 2005; Maurer et al., 2001; Rane & McBride, 2000), but such research is too few and far between. One scholar called attention to the lack of father-centric research decades ago (Phares, 1992), and noticed little improvement years later (Phares, Fields, Kamboukos, & Lopez, 2005). Even in recent years, it is difficult to find data with both mothers and fathers reporting, and studies that do involve fathers are often not designed to adequately capture men's perspectives and voices (Macfadyen, Swallow, Santacroce, & Lambert, 2011). Moving the field forward with men's attitudes and beliefs in mind can open the door to research in understanding men's motivation for becoming a parent, and allow for fathering to be studied as an important part of a man's identity, happiness, and positive development (see Palkovitz, 2002).

The second implication is that men should be held much more accountable for unequal parenting and low levels of involvement. Though in the present study it was not possible to measure desire or motivation toward involvement, the use of father attitudes gives clues as to the mechanism through which predictors influence engagement and warmth. Namely, that men face various demands on their time among the different roles they hold, and when faced with demands that might pull them away from their parenting role, they can make decisions to increase or decrease their involvement. If men are more autonomous in this decision making process than previously acknowledged, it is up to researchers to uncover why some men might allow unequal caregiving arrangements or low levels of involvement.

The final implication involves the approach that is taken to increase men's involvement with their children. Typical father education programs focus heavily on relationship skills, parenting skills, communication (Kaminski, Valle, Filene, & Boyle, 2008), employment (Bloomer & Sipe, 2003), substance abuse and mental health (Weinman, Buzi, & Smith, 2005). While these are certainly worthy endeavors, many programs might be incomplete without a greater focus on increasing fathering attitudes. But in order to do so, more research is needed on the factors that lead to higher levels of fathering attitudes and whether they can be increased through intervention.

Limitations

There are several limitations to this study that need to be taken into account. The most important of which is that all of the participant data was self-reported. This can be problematic for a couple of reasons. First, fathers have been found to overestimate their levels of involvement compared to report from mother- and child-reported data (Dyer, Day, & Harper, 2014). Second, the nature of the study itself may lend itself to a problem with shared method variance: men are asked to report how important involvement is to them while also reporting their level of involvement. It stands

to reason that men who report higher levels of fathering attitudes might report higher levels of involvement, whether or not they are actually more involved. Future research should assess mother and child reports of involvement.

Another limitation stems from the cross-sectional nature of the data. Our hypothesis and theorizing of the way fathering attitudes influence the predictors of involvement assumes that this relationship flows in the direction of attitudes influencing involvement, but it is possible that a man's experience with involvement shapes, at least to some extent, his attitudes toward fathering. If men consistently have positive interactions with their children, or perceive that their involvement is positively affecting their children, this might reinforce and strengthen their fathering attitudes. A longitudinal design for future studies in this area would provide better evidence of the direction of affect between fathering attitudes and involvement. Longitudinal data would also help to understand the other factors that influence levels of father involvement.

One hindrance to the study was a lack of an externally validated measure of maternal gatekeeping from the father's perspective. Maternal gatekeeping was originally conceptualized as being rooted in the mother's adherence to stereotypical maternal roles, and that relinquishing control to the father signified weakness or failure on her part (Allen & Hawkins, 1999). Recent conceptualizations are based on the tendency of mothers to assume the primary caregiver role and as such either encourage or discourage father involvement (Schoppe-Sullivan et al., 2008). The measure for gatekeeping in this study was not able to capture with certainty which, if either, of these processes is taking place. Men were only asked whether certain jobs were the mother's sole responsibility. There is a need for a measure of gatekeeping that is designed for father-report.

Future Directions

This study has highlighted the importance of fathering attitudes in predicting involvement, yet very little research has been done in understanding where fathering attitudes come from. A man's history with his own father has been shown to predict fathering attitudes toward financial provision and caregiving (Beaton et al., 2003), but beyond this, very little is known.

Fathering attitudes was used in this study as a sort of proxy for a man's desire or motivation to be involved with his children and to provide the perceived benefits of such involvement. In a more general sense, there has been very little research to understand men's motivation for having children in the first place. Understanding these motivations is becoming more important as decisions about becoming a parent are becoming much less tied to social norms and more about individual decision. In the 80s, college students cited becoming a parent as one of the most important criteria for achieving the social status of adult (Gormly, Gormly, & Weiss, 1987). A mere decade later, only 9% of college students viewed having a child as an important step in becoming an adult (Arnett, 1997). Knowing the motivations men have for becoming a parent can lead to a better understanding of the attitudes, beliefs and choices they enact as fathers, as well as the perceived benefits of involvement for their children and for themselves.

It may be both accurate and concise to sum up this study in the following way: men inevitably face barriers to involvement with their children. How insurmountable and/or influential these barriers are depends much more on a father's will to be involved than previously supposed. Future conceptualization and theorizing about men and the ways they get involved should account for their fathering attitudes, the meaning and importance they give to fatherhood, and their autonomy and agency in enacting the kind of involvement they desire.

