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HEGEMONIC AND ALTERNATIVE MASCULINITIES IN FATHERHOOD

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ABSTRACT

Current discussions of fatherhood suggest generativity is the hegemonic form of masculinity whereas fathers emphasizing providership or caregiving adhere to alternative masculinities. In this study, I apply critical masculinity and feminist perspectives to improve mainstream sociological discussions of masculinity in fatherhood. Specifically, I extract three forms of masculinity from the Fragile Families baseline data. I find evidence that generative masculinity is the hegemonic, ideal form of masculinity in fathering. Meanwhile, marginalized men are the most heterogeneous group of fathers. Traditional men report lower levels of education but higher personal earnings compared to generative men. Overall, results support Connell's (1987) theoretical framework as generative men, on average, are more likely to occupy "advantaged" social positions across multiple domains. This study uses a creative methodological approach and demonstrates that quantitative data can inform nuanced discussions of masculinities among a diverse sample of men.

Mainstream sociological discussions of masculinity focus on a universal, institutionalized form of masculinity that has been discussed in the context of marriage (Nock 1998; Townsend 2002). In contrast, critical gender perspectives suggest social structures and interactions influence men's masculinities (Connell 1987; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). I use the Fragile Families and Child Well-Being Study (Fragile Families) large-scale, survey data with detailed questions about parenting to highlight three distinct forms of masculinity. Generative masculinity refers to fathers who consider both economic providership and providing direct care very important. However, these men consider showing the child love, or teaching the child about life as the single, most important dimension of fatherhood. Traditional masculinity refers to fathers who emphasize providership over generative fathering or direct care. Lastly, marginalized masculinity represents fathers who emphasize direct care over generative fathering or providership. In doing so, I apply critical gender theoretical perspectives that challenges the universal form of masculinity mainstream sociologists suggest.

This study makes three noteworthy contributions to current research. I synthesize three bodies of literature that have largely "spoken around each other" to construct a more comprehensive theoretical perspective concerning masculinities and fatherhood. Second, I provide an innovative methodological approach that allows me to use attitude measures from a quantitative survey to inform nuanced discussions of masculinity among a diverse sample of men. Lastly, my findings suggest current discussions of masculinity and fatherhood that rely on purposive sampling techniques overlook heterogeneity in fathers' masculinities.

BACKGROUND

I draw from two scholars, Townsend and Nock, to present the mainstream sociological perspective. Townsend (2002) considers four facets of fatherhood that comprise his "package

deal,” or ideal fatherhood: economic provision, protection, emotional closeness, and endowment. For a man to obtain this “package” deal, he must obtain steady employment, acquire a home, get married, and become a father (Townsend 2002). In effect, masculinity becomes exclusive as men who cannot achieve these criteria also fail at masculinity (Townsend 2002). Nock (1998) presents another argument that notes the exclusive nature of masculinity by formulating three historical implications of what masculinity entails, “[a man] should be the father of his wife’s children, he should be the provider for his wife and children, and he should protect his family” (pg. 6). Both scholars acknowledge one, universal form of masculinity that emphasizes the male as provider/protector within the confines of marriage (Nock 1998; Townsend 2002). Townsend’s (2002) “package deal” acknowledges emotional support, but he considers emotionality as secondary to economic providership. Thus, in this conceptualization of masculinity, men either succeed or fail at the normative, uncontested form of institutionalized masculinity.

The critical masculinity perspective provides a more complex framework that discusses hegemonic masculinity and alternative masculinities (see Connell 1987; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Hegemonic masculinity represents all things considered to be the epitome of masculinity in a given society and resembles an ideal type rather than a statistical norm (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Further, hegemonic masculinity is often associated with a mythical man that men often strive for but rarely achieve (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Hegemonic masculinity is not the only form of masculinity this perspective acknowledges. Connell (1987) suggests protest and marginal masculinities emerge among men who either reject hegemonic masculinity or craft an oppositional or marginalized form of masculinity due to

structural constraints. In effect, critical masculinity scholars discuss the culturally dominant form of hegemonic masculinity and its relation to alternative masculinities.

A notable body of research discusses the connection between fatherhood and masculinity (Anderson, Kohler, and Letiecq 2002; Berger and Langdon 2011; Fagan and Palkovitz 2007; Gavin et al. 2002; Garfield and Chung 2006; Knoester, Petts, and Eggebeen 2007) and frames discussions around fathers who fail at universal masculinity. Jarret et al.'s (2002) review of approximately 100 qualitative accounts, conducted during the 1970-1990s examines fatherhood among low-income, Black men. This review emphasizes the complex nature of fatherhood among disadvantaged men and suggests fatherhood varies significantly depending on a man's social context (Jarret et al. 2002). This review does not directly discuss masculinity. However, much of this qualitative work explores how fatherhood differs among men who fail in securing the prerequisites of Townsend's (2002) "package deal."

More specifically, Roy's qualitative work raises important implications for this study. He collects detailed life histories of two groups of fathers. The first comprises incarcerated fathers involved in a work-release program (Roy 2004). These men reside in rural Indiana and are predominately white, nonresident fathers who work in factories (Roy 2004). The second consists of men enrolled in a fatherhood initiative program in Chicago (Roy 2004). In contrast, these fathers are predominately Black, nonresident, and struggle to find steady employment. Roy's (2004) analyses suggest masculinities are shaped by a man's social contexts. For instance, fathers from the work-release program, who have stable employment, also place greater importance on providership when defining fatherhood (Roy 2004). In contrast, fathers in the fatherhood program, who piece together multiple part-time jobs and struggle to meet the role of economic provider, consider direct caregiving and "being there" plausible substitutes for a

limited capacity to provide economic support (Roy 2004). The mainstream perspective suggests these men “fail” at the normative fatherhood because they are both economically disadvantaged and nonresident. However, Roy’s (2004) analyses suggest disadvantaged fathers adapt and craft alternative masculinities that place either more or less emphasis on providership.

