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ABSTRACT
               This report summarizes presentations and findings from a
1996 conference on "Developmental, Ethnographic, and Demographic Perspectives
on Fathers." Part 1 of the report describes the characteristics of the
developmental psychology, the ethnography, and the family demography aspects
of fatherhood. Part 2 examines the multiple dimensions of fatherhood,
including how research has characterized fathers' roles, how children view
their fathers, and cultural influences on fathers' roles. Part 3 presents
methodological considerations, including effective approaches to data
collection in various cultures, considerations in developing new research
instruments, issues associated with combining quantitative and qualitative
methods, and recommendations for integrating various approaches to the study
of fathers. Part 4 highlights issues related to large-scale surveys,
including the tendency to study fathers largely with measures designed for
mothers; the need to shift away from the two-parent, middle-income, white
family as the sole point of reference, and toward greater consideration of
multiple family configurations; and the need to engage fathers who are
underrepresented in data collection. The appendix provides summaries of
presentations at three sessions: (1) "How Do Fathers Father and What
Difference Does It Make?" with presentations by Michael Lamb, Robin Jarrett,
Jennie Joe, and Randal Day; (2) "Fatherhood: American Cultural and Ethnic
Contexts," containing presentations by Linda Burton, Iris Mink, Bette
Keltner, Jan Blacher, and Don Bailey; and (3) "And the Twain Shall Meet: A
Rapprochement Between Demographic and Developmental/Ethnographic Research,"
with presentations by Vivian Gadsden; Aisha Ray and Sydney Hans; Sharon
Ramey; Mercer Sullivan; and Agatha Gallo. (KB)

Developmental, Ethnographic, and Demographic Perspectives on Fatherhood: Summary Report of the Conference

June 11-12, 1996
Bethesda, MD

Prepared for the NICHD Family and Child Well-Being Research Network
by
Child Trends, Inc.

Angela Dungee Greene
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September 30, 1996

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Preface

This report summarizes the presentations and findings from a conference on "Developmental. Ethnographic. and Demographic Perspectives on Fatherhood" which took place June 11 and 12. 1996. The conference was co-sponsored by the Demographic and Behavioral Sciences Branch and the Mental Retardation and Developmental Disabilities Branch of the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development: (NICHD): the Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics; and the NICHD Family and Child Well-Being Research Network. Leading researchers in developmental psychology, ethnography. anthropology. and family demography presented information on fathers from their studies. and explored ways to integrate approaches and findings from small-scale qualitative studies with data from large-scale surveys.

This conference was the second in a year-long series of meetings designed to improve the capacity of the federal statistical system to conceptualize. measure. and gather information from men about their fertility and their role as fathers. This series of meetings is organized by representatives of the various federal agencies that gather and use data on children and families. with significant input from leading members of the research community and support from the Ford and Annie E. Casey Foundations. In addition, the comprehensive work of the Center on Fathers and Families (NCOFF) at the University of Pennsylvania enhances the federal initiative to improve data on fathers. The first meeting in this series was a Town Meeting on Fathering and Male Fertility that took place in March 1996. Its proceedings are summarized in an earlier report, *Improving Federal Data on Fathers: A Summary of the Town Meeting on Fathering and Male Fertility.*[1] Future meetings in this series are described in the introduction to this report (pp. 1-5).

Special thanks for planning and organizing the Conference on Developmental. Ethnographic, and Demographic Perspectives on Fatherhood" are given to Marie Bristol. Jeffery Evans (National Institute of Child Health and Human Development), and Gesine Hearn (NICHD Family and Child Well-Being Research Network).

This report was prepared by Angela Dungee Greene (Child Trends, Inc.) and Gesine Hearn (NICHD Family and Child Well-Being Research Network). and was edited by Carol Emig (Child Trends, Inc.). Subsequent meetings and conferences will add to the comments and suggestions offered here.

Summaries of each presentation are provided in the appendix to this document.

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[1] This report is available from Child Trends, Inc.. 4301 Connecticut Ave.. N.W.. Suite 100. Washington. DC 20008: (202) 362-5580 fax: (202) 362-5533.