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Appendix

Figure 1. Simplified representation of the ecological model by Cabrera et al. (2014) with Father Attitudes added as a moderator

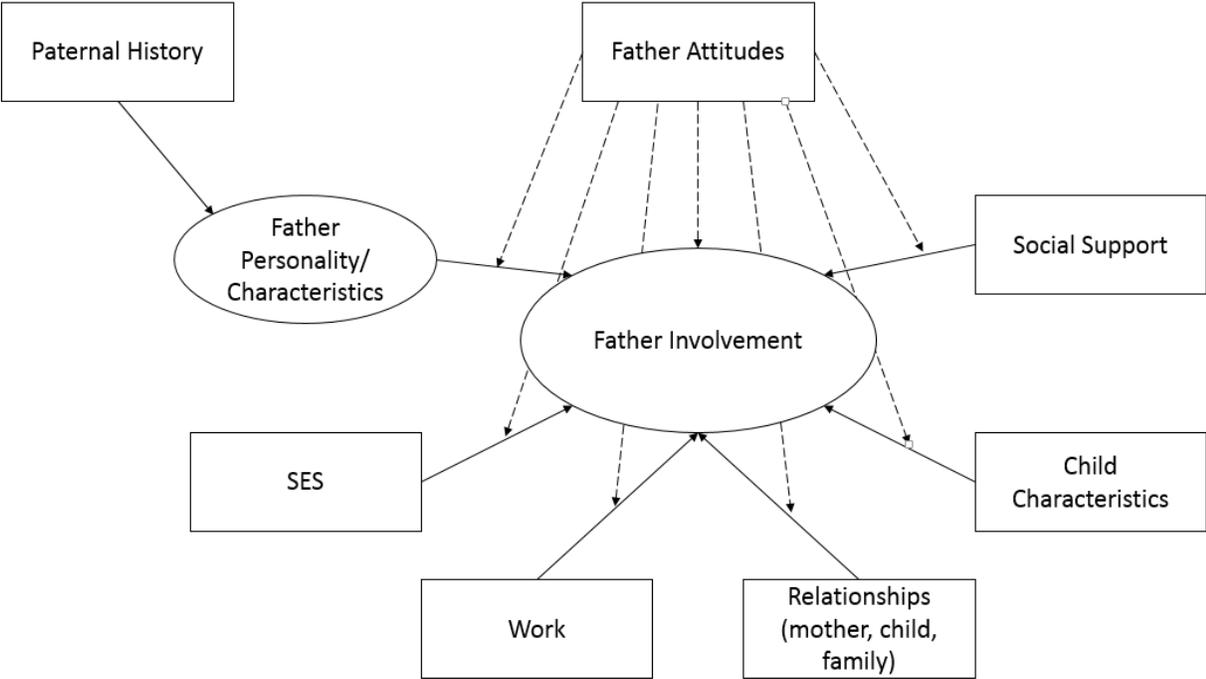
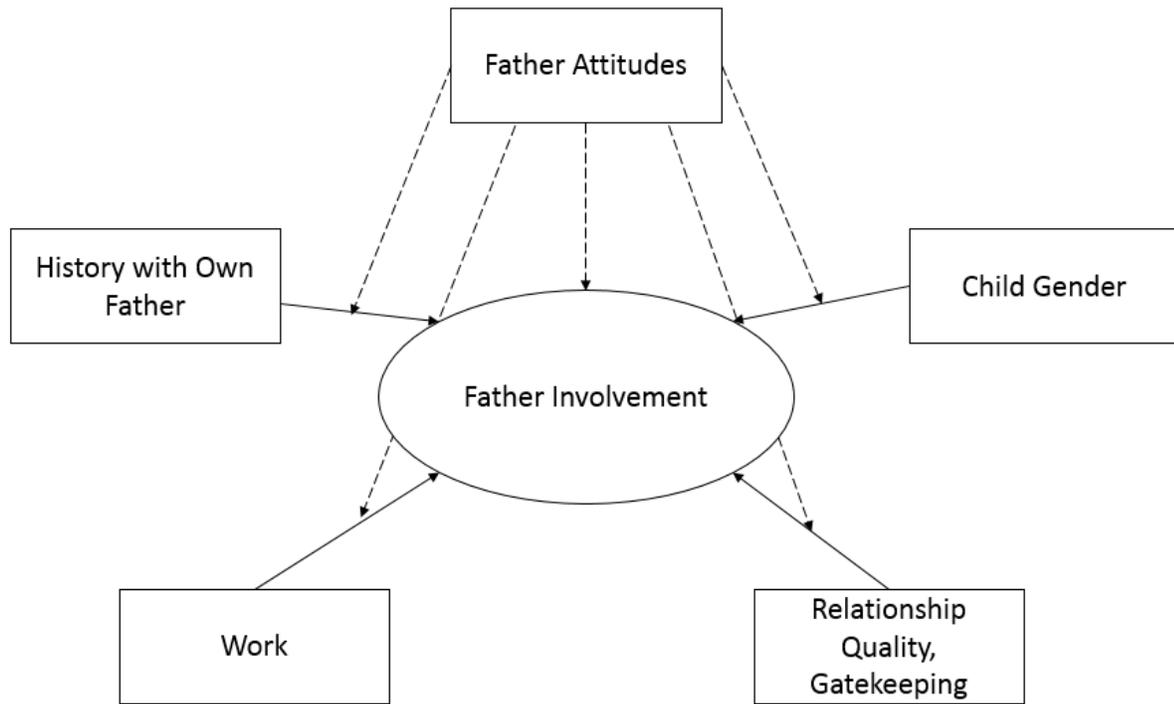


Figure 2. Heuristic model



Note: adapted from Cabrera's model to reflect the available data

Table 1. Basic Demographics

Factor	Overall	Group A (%)	Group B (%)
Father Type			
Biological	72.76	76.11	69.07
Step	20.05	17.41	22.96
Adoptive	5.31	4.69	6.0
Other	1.88	1.79	1.97
Resident Status			
Non-resident	21.93	16.81	27.55
Resident	78.07	83.19	72.45
Race			
Black	9.96	10.72	9.84
White	73.6	70.65	76.85
Hispanic	11.03	13.23	8.62
Other	5.4	6.06	4.69
Child Gender			
Male	57.84	58.96	56.61
Female	42.16	41.04	43.39
Work			
Fathers not working	16.66	16.55	16.78
Employed hrs/week – mean (SD)	42.44 (9.60)	41.92 (9.55)	43.01 (9.63)
Mothers not working	46.99	45.90	48.17
Employed hrs/week – mean (SD)	34.95 (11.26)	34.25 (12.12)	35.75 (10.15)
Age – mean (SD)	39.75 (10.39)	35.17 (8.21)	44.79 (10.2)
Income – mean (SD)	4.76 (2.13)	4.63 (2.04)	4.9 (2.22)
Education – mean (SD)	5.56 (2.15)	5.57 (2.15)	5.54 (2.12)
<i>n</i>	2239	1172	1067