Connell’s (1987) and Roy’s (2004) work challenge the universal vision of masculinity while emphasizing the importance of social structure and its influence on masculinities. In a separate, yet related vein of research, feminist scholars consider gender norms more directly and discuss how interactions and regular parenting behaviors shape masculinities among fathers (Chelsey 2011; Fin and Henwood 2009; Gottzen and Kremer-Sadlik 2011; Hill and Sprague 1999; Shows and Gerstel 2009; Silverstein, Auerbach, and Levant 2002). These studies draw heavily from West and Zimmerman’s (1987) classic perspective on “doing gender.” Ultimately, this research suggests masculinities and attitudes about fathering are constructed as men and women actively negotiate normative gender expectations and parenting behaviors on a regular basis (Chesley 2011; Fin and Henwood 2009; Gottzen and Kremer-Sadlik 2011; Hill and Sprague 1999; Shows and Gerstel 2009; Silverstein, Auerbach, and Levant 2002).

Specifically, Shows and Gerstel and Fin and Henwood raise implications for this study because both use Connell’s theoretical framework to explore hegemonic and alternative masculinities in fathering. Shows and Gerstel’s (2009) interviews with blue-collar and white-collar medical workers illustrate that “direct” fathering (helping with schoolwork, providing childcare, and other behind the scenes tasks) is more common among working-class fathers than middle-class fathers who emphasize “public” fathering (attending sporting events, school meetings, and recitals). The authors note an interesting contradiction stating, “...fathers who are least likely to ideologically endorse gender equality (the working class) are most likely to engage

in equitable actions” (Shows and Gerstel 2009, 179). The authors suggest direct fathering occurs when a man’s income cannot support the breadwinning model characterized by traditional gendered roles rather than in response to egalitarian values (Shows and Gerstel 2009). Fin and Henwood (2009) also incorporate Connell’s theoretical framework and find men are interested in adopting more active, involved fathering practices (referred to as motherly fathering). However, minimal social support for this “motherly” fathering reinforces traditional fatherhood as the hegemonic form of masculinity (Fin and Henwood 2009). Both studies demonstrate parenting is an inherently gendered process and that men and women actively construct multiple forms of masculinities in fathering based on both gender norms and structural circumstances (Shows and Gerstel 2009; Fin and Henwood 2009).

Fatherhood in a Contemporary Context

Expectations about fatherhood now include a more generative form of parenting that stresses emotional support and closeness in addition to economic providership (e.g. Brandth and Kvande 1998; Cabrera et al. 2000; Marks and Palkovitz 2004; Marsiglio 1998; Marsiglio and Pleck 2005; Townsend 2002). Specifically, Marsiglio (1998) discusses pressures on men to avoid being a distant, authoritative “bad” dad embracing a model of the socially involved “good” dad. Townsend’s (2002) “package deal” embodies this generative vision of fatherhood as well, as a father is expected to be emotionally available and active in his child’s life after successfully fulfilling the role of provider. Further, Roy and Lucas (2006) demonstrate that many disadvantaged, nonresident fathers view generative fathering as a potential goal with implications for significant “life-changes.” Evidence suggests that both white, middle class, married fathers (Townsend 2002) and predominately, Black nonresident fathers (Roy and Lucas 2006) consider a generative model of fathering as the ideal type of fathering.

Based on the qualitative research discussed, I consider three forms of masculinity in fatherhood: traditional, generative, and marginalized. Broadly speaking, these masculinities reflect the centrality men attach to providership, active/involved fathering, and providing direct care, respectively. These labels are not the only acceptable language for these masculinities. Rather, I use these labels to bridge masculinities and fathering research. Traditional masculinity serves as the label for fathers who emphasize providership over caregiving or the actively involved fathering reflecting more traditional gender norms. Generative masculinity serves as a label for fathers striving to “do it all” and mirrors Roy and Lucas’ (2006) and Marsiglio and Pleck’s (2005) work on contemporary fatherhood. Lastly, marginalized masculinity serves as the label for fathers emphasizing caregiving over the traditional or generative forms of masculinity based on Connell’s (1987) theoretical framework coupled with Shows and Gerstel’s (2009) qualitative discussion.

EXPANDING RESEARCH ON HEGEMONIC MASCULINITIES

A notable body of qualitative research considers masculinities and fathering. Such accounts provide a wealth of knowledge about the processes surrounding masculinities and fatherhood and are useful in crafting theoretical approaches. However, these studies rely on purposive sampling techniques that result in limited, comparable samples. I take advantage of a large, scale quantitative data source which allows me to apply these theories to a diverse sample of men.

HYPOTHESES

Townsend (2002) suggests men evaluate their role as fathers in terms of providing adequate economic support, emotional attachment, endowment, and protection to their children arguing that men who fail to meet the criteria associated with this “package deal” also fail in

securing their masculinities. However, based on Connell's (1987) framework, I suggest these men craft alternative visions of masculinity. I present hypotheses addressing four indicators of human capital that reflect the perquisites for Townsend's "package deal": 1) relationship status with the birth mother, 2) educational attainment, 3) personal income, and 4) home ownership.

Relationship Status. Men who are married to the birth mother are more likely to be generative fathers whereas men who are not married to the child's birth mother are more likely to be either marginalized or traditional. Specifically, fathers who are currently cohabiting with the birth mother are more likely to be marginalized as they will have ample opportunities to provide direct care, but might not experience the pressure to provide economic support attached to the institution of marriage (Nock 1995). In addition, fathers who are not living with the birth mother are more likely to be traditional fathers as they might not have the opportunity to provide direct care to the child.

Educational Attainment. Men reporting higher levels of educational attainment are more likely to be generative fathers while less educated men are more likely to be displaced into the marginalized and traditional forms of masculinity.

Personal Income. Men who report the highest earnings are more likely to adhere to the hegemonic, generative form of masculinity because these men better equipped to pursue the ideal type of fatherhood.

Home Ownership. Lastly, men who own their homes are more likely to be generative while men who are not homeowners are more likely to be traditional or marginalized.

DATA AND METHOD

Sample

I use baseline data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study (Fragile Families) a longitudinal, birth cohort study following approximately 5,000 births. Data consist of responses from both mothers' and fathers' questionnaires collected closely following the child's birth. Further, mothers' and fathers' data can be linked yielding couple-level data. Current analyses rely primarily on the father's data. However, I capitalize on the birth mother's data as well. These data include a number of questions addressing non-marital childbearing, welfare reform, and fathering and capture approximately 75 percent of unwed fathers, making these data particularly beneficial to study masculinities among a diverse sample of fathers (Reichman et al. 2001).