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Introduction

The composition of the American family and the traditional roles and responsibilities of family members have changed dramatically in recent decades. The great variety in family situations and structures. due primarily to increases in divorce and nonmarital childbearing. implies great diversity in the roles of mothers and fathers. While there has been substantial research on the role of mothers, much less is known about the role and significance of fathers in their children's lives and within the family.

Improved information on fathers would potentially meet several important societal needs. Better data from and about fathers could contribute to the development of public policies that support children and families, particularly in the areas of welfare. child custody, and child support; it could provide insights into issues of child development and family processes; it could inform workplace policies to help employees balance family and work responsibilities; and it could also expand our understanding of male development.

Recognition of the need for more and better data on fathers has grown in recent years in the research community, in policy circles, and among the general public. In the federal government, President Clinton has directed federal agencies to take a leadership role in promoting fathers' involvement in their children's lives, and he has specifically asked the federal statistical agencies to improve their current data collection efforts to increase the information available on fathers. In the private sector, the research community and a number of major foundations have turned increasing attention to issues of fatherhood and male fertility. Together, researchers, foundations, and the federal government have launched a series of interrelated activities intended to generate more and better information about fathers.

The Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics, which includes the major federal agencies responsible for gathering information on families and children, has taken the lead in efforts to improve the quality and quantity of data on fathers gathered by the federal government. In collaboration with private foundations, leading researchers and research centers, the Forum is sponsoring a year-long series of interrelated conferences and meetings to review current approaches to gathering information on fathers and to explore new ways of conceptualizing, measuring, and collecting data about fatherhood and male fertility.

This series began with a Town Meeting on Fathering and Male Fertility in Washington D.C. on March 27, 1996. The Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics invited speakers to give short testimony on methodological, theoretical, and political problems concerning male data. On June 11-12, 1996, a major conference added to the knowledge gained at the Town Meeting, focusing on the substantive and methodological contributions that developmental, ethnographic, and anthropological research might make to improve federal data collection efforts and research on fathering.

This conference was a first step in examining what we know about fathers and their interactions with their children from developmental, anthropological, ethnographic, and demographic perspectives. Presenters offered perspectives and insights from each research tradition and explored the American cultural and ethnic contexts of fathering. The conference also examined surveys on fatherhood that combined qualitative and quantitative research approaches, and participants discussed the conceptual and analytical challenges to combining developmental, ethnographic, and demographic methodologies. The conference ended with a panel discussion on obstacles, opportunities, and future directions in research on fathers.

On October 10 and 11, 1996, the NICHD Family and Child Well-Being Research Network will sponsor a conference exploring the nature and extent of fathers' involvement in family life and in the lives of their children in light of different family situations and structures. Analytic studies using existing sources of information on fathers from federal data bases and from other large scale surveys will be presented and critically reviewed. The conference will be followed by a half-day workshop on methodological issues related to data on fatherhood in large-scale surveys.

In March 1997, the Federal Interagency Forum, together with NICHD and the Fatherhood Initiative of the Department of Health and Human Services, will sponsor a conference on measurement and data collection issues. This conference, the culmination of the year-long effort to improve federal data on fatherhood, will produce specific recommendations for changes in how information on fathers and male fertility is gathered by federal agencies and by other public and private data collection efforts.

In preparation for this final conference, four working groups have been formed to develop specific recommendations on how to improve federal data on men and fathers. Members of the working groups include experts from academia, government, and the private sector. The groups will produce working papers on issues of family formation and male fertility, methodology, conceptualizing male parenting, and opportunities and trade-offs in revising and redesigning current federal data collection efforts. These working groups will build on the information gathered at all of the preceding conferences and meetings on fatherhood, as well as information from private efforts.