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Group A			Group B		
	Mean	SD	Range	Mean	SD	Range
Engagement	4.17	.82	1 – 7	3.18	.75	1 – 5
Warmth	4.04	.59	1 – 5	3.44	.43	1 – 5
Relationship Quality	3.91	.76	1 – 5	3.96	.77	1 – 5
Maternal Gatekeeping	2.21	.83	1 – 5	2.26	.85	1 – 5
Own father history	2.54	1.11	1 – 5	2.52	1.13	1 – 5
Fathering Attitudes	4.02	.54	1 – 5	4.02	.52	1 – 5

Note: comparisons between warmth and engagement among the age groups is not possible because the measures consist of different items

Table 3. Correlations

Group A	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Engagement	1								
2. Warmth	.28***	1							
3. Relationship quality	.24***	.22***	1						
4. Maternal gatekeeping	-.04	-.42***	-.08**	1					
5. Own father history	-.14***	-.09**	-.28***	-.01	1				
6. Father Work Hrs	-.08**	-.01	.04	.002	-.05	1			
7. Mother Work Hrs	.06*	.03	-.01	-.04	.01	.03	1		
8. Income	.02	-.06*	.01	.09**	-.13***	.25***	.09**	1	
9. Education	-.03	-.06*	.07*	.04	-.18***	.15***	.11***	.49***	1
10. Father Attitudes	.10***	.63***	.18***	-.48***	-.09**	.03	.06*	-.06*	-.05
Group B	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Engagement	1								
2. Warmth	.24***	1							
3. Relationship quality	.27***	.21***	1						
4. Maternal gatekeeping	-.03	-.42***	-.05	1					
5. Own father history	-.16***	-.10***	-.22***	-.05	1				
6. Father Work Hrs	.003	.04	-.01	.02	-.06*	1			
7. Mother Work Hrs	.06	.04	-.01	-.01	-.07*	.12***	1		
8. Income	.03	.01	.01	.04	-.08**	.29***	.11***	1	
9. Education	.01	-.04	.02	.02	-.05	.17***	.13***	.46***	1
10. Father Attitudes	.16***	.61***	.19***	-.46***	-.05	.03	.04	-.01	-.01

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 4. Father attitudes as a predictor of father involvement

	Engage A	Warmth A	Engage B	Warmth B
	b (SE)	b (SE)	b (SE)	b (SE)
Father attitudes	.072 (.052)	.231 (.055)**	.534 (.031)**	.404 (.029)**
Relationship quality	.213 (.035)**	.198 (.034)**	.068 (.020)**	.050 (.015)**
Maternal gatekeeping	-.005 (.034)	.032 (.035)	-.127 (.021)**	-.100 (.017)**
Own father history	-.082 (.024)**	-.049 (.024)*	-.013 (.013)	-.030 (.011)**
Father work hours	-.006 (.001)**	-.001 (.001)	-.002 (.001)*	.000 (.001)
Mother work hours	.003 (.001)*	.000 (.001)	-.002 (.001)*	.000 (.001)
Race	.044 (.034)	.136 (.039)**	.003 (.020)	.001 (.023)
Parent type	-.031 (.042)	-.140 (.043)**	-.037 (.028)	-.017 (.021)
Resident status	-.133 (.096)	-.030 (.072)	.086 (.042)*	.069 (.033)*
Child gender	-.028 (.049)	-.155 (.050)**	.095 (.027)**	.016 (.024)
Income	.020 (.013)	-.006 (.014)	.002 (.007)	.005 (.006)
Education	-.034 (.012)**	.004 (.013)	-.014 (.007)*	-.010 (.006)
Constant	3.534 (.298)**	1.698 (.299)**	2.100 (.177)**	1.927 (.154)**
R^2	.11	.46	.14	.42
N	943	943	807	807

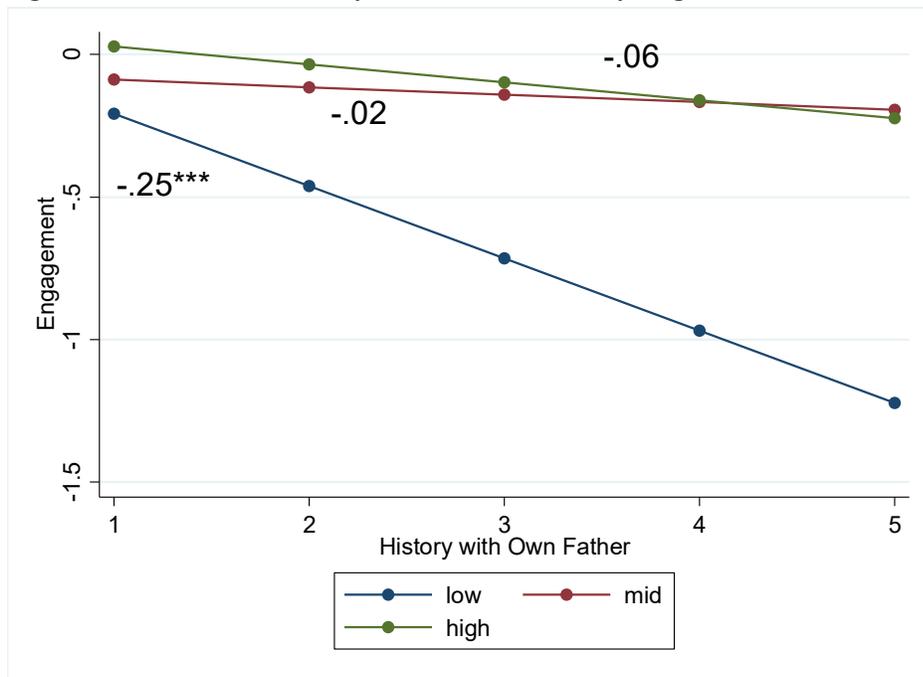
* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$

