

**The Sting of Disappointment:
Father-Daughter Relationships in Low-Income African American Families**

Rebekah Levine Coley

Lynch School of Education
Boston College
140 Commonwealth Ave.
Chestnut Hill, MA 02467
617.552.6018
coleyre@bc.edu

P. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale

Northwestern University

Date of submission: 7 December, 2000

This research was funded through generous support from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Ford Foundation, and the Harrison Steans Foundation. We are also appreciative of support from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation to the second author as a member of the Network on the Family and the Economy. Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the meetings of the Population Association of America, Chicago, IL, April, 1998 and the conference on Conflict and Cooperation in Families, Bethesda, MD, March, 2000. The authors thank Emma Adam and Laura Pittman for helpful feedback, Larry Ludlow for statistical consultation, and especially the families of the Families and Communities study for their participation and insight.

December, 2000

Abstract

This study examines the role and influence of fathers and father figures in the lives of African American adolescent girls (N=302) from a representative sample of poor and low-income families. Sixty five percent of the adolescents identified a primary father, of whom two-thirds were biological fathers and one-third were father figures. Adolescent girls reported more contentious and less close relationships with biological fathers than with father figures. Multivariate regression analyses indicated that fathers' emotional disengagement predicted greater depressive symptomatology and behavioral problems for adolescents, while fathers' level of positive engagement was not predictive of youth outcomes. Moreover, fathers' emotional and physical disengagement had an *additive* detrimental link with adolescent functioning, with the most problematic emotional and behavioral functioning apparent in girls whose fathers were both emotionally alienated and physically absent from their lives.

The Sting of Disappointment:

Father-Daughter Relationships in Low-Income African American Families

Introduction

Although recent years have seen a substantial increase in research on the role and influence of fathers in children's lives, many gaps remain. In particular, little is known about nonresidential fathers, especially never-married men, and father figures, that is men who are not biological fathers yet play a father-like role to children. For African American children, 80% of whom will spend at least a portion of their childhood without a residential father (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1999), this dearth of knowledge is particularly striking. Moreover, most research on African American children has not addressed the psychological and relational aspects of fathers' roles in family life (Coley, in press).

In this study, we take a fine-grained look at the role of fathers and father figures in the lives of African American female adolescents. Recent scholarship has called for greater attention to the often-ignored relationship of African American girls and their fathers, noting the centrality of this relationship to girls' growing conceptions of themselves as individuals and as partners in future romantic relationships (Barras, 2000; Way & Gillman, 2000; Way & Stauber, 1996). In particular, we consider how girls themselves identify and define their primary father and their psychological attachment to him, focusing on the constructs of trust and communication, and anger and alienation in the parent-child relationship. We embed this analysis in the context of families' lives, considering the impact of individual, family, and household characteristics.

Conceptualizing Fathering in Low-Income African American Families

The vast majority of research on fathers and children focuses on married, middle-class, and European American samples (Coley, in press). While low-income and nonresidential fathers are receiving an increasing amount of attention from policy makers and the public on issues such as welfare receipt, nonmarital childbearing, and child support, research attention has lagged behind (Tamis-LeMonda & Cabrera, 1999). Beyond fathers' residential status and financial contributions, little is known

about how low-income and nonresidential men parent, or about how their behaviors and family connectedness affect child development (Coley, in press).

Moreover, theorists are increasingly vocal concerning the need to attend to the social, cultural, and ethnic contexts within which families function, and to embed child development research in a richer contextual fabric (Coltrane & Parke, 1998; McAdoo, 1993). Most of the prior research on nonresidential fathers and their children has focused predominantly on child support payments and visitation frequency, making this warning particularly relevant. As Cabrera and her colleagues (Cabrera, Tamis-LeMonda, Bradley, Hofferth, & Lamb, 2000) stated in a recent paper on fatherhood scholarship in the 21st century, "Theoretical models of parenting must be reformulated to accommodate new family structures as well as culturally diverse conceptions of fatherhood" (p.129).

Research on African Americans has attended to such issues with more frequency than other family literatures. A history of scholarly work on African American family life has noted the importance of the social and economic environment, as well as long-standing cultural traditions, in shaping the patterns and practices of childbearing, marriage, and parenting within African American families in the U.S. (Billingsley, 1968; Chase-Lansdale, Brooks-Gunn, & Zamsky, 1994; Coley & Chase-Lansdale, 1999; Edin, 2000; Furstenberg, 1995; Gadsden, 1999; Jarrett, 1994; McAdoo, 1993; McLoyd, 1990; Patterson, 1998; Spencer & Depree, 1996; Stack, 1975; Stier & Tienda, 1993; Sullivan, 1993; Taylor, Jackson, & Chatters, 1997; Wilson, 1987, 1996).

The importance of extended family or additional household members who play a familial role has also been an important thread throughout literature on African American families. While more recent research has questioned earlier claims that low-income African American families have more extensive social support networks and deeper kin ties than European Americans and other family types (Amato, 1995; Billingsley, 1992; Gadsden, 1999; Stack, 1975), nonetheless, extended family and fictive kin appear to hold a significant role in African American families. Given the twin histories of extensive kin support and the prevalence of single-mother households, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that father

figures may provide an especially important source of support for African American children (Black, Dubowitz, & Starr, 1999; Coley, 1998; Jayakody & Kalil, 2000).

The Presence of Fathers in Low-Income, African American Families

Rates of nonmarital births hover around 32% for all American children, and they are substantially higher, close to 70%, in the African American community (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1999). When one includes the divorce rate, which remains at about 50% over the life course, demographic patterns indicate that about one half of European American children and 80% of African American children will spend at least a portion of their childhood in a single-parent household, typically headed by a mother (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1999). These numbers indicate that a majority of African American fathers are not engaged in the traditional married parenting role.

Yet, contrary to the rather dire picture painted by such statistics, numerous studies indicate that many low-income African American children and youth from single mother households maintain relationships with either biological fathers or father figures. Nationally representative data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY) in the 1980's indicate that about one half of nonresidential African American fathers of young children visit their children regularly and provide financial support (Lerman, 1993). Similar findings have been reported in smaller samples of low-income African American fathers (Coley & Chase-Lansdale, 1999; Stier & Tienda, 1993; Sullivan, 1993). Limited data on low-income African American adolescents indicate lower rates of father involvement, with about one third of fathers remaining involved with their adolescent children (Furstenberg & Harris, 1993).

Moreover, unmarried African American men have been found to be more involved with their children than their counterparts from other racial and ethnic groups (Lerman, 1993; Seltzer, 1991; Stier & Tienda, 1993). Coley has proposed that this pattern may be due to a stronger shared cultural understanding of the role and responsibilities of unmarried and nonresidential fathers in the African American community, linked to the prevalence of single mother families in this group (Coley, in press).

In addition to their relationships with biological fathers, a significant minority of children in single mother households appear to have access to an alternative father figure. In two recent studies of low-income African American families with preschool age children, one third to one half of mothers reported a father figure who was involved with their child, the majority of whom were maternal partners (Black, Dubowitz & Starr, 1999; Jayakody & Kalil, 2000). Slightly lower rates of father figure-child relationships, around 25%, have been reported by school-age children (Coley, 1998) and adolescents (Furstenberg & Harris, 1993).

Fathers' Influence on Adolescent Psychological and Behavioral Functioning

These data indicate that a significant proportion of African American children and adolescents from unmarried mother households appear to have access to a biological father or father figure. However, knowing about a father's availability tells us little about his influence on his child's healthy functioning. Numerous theoretical models have been proposed for how fathers might influence child development. Lamb (1997) focuses on the tripartite structure of paternal engagement (direct contact), accessibility (presence and availability), and responsibility (financial support, organizational support), while Amato (1998) has similarly proposed four modes of influence through direct and indirect social capital, human capital, and financial capital. In this paper, we will focus primarily on the impact of fathers' involvement and the quality of their relationships with children, that is the social capital that they provide through their engagement and accessibility.