The final sample includes 3,743 men out of 3,830 (approximately 98 percent) who were interviewed at the baseline. I drop 87 men with missing data on the questions used to construct the dependent variable. Mean and modal imputations are used to assign values for individuals who provide missing data on independent and control variables.

Dependent Variable

I construct a typology of masculinities that focuses on three dimensions of fathering: economic providership, providing direct care, and showing love and affection to children by using two indices from the Fragile Families data that explore attachment to these dimensions. First, Fragile Families asks each man to rate the level of importance he holds across six dimensions of fatherhood: providership, caregiving, teaching the child about life, showing the child love, protecting the child, and serving as an authority figure to the child (referred to as open-choice). Response categories for this task include, "Not at all important", "Somewhat important", and "Very important." Then, each man is asked to select the single most important dimension for him as a father (referred to as forced-choice).

I limit the open-choice index to ratings on the importance of providership and caregiving based on qualitative research to create a dummy variable measuring centrality of both providership and caregiving in fathering. Men are coded into four mutually exclusive, exhaustive categories: 1) neither providership nor caregiving are very important, 2) providership is very important, but caregiving is not, 3) caregiving is very important but providership is not, and 4) both providership and caregiving are very important. This measure of centrality provides a novel representation of men's attachment to either economic providership or caregiving in fathering. However, data are heavily skewed with the majority fathers considering both providing economic support and direct care to be very important.

In response, I use the forced-choice index to further differentiate men arriving at a more intricate discussion of masculinities in fathering. By layering both indices together, I deduce that while most of the men in my sample consider both providership and caregiving very important, a substantial number of these fathers consider a traditional dimension of masculinity to be the single most important aspect of fathering. Similarly, many fathers who consider both providership and caregiving very important consider direct care the single most important dimension of fathering. Men who claim "neither providership nor caregiving are very important" (60 cases) and men who are inconsistent in rating providership and caregiving in the forced and open-choice questions (13 cases) are placed into an "other" category that is included in analyses, but not interpreted or presented in the tables. This "other" category comprises less than 2 percent of the sample.

Final response categories for the dependent variable are *traditional masculinity*, *marginalized masculinity*, and *generative masculinity*. *Traditional masculinity* consists of men who either state that 1) providership is very important, caregiving is not or 2) men who claim

both providership and caregiving are very important, but choose providership, protection, or serving as an authority figure as the single, most important dimension of fatherhood. I use the forced-choice items to code them as traditional because they elect a “traditional” item as the most important in contrast to the modal response of showing the child love. *Marginalized masculinity* consists of men who either state that 1) caregiving is very important, providership is not or 2) men who claim that both providership and caregiving are very important, but caregiving is the most important dimension of fatherhood on their forced-choice item. Lastly, *generative masculinity* consists of men who acknowledge both providership and caregiving are very important dimensions of fatherhood, but report the most important dimension of fatherhood is either showing the child love or teaching the child about life.

Constructing a Typology of Masculinities

This typology provides an intricate, useful representation of masculinities that focuses on the centrality of men’s attachment to economic providership and caregiving in fathering. Further, this typology allows me to apply findings from in-depth qualitative analyses to a large-scale quantitative dataset with a more diverse sample. However, I expect the indices used to construct this typology are susceptible to response biases for a number of reasons. For starters, I expect the open-index response labels introduce considerable social desirability biases and might pressure men to report each dimension of fathering as “very important” rather than “not at all important” or “somewhat important.” Identifying a single, most important dimension of fathering, is a difficult task. More specifically, “show the child love” is a problematic response label. This label might serve as a catch-all response allowing fathers to select a simple, socially acceptable response that is not necessarily mutually exclusive to providership or caregiving.

However, supplemental latent class analyses demonstrate this theoretically motivated typology is representative of response patterns in the data (results available on request).¹

Focal Independent Variables

I include indicators of human capital to model Townsend's (2002) "package deal." *Relationship status* is coded into a dummy variable with four mutually exclusive, exhaustive levels characterizing the father's relationship to the birth mother. Categories include being married, cohabiting, romantically involved (but nonresident), or no longer romantically involved with the birth mother. *Educational attainment* is also coded as a mutually exclusive dummy variable: less than a high school diploma, a high school diploma/GED, some college, and at least a Bachelor's degree. *Personal income* is coded into approximate quartiles with the following categories: no reported income, less than \$10,000 per year, \$10,000-\$19,999 per year, \$20,000-\$24,999 per year, and more than \$25,000 per year. Lastly, *homeownership* is coded into a dummy variable that identifies fathers who live in a home that is owned rather than rented.

Control Variables

This research is largely exploratory. In effect I consider demographic and relationship characteristics that I expect might influence both indicators of human capital and masculinities. In addition, I control for *age* in years, *race/ethnicity* (white, Black, Hispanic, and other racial/ethnic group), and *previous child/ren* (no other children, one other child, and at least two other children). Lastly, I include measures of relationship quality, a control for birth mother's educational attainment, and her vision of an ideal father. I control for behavioral measures of relationship quality rather than perceived quality using two scales². The first scale assesses *informal socialization* with the birth mother in the previous month ranging from 0-3. Higher

scores correspond to higher quality. The second scale measures *relationship conflict* and ranges from 0-12 across six measures where higher scores are indicative of more conflict.

To control for the mother's expectations concerning fatherhood. I include a measure that uses the same coding scheme used in constructing the typology of masculinities. In this measure, the *mother's vision of an ideal father* is more abstract as she is asked about an ideal type, but the father's masculinity reflects a man's personal perception of fatherhood. Lastly, *birth mother's educational attainment* is coded as a dummy variable with four categories: less than a high school diploma, a high school diploma/GED, some college, and at least a bachelor's degree.