Table 5. Father attitudes and engagement among 2-8 year olds

Variable	Model 1 b(SE)	Model 2 b(SE)	Model 3 b(SE)	Model 4 b(SE)	Model 5 b(SE)	Model 6 b(SE)	Model 7 b(SE)	Model 8 b(SE)
Medium FA	.377 (.397)	-.063 (.287)	-.667 (.174**)	-.467 (.173**)	-.148 (.106)	-.149 (.078)	-.079 (.088)	-1.018 (.579)
High FA	.83 (.411*)	.315 (.294)	-.422 (.181*)	-.422 (.175*)	-.130 (.118)	.028 (.089)	.121 (.097)	-.534 (.597)
Rel quality	.333 (.093**)	.207 (.035**)	.204 (.035**)	.210 (.035**)	.218 (.035**)	.209 (.035**)	.210 (.035**)	.250 (.101*)
Rel quality x medium FA	-.128 (.103)							-.027 (.112)
Rel quality x high FA	-.195 (.105)							-.091 (.113)
Gatekeeping	-.024 (.034)	.012 (.097)	-.022 (.034)	-.016 (.034)	-.023 (.033)	-.019 (.034)	-.019 (.034)	.016 (.095)
Own father history	-.078 (.024**)	-.080 (.024**)	-.245 (.059**)	-.081 (.024**)	-.082 (.024**)	-.081 (.024**)	-.081 (.024**)	-.254 (.065**)
Father work hours	-.006 (.001**)	-.006 (.001**)	-.006 (.001**)	-.015 (.004**)	-.006 (.001**)	-.006 (.001**)	-.006 (.001**)	-.017 (.004**)
Mother work hours	.003 (.001*)	.003 (.001*)	.003 (.001*)	.003 (.001**)	.000 (.003)	.003 (.001*)	.003 (.001*)	.001 (.003)
Race	.037 (.034)	.037 (.034)	.029 (.034)	.035 (.034)	.032 (.034)	.031 (.034)	.038 (.034)	.017 (.034)
Parent type	-.037 (.042)	-.031 (.042)	-.038 (.042)	-.030 (.041)	-.032 (.042)		-.033 (.042)	
Resident status	-.123 (.096)	-.139 (.096)	-.140 (.097)	-.148 (.095)	-.130 (.095)	-.137 (.095)	-.131 (.095)	-.163 (.095)
Child gender	-.020 (.048)	-.022 (.048)	-.011 (.048)	-.025 (.048)	-.025 (.048)	-.023 (.048)		
Income	.019 (.012)	.019 (.012)	.019 (.012)	.017 (.012)	.018 (.012)	.019 (.012)	.019 (.013)	.017 (.012)
Education	-.034 (.012**)	-.035 (.012**)	-.035 (.012**)	-.035 (.012**)	-.036 (.012**)	-.034 (.012**)	-.034 (.012**)	-.039 (.012**)
Gatekeeping x medium FA		-.006 (.106)						-.006 (.104)
Gatekeeping x high FA		-.114 (.114)						-.124 (.111)
Own father x medium FA			.214 (.066**)					.227 (.072**)
Own father x high FA			.191 (.068**)					.191 (.075*)
Father work x medium FA				.011 (.004*)				.012 (.004**)
Father work x high FA				.014 (.004**)				.016 (.004**)
Mother work x medium FA					.002 (.004)			.001 (.003)
Mother work x high FA					.009 (.004*)			.008 (.004*)
Stepfather						-.253 (.168)		-.268 (.155)
Adoptive father						.013 (.251)		.066 (.223)
Stepfather by med FA						.280 (.189)		.277 (.178)
Stepfather by high FA						-.099 (.292)		-.176 (.267)
Adoptive by med FA						.284 (.2)		.302 (.189)
Adoptive by high FA						-.088 (.275)		-.097 (.252)
Child gender							.041 (.122)	.077 (.116)
Child gender by med FA							-.061 (.138)	-.098 (.133)
Child gender by high FA							-.110 (.147)	-.165 (.14)
Constant	3.454 (.379**)	3.826 (.317**)	4.377 (.249**)	4.228 (.236**)	3.964 (.214**)	3.95 (.209**)	3.876 (.209**)	4.588 (.523**)
r ²	.120	.118	.131	.130	.123	.120	.117	.16