In a recent review of literature on nonresidential fathers, Amato and Gilbreth (1999) proposed emotional closeness, authoritative parenting practices (high levels of warmth combined with firm and consistent limit-setting and discipline), and economic support as the centrally important indices of paternal involvement with children. Their meta-analysis of recent research indicated that all three of these indices predicted lower internalizing and externalizing problem behaviors and greater academic success in children and youth. Moreover, the authors found no consistent evidence that the influence of nonresidential fathers varies by the child's race, age or gender, or by parental marital status (divorced or never-married). Similarly, a review of research on primarily low-income, minority, and nonresidential

fathers (Coley, in press) found that many aspects of father-child relationships, including emotional closeness, nurturance, activities, and parenting style, predicted children's and youth's internalizing or emotional health (Furstenberg & Harris, 1993; Zimmerman, Salem, & Maton, 1995), externalizing or behavioral problems (Coley, 1998), and cognitive development and academic attainment (Black, Dubowitz, & Starr, 1999; Coley 1998; Furstenberg & Harris, 1993; Mosley & Thomson, 1995). A few of these studies consider father figures as well as biological fathers, and generally find similarly positive relationships between father figure involvement and child functioning (Coley, 1998; Furstenberg & Harris, 1993; Zimmerman et al., 1995). In short, a growing body of research is delineating several pathways through which engaged and supportive fathers and father figures can bolster healthy child adjustment.

Yet not all parent-child relationships *are* engaged and supportive, and a number of recent studies have highlighted the possibility of detrimental outcomes linked to some aspects of father-child relationships. In particular, paternal disengagement and contentious or alienated father-child relationships have been found to predict poor socio-emotional functioning in youth. A recent study of African American and European American adolescents with both residential and nonresidential biological fathers found that nonresidential fathers' involvement was protective for European American youth, predicting lower levels of delinquent behaviors and drug use, but detrimental for African American boys, with nonresidential father involvement predicting high levels of delinquency and drug use (Thomas, Farrell, & Barnes, 1996). Racial differences were found in the influence of fathering practices on youth psychological functioning in a study of rural youth as well. For African American youth, paternal rejection was related to higher levels of psychological maladjustment, whereas both father involvement and rejection were predictive of White adolescents' psychological functioning (Veneziano & Rohner, 1998).

This theme of certain aspects of fathering behaviors predicting detrimental outcomes for African American youth is highlighted in longitudinal data from the Baltimore study of African American adolescent parents as well. In a follow-up study when children from the sample were adolescents, the

authors found that a strong attachment to a father or father figure in early/mid adolescence, especially if the father resided with the teen, predicted better academic outcomes, lower rates of adolescent pregnancy and imprisonment, and better mental health in later adolescence and early adulthood (Furstenberg & Harris, 1993). In contrast, youth who had had a close relationship with a father in childhood that then deteriorated, and those who had consistently negative father-child relationships during adolescence showed worse outcomes than youth who had no relationship at all with their father or a father figure.

From these results it appears that fathers' disengagement from or negative emotional relationships with their children are linked with problematic functioning for youth, particularly internalizing and externalizing emotional and behavioral problems. However, many questions remain concerning the interplay between physical versus emotional engagement and the role of family and cultural contexts in moderating the impact of father-child relationships on child functioning.

The Present Study

In this study, we explore the complex relationships between adolescents and their fathers, employing a representative sample of African American families with adolescent daughters in impoverished urban neighborhoods. The survey information on fathers, reported by adolescents, used an open sampling framework to allow the respondents themselves to identify their primary paternal figure. We focus particularly on the emotional attachment relationships between daughters and fathers to further explore past findings concerning the importance of parental engagement and disengagement. In addition, the study attends to possible moderating and interactive influences of paternal identity (biological father versus father figure) and the level of father involvement.

More specifically, we address the following questions: In this sample of low-income African American adolescent girls, how available are fathers and father figures? Who fulfills paternal roles, and what do father-daughter relationships look like emotionally? How does paternal engagement versus disengagement relate to adolescent girls' psychosocial functioning? Are the impacts of paternal engagement and disengagement moderated by fathers' identity or level of physical accessibility?

Methods

Data for this study come from The Families in Communities (FIC) study, a survey of African American families with adolescent daughters in three low-income neighborhoods in Chicago. The FIC study set out to explore the stresses facing African American families in poverty neighborhoods and the strengths and strategies that families bring to bear in raising healthy daughters under these circumstances. Due to the study's focus on the intersection between economic issues (e.g., welfare use and poverty), family functioning, and particular youth outcomes (e.g., premarital childbearing), in addition to a need to acquire a sample size with adequate statistical power, the sample focused solely on female adolescents. Similar work with male adolescents would need to employ alternate measures of central family processes and youth outcomes. Targeted families in the FIC study included households with an adolescent girl aged 15-18 and a primary female caregiver. Both the adolescent and female caregiver from each family were interviewed. Due to the prevalence of single-mother households, the presence of a father or primary male caregiver was not a sampling criterion, and male caregivers were not interviewed.

The sampling areas for the FIC were three high poverty neighborhoods on the south side of Chicago. According to Census records, 78% percent of the children in these neighborhoods lived in female-headed households, and less than half of the adults were employed (47% of men and 43% of women over the age of 16) or had a high school degree (46% of adults aged 25 and over). The median household income was just over \$12,000, with 48% of all people and 64% of all children living in households with incomes below the federal poverty line. Ninety-seven percent of the population was African American.

Sampling

The sample was derived through a randomized block selection technique designed to create a sample which is representative of the population under study, that is adolescent African American girls living in the targeted impoverished urban neighborhoods. Eighteen census blocks within the study area were randomly selected with probability proportional to the size of the African American female population age 15-18. Although a block quota technique using 1990 Census figures was initially

instituted to ensure a dispersion of sample cases within the study area, it soon became apparent that the 1990 Census data were not reliable for a small number of study areas because of out-migration and high vacancy rates. Thus, a door-to-door enumeration of households and qualified respondents was undertaken in the randomly chosen 18 census blocks, yielding 491 qualified households¹. The research plan called for a sample of 300 families: 302 pairs of mothers and daughters (62% of the qualified families) completed interviews, 4% refused to participate, and 35% were not interviewed prior to completion of fielding².

Data Collection

Interviews were conducted in respondents' households during the summer and fall of 1996 by professional, predominantly African American female interviewers. Data collection consisted of separate face-to-face interviews of approximately 75 minutes each with daughters and mothers, and mail-back paper-and-pencil questionnaires for the daughters (95% of the adolescents from the survey completed questionnaires). Mothers were paid \$20 for a completed interview, and teens were paid \$20 for the interview and \$10 for the questionnaire. In this paper, the demographic characteristics used as control variables were reported by mothers, while daughters reported on father-daughter relationships and on their own functioning in emotional and behavioral realms.

Measures

Demographic variables. In the multivariate analyses described below, numerous demographic characteristics of families were statistically controlled, to partial out their effects from those of the exogenous variables of interest. Such demographic variables include Teen Age, Mother Age, Mother Education, mother marital status, measured through two dummy variables indicating whether the mother is Married or is Cohabiting with a partner (single is the omitted category), and Biological Mother, a dummy variable indicating that the primary caregiver is the adolescents' biological mother, as opposed to an alternative female caregiver.

Financial security. Two measures of family financial security are also included as control variables. Mothers reported on household income using a detailed process of listing each member of the

household, and then reporting each member's income from a variety of sources, including employment, welfare, food stamps, Social Security Income, unemployment benefits, child support, informal employment, and other sources. The income of the entire household (minus in-kind income such as food stamps, not included in the federal poverty line) was summed and then compared to the federal poverty standards for 1996 for the appropriately-sized household, thus producing a measure of Income-to-Needs³. Mothers also completed a measure of Financial Strain, a series of 6 items asking how much difficulty the family has paying bills; how often they have to borrow money to pay bills, put off buying something they need, or can afford to do something just for fun; whether they have enough money for basic necessities; and whether they end up with enough or not enough money left over at the end of the month (all coded on 4- or 5-level scales). These items were adapted from scales developed by Conger (Conger, Ge, Elder, Lorenz, & Simons, 1994) and McLoyd (McLoyd, Jayaratne, Ceballo, & Borquez, 1994). Responses were standardized and averaged, with a cronbach's alpha of .81. Beyond measuring financial resources, this measure also taps into the household's financial stress and their ability to manage and function with the resources they have available (Coley & Chase-Lansdale, 2000).