Methods

I employ multinomial logistic regression techniques for analyses to compare men's characteristics across generative, traditional, and marginalized forms of masculinity. Model 1 introduces the focal independent variables (*relationship status, educational attainment, personal income, and home ownership*). Model 2 expands the previous model by including demographic characteristics. Finally Model 3 adds relationship and birth mothers' characteristics.

Many of the predictors I include are categorical variables that require a reference category to run regression analyses. Reference categories refer to the status/characteristic that comparisons are made against and in effect, influence results. The reference groups for focal independent variables reflect the characteristics of Townsend's sample. By selecting these categories as reference groups, I can examine differences in visions of masculinity among diverse and disadvantaged men that were excluded in Townsend's sample. I also select reference groups indicative of socioeconomic advantage for control variables.

RESULTS

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics for all predictors for the total sample and each type of masculinity. Approximately 60 percent of men adopt a generative vision of masculinity, 22 percent of men are traditional, 16 percent of men adopt a marginalized vision of masculinity, and only 2 percent of men cannot be classified.

[Table 1]

The majority of fathers in this sample (44 percent) are cohabiting with the child's mother. Only 6 percent are no longer romantically involved with the child's mother. Approximately 28 percent of these men are married to the child's mother with 21 percent being nonresident, but romantically involved, with the child's mother. Further, this table suggests the sample is economically disadvantaged, as 32 percent of the men fail to earn a high school diploma/GED, 34 percent report having a high school diploma/GED, 21 percent report some college experience, and only 11 percent earning a Bachelor's degree. *Personal income* was based on approximate quartiles; however, only 18 percent of the fathers in this sample earn at least \$35,000 a year. Only 24 percent of the men in this sample report living in a home that is owned.

Meanwhile, minority fathers are overrepresented in this sample. Approximately 50 percent of this sample is Black, 28 percent is Hispanic, 20 percent is white, and lastly, 4 percent is other racial/ethnic groups. The average *age* at the focal child's birth is 28 years old. In addition, the majority of fathers (57 percent) have at least one other child while approximately 42 percent of fathers do not have any other children. Ultimately, descriptive statistics demonstrate a positive picture concerning relationships with birth mothers. Men report higher levels of *informal socialization* (mean 2.1; maximum value 3) and lower levels of *relationship conflict* with the child's mother (mean 2.4; maximum value 12). The distribution of *mothers' educational attainment* in this sample resembles the fathers. Approximately 38 percent of birth

mothers fail to earn a high school diploma/GED, 25 percent report having a high school diploma or GED, 24 percent attended some college, and 12 percent earn a Bachelor's degree. Lastly, 54 percent of the mothers consider a generative father to be the ideal type of father. Twenty-four percent of mothers favor a traditional man while 16 percent favor a marginalized man. Lastly, four percent of mothers do not have a clear ideal vision of fatherhood fitting into the typology of masculinities.

Bivariate Relationships

For the sake of brevity, I only discuss significant differences across the focal characteristics. However, Table 1 denotes significant differences for all predictors. Bivariate associations provide preliminary support for my hypotheses. Generative men are more likely to be married than either traditional or marginalized men. Further, marginalized men are more likely than generative men to be cohabiting with the birth mother while traditional men are more likely than generative men to be nonresident but romantically involved with the birth mother. Similarly, I find educational differences across masculinities. Generative men report higher levels of educational attainment than both traditional and marginalized men. Traditional men (when compared to marginalized men) are more likely to report a high school diploma. Meanwhile, marginalized men are more likely than their traditional counterparts to report less than a high school diploma. Marginalized men report lower incomes than both generative and marginalized men. Lastly, marginalized men are less likely than their generative and traditional counterparts to live in a home that is owned rather than rented.

Next, I present multivariate findings in greater detail. Table 2 provides coefficients from nested multinomial logistic models predicting masculinities. Again, reference groups (highlighted in parenthesis) refer to the status/characteristic that I make comparisons against and

mirror Townsend's (2002) "package deal." This allows me to test if men in either less advantageous or more diverse situations construct alternative visions of masculinity. Nested X^2 tests confirm subsequent models significantly improve previous models. Further, the global null hypotheses is highly significant ($p < 0.001$) in all models. These statistics suggest models are statistically meaningful and have some predictive power in understanding masculinities. Interestingly, the effect of *home ownership* never approaches statistical significance in multivariate analyses.

[Table 2]

Generative versus Traditional Men

The first column of each model in Table 2 presents coefficients comparing generative and traditional men. Positive coefficients suggest that being in a particular group increases the odds of being traditional rather than generative when compared to the reference group. In contrast, negative coefficients suggest being in a particular group increases the odds of being generative rather than traditional when compared to the reference group.

Table 2 highlights a number of significant differences between generative and traditional men. For instance, Model 1 illustrates generative men are more likely to be married to the birth mother than nonresident fathers who remain romantically involved. Consistent with my hypothesis, being a romantically involved, nonresident father compared to a married father increases the odds of being traditional (rather than generative) by 44 percent³. According to Model 3, being a romantically involved, nonresident father (rather than married father) increases the odds of being traditional rather than generative by approximately 40 percent. This effect remains relatively unchanged after controlling for multiple characteristics measuring sociodemographic disadvantage and relationship characteristics.

I also find evidence supporting my hypothesis for *educational attainment*. Generative men are more likely to be college educated than traditional and men. Both high school graduates and those failing to earn a high school diploma are more likely to be traditional. According to Model 1, having a high school education/GED (rather than a Bachelor's degree) increases the odds of being traditional rather than generative by 48 percent. Similarly, failure to earn a high school diploma/GED (rather than at least a Bachelor's) increases the odds of being traditional compared to generative by 45 percent. Educational differences between generative and traditional men remain statistically significant and relatively unchanged in subsequent models. Surprisingly, controlling for demographic characteristics increases the effects of lower educational attainment and masculinities in comparing traditional and generative men.

Results concerning *personal income* support a mainstream sociological perspective. Table 2 demonstrates that men reporting higher incomes are more likely to be traditional rather than generative. More specifically, I find earning \$20,000-\$34,999 (rather than at least \$35,000) increases the odds of being generative compared to traditional by 24 percent. Likewise, earning \$10,000-\$19,999 (rather than at least \$35,000) increases the odds of being generative compared to traditional by 33 percent. Not surprisingly, then, earning less than \$10,000 (rather than at least \$35,000) increases the odds of being generative rather than traditional by 26 percent. At first glance men reporting higher personal incomes are more likely to be traditional than generative. However, this effect becomes nonsignificant after controlling for demographic and relationship characteristics (see Models 2 and 3).