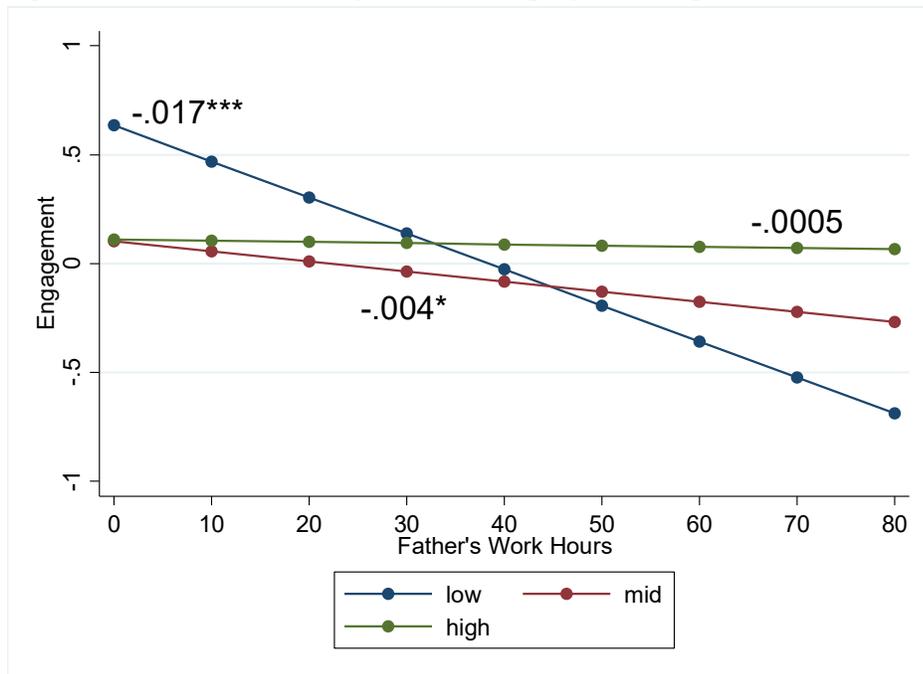
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Figure 3. Father Attitudes by Own Father History, Ages 2-8.



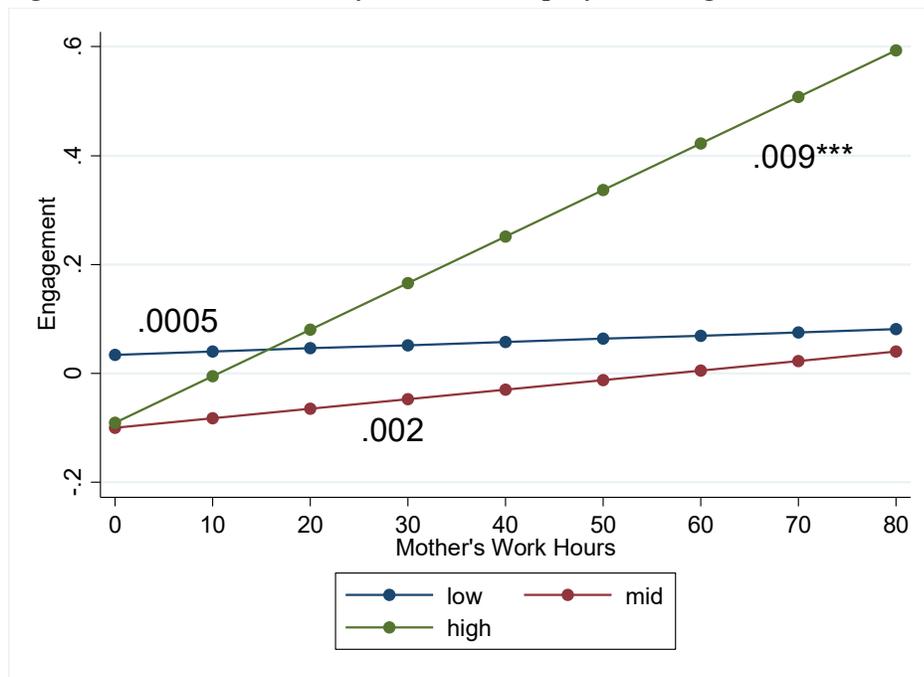
Note: * p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p<.001

Figure 4. Father Attitudes by Father's Employment, Ages 2-8



Note: * p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p<.001

Figure 5. Father Attitudes by Mother's Employment, Ages 2-8



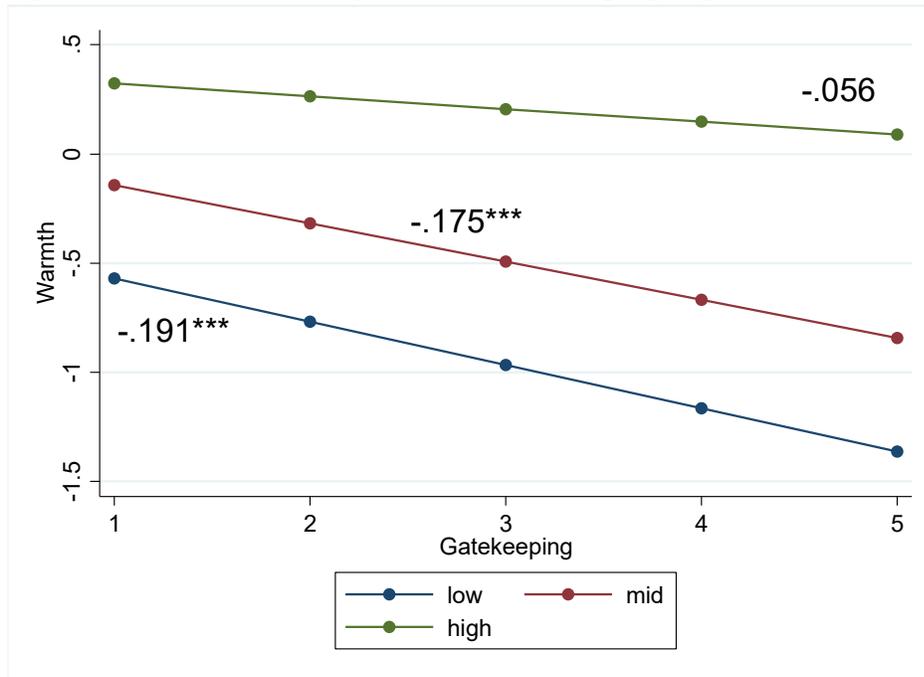
Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 6. Father attitudes and warmth among 2-8 year olds