Developmental, Ethnographic, and Demographic Perspectives on Fatherhood: Characteristics of the Different Approaches

The Town Meeting on Fathering and Male Fertility -- the first meeting of the year-long effort to improve federal data on fathers -- examined the nature, scope, and quality of data currently available on fathers. While participants noted much of value in these data, they also highlighted the need to expand the conceptual frameworks that guide the collection of data on men; enumerated the limitations of existing data and suggested ways to improve that data; and raised issues for inclusion in future surveys of men.[2]

One promising avenue for improving the quality of data on fathers and adding to the general body of information available involves the use of qualitative research and the findings of small-scale studies from a variety of approaches. Accordingly, the second in the series of meetings to improve federal data on fathers addressed "Developmental, Ethnographic, and Demographic Perspectives on Fatherhood. This conference examined small scale developmental and ethnographic studies of parenting for information regarding fatherhood and explored ways to integrate and combine developmental, ethnographic, and demographic methodologies. What follows is a brief overview of the major research approaches represented at the conference.

Family Demography

Demographic research looks at the processes that determine population size, growth, composition and distribution, and the determinants and consequences of those processes. Research in family demography traditionally concentrates on the effects and determinants of family formation, family behavior, family processes, and family relationships. During the last few years, the development of family demography has been punctuated by new sources of data, research findings documenting the loosening of family ties in the U.S., the rise of scientific and public policy interest in the well-being of children, intergenerational family transactions, and the family behavior of fathers. Thus, research on fathers, and more generally on men, is an area of considerable interest in family demography.

Inclusion of men in studies of divorcing families and in national surveys have given new insights into the contributions that men make in their children's lives. But demographic research on fathers is impeded by basic methodological and conceptual difficulties, many of which were explored at the Town Meeting. For example, males are often not included in surveys by design and therefore males are not asked any questions directly about their family lives. When men are included in large scale surveys, significant subpopulations, in particular poor and minority men

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[2]Greene, A.D., Emig, C., & Hearn, G. "Improving Federal Data on Fathers: A Summary of the Town Meeting on Fathering and Male Fertility." March 27, 1996, Washington, D.C. Prepared for the NICHD Family and Child Well-Being Research Network by Child Trends, Inc., May 1, 1996.

and unmarried fathers who do not live with their children. are missed, leading to very biased information about men. Additionally. the questions asked of male survey respondents often follow a female template, thus failing to capture adequately the male experience. Even when the right questions are asked of men, studies often fail to elicit valid responses.

Developmental Psychology

Research in the tradition of developmental psychology explores the social, emotional and cognitive development of human beings from the prenatal stage to the onset of adulthood. Physical and behavioral development are seen as variable processes in which individual differences and experiences as well as environmental and genetic factors play prominent roles. Topics such as children's health, illnesses and disabilities and their relation to behavioral and psychological development also play a central role in developmental psychology.

Naturally, one of the core interests in this research tradition is the interaction between parents and their children. Studies have explored primarily the interaction between mothers and children, but there is also a large body of literature, following different research traditions, that contributes substantially to the understanding of the roles of fathers in children's development. These include studies that identify and analyze the effects of father absence; correlational studies with a primary interest in sex role modeling; studies of the effects on children when fathers play prominent roles in their daily care; and studies of children's attachment to parents and primary care givers, and its influence on child development. All of these studies confirm that fathers can play an important role in children's development; that fathers fulfill a variety of roles; and that these multiple roles coexist and vary in importance among families over time (Lamb).

But developmental data also have serious shortcomings. In general, the research approach in the field of developmental psychology, in contrast to demographic or ethnographic research, is characterized by samples of convenience with a high level of exclusion. The subject matter usually defines the sample, not strategies to ensure national probability (Appelbaum). In particular, almost all studies that include fathers focus on white middle-class fathers. When minority fathers or economically disadvantaged groups have been included in these studies. the focus has usually been on negative aspects of behavior and negative outcomes (Lamb). In addition, neither large-scale secondary data sources nor macro measures are commonly used in this discipline. As a result, findings from developmental studies are often decontextualized, and although the narrow measurement frame is helpful in testing hypotheses and generating new hypotheses, thorough examination and generalization of the findings is often difficult (Appelbaum).