Generative versus Marginalized Men

The second column of each model shown in Table 2 presents coefficients that compare marginalized and generative men. Fewer differences exist between generative and marginalized

men. The only significant focal predictors in these comparisons are *personal income* and *educational attainment*. Model 1 demonstrates men who report the lowest income (less than \$10,000 per year) are more likely to be marginalized than generative. Earning less than \$10,000 per year (compared to at least \$35,000 per year), increases the odds of a man being marginalized rather than generative by 54 percent. This effect remains statistically significant net of demographic and relationship characteristics. Ultimately, earning less than \$10,000 per year (rather than at least \$35,000) increases the odds of being marginalized rather than generative by 44 percent (see Model 3). In addition, failure to earn a high school diploma/GED compared to at least a Bachelor's increases the odds of being marginalized (rather than generative) by 84 percent. However, this effect becomes nonsignificant after controlling for *race/ethnicity*.

Traditional versus Marginalized Men

The final column in each model of Table 2 presents coefficients that compare marginalized and traditional men. Positive coefficients correspond to increases in the odds of being marginalized rather than traditional, whereas negative coefficients correspond to an increase in the odds of being traditional rather than marginalized. Results demonstrate that being romantically involved and nonresident (rather than married) increases the odds of being traditional rather than marginalized. In contrast to prior comparisons, I find no significant differences in terms of *educational attainment* for marginalized and traditional men. Again, men reporting higher personal incomes are more likely to be traditional rather than marginalized. Ultimately, differences in *relationship status* and *personal income* remain statistically significant across all three models.

Other Predictors of Masculinities

Additional differences emerge in comparing demographic and relationship characteristics across masculinities. Concerning *race/ethnicity*, I find that in most instances, being white increases the odds of being traditional compared to both generative and marginalized. However, when comparing generative and marginalized men, I find being white increases the odds of being generative rather than marginalized. No differences between white and Black men at the multivariate level emerge. Older fathers are more likely to be traditional than generative or marginalized. Meanwhile, generative fathers are more likely to report less *relationship conflict* than traditional fathers. Model 3 also demonstrates a mother's preference for a traditional father (instead of generative) increases the odds of a man being traditional rather than generative. Moreover, if a birth mother's does not report a clear vision of what a father should be it increases the odds of a man being traditional or marginalized rather than generative. Lastly, the birth *mother's educational attainment* does not differ across masculinities in multivariate analyses.

Diversity among Masculinities in Fatherhood

Figure 1 presents predicted probabilities for masculinities across three ideal types of men to in order to emphasize the diversity in masculinities among previous qualitative samples. I construct three ideal types of men and present the probability that a man fitting each ideal type will be generative, traditional, or marginalized. The first ideal type mirrors Townsend's (2002) sample and reports high levels of human capital. This group consists of men who report being white, married to the birth mother, having a Bachelor's degree, and earning at least \$35,000 per year. The second ideal type attempts to mirror qualitative samples of urban, disadvantaged fathers and consists of men who report lower levels of human capital These men are Black, non-resident and not romantically involved with the birth mother, did not earn a high school degree (or GED), and earn less than \$10,000 dollars. Lastly, I consider a third ideal type of men that

previous research has not explored as much. These men report moderate levels of human capital and are Hispanic, cohabiting with the birth mother, earned high school diploma (or GED), and have a personal income between \$10,000 and \$19,999 per year.

[Figure 1]

Predicted probabilities demonstrate much less variation in masculinities for the first group of men. Approximately 70 percent of these relatively advantaged men hold a generative vision of masculinity. Further, 90 percent of these men are either generative or traditional. Findings concerning this ideal type are consistent with Townsend's (2002) qualitative interviews that suggested fathers strive to be actively involved upon fulfilling the role of economic provider. However, results indicate considerably greater heterogeneity in visions of masculinities among other fathers. For instance, less than half (48 percent) of the fathers in the most disadvantaged ideal type are predicted to be generative while 40 percent are marginalized and 12 percent of these men are traditional. Findings for this ideal type are consistent with Roy's (2004) qualitative analyses focusing on disadvantaged, nonresident Black fathers who emphasize "being there" rather than economic providership. Although differences in predicted probabilities are less stark for the moderate ideal type of men, I find approximately half (46 percent) of these men report an alternative vision of masculinity (either traditional or marginalized). To date, qualitative work has not targeted this group of men, but results suggest considerable variation exists in these men's visions of masculinities as well.

DISCUSSION

This study provides four key insights for better understanding the relationship between masculine identities and fathering. First, I find evidence that generative masculinity is the new hegemonic form of masculinity in fathering rather than traditional or marginalized masculinity.

Second, similarities between married and cohabiting fathers' masculinities (net of sociodemographic and relationship characteristic controls) suggest the residential status is more salient than the institutional nature of marriage in shaping masculinities. Third, higher educational attainment is associated with generative masculinities whereas the association between personal income and masculinities is less clear. Lastly, I find marginalized men are by far the most heterogeneous group of men and warrant additional research. Ultimately, I find support for Connell's (1987) model of hegemonic and competing masculinities as fathers adhering to each vision of masculinity share similar sociodemographic characteristics and report similar interactions with the child's birth mother.

First, this study enhances current research on masculinities and fatherhood by drawing on three distinct and often disconnected bodies of literature to develop an innovative theoretical framework. I incorporate theoretical insights from both critical masculinity scholars and feminist scholars to expand the mainstream sociological perspective on masculinity and fatherhood. I draw heavily from Connell's (1987) framework of hegemonic and competing masculinities to suggest the mainstream sociological perspective overlooks notable heterogeneity in masculinities. However, I acknowledge the mainstream sociological perspective sparked an interest in urban, disadvantaged fathers who fail at masculinity. Multiple qualitative accounts (see Jarret et al. 2002) acknowledge fatherhood and masculinities among disadvantaged men are increasingly complex and vary according to social context. Then, I go on to cite feminist research that documents multiple forms of masculinity in fathering. These studies suggest masculinities in fathering emerge in response to the active negotiation of gender norms and parenting mothers and fathers encounter on a regular basis, or "doing gender" if you will. I draw

from this substantial body of research to develop a theoretical framework that bridges multiple perspectives and can be applied to a more diverse sample.