Father Variables. Adolescents reported extensive information about their relationships with their biological fathers and alternative father figures. This study used a non-directive method of identifying the adolescent's primary father by allowing each respondent to report whether or not she had a relationship with someone "who is like a father" to her. If the adolescent answered affirmatively, she then reported her fathers' identity, residential history, current contact, and the quality of their emotional relationship. Paternal identity is denoted by two categories, Biological Father and Father Figure (which includes stepfathers, maternal partners, relatives, and nonkin). Residential and contact information was combined into a 3-level variable, operationalized in multivariate analyses as two dummy variables in order to consider nonlinear effects. Lives with father indicates that the adolescent currently resides with her nominated father. High Contact indicates that the adolescent does not live with her father, but spends time with him once a month or more. The variable Low Contact, indicating contact less frequently than once per month, is the omitted category in multivariate analyses.

Adolescents reported on the quality of the father-daughter relationship using a shortened version of Armsden & Greenberg's Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA, Armsden & Greenberg, 1987), developed to assess adolescents' emotional attachment to their parents and peers through the dimensions of trust, communication, and anger and alienation. The IPPA taps into persons' "internal working models" of attachments figures by assessing both the positive and negative affective and cognitive experiences of trust and anger, developed through a history of accessibility and responsiveness versus unresponsiveness and inconsistency with the attachment figure (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987). Attachment to parental figures has been shown to predict better psychological adjustment in numerous realms for children, youth, and adults (e.g., Bowlby, 1982; Cassidy & Shaver, 1999). Previous research has indicated strong internal and test-retest reliability, and convergent and construct validity for the IPPA (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987). The current study used the 14 highest loading items from the original 25-item scale, each answered on a 5-point likert scale ranging from "never" to "always." Factor analysis of this revised measure led to the creation of two scales: Trust & Communication (8 items, $\alpha=.88$) with items such as My father accepts me as I am; When we discuss things, my father cares about my point of view; I trust my father; I get a lot of attention from my father, and Anger & Alienation (6 items, $\alpha = .63$), with items such as I feel angry with my father; I get upset a lot more than my father knows about; Talking over my problems with my father makes me feel ashamed or foolish.

Relationship with mother. Daughters also reported on their relationship with their mother using the shortened IPPA. The subscales of Trust & Communication ($\alpha=.88$) and Anger & Alienation ($\alpha=.68$) were created for the mother-daughter relationship as well.

Adolescent Functioning. Adolescent functioning in emotional and behavioral realms are considered, tapping into internalizing and externalizing problematic functioning. All outcome measures were adolescent report through the self-administered questionnaire. Internalizing is measured through a scale of Depression, the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CES-D; Radloff, 1977). The CES-D contains 20 items which ask about several components of depressive symptomatology including depressed mood, feelings of guilt and worthlessness, psychomotor retardation, loss of appetite,

and sleep disturbance, answered on a 4-point likert scale (1 = rarely, 4 = all the time) for how often the respondent has felt this way in the past week. The psychometric properties of the CES-D are well established, with strong internal consistency, and discriminant and convergent validity (Radloff, 1977). Items were summed to create a total score ($\alpha=.80$) with higher scores indicating more depressive symptomatology.

Two externalizing outcome measures are considered, School Problems and Delinquency. Adolescents reported on their experiences with various school behavioral problems, including how frequently in the past year they had cheated on a test, copied homework, been late to a class, skipped school, gotten in a physical fight at school or work, gotten suspended, or had their parents called in for a school meeting due to disciplinary or other problems. These items came from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY; Borus, Carpenter, Crowley, Daymont, et al, 1982) and the Youth Deviance Scale (Gold, 1970 and used by Steinberg, Mounst, Lamborn, & Dornbusch, 1991). Item scores were standardized and averaged to create a scale of School Problems ($\alpha=.70$), with higher scores indicating more problems.

In addition, 19 other items from the NLSY and Youth Deviance Scale considered more serious criminal and delinquent acts, such as getting in trouble with police, carrying a weapon, using or selling drugs, and stealing. Reports covered the past year, with response categories ranging from 1 = never to 4 = often. These items were also standardized and averaged into a major Delinquency scale ($\alpha = .80$), with higher scores indicating greater delinquent involvement.

Results

The first set of analyses focus on descriptive issues, addressing African American adolescent girls' access to fathers and father figures. In addition, these descriptive results explore the identity of the men who both fulfill and do not fulfill a father role for urban African American girls, and whether the identity and involvement of nominated fathers are linked to the quality of the father-daughter relationship. First, however, we present basic descriptive data on characteristics of the sample.

Sample Descriptors

Sample Demographics. Table 1 presents means and standard deviations of the sample as a whole, and of the subsample of the adolescents who nominated a primary father, with asterisks indicating statistical significance between those who nominated a primary father versus those who did not. The families in the sample are predominantly poor, female-headed families. The girls in the sample average 16 years of age, and the mothers 41 years. Eighty four percent of the teens live with their biological mothers; the majority of the remainder resides with grandmothers or aunts whom they consider to be like a mother. The average education of the mothers is less than high school, 16% are married, and 18% are cohabiting with a partner. The average income-to-needs ratio of the sample is just above the poverty line. The median household income, however, falls below the poverty line, with 62% of the families characterized as poor and an additional 29% as near poor (with family incomes less than two times the poverty line; data not shown). Approximately two thirds of the girls in the sample (N=196, 65%) nominated a primary father figure. Girls in this subsample are more likely to live in a 2-parent household, and also have marginally higher family incomes.

Place Table 1 about here

Daughter-Parent Relationships. The second panel in Table 1 contains means on the father-daughter and mother-daughter relationship variables. Overall, girls rated their relationships with their fathers less favorably than those with their mothers, with fathers receiving lower scores on the Trust & Communication scale, and slightly higher scores on the Anger & Alienation scale. Girls who nominated a father reported more positive relationships with their mothers.

Adolescent Functioning. The final group of variables shows the means for the adolescent functioning measures. It is interesting to note that no differences are seen in Depression, School Problems, or Delinquency scores depending on whether or not the teen nominated a father.

The Prevalence of Fathers

Table 2 presents information related to girls' access to biological fathers and potential father figures. The first row indicates that two-thirds of the girls (65%) nominated someone who was "like a father" to them: 41% identified their biological father, 24% identified a father figure, and 35% stated that they did not have someone who fulfilled that role. The remaining rows provide further information on correlates of primary fathers' identity. More specifically, the 2nd panel indicates that 84% of the respondents reported knowing that their biological father was alive, with 16% reporting that he was deceased or that they did not know his identity or status. Not surprisingly, girls in the later group were significantly more likely to name a father figure or not to identify a primary father at all. Yet of the girls who could identify their biological father, only half nominated him as their primary father while nearly one in five nominated someone else, and one third did not list a primary father at all. Biological fathers' presence in girls' households was also predictive of nominations: all of the girls who resided with their biological father (15%) named him as their primary father. Finally, 25% of the girls appeared to have direct access to a father figure by means of having an adult male (such as a stepfather, maternal partner, or relative) residing in their household. However, this factor was not statistically related to girls' nomination of a primary father.

Place Table 2 about here

Father Identity and Father-Daughter Contact

Table 3 provides further descriptive information on the primary fathers' identity and level of contact with the adolescents. Forty percent of the nominated fathers resided in adolescents' households, and an additional 44% had high levels of contact with the adolescents (once or twice per month or more often), leaving 15% with low contact with their daughters (less than once a month to never in the past year). Sixty four percent of the identified fathers were biological fathers. Of the father figures, the largest proportion were mothers' partners (16%), followed by relatives (10%), stepfathers (6%), and nonkin (5%; data not shown). Father figures are marginally more likely than biological fathers to reside with

adolescents, whereas biological fathers are more likely to have a low level of contact ($X^2(2)=5.02$, $p<.10$).

