

Exploring Townsend’s ‘Package Deal’ among Disadvantaged Fathers: Integrating Mainstream Sociological and Critical Gender Theories of Masculinity on Fatherhood

J. Bart Stykes, Bowling Green State University, jstykes@bgsu.edu

Background

- Universal Masculinity
 - Townsend’s “Package Deal” (2002)
 - Providership, emotional support, endowment, and protection
 - Nock’s Institutional Masculinity
 - *provider, protector, and father* (1998)
- Multiple Forms of Masculinity (Connell, 1987)
 - Hegemonic Masculinity
 - The cultural ideal form of masculinity
 - Alternative Masculinities
 - Arise as men either fail at achieving or reject the ideal type of masculinity and construct other masculinities

Models of Fatherhood

- Generative Man as the Hegemonic Ideal
 - Marsiglio and Pleck (2005)
 - Townsend (2002)
 - Social integration
- Continuum of Masculinities in Fatherhood
 - Lag between men’s aspirations and societal expectations results in polarized forms of masculinity (Fin and Henwood, 2009)
- Class Differences in Fatherhood (Shows and Gerstel, 2009)
 - Men who are most likely to embrace egalitarian ideas are the least likely to engage in “active” fathering
- Social Contexts’ influences on Fatherhood
 - Roy (2004)

Current Study

- Do men’s visions of masculinity vary across socioeconomic characteristics?
- Do men’s visions of masculinity vary across attitudes?
- Do men’s positions across sociodemographic characteristics (both advantaged and disadvantaged) make them more/less likely to adopt the hegemonic form of masculinity?

Typology of Masculinities

- Theoretically motivated based on literature regarding masculinity and fatherhood
 1. *Generative Masculinity*
 - Both economic providership and caregiving are very important; however, showing the child love and teaching about life are the most important aspects of fatherhood
 2. *Traditional Masculinity*
 - Economic providership is more important than generativity or providing direct care
 3. *Marginalized Masculinity*
 - Providing direct care is more important than generativity or economic providership

Note. Crosstab used to construct typology is available on request.

Guiding Hypotheses

1. Fathers reporting **advantageous positions** (married, earning at least a bachelor's degree, earning at least \$35,000 per year, and owning a home) are *more likely to be generative* than less advantaged men
2. Men with **disadvantaged demographic characteristics** (i.e., racial minorities) are *more likely to be either traditional or marginalized* than generative men
3. Fathers reporting a **greater attachment** to fatherhood, **more egalitarian attitudes**, and **higher relationship quality** with the birth mother are *more likely to be generative men*

Table 1: "The Packaged Deal" by Masculinity

	Full Sample (n=3743)	Generative Men (n=2215)	Traditional Men (n=842)	Marginalized Men (n=613)
		<i>p</i>		
	--	0.59	0.22	0.16
Married	0.28	0.30	0.25	0.24
Cohabiting	0.44	0.43	0.43	0.47
Nonresident	0.21	0.20	0.24	0.20
Not Involved	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.07
At least a Bachelors	0.11	0.12	0.09	0.07
Some College	0.21	0.22	0.20	0.17
HS/GED	0.34	0.34	0.37	0.31
Less than HS	0.32	0.29	0.31	0.43
At least \$35K	0.18	0.19	0.20	0.12
\$20K-\$34,999	0.22	0.22	0.21	0.20
\$10K-\$19,999	0.23	0.23	0.21	0.26
Less than \$10K	0.23	0.21	0.22	0.29
No reported income	0.09	0.12	0.13	0.12
Homeowner	0.24	0.25	0.26	0.19

Data and Methods

- Fragile Families and Child Well-being Study
 - Baseline Data
 - Primarily Father Data File
 - N=3,743
- Multinomial Logistic Regression Techniques
 - Model 1: “The Package Deal” (Father’s SES Characteristics)
 - Model 2: Model 1 + Demographic Controls
 - Model 3: Model 2 + Attitude Controls