Second, I apply this theoretical perspective to the Fragile Families data and test hypotheses concerning indicators of human capital and masculinities. Results demonstrate men adhering to different masculinities share similar characteristics in terms of *relationship status*, *educational attainment*, and *personal income*. These findings are interpreted as support for Connell's (1987) model of hegemonic and competing masculinities. Differences in these indicators of human capital suggest that rather than failing at masculinity, men who occupy less privileged sociodemographic positions actively construct masculinities based on both characteristics and social contexts. Third, I use rich detailed questions about attitudes and fathering to develop a typology of masculinities. This typology allows me to take a quantitative approach to explore masculinities in fatherhood among a more diverse sample of men. In effect, I apply the theoretical perspective based on smaller-scale qualitative research to extract multiple, distinct, and theoretically motivated forms of masculinity from large-scale survey data.

This study provides a number of theoretical and methodological insights improving current discussions of masculinities and fatherhood. However, there are three limitations worth noting. First, survey methodologists frequently cite challenges to measuring attitudes with a survey instrument (see Schuman and Presser 1996). I do not contest these concerns. Rather, I acknowledge a qualitative approach provides more elaborate discussions of how men enact their vision of masculinities in fathering. However, my findings are consistent with prior qualitative research suggesting the typology I have constructed has both construct and criterion-based validity. Second, I present cross-sectional analyses rather than a longitudinal approach. In effect, I cannot disentangle the temporal order between sociodemographic characteristics and

visions of masculinities. Lastly, the Fragile Families data do not provide clean measures of *home ownership*. Therefore, the nonsignificant effect of *home ownership* I report could be an artifact of weak measurement.

Next, I briefly discuss the associations between my focal independent variables and masculinities. The effects of *relationship status* (with the birth mother) and *educational attainment* provide support for a critical masculinities perspective. Fathers who are married to the child's mother are more likely to be generative rather than traditional or marginalized. Similarly, better educated fathers are more likely to be generative than traditional or marginalized. I find substantial differences between nonresident and married fathers. However, the lack of differences between married and cohabiting fathers suggests the effects of relationship status could be driven by resident status rather than the institutional nature of marriage. Differences in terms of generative and traditional men's *relationship status* and *educational attainment* remain after introducing controls for both demographic characteristics and attitudes. I interpret these findings as evidence that disadvantaged men are displaced into (or construct) alternative forms of masculinities. The effects of *personal income* are less clear. Early models suggest wealthier fathers are more likely to be traditional rather than generative, which supports a mainstream sociological perspective. However, the inclusion of demographic characteristics reduces these differences and suggests the relationship between income and masculinities is spurious. Lastly, I find no differences in comparing the masculinities of those own and rent their homes, which is inconsistent with Townsend's (2002) qualitative analyses. Although I suggested this finding could be biased by unclear measures of home ownership, it is also reasonable to expect that changes in the housing market and economy might make *home ownership* a less salient predictor of masculinities, especially among young, urban-dwelling men.

Results present findings for both demographic characteristics and attitudes that can guide future research. Most notably, I find that Hispanic men are more likely to embrace either a generative or marginalized vision of fatherhood rather than a traditional vision of masculinity. Moreover, supplemental analyses demonstrate the marginalized men are comprised of two distinct *racial/ethnic* groups of men. The first group consists of relatively advantaged Hispanic men who report providing direct care is very important while providing economic support is not very important. The second group of marginalized men consists of urban, disadvantaged Black men who acknowledge both economic providership and caregiving are very important, but providing direct care is the single most important aspect of fathering. It is likely these distinct types of marginalized men highlight important race differences, I did not set out to address in this study. Next, I plan to focus more heavily on racial and ethnic differences in masculinity with hopes of either explaining or lessening the stark racial and ethnic differences highlighted in this study.

Lastly, I return to the methodological implications this study raises. Feminist researchers are well aware of the advantages and disadvantages of quantitative versus qualitative research. Previously some feminist scholars questioned the validity of using qualitative methods to conduct feminist research. However, Thompson's (1992) classic piece challenges the quantitative/qualitative divide among feminist researchers. Ultimately, Thompson (1992) argues feminist research should be defined according to its agenda, epistemology, and ethical implications rather than methodology. In response, feminist researchers have become less wary of quantitative methodologies. A widely cited body of feminist research uses quantitative methods to explore gender inequalities (both attitudes and behaviors) in key domains such as the labor force and the household (e.g. Bittman et al. 2003; Kane and Sanchez 1994; Sanchez and

Kane 1996). More recently, Kenney (2006) uses the Fragile Families data to explore resource allocations and household spending as a gendered process. My results indicate that a small-scale qualitative approach targeted at specific types of men is likely to overlook heterogeneity in masculinities. In response, I recommend future research to explore creative methods and draw on attitude measures from survey data to extract multiple masculinities from large-scale survey data.

NOTES

1. Latent class analysis is a statistical technique that places respondents into a classes based on response patterns across categorical indicators. I run three and four class models across the open and closed indices to explore response patterns. Model-fit statistics demonstrate the four-class model fits these data better suggesting men's response patterns yield four distinct classes of masculinities. All four classes of men are likely to consider all dimensions of fathering very important. One class of men his has a high probability of considering providing direct care the single most important dimension of fathering. A second class of men his a moderate to high probability of selecting either economic providership, protection, or serving as an authority figure the single most important dimension of fathering. The third class of men considers teaching the child about life to be the single most important dimension of fathering. Lastly, the fourth class of men considers showing the child love the single most important dimension of fathering. Although the data response patterns suggest four distinct classes of masculinity emerge rather than three, the theoretical typology I construct collapses the classes that consider showing love and teaching the child about life into one generative form of masculinity based on theory and prior qualitative research. I suggest differentiating between showing the child love and teaching the child about life is not instrumental in discussing masculinities in fathering.
2. I conduct an exploratory factor analysis in constructing my relationship quality scales which indicated that my selected measures should be broken down into two separate scales. One with variables measuring social outings with the partner (in the last month) and the other with variables measuring frequency of conflict ($\alpha=0.65$). I also considered

a scale measuring social support from the partner ($\alpha=0.63$). According to factor analysis, using all scales posed a multicollinearity problem. Therefore, I decided to omit the social support scale as it yielded a lower cronbach alpha and was geared toward perceived relationship quality more than behavioral relationship quality.