Place Table 3 about here

Relationship Quality by Father Identity and Contact

We next consider, using analysis of variance, whether the quality of the daughter-father relationship varies by fathers' level of contact or identity, with results presented in Figures 1 and 2. These analyses, and the ones following, only contain the subsample of adolescents who nominated a primary father ($N=196$). Figure 1 indicates that residential and high contact fathers receive higher ratings on Trust & Communication than their counterparts who see their daughters rarely ($F(2)=10.98$, $p<.001$), but no significant differences are seen in the ratings of Anger & Alienation. In Figure 2, we see differences for both Trust & Communication ($F(1)=8.80$, $p<.01$) and Anger & Alienation ($F(1)=3.094$, $p<.05$), with biological fathers receiving more negative ratings than father figures on both scales.

Place Figures 1 and 2 about here

The Influence of Fathers on Daughters' Internalizing and Externalizing Problems

The next section of results focuses on multivariate analyses which consider the relations between father-daughter relationships and adolescent internalizing and externalizing behaviors including depression, school problems, and delinquency. Ordinary least square regression models were employed, controlling for a range of family and respondent background variables to control for the influence of socioeconomic status, maternal marital status, and age factors which have frequently been shown to affect adolescent functioning. It is important to reiterate that these models control for the quality of the mother-daughter relationship as well, thus partialling out both the direct influence of mothers' relationships with

adolescents. Thus, these analyses provide a more stringent test of the direct relations between father availability and engagement and adolescent well-being.

The first set of models, presented in Table 4, contain the control variables and the father-daughter relationship variables as well as the father's identity and contact to allow us to consider the relative role of emotional versus physical involvement of fathers. As seen in Table 4, all of the models are significant, and the control variables generally function as expected, with maternal age and marital status relating to lower behavioral problems, and family financial strain predicting great depressive symptomatology and greater school behavioral problems.

Turning to paternal physical involvement and identity, in the second panel, we see that fathers' identity and level of contact with daughters show few relations to adolescent functioning. Only one significant coefficient is seen, with girls who nominated their biological father reporting lower depression scores. More consistent results are seen for the father-daughter relationship variables. Although Trust & Communication does not relate significantly to adolescent internalizing and externalizing problems, higher levels of Anger & Alienation predict greater reported depression and greater school behavior problems. The mother-daughter relationship quality shows marginally significant links to adolescent outcomes, with greater Trust & Communication predicting lower school and delinquency problems, and higher Anger & Alienation predicting greater delinquency.

Place Table 4 about here

Thus, the first level of regression results indicate that father-daughter relationships are related to adolescent psychological and behavioral well-being primarily through the mechanism of alienated relationships, rather than through the support of healthy relationships. In the next analysis step, we consider whether the impact of father-daughter relationship quality is moderated by fathers' identity or level of contact with daughters. To address this issue, the father-daughter relationship variables were each interacted with the three dummy variables indicating whether the father is the biological father

versus not, and whether he resides in the household, or has regular contact with his daughter, versus having infrequent or no contact. These six interaction variables were added to the regression models for each outcome. For ease of presentation, results of only the interaction variables are presented in Table 5 for each of the three models.

Place Table 5 about here

In these models, we see significant or trend level findings for all of the relationship quality X contact interactions for the outcomes of depression and delinquency. A significant beta is also seen for the anger X identity interaction for school behavior problems. In order to interpret the meaning of these interaction terms, the results are graphed in Figures 3-7. Graphs present the unstandardized residuals of the dependent variable on the Y axis, with everything except the father-daughter relationship quality variable, which is on the X axis, partialled out. Separate regression lines are fit for each category of the father identity or father contact variable, thus indicating the interaction.

Figures 3 and 4 present the interactions between relationship quality and father contact with adolescent depression, while Figures 6 and 7 present the same for the outcome variable of delinquency. For both outcomes, the significant interaction terms indicate that the relationship between adolescent functioning and father-daughter relationship quality is significantly different for daughters with low contact with their fathers than for those with high contact or who reside with their fathers. Thus, considering Figure 7 for example, the slope for the high contact and residence with father groups are quite flat, indicating the absence of a relationship between Anger and Alienation and delinquent behaviors. However, the positive slope for the low contact group indicates that as Anger and Alienation increases, so too does adolescent delinquency. The consistent story of these interaction results appears to be that among girls who nominated a primary father and yet reported low levels of contact and interactions, more intensive emotional relationships with fathers is linked with more problematic psychosocial functioning.

Figure 7 presents adolescents school problems with the Anger X identity interaction. The positive slope for girls who nominated their biological father indicates that school problems increase with greater levels of daughter-father alienation, while the slope for the father figures group appears quite flat, indicating no relationship between alienation and school problems.

Place Figures 3-7 about here

Discussion

In this paper, we sought to address two primary issues concerning the role and impact of fathers in low income, African American families with adolescent daughters. First, how available are fathers in this population, and who are the men who fulfill father roles for African American youth in predominantly single-mother families? Second, how is the quality of the father-daughter emotional relationship related to adolescent psychosocial functioning, and do these relationships vary by the identity or level of accessibility and involvement of the father?

Through these two broad issues, this paper taps into the primary theoretical concerns in current fatherhood scholarship. Our measures of father-daughter contact and household composition address issues of father accessibility, that is how available fathers are to their children and how much time they spend together. The father-daughter relationship variables, Trust & Communication and Anger & Alienation, tap into the quality of fathers' engagement, specifically addressing the central developmental construct of emotional attachment relationships to parents and parent-figures and issues of disengagement and rejection that are central to healthy development and highlighted in previous literature (Bowlby, 1982; Cassidy & Shaver, 1999). Finally, inclusion of measures of mother-daughter relationship quality and various child and family demographic and socioeconomic characteristics adds important controls to the analyses and allows us to concentrate on fathers' direct influences on children, partialling out the potential effect of fathers' contributions to the household and to mothers.

Given these strengths, however, it is also important to acknowledge limitations to these data and results. The first lies in the correlational nature of the data, and the second in the use of adolescent report for both the central independent and dependent variables. Both of these issues lead us to be cautious in our interpretation of the results, and to consider alternative explanations for the relationships between fathers and youth outcomes unearthed in these analyses.

Fathers' Availability and Identity

In addressing the first issue of fathers' availability in the lives of African American adolescent girls, we found that two thirds of the respondents in the sample nominated a primary father, either their biological father or a father figure. This represents a higher proportion of "involved" fathers than other studies have found using more prescribed data collection methodology and definitions of involved versus uninvolved fathers.

On the other hand, this still leaves a significant portion of girls, 35%, who reported no meaningful father-daughter relationship, even though the vast majority (88% of the full sample) had either a living biological father (84%) and/or a related or unrelated adult male residing in her household (25%). The proportion of biological fathers who were not nominated is especially striking: essentially half of the girls who could identify their biological father did not nominate him as their primary father figure, with one third of these girls listing no primary father at all.

The prevalence of difficult relationships with biological fathers was further delineated through comparisons of the quality of the father-daughter relationship between different types of fathers. These results indicated that biological fathers received more negative scores on Trust and on Anger subscales of relationship quality and attachment than did other, less traditional father figures⁴. Why might biological fathers have more negative relationships with their daughters than do alternative father figures? One possibility is that girls may nominate the most obvious choice, their biological father, more because of their role than because of the quality of their relationship, whereas less obvious choices, such as relatives, maternal partners, and others, may only be nominated when the adolescent has a strong positive relationship with them. Only half of the "available" biological fathers were nominated, however,

indicating that girls do not automatically view their biological fathers as parental models. The other half of the girls admit that their biological fathers do not play the social role that their genetic relationship implies. A second hypothesis is that men who are not socially directed to play a father role, such as relatives, unmarried maternal partners, and others, may be more likely to form a close and uncontentious bond, sidestepping many of the typical adolescent-parent disagreements and difficulties. Such nontraditional father figures may not feel the same pressure as do fathers to fulfill a directive or disciplinary role, and instead may be more free to fulfill girls' emotional needs for a warm paternal relationship.

While the current study did not address factors in the fathers' lives which might have precipitated their disengagement, other research has delineated numerous barriers that African American fathers face in being involved and caring parents, including racial discrimination and economic exclusion, contentious mother-father relationships, a lack of family support, and fluid family structures with new parental romantic relationships (Coley & Chase-Lansdale, 1999; Edin, 2000; Furstenberg, 1995; Seltzer, 1991; Seltzer & Brandreth, 1994; Stier & Tienda, 1993; Sullivan, 1993; Wilson, 1987, 1996).