Ethnography

Research using ethnographic methods concentrates on sociocultural processes and the role of culture and social context in human behavior. The ethnographic approach is used primarily within the disciplines of anthropology and sociology. A key characteristic of ethnography is its subjective and contextual nature. which draws attention to people's beliefs. values. and attitudes. and the development and effects of behaviors, social roles, and perceptions in a certain physical and social environment. Knowledge is acquired through participation: ethnographers are involved on a first-hand basis with their subjects, going into the "field" to observe and accompany the study population. Thus. researchers can see what is actually done and how people actually behave compared to their subjective perceptions and accounts. and they can identify the dynamic patterns of social behavior and interaction.

In regard to research on fathers, the ethnographic approach can help answer questions about the meaning and perceptions of fatherhood: who fathers children: what roles fathers perform in their children's lives; what factors determine the nature, level. and quality of fathering: what patterns characterize the paternal role over time: and how various contexts, such as the labor market or neighborhoods, influence who fathers. when they father, and how they father (Jarrett). Ethnographic studies of these kind of topics help illuminate the meaning and definitions of fatherhood, but they are limited in the extent to which their findings can be generalized.

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Exploring the Multiple Dimensions of Fatherhood

How has existing research characterized father's roles?

The conference opened with a presentation by Michael Lamb of the varied ways fathers have been viewed by popular culture and in the research literature at different periods in American history. He noted that most of the popular and research literature refers to white, middle-class fathers, and thus fails to recognize that various historical events may have fostered markedly different roles and role changes over time for fathers from other ethnic, cultural, and economic groups. He further noted the tendency of both researchers and the public at any given time to focus on one main role for fathers -- such as economic provider, or male role model -- thus obscuring the multifaceted nature of fatherhood. Lamb argued instead for recognizing that fathers have played a variety of roles over time and across groups.

Lamb then turned to a substantial body of empirical research issue that offers important insights into the influence of father involvement on child development, dividing the literature into four research traditions:

Research on Father Absence. This research issue emerged during World War II and regained prominence in the early 1980's when divorce rates sharply increased. Lamb cautioned that findings in the area of father absence are tentative. Some evidence indicates that children from single-parent families are more likely to exhibit problems with, for instance, psychosocial adjustment, peer interactions, and establishing intimacy during young adulthood. However, Lamb asserted that father absence is an umbrella term covering several processes known to be detrimental to children, including the economic insecurity experienced by single mothers and the marital or partner conflict that may precede separation. He therefore suggested that further insights into the multiple roles fathers assume may yield more information -- and more precise information -- on the effects of their absence on children and families.

Correlational studies focusing primarily on sex role modeling. The implicit hypothesis of this early research was that boys with more masculine fathers become more masculine men. When a first round of studies failed to support this hypothesis, researchers examined mediating factors and discovered that sons seek to become like their fathers when their relationships are warm and close. The crucial factor is the warmth of the father/son relationship rather than the father's masculinity. In fact, Lamb pointed out that parental warmth is an important predictor of children's status on a variety of indicators of well-being.

Research on what happens to children when fathers play prominent roles in their daily care. Findings indicate that compared to their peers, children who have very involved fathers hold more egalitarian sex roles, form better peer relations, and are better able to negotiate social situations. When researchers explored the reasons for these differences, they discovered that the

effects on child well-being were much less positive when fathers became involved in daily care because they were unemployed and forced to remain at home. Lamb contends that the important issue is not the involvement of fathers in children's daily care, but rather the marital climate in which that involvement occurs. Children benefited most from involvement when fathers willingly remained at home to provide daily care while their supportive partners happily pursued professional goals.

Attachment Studies. This final set of studies draws from the tradition of mother/infant attachment prominent in the mid 1970's. This research reveals that children form attachments to both parents by the middle of the first year of life, even when they spend a great deal of time with a child care provider and parents are only minimally involved with daily care. In fact, children can establish more than two attachments, and child care providers are primary among the possible sources of attachment. Lamb pointed out that these findings shifted the traditional research focus from mother and infant attachment to the study of multiple social relations that influence child development.