3. Table 3 presents coefficients. However, for ease of interpretation, the text discusses effects in terms of percent increase/decrease in the odds of being a generative man. This calculation is achieved by exponentiating the coefficient and taking the difference from 1.0, which is then multiplied by 100. For details on interpreting results from a multinomial model see DeMaris (2004).

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Table 1. Characteristics of Fathers, Total Sample and by Masculinities

	Total Sample		Generative Men		Traditional Men		Marginalized Men	
	M/%	SD	M/%	SD	M/%	SD	M/%	SD
<u>Focal Independent Variables</u>								
<i>Relationship Status (to Birth Mother)</i>								
Married ^{A, B}	28.1	--	30.1	--	25.6	--	24.4	--
Cohabiting ^B	44.1	--	43.3	--	43.5	--	47.9	--
Nonresident, romantically involved ^A	21.0	--	20.0	--	24.3	--	20.5	--
Not romantically involved	6.71	--	6.46	--	6.41	--	7.01	--
<i>Educational Attainment</i>								
At least a Bachelor's Degree ^{A, B}	11.1	--	12.5	--	9.86	--	7.67	--
Some College ^B	21.5	--	22.8	--	20.7	--	17.6	--
High School/GED ^C	34.8	--	34.5	--	37.7	--	31.3	--
Less than High School ^{B, C}	32.4	--	29.9	--	31.5	--	43.3	--
<i>Personal Income (annual)</i>								
At least \$35,000 per year ^{B, C}	18.2	--	19.0	--	20.3	--	12.0	--
\$20,000-\$34,999 per year	22.0	--	22.9	--	21.8	--	20.0	--
\$10,000-\$19,999 per year ^C	23.6	--	23.7	--	21.3	--	26.7	--
Less than \$10,000 ^{B, C}	23.1	--	21.8	--	22.9	--	29.0	--
No reported income	12.9	--	12.4	--	13.5	--	12.0	--
Homeowner ^{B, C}	24.6	--	25.5	--	26.0	--	19.5	--
<u>Demographic Characteristics</u>								
<i>Race & Ethnicity</i>								
White ^{B, C}	20.2	--	21.4	--	21.6	--	15.3	--
Black ^{A, B, C}	47.2	--	46.3	--	53.4	--	41.6	--
Hispanic ^{A, B, C}	28.0	--	27.7	--	20.6	--	39.1	--
Other (multi-racial)	4.43	--	4.42	--	4.28	--	3.92	--
Age ^{A, B, C}	27.9	7.1	27.9	7.0	28.6	7.6	26.7	6.5

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics (continued)

	Total Sample		Generative Men		Traditional Men		Marginalized Men	
	M/%	SD	M/%	SD	M/%	SD	M/%	SD
<i>Previous Children</i>								
No other children	42.7	--	43.8	--	40.0	--	42.9	--
One other child	29.0	--	29.2	--	28.6	--	28.3	--
2 or more other children ^A	28.2	--	26.9	--	31.1	--	28.7	--
<u>Relationship Characteristics</u>								
Informal Socialization	2.1	0.9	2.2	0.9	2.1	0.9	2.1	1.0
Relationship Conflict ^{A, C}	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.1	2.7	2.3	2.2	2.1
<i>Birth Mother's Characteristics</i>								
<i>Educational Attainment</i>								
At least a Bachelor's ^{B, C}	12.0	--	12.8	--	13.0	--	7.83	--
Some College ^B	24.2	--	25.6	--	22.3	--	21.3	--
High School/GED	25.2	--	25.4	--	26.3	--	22.8	--
Less than High School ^{B, C}	38.5	--	36.0	--	38.2	--	47.9	--
<i>Ideal Father</i>								
Generative ^A	54.4	--	56.4	--	51.5	--	52.3	--
Traditional ^{A, C}	24.7	--	23.3	--	29.3	--	23.1	--
Marginalized ^{A, C}	16.0	--	16.5	--	13.6	--	17.7	--
Other ^{A, B}	4.89	--	3.84	--	5.70	--	6.85	--
				--				
N	3743	--	2215	--	842	--	613	--

Source. Fragile Families Baseline Study

Notes

A denotes a significant difference between generative and traditional men ($p < 0.05$).

B denotes a significant difference between generative and marginalized men ($p < 0.05$).

C denotes a significant difference between traditional and marginalized men ($p < 0.05$).