A final important issue concerning nomination of a primary father is that no significant differences were seen in adolescent functioning between girls who did or did not nominate a father. In other words, the mere "presence" of a father in one's life, here operationalized in an emotional rather than simply a physical sense, does not appear to be linked to girls' well-being.

Relationship Quality and Adolescent Adjustment

Multivariate analyses addressed the second primary question concerning links between the quality of the father-daughter relationship and adolescent functioning. We extended previous research on this question (e.g., Black et al., 1999; Furstenberg & Harris, 1993) by considering whether these relationships were moderated by fathers' identity or level of accessibility and involvement. Two important findings emerged. First, the quality of the emotional attachment relationship between fathers and daughters was significantly related to both internalizing and externalizing functioning in adolescents, but the negative and contentious aspects of the relationship, rather than the warmth and communicative

aspects, primarily drove these results. Second, negative and alienated father-daughter emotional relationships predicted the most deleterious adolescent outcomes when combined with physical removal of fathers from their adolescents' lives. In short, fathers' physical and emotional distance appear to have an *additive* detrimental link with adolescent functioning.

Given the data limitations, however, caution is warranted. For example, one possible interpretation is that adolescents' functioning influences parental behavior. More specifically, girls with prevalent problem behaviors and a depressed and anxious demeanor could lead their fathers to disengage emotionally or react in a hostile manner. However, the interaction results between father-daughter relationship quality and father contact do not support this hypothesis, as alienation from fathers who reside with or have regular contact with their daughters does not predict poor adolescent functioning. A second possibility is that there could be another unmeasured mechanism, such as dysfunctional father-mother relations, which is responsible for both the father-daughter relationship quality and the teen's functioning. Unfortunately, data to further explore this possibility are not available in this study.

A third interpretation of the results is that alienation and hostility from fathers, especially when combined with physical disengagement of fathers from their children's lives, contributes to poor emotional and behavioral functioning in adolescent daughters. This interpretation is supported both conceptually and empirically in parenting literature. Previous research and theory have postulated that rejection from parents leads to emotional instability, unresponsiveness, and hostility, which may be expressed through high levels of anxiety and poor mood, and through behavior problems (Veneziano & Rohner, 1998). This interpretation is also consistent with other literatures. Research on marital relationships, for example, has found that the negative characteristics of partner interactions more strongly predict outcomes such as divorce than do positive aspects of relationships (e.g., Markman, Stanley & Blumberg, 1994).

Interestingly, the interaction results also indicate that, under conditions of low father-daughter contact, high levels of Trust and Communication are also linked with problematic functioning for girls. Controlling for a variety of background factors, the quality of the father-daughter attachment relationship

was linked to adolescent functioning most strongly for girls who identified an individual as their primary father, stating that they saw him as fulfilling their definition of a paternal role, and yet had little or no contact and interaction with him. One could interpret this as indicating that these fathers were not fulfilling their daughters' expectations of their paternal role. Within this scenario of fathers' physical disengagement, both greater Anger & Alienation and greater Trust & Communication were linked with higher levels of psychological and behavioral problems. In short, this appears to be a story of disappointment and disillusionment.

Conclusions and Implication for Policy

In closing, the results of this work show a greater involvement of urban minority men in the lives of adolescents than is commonly assumed. The array of father figures, moreover, indicates that biological fathers are not the only ones who are actively participating in father roles to young people. As such, this work underscores the need to look more broadly at adolescents' social resources, rather than addressing only the narrow confines of biological relatedness. These results also caution against the assumption that daughters' access to their fathers (both biological and social fathers) necessarily portend better outcomes and more healthy psychological adjustment for youth. Thus, these findings raise questions in the context of the prevalent social policies of the day which seek to uniformly increase biological fathers' connections to their children through mandatory paternity establishment for welfare recipients and increased fulfillment of child support and visitation rights and responsibilities without a consideration of family relationships.

References

- Amato, P. R. (1995). Single-parent households as settings for children's development, well-being, and attainment: A social network/resources perspective. Sociological Studies of Children, 7, 19-47.
- Amato, P. R. (1998). More than money? Men's contributions to their children's lives. In A. Booth & A. C. Crouter, (Eds.). Men in families. When do they get involved? What difference does it make? (pp. 241-278). New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Amato, P. R. & Gilbreth, J. G. (1999). Nonresident fathers and children's well-being: A meta-analysis. Journal of marriage and the Family, 61, 557-573.
- Armsden, G., & Greenberg, M. T. (1987). The Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment: Relationships to well-being in adolescence. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 18, 683-692.
- Barras, J. R. (2000). Whatever happened to Daddy's little girl? The impact of fatherlessness on Black women. New York: The Ballantine Publishing Group.
- Billingsley, A. (1968). Black families in White America. Englewood, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Billingsley, A. (1992). Climbing Jacob's ladder: The enduring legacy of African American families. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Black, M., Dubowitz, H., & Starr, R. (1999). African American fathers in low income, urban families: Development, behavior, and home environment of their three-year-old children. Child Development, 70, 967-978.
- Borus, M. E., Carpenter, S. W., Crowley, J. E., Daymont, T., N., et al. (1982). Pathways to the future, Volume II: A final report on the National Survey of Youth labor market experience in 1980. Columbus, Ohio: Center for Human Resource Research, The Ohio State University.
- Bowlby, J. (1982). Attachment and Loss, Vol. 1. New York: Basic Books.
- Cabrera, N. J., Tamis-LeMonda, C. S., Bradley, R. H., Hofferth, S., & Lamb, M. E. (2000). Fatherhood in the twenty-first century. Child Development, 71, 127-136.

- Cassidy, J. & Shaver, P. R. (Eds.) (1999). Handbook of attachment: Theory, research, and clinical applications. New York: The Guildford Press.
- Chase-Lansdale, P. L., Brooks-Gunn, J., & Zamsky, E. S. (1994). Young African-American multigenerational families in poverty: Quality of mothering and grandmothering. Child Development, *65*, 373-393.
- Coley, R. L. (1998). Children's socialization experiences and functioning in single-mother households: The importance of fathers and other men. Child Development, *69*, 291-230.
- Coley, R. L. (in press). Urban fathers and their children: Theoretical, methodological, and policy issues. American Psychologist.
- Coley, R. L. & Chase-Lansdale, P. L. (1999). Stability and change in paternal involvement among urban African American fathers. Journal of Family Psychology, *13*(3), 1-20.
- Coley, R. L., & Chase-Lansdale, P. L. (2000). Welfare receipt, financial strain, and African-American adolescent functioning. Social Service Review, 380-404.
- Coltrane, S. & Parke, R. D. (1998). Reinventing fatherhood: Toward an historical understanding of continuity and change in men's family lives. Working Paper, National Center on Fathers and Families: University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.
- Conger, R. D., Ge, X., Elder, G. H.Jr., Lorenz, F. O., and Simons, R. L. (1994). Economic stress, coercive family processes, and developmental problems of adolescents. Child Development, *65*, 541-561.
- Edin, K. (2000). Few good men: Why poor mothers don't marry or remarry. The American Prospect, January, 26-31.
- Furstenberg, F. F. (1995). Fathering in the inner city: Paternal participation and public policy. In W. Marsiglio (Ed.), Fatherhood: Contemporary theory, research, and social policy (pp. 119-147). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Furstenberg, F. F. Jr. & Harris, K. M. (1993). When and why fathers matter: Impacts of father involvement on the children of adolescent mothers. In R. I. Lerman & T. J. Ooms (Eds.). Young unwed fathers: Changing roles and emerging policies (pp. 117-138). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Gadsden, V. L. (1999). Black families in intergenerational and cultural perspective. In M. Lamb (Ed.), Parenting and child development in "nontraditional families" (pp. 221-245). Mahway, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Gold, M. (1970). Delinquent behavior in an American city. Belmont, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Jarrett, R. L. (1994). Living poor: Family life among single-parent, African-American women. Social Problems, 41, 30-49.

Jayakody, R. & Kalil, A. (2000). Social fathering in low-income, African American families with preschool children. Unpublished manuscript.

Lamb, M. (1997). The role of the father in child development. New York: Wiley.