Variable	Model 1 b(SE)	Model 2 b(SE)	Model 3 b(SE)	Model 4 b(SE)	Model 5 b(SE)	Model 6 b(SE)	Model 7 b(SE)	Model 8 b(SE)	
Medium FA	.891 (.223**)	.379 (.172*)	.410 (.099**)	.480 (.101**)	.415 (.054**)	.436 (.042**)	.522 (.051**)	.735 (.305*)	
High FA	1.385 (.240**)	.429 (.175*)	.627 (.103**)	.785 (.098**)	.703 (.060**)	.723 (.048**)	.836 (.056**)	.875 (.329**)	
Rel quality	.183 (.052**)	.081 (.021**)	.077 (.021**)	.077 (.021**)	.079 (.021**)	.075 (.021**)	.078 (.021**)	.175 (.058**)	
Rel quality x medium FA	-1.113 (.058)								
Rel quality x high FA	-1.162 (.061**)								
Gatekeeping	-1.151 (.020**)	-.201 (.057**)	-.149 (.020**)	-.148 (.020**)	-.148 (.020**)	-.147 (.020**)	-.145 (.020**)	-.191 (.056**)	
Own father history	-.012 (.013)	-.015 (.013)	-.04 (.032)	-.014 (.013)	-.015 (.013)	-.016 (.013)	-.015 (.013)	-.027 (.035)	
Father work hours	-.002 (.001*)	-.002 (.001)	-.002 (.001*)	-.001 (.002)	-.002 (.001)	-.002 (.001*)	-.002 (.001*)	-.002 (.002)	
Mother work hours	-.002 (.001**)	-.002 (.001**)	-.002 (.001**)	-.002 (.001**)	-.004 (.002*)	-.002 (.001*)	-.002 (.001**)	-.004 (.002*)	
Race	.003 (.021)	.004 (.02)	.002 (.02)	.003 (.02)	.003 (.02)	-.001 (.021)	.005 (.02)	.000 (.02)	
Parent type	-.044 (.027)	-.042 (.027)	-.040 (.027)	-.041 (.028)	-.040 (.027)	-.040 (.027)			
Resident status	.077 (.044)	.079 (.044)	.069 (.044)	.071 (.044)	.068 (.044)	.062 (.044)	.070 (.043)	.075 (.044)	
Child gender	.122 (.028**)	.120 (.028**)	.121 (.028**)	.121 (.028**)	.121 (.028**)	.115 (.028**)			
Income	.002 (.007)	.002 (.007)	.002 (.007)	.002 (.007)	.001 (.007)	.000 (.007)	.003 (.007)	.000 (.007)	
Education	-.015 (.007*)	-.014 (.007*)	-.015 (.007*)	-.015 (.007*)	-.015 (.007*)	-.016 (.007*)	-.015 (.007*)	-.015 (.007*)	
Gatekeeping x medium FA	.025 (.063)								
Gatekeeping x high FA	.154 (.067*)								
Own father x medium FA			.023 (.036)						
Own father x high FA			.053 (.038)						
Father work x medium FA				.000 (.003)					
Father work x high FA				-.001 (.002)					
Mother work x medium FA					.003 (.002)				
Mother work x high FA					.003 (.002)				
Stepfather						-.271 (.102**)		-.238 (.098*)	
Adoptive father						.142 (.146)		.083 (.159)	
Stepfather by med FA						.222 (.117)		.188 (.113)	
Stepfather by high FA						-.162 (.177)		-.105 (.188)	
Adoptive by med FA						.252 (.123*)		.200 (.117)	
Adoptive by high FA						-.206 (.178)		-.155 (.187)	
Child gender							.249 (.069**)		.230 (.068**)
Child gender by med FA							-.142 (.08)		-.125 (.079)
Child gender by high FA							-.192 (.082*)		-.170 (.081*)
Constant	3.438 (.213**)	3.957 (.172**)	3.904 (.153**)	3.813 (.145**)	3.865 (.127**)	3.892 (.124**)	3.769 (.125**)	3.679 (.276**)	
r ²	.441	.442	.437	.436	.437	.443	.439	.459	

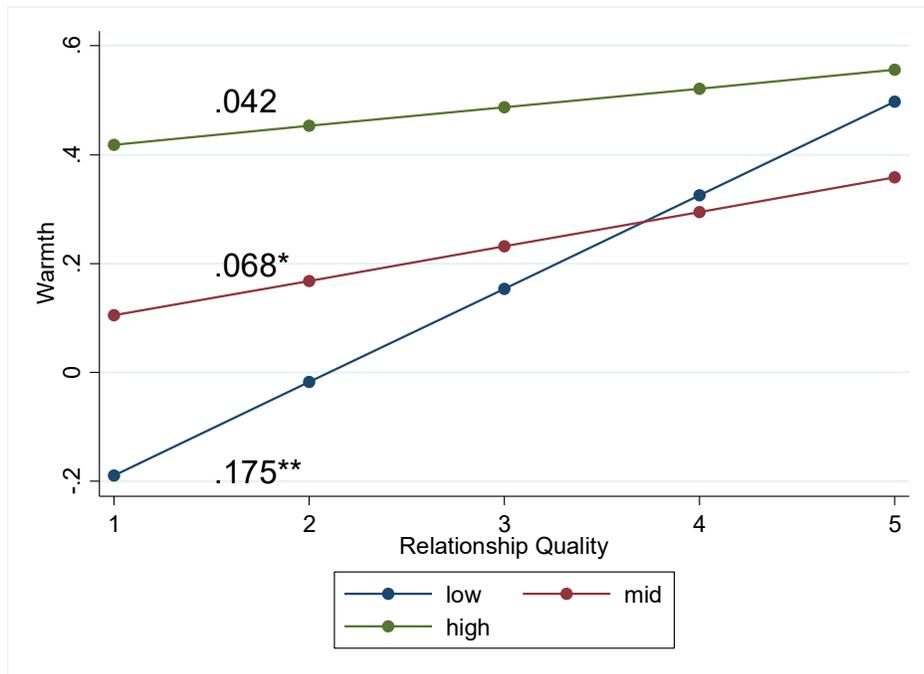
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Figure 6. Father Attitudes by Maternal Gatekeeping, Ages 2-8