Table 2. Nested Multinomial Models Predicting Masculinities, coefficients

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	<i>G</i> <i>versus</i> <i>T</i>	<i>G</i> <i>versus</i> <i>M</i>	<i>T</i> <i>versus</i> <i>M</i>	<i>G</i> <i>versus</i> <i>T</i>	<i>G</i> <i>versus</i> <i>M</i>	<i>T</i> <i>versus</i> <i>M</i>	<i>G</i> <i>versus</i> <i>T</i>	<i>G</i> <i>versus</i> <i>M</i>	<i>T</i> <i>versus</i> <i>M</i>
Intercept	-1.21 *	-1.79 *	-0.58 *	-1.78 *	-1.47 *	0.31	-1.76 *	-1.48 *	0.27
<u>Focal Independent Variables</u>									
<i>Relationship Status (to Birth Mother)</i>									
(Married)									
Cohabiting	0.18	0.01	-0.17	0.22	0.00	-0.22	0.23	0.00	-0.23
Nonresident, romantically involved	0.36 *	-0.09	-0.45 *	0.36 *	-0.03	-0.40 *	0.33 *	-0.04	-0.38 *
Not romantically involved	0.15	0.00	-0.15	0.15	0.05	-0.09	0.06	0.06	0.00
<i>Educational Attainment</i>									
(At least a Bachelor's Degree)									
Some College	0.19	0.09	-0.10	0.24	0.02	-0.22	0.31	0.04	-0.27
High School/GED	0.39 *	0.18	-0.20	0.46 *	0.09	-0.36	0.51 *	0.10	-0.41
Less than High School	0.37 *	0.61 *	0.24	0.53 *	0.41	-0.12	0.59 *	0.37	-0.21
<i>Personal Income (annual)</i>									
(At least \$35,000 per year)									
\$20,000-\$34,999 per year	-0.27 *	0.17	0.44 *	-0.22	0.13	0.36	-0.21	0.12	0.34
\$10,000-\$19,999 per year	-0.40 *	0.32	0.72 *	-0.28	0.24	0.52 *	-0.27	0.22	0.50 *
Less than \$10,000	-0.29 *	0.43 *	0.73 *	-0.20	0.39 *	0.60 *	-0.22	0.36	0.59 *
No reported income	-0.21	0.15	0.37	-0.18	0.13	0.32	-0.18	0.10	0.29
<i>Homeowner</i>	0.08	-0.12	-0.20	0.04	-0.09	-0.14	0.03	-0.07	-0.11

Table 2. Multinomial Models (continued)

	Model 2			Model 3		
	<i>G</i> <i>versus</i> <i>T</i>	<i>G</i> <i>versus</i> <i>M</i>	<i>T</i> <i>versus</i> <i>M</i>	<i>G</i> <i>versus</i> <i>T</i>	<i>G</i> <i>versus</i> <i>M</i>	<i>T</i> <i>versus</i> <i>M</i>
<u>Demographic Characteristics</u>						
<i>Race & Ethnicity</i>						
(White)						
Black	-0.01	-0.03	-0.02	-0.03	-0.02	0.00
Hispanic	-0.41 *	0.35 *	0.76 *	-0.37 *	0.32 *	0.70 *
Other (multi-racial)	-0.04	0.12	0.17	-0.07	0.10	0.18
<i>Age</i>	0.01 *	-0.01	-0.03 *	0.01 *	-0.01	-0.03 *
<i>Previous Children</i>						
(No other children)						
One other child	0.04	0.06	0.01	0.00	0.06	0.05
2 or more other children	0.09	0.19	0.10	0.05	0.19	0.13
<u>Relationship Characteristics</u>						
Informal Socialization				0.00	0.01	0.02
Relationship Conflict				0.06 *	-0.03	-0.09 *
<i>Birth Mother's Characteristics</i>						
Educational Attainment						
(At least a Bachelor's)						
Some College				-0.33	0.02	0.35
High School/GED				-0.23	0.00	0.23
Less than High School				-0.18	0.16	0.35
Ideal Father						
(Generative)						
Traditional				0.26 *	0.11	-0.14
Marginalized				-0.07	0.06	0.13
Other				0.42 *	0.70 *	0.28

Model Fit Statistics

Log Likelihood	-3761	-3728	-3699
Model Chi Square	106.7 *	173.3 *	231.7 *
N	3743	3743	3743

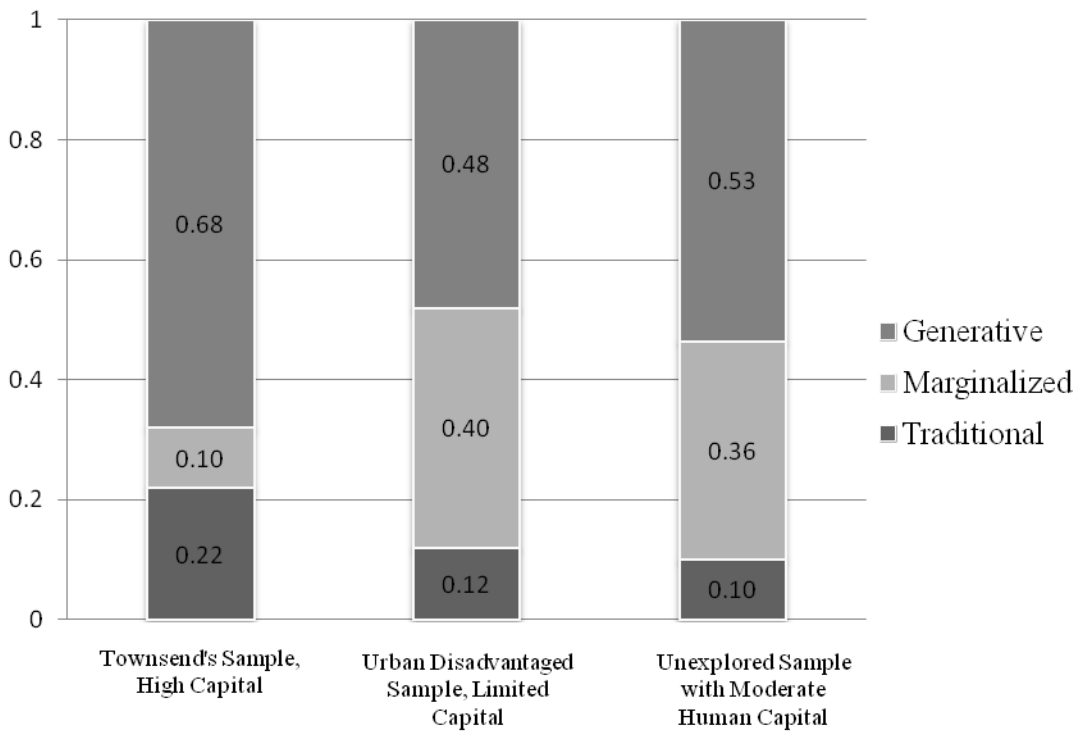
Source. Fragile Families Baseline Study

*p<0.05.

Notes

- G. Generative Masculinity
- T. Traditional Masculinity
- M. Marginalized Masculinity

Figure 1. Predicted Probabilities for Masculinities by Ideal Types



Source. Fragile Families Baseline Study