Lerman, R. I. (1993). A national profile of young unwed fathers. In R. I. Lerman & T. J. Ooms (Eds.). Young unwed fathers: Changing roles and emerging policies (pp. 27-51). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Markman, H. J., Stanley, S., & Blumberg, S. (1994). Fighting for your marriage: The PREP approach. San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass.

McAdoo, H. P. (1993). Family ethnicity: Strength in diversity (pp. 120-137). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

MyLoyd, V. C. (1990). The impact of economic hardship on Black families and children: Psychological distress, parenting, and socioemotional development. Child Development, 61, 311-346.

McLoyd, V. C., Jayaratne, T. E., Ceballos, R., & Borquez, J. (1994). Unemployment and work interruption among African American single mothers: Effects on parenting and adolescent socioemotional functioning. Child Development, 65, 562-589.

Mosley, J., & Thomson, E. (1995). Fathering behavior and child outcomes: The role of race and poverty. In Marsiglio, W. (Ed.). Fatherhood: Contemporary theory, research, and social policy (pp. 148-165). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Patterson, O. (1998). Rituals of blood: Consequences of Slavery in two American centuries. Washington, DC: Civitas Counterpoint.

Radloff, L. S. (1977). The CES-D Scale: A self-report depression scale for research in the general population. Applied Psychological Measurement, 1, 385-401.

Seltzer, J. A. (1991). Relationships between fathers and children who live apart: The father's role after separation. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 53, 79-101.

Seltzer, J. A. & Brandreth, Y. (1994). What fathers say about involvement with children after separation. Journal of Family Issues, 15 (1), 49-77.

Spencer, M. B., & Depree, D. (1996). African American youths' ecocultural challenges and psychosocial opportunities: An alternative analysis of problem behavior outcomes. In D. Cicchetti & S. L. Toth (Eds), Adolescence: Opportunities and challenges (pp. 259-282). Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press.

Stack, C. B. (1975). All our kin. The Hague, The Netherlands: Mouton.

Steinberg, L., Mounts, N. S., Lamborn, S. D., and Dornbusch, S. M. (1991). Authoritative parenting and adolescent adjustment across varied ecological niches. Journal of Research on Adolescence, 1, 19-36.

Stier, H. & Tienda, M. (1993). Are men marginal to the family? Insights from Chicago's inner city. In J. C. Hood (Ed.), Men, work, and family (pp. 23-44). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Sullivan, M. L. (1993). Young fathers and parenting in two inner-city neighborhoods. In R. I. Lerman & T. J. Ooms (Eds.), Young unwed fathers: Changing roles and emerging policies (pp. 52-73). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Tamis-LeMonda, C. S. & Cabrera, N. (1999). Perspectives on father involvement: Research and policy. Social Policy Report, XIII (2). Society for Research on Child Development.

- Taylor, R. J., Jackson, J. S., & Chatters, L. M. (Eds.) (1997). Family life in Black America. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Thomas, G., Farrell, M. P., & Barnes, G. M. (1996). The effects of single-mother families and nonresident fathers on delinquency and substance abuse in Black and White adolescents. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 58, 884-894.
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. (1999). Trends in the well-being of America's children and youth: 1999. Hyattsville, MD: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.
- Veneziano, R. A. & Rohner, R. P. (1998). Perceived paternal acceptance, paternal involvement, and youth's psychological adjustment in a rural, biracial southern community. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 60, 335-343.
- Way, N. & Gilmann, D. A. (2000). Early adolescent girls' perceptions of their relationships with their fathers: A qualitative investigation. Journal of Early Adolescence, 20, 309-331.
- Way, N. & Stauber, H. (1996). Are "absent fathers" really absent? Urban adolescent girls speak out about their fathers. In B. J. R. Leadbeater and N. Way (Eds.), Urban girls: Resisting stereotypes, creating identities (pp. 132-148). New York: New York University Press.
- Wilson, W. J. (1987). The truly disadvantaged: The inner city, the underclass, and public policy. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Wilson, W. J. (1996). When work disappears: The world of the new urban poor. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Zimmerman, M. A., Salem, D. A., & Maton, K. I. (1995). Family structure and psychosocial correlates among urban African American adolescent males. Child Development, 66, 1598-1613.

Table 1
FIC Sample Characteristics for Entire Sample
and Subsample who Nominated a Primary Father

	Entire Sample		Subsample with	
	N=302		Nominated Father	
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>
<i>Sample Demographics and Control Variables</i>				
teen age	16.25	1.11	16.18	1.07
mother age	40.96	9.15	40.68	8.57
mother education	11.85	1.97	11.91	1.95
biological mother	.84	.37	.85	.36
mother married	.16	.36	.22***	.41
mother cohabitating	.18	.38	.21*	.41
income to needs	1.02	.80	1.08+	.87
financial strain	.00	.72	-.05	.72
<i>Child-Parent Relationships</i>				
f-d trust & communication			3.47	.97
f-d anger & alienation			2.54	.79
m-d trust & communication	4.13	.79	4.26***	.66
m-d anger & alienation	2.41	.76	2.37	.76
<i>Adolescent Functioning</i>				
teen depression	1.81	.45	1.81	.43
teen school problems	-.01	.61	-.03	.59
teen delinquency	-.10	.41	-.12	.39

Note: Asterisks indicate a significant difference between subgroups who did and did not nominate a primary father. + $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 2
Correlates of Primary Father Identity

		<u>Total</u>	<u>Biological</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>No</u>
			<u>Father</u>	<u>Figure</u>	<u>Father</u>
			<u>Identified</u>	<u>Identified</u>	<u>Identified</u>
Total		100%	41%	24%	35%
Biological father identified as alive***	Yes	84%	49%	19%	32%
	No/DK	16%	0%	41%	59%
Biological father resides in household***	Yes	15%	100%	0%	0%
	No	85%	31%	28%	41%
Other adult male resides in household	Yes	25%	37%	22%	42%
	No	76%	43%	24%	33%

Note: *** p<.001 as determined by Chi Square test of significance

Table 3
Father Identity and Residence Status

	<u>In HH</u>	<u>High Contact</u>	<u>Low Contact</u>	<u>Total</u>
Biological Father	36%	45%	19%	64%
Father Figure	48%	44%	9%	36%
Total	40%	44%	15%	100%

Note: The relation between father identity and father-daughter contact is significant, $X^2(2)=5.02$, $p<.01$

Table 4
OLS Regression Models of Adolescent Internalizing and Externalizing Problems
with Father-Daughter Relationship Quality

	Depression	School Behavior Problems	Delinquent Behaviors
<i>Control variables</i>			
Teen age	.08	.00	.11
Mother age	.01	-.21*	-.14
Mother education	-.06	.13+	.05
Biological mother	-.11	-.09	-.03
Mother married	-.03	-.23*	-.16
Mother cohabiting	-.04	-.08	-.06
Income-to-needs	.03	.04	-.10
Financial strain	.21**	.19*	.01
<i>Father residence & identity</i>			
Father lives in household	.05	.07	-.08
F-D high contact	.08	-.06	-.08
Father is biological father	-.15*	.07	-.08

<i>Father-daughter relations</i>			
Trust & Communication	.05	.04	.05
Anger & Alienation	.37***	.24*	.08
<i>Mother-daughter relations</i>			
Trust & Communication	-.14	-.14+	-.17+
Anger & Alienation	.05	.10	.19+
R^2	.25	.21	.17
Adjusted R^2	.18	.14	.09
F Score	3.62***	3.00***	2.21**

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

Table 5

OLS Regression Models of Adolescent Internalizing and Externalizing Problems with Father-Daughter Relationship Quality and Relationship X Father Identity and Contact Interactions

	Depression	School Behavior Problems	Delinquent Behaviors
<i>Father interaction terms</i>			
Trust X lives in household	-1.23**	-.57	-1.04*
Trust X high contact	-.83*	-.33	-.77+
Trust X biological father	-.21	.50	-.03
Anger X lives in household	-.99*	-.55	-1.07*
Anger X high contact	-.64+	-.57+	-.91*
Anger X biological father	-.35	.68*	.28
R^2	.29	.26	.22
Adjusted R^2	.20	.17	.12
F Score	3.13***	2.78***	2.14**

Note: these regression models also include all of the main effects included in the models in Table 4.