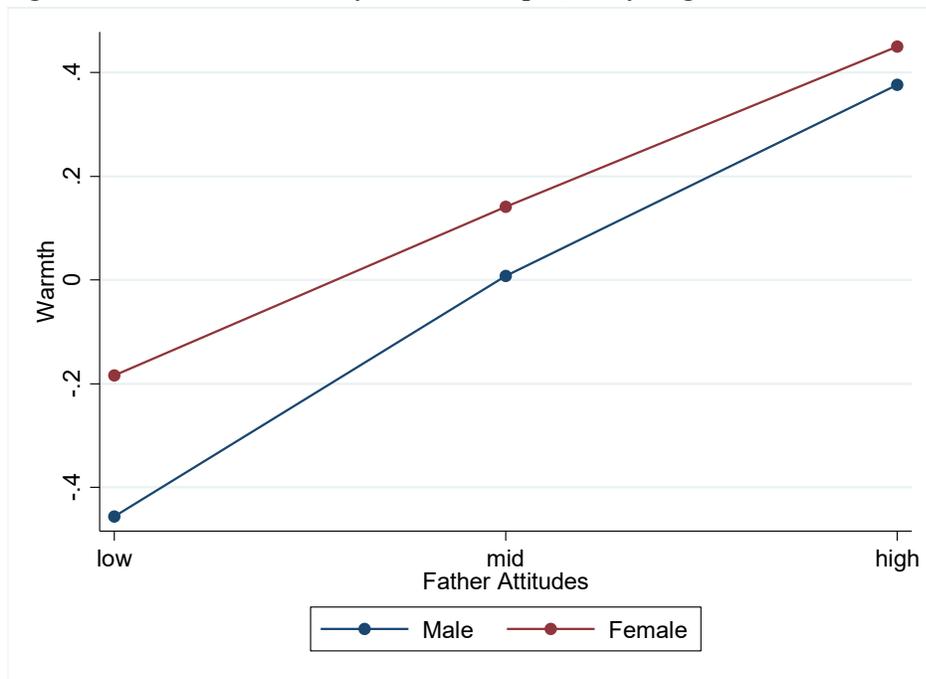
Note: * p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p<.001

Figure 7. Father Attitudes by Relationship Quality, Ages 9-18



Note: * p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p<.001

Figure 8. Father Attitudes by Relationship Quality, Ages 2-8



Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 7. Father attitudes and engagement among 9-18 year olds

Variable	Model 1 b(SE)	Model 2 b(SE)	Model 3 b(SE)	Model 4 b(SE)
Medium FA	.717 (.321*)	-.042 (.182)	.229 (.076**)	.483 (.392)
High FA	1.035 (.379**)	.040 (.192)	.401 (.092**)	.640 (.439)
Rel quality	.317 (.072**)	.190 (.034**)	.190 (.034**)	.276 (.074**)
Rel quality x medium FA	-.150 (.085)			-.108 (.087)
Rel quality x high FA	-.181 (.097)			-.125 (.098)
Gatekeeping	.019 (.035)	.022 (.035)	.019 (.035)	.022 (.035)
Own father history	-.045 (.024)	-.123 (.060*)	-.046 (.024)	-.103 (.059)
Father work hours	-.001 (.001)	-.001 (.001)	-.001 (.001)	-.001 (.001)
Mother work hours	.000 (.001)	.000 (.001)	.000 (.001)	.000 (.001)
Race	.135 (.039**)	.142 (.039**)	.136 (.039**)	.133 (.039**)
Parent type	-.138 (.043**)	-.133 (.043**)	-.133 (.042**)	-.130 (.043**)
Resident status	-.045 (.073)	-.043 (.072)		
Child gender	-.146 (.050**)	-.145 (.050**)	-.151 (.050**)	-.148 (.050**)
Income	-.007 (.014)	-.006 (.014)	-.005 (.014)	-.006 (.014)
Education	.000 (.013)	.000 (.013)	.003 (.013)	.001 (.013)
Own father x medium FA		.078 (.067)		.058 (.067)
Own father x high FA		.120 (.072)		.098 (.072)
Resident status			.215 (.139)	.191 (.143)
Resident status x medium FA			-.357 (.172*)	-.333 (.175)
Resident Status x high FA			-.304 (.193)	-.289 (.197)
Constant	2.055 (.304**)	2.716 (.252**)	2.463 (.208**)	2.291 (.360**)
r ²	.120	.131	.117	.133