Measures

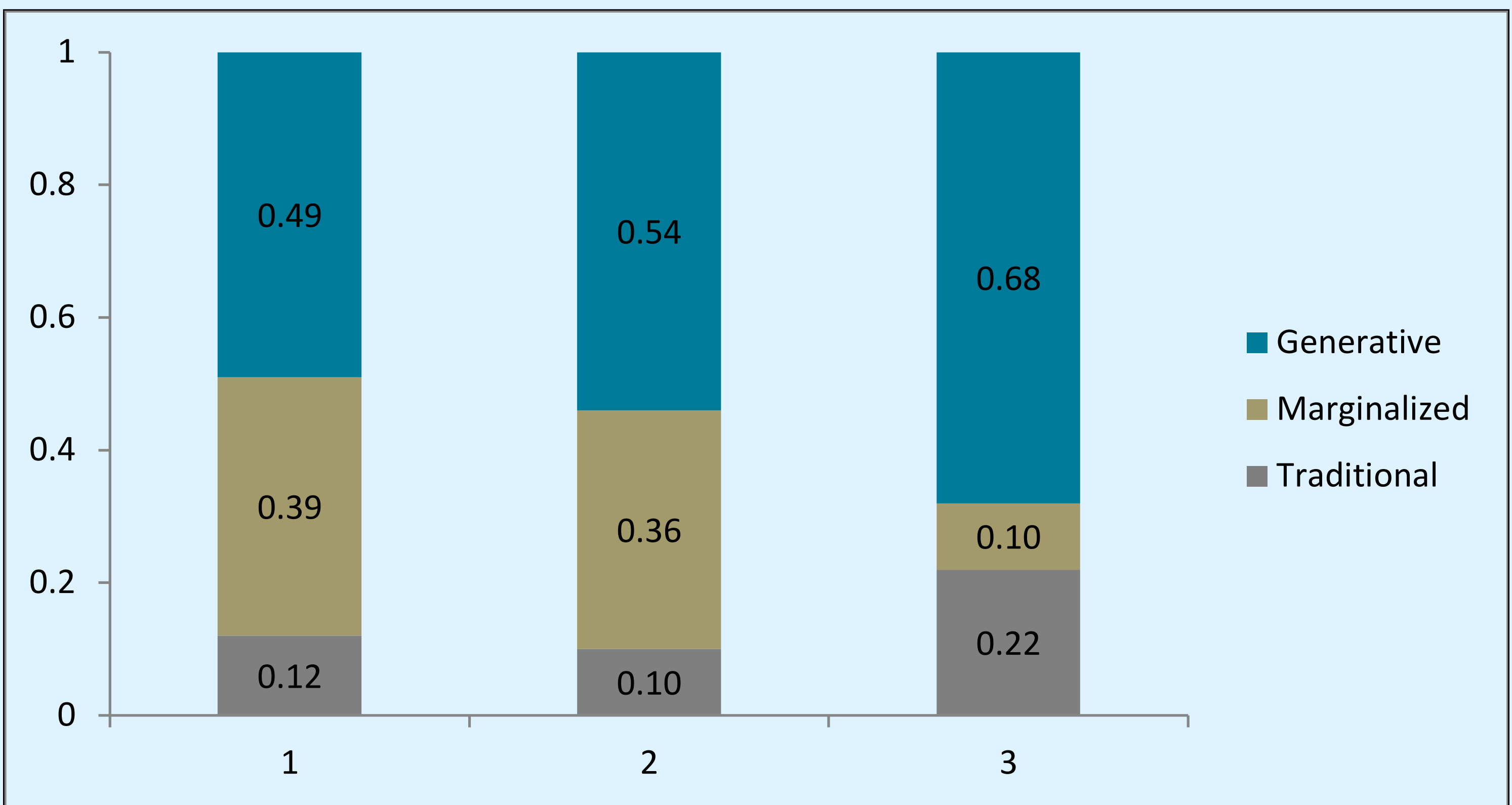
- *Dependent Variable*
 - Type of Masculinity: Generative, Traditional, and Marginalized
- *Focal Independent Variables*
 - Relationship Status with Birth Mother
 - Education
 - Personal Income
 - Ties to Home Ownership
- *Demographic Controls*
 - Race/Ethnicity
 - Age
 - Parity
- *Attitude Controls*
 - Relationship Quality with Birth Mother
 - Attachment to Fatherhood Identity
 - Gender Ideology
 - Birth Mother’s Expectations for Ideal Father

Table 2: Odds Ratios Predicting Type of Masculinity

n=3743	Traditional (Generative)		Marginalized (Traditional)		Marginalized (Generative)	
	"Package Deal"	Full Model	"Package Deal"	Full Model	"Package Deal"	Full Model
(Married)						
Cohabiting	1.20	1.15	0.84	0.94	1.01	1.08
Nonresident, romantically involved	1.44 **	1.28	0.63 **	0.81	0.91	1.04
Not Romantically Involved	1.17	1.02	0.85	1.08	1.00	1.11
(At least a Bachelors)						
Some College	1.21	1.17	0.90	0.84	1.09	1.00
High School Degree/GED	1.48 *	1.41 *	0.81	0.73	1.20	1.04
Less than High School	1.45 *	1.45 *	1.27	0.95	1.84 **	1.38
(At least \$35,000)						
\$20K-\$34,999	0.76 *	0.76	1.56 *	1.39	1.18	1.07
\$10K-\$19,999	0.67 ***	0.70 *	2.07 ***	1.62 *	1.38	1.14
Less than \$10K	0.74 *	0.75	2.08 ***	1.74 *	1.54 *	1.31
No Reported Income	0.80	0.78	1.45	1.28	1.16	1.00
Homeowner	1.08	1.06	0.81	0.88	0.88	0.94
*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001						
Note. Demographic and Attitude Controls excluded from table						

- **Ideal Type #1**
 - Black
 - Non-resident, not romantically involved with the birth mother
 - Less than a high school education
 - Earning less than \$10K
- **Ideal Type #2**
 - Hispanic
 - Cohabiting with the birth mother
 - High school graduate (including GED)
 - Earning \$10K-\$19,999
- **Ideal Type #3**
 - White
 - Married to the birth mother
 - At least a bachelor's degree
 - Earning at least \$35K

Figure 1: Predicted Probabilities for Ideal Types



Conclusions

- I find evidence supporting three theoretically distinct forms of masculinity
 - Advantageous positions in relationship status and education increase the odds of being a generative (hegemonic) man
 - Economic advantage and older age increase the odds of being a traditional man
- Marginalized men are the most heterogeneous
 - Urban, disadvantaged Black men who “settle” for caregiving
 - Relatively advantaged Hispanic men who reject providership

This research was supported in part by the Center for Family and Demographic Research, Bowling Green State University, which has core funding from the Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (R24HD050959-07).