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

Figure 1. Relationship Quality by Father-Daughter Contact

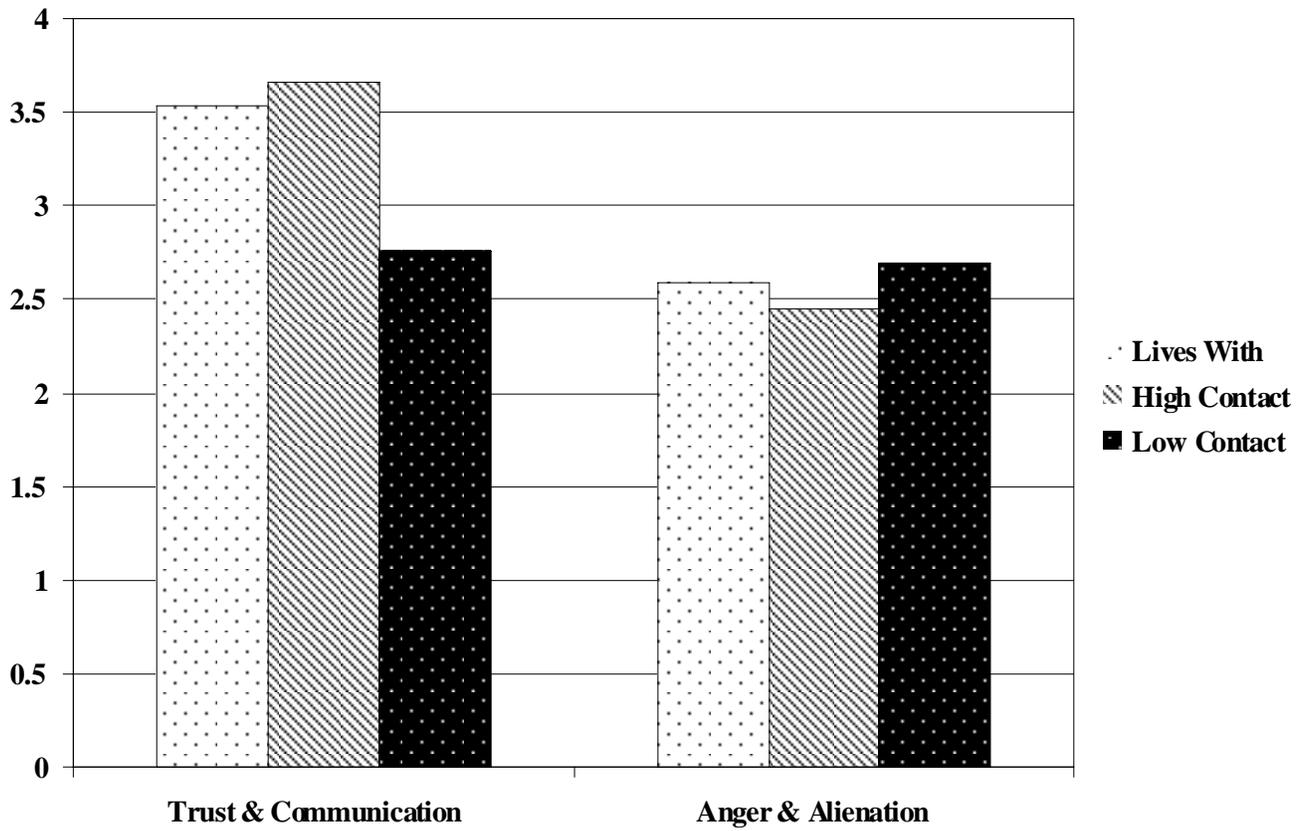


Figure 2. Relationship Quality by Father Identity

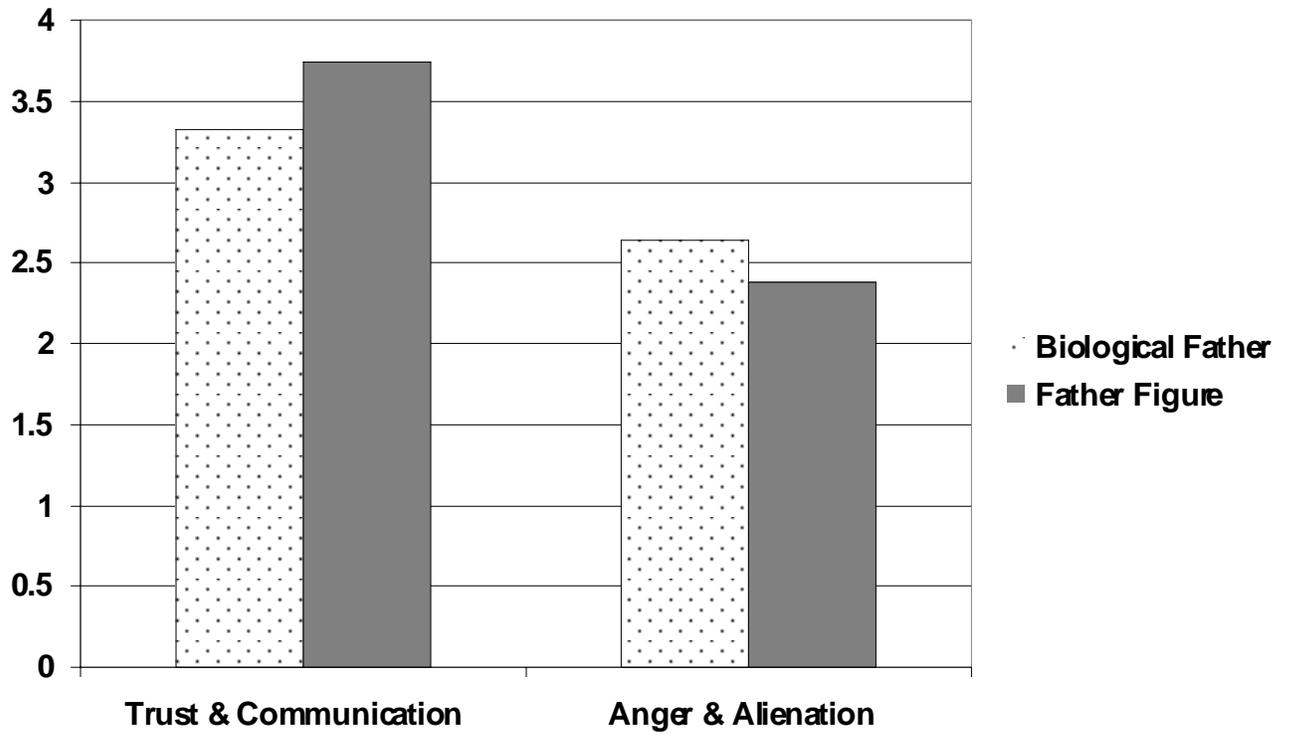


Figure 3

Trust X Contact Interaction
on Depression

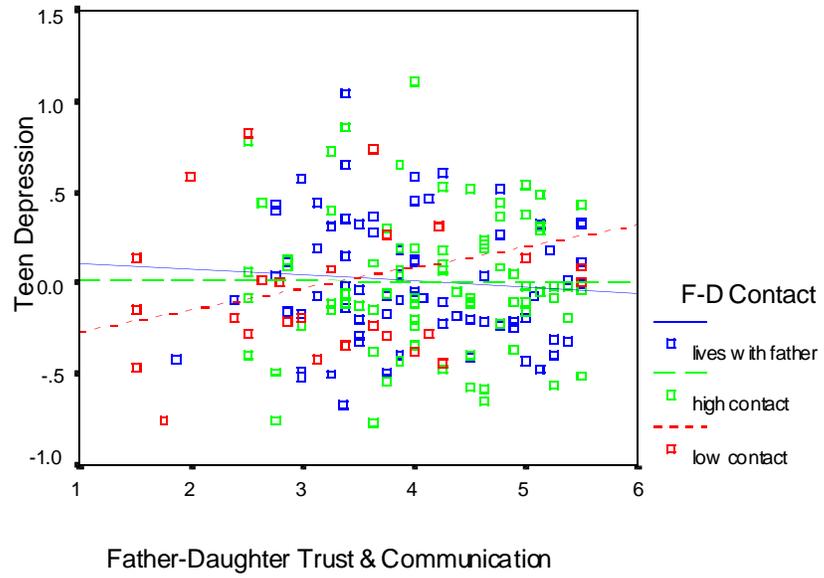


Figure 4

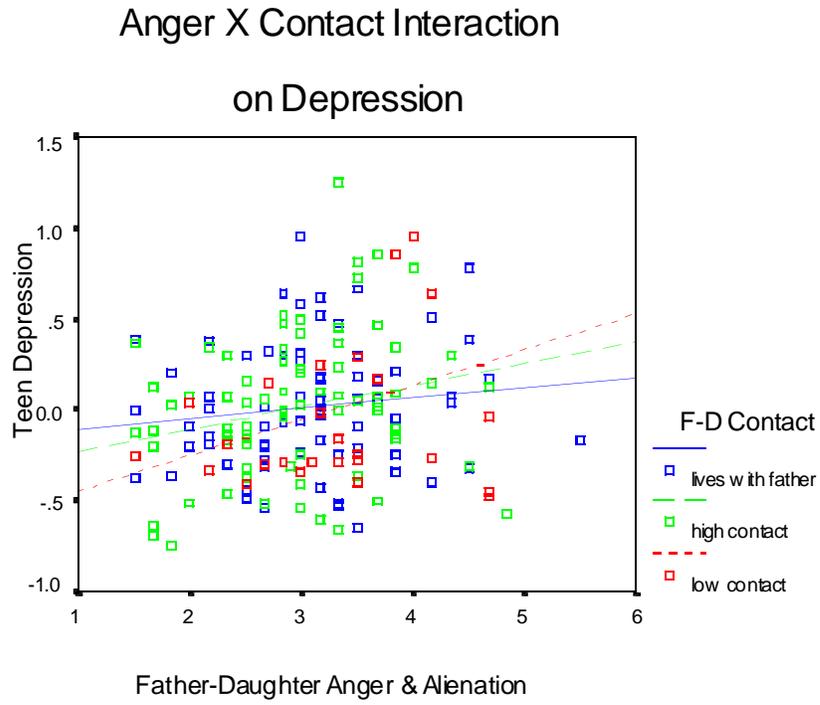


Figure 5

Anger X Identity Interaction
on School Problems

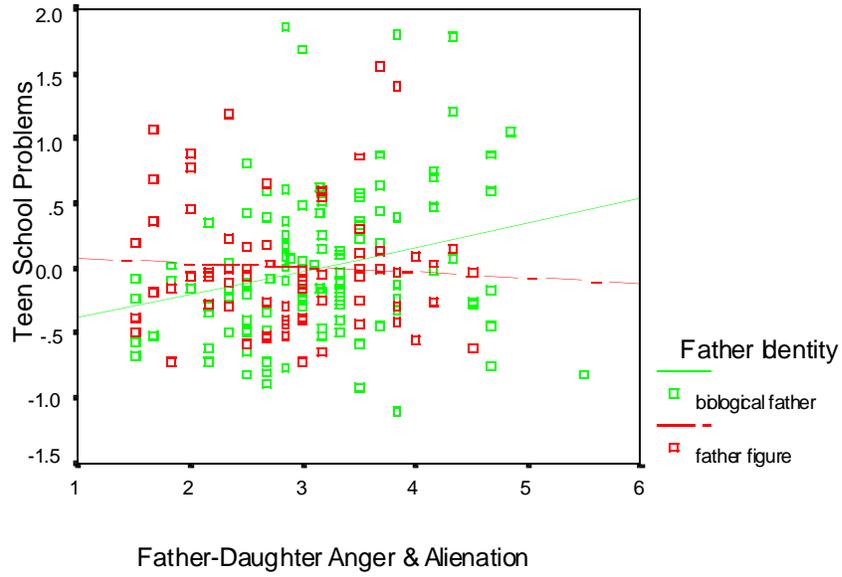


Figure 6

Trust X Contact Interaction
on Delinquency

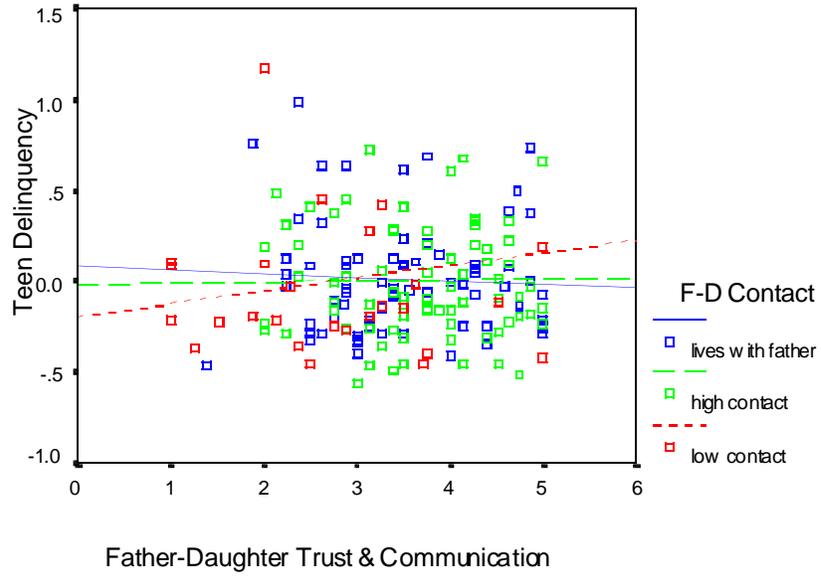
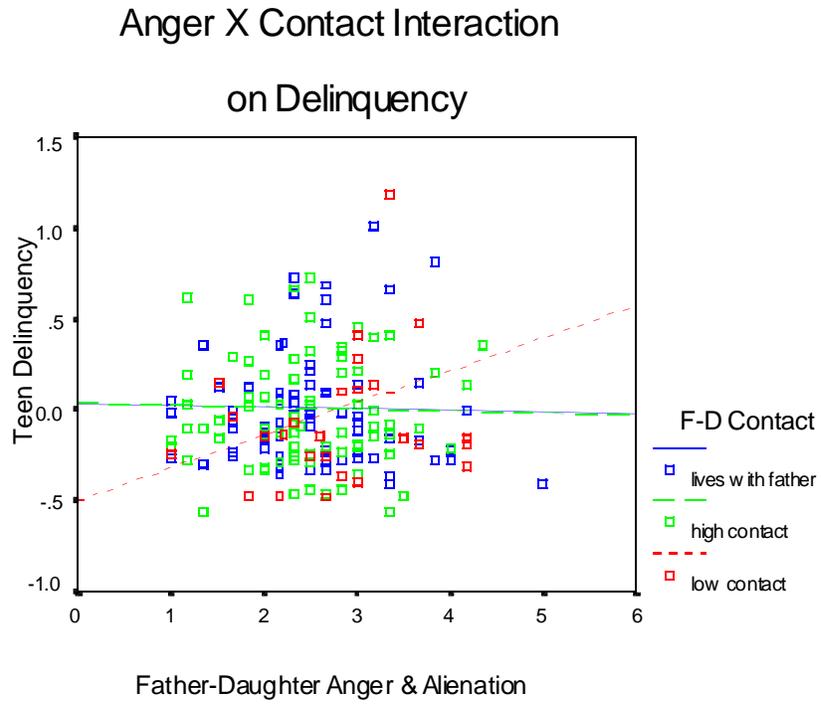


Figure 7



Endnotes

¹ During the household screening, 83% of the households completed the screening, 5% refused, and 16% of the households were presumed vacant after at least 4 unsuccessful attempts to screen, neighbor verification, and census data examination of vacancies.

² These included cases in which the adolescent or caregiver were not available, no one was at home, or where an appointment was made but broken and not rescheduled prior to the completion of the fielding.

³ In 23 cases there were missing data in the income information either because the mother refused to report income for some members of the household or some of this information was missing, or because she refused to acknowledge the presence of a partner or spouse in the household. In both situations, income for the missing person(s) was imputed based on the average income for all other people of that type (defined by relationship to mother) in the data set.

⁴ When similar analyses were run using a more detailed breakdown of father identity delineating biological fathers, stepfathers, maternal partners, relatives, and nonkin, stepfathers also received more negative relationship ratings than other father figures.