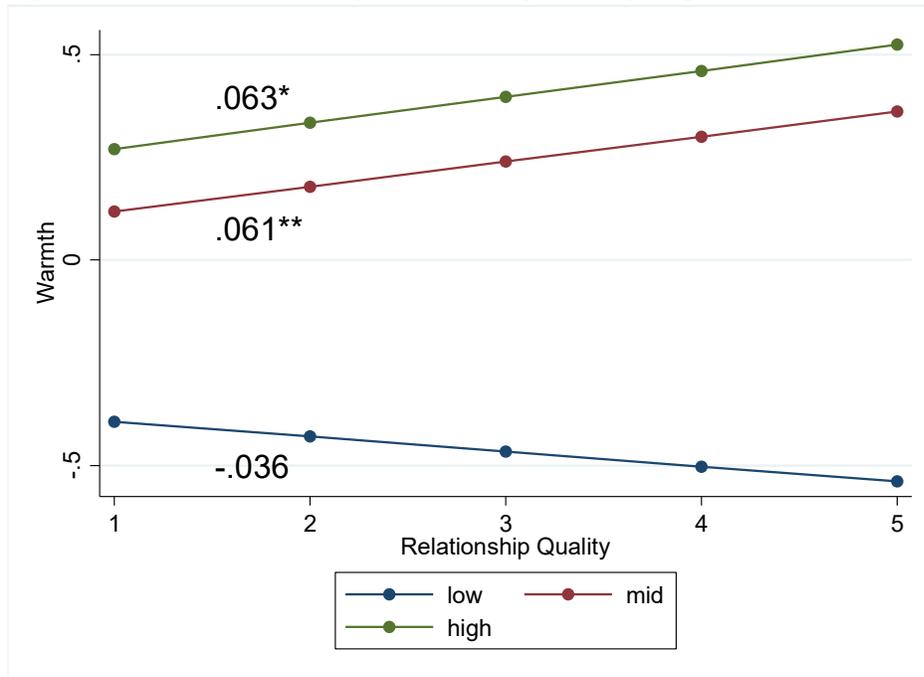
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Table 8. Father attitudes and warmth among 9-18 year olds

Variable	Model 1 b(SE)	Model 2 b(SE)	Model 3 b(SE)	Model 4 b(SE)
Medium FA	.079 (.174)	.257 (.088**)	.418 (.060**)	-.108 (.212)
High FA	.186 (.191)	.425 (.091**)	.636 (.064**)	.094 (.224)
Rel quality	-.023 (.043)	.041 (.016*)	.043 (.016**)	-.036 (.042)
Rel quality x medium FA	.084 (.047)			.098 (.047*)
Rel quality x high FA	.094 (.05)			.100 (.049*)
Gatekeeping	-.122 (.018**)	-.121 (.018**)	-.123 (.018**)	-.122 (.018**)
Own father history	-.032 (.011**)	-.030 (.011**)	-.031 (.011**)	-.033 (.010**)
Father work hours	.000 (.001)	-.003 (.002)	.000 (.001)	-.004 (.002)
Mother work hours	.000 (.001)	.000 (.001)	.002 (.002)	.001 (.002)
Race	.009 (.024)	.008 (.024)	.007 (.024)	.013 (.024)
Parent type	-.009 (.021)	-.012 (.021)	-.012 (.021)	-.015 (.021)
Resident status	.066 (.034)	.066 (.034)	.065 (.034)	.073 (.034*)
Child gender	.030 (.024)	.030 (.024)	.032 (.024)	.031 (.024)
Income	.007 (.006)	.006 (.006)	.007 (.006)	.007 (.006)
Education	-.011 (.006)	-.012 (.006*)	-.012 (.006*)	-.011 (.006)
Own father x medium FA		.004 (.002)		.005 (.002*)
Own father x high FA		.004 (.002)		.005 (.002*)
Resident status			.167 (.059)	-.167 (.084)
Resident status x medium FA			-.107 (.073)	-.107 (.091)
Resident Status x high FA			-.161 (.083)	-.161 (.109)
Constant	3.546 (.162**)	3.415 (.121**)	3.266 (.106**)	3.697 (.194**)
r ²	.412	.412	.411	.407

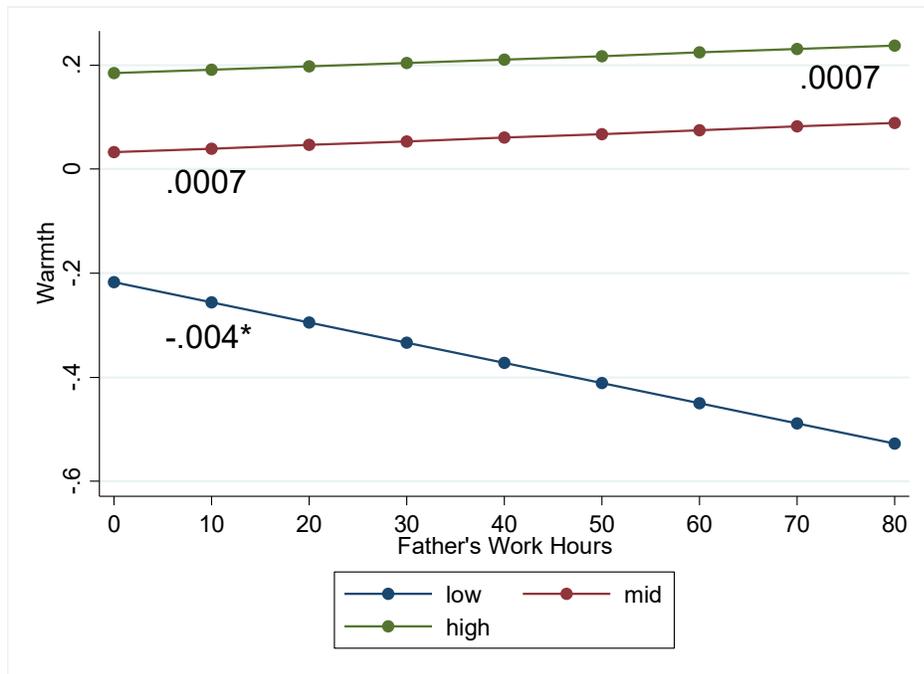
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Figure 9. Father Attitudes by Relationship Quality, Ages 9-18



Note: * p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p<.001

Figure 10. Father Attitudes by Father's Employment, Ages 9-18



Note: * p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p<.001