In summary, several important factors enhance the development of children including parental warmth and attachment, family stability, and economic security. The factors that make parent-child relationships positive are virtually the same for mothers and fathers. Lamb emphasized the point that both parents appear to influence children in the same way, as they work together to shape their children. While fathers' roles may, or may not, not be unique and special, they are multifaceted and important.

How do children view their fathers?

Sharon Ramey's longitudinal population-based study of 400 middle-class white and African American families offered the unique contribution of findings about fathers from multiple perspectives, including direct reports from children. Ramey described a variety of methods used to ascertain information from young children, including pictures, props, and specialized interview formats with probe questions. In general, findings reveal the central position fathers maintain in their children's everyday lives from preschool through adolescence. Children view their fathers in ways that are both distinctive from and generally complementary to their perceptions of mothers, and their perceptions change somewhat between young childhood and adolescence.

Children ages 6 to 12 cited fathers as sources of social support in all domains. In terms of emotional support, mothers were ranked highest, followed by fathers, and then by friends. Fathers provided instrumental support almost as often as mothers by helping their children perform tasks in the home. Children viewed mothers and fathers as equal sources of information support, noting that fathers liked to help them learn. Patterns of cross-gender differences emerged

in middle childhood. Boys referred to more conflicts with their mothers and began to rate fathers more positively, while the reverse became true for girls.

Young respondents also described fathers as more creative and eager to learn than mothers, but less sensitive, loving, and happy. Although, fathers considered themselves to be happy, children did not view them that way. As the children grew older they began to regard their fathers as more sensitive than before. Boys described themselves in ways that were similar to their fathers, and girls described themselves like their mothers. Children also cited differing perceptions of what mothers and fathers deem important. They reported that mothers attach greatest importance to making everyone feel special and important within the family, while fathers view children doing well in school as most important. Children endorsed mothers' views, and ranked fathers' views in the mid-range.

Perceptions changed by adolescence. Among teens ages 13 to 19 in stable families, boys rated both mothers and fathers positively, but rated mothers more positively than fathers. For example, when asked how good fathers are as fathers and how good mothers are as mothers, boys gave mothers an average rating of 89 out of 100 and fathers an average rating of 72. Adolescent girls, on the other hand, were much less positive about their fathers. They gave mothers an average rating of 90, but gave fathers only a 56.

How do differences in culture affect fathers' roles and perceptions?

Jennie Joe reported that cross-cultural studies reveal different roles and expectations for fathers as providers, protectors, and educators, and point to the importance of different markers of child development across cultures. Fundamental differences in father-child interactions could be found between societies with matrilineal and patrilineal socialization, and between complex and simple societies. Studies with a sociocultural perspective view families as a slice of the larger culture; marriage roles, gender roles, taboos, family patterns, and the types of parent-child interactions are of chief interest. Differences in the patterns of fathering are found between adult-centered and child-centered societies, between individualistic and collectivist societies, and between nuclear and extended families.

Recognizing the very salient role of culture in defining the role of fathers in family life, conference organizers devoted the second session to presentations on fatherhood in a variety of American cultural and ethnic contexts. But even beyond this session, cultural themes and implications emerged throughout the conference, with several presenters providing the cultural setting for their research and describing the sometimes unique effects of culture on their findings.

A variety of cultural perspectives are described below.

Cross-Cultural Comparisons and Latino Fathers. Don Bailey's cross-cultural study examines the perceived needs for services among families of children with disabilities in China. Puerto Rico. Sweden, and the U.S. To document perceived needs across cultures. Bailey and his colleague developed the Family Needs Survey which consists of 35 items organized into seven domains: the need for information. the need for family and social support, the need for financial assistance. how to explain a child's disability to others. child care needs. the need for professional support, and the need for community services. Cross-cultural comparisons show similar patterns of needs across the four cultural contexts but variation in the total needs expressed by parents based on each nation's support systems for families of children with disabilities. While earlier research indicates that U.S. mothers express more needs for services than do fathers, Bailey's data from Sweden and Puerto Rico do not show differences in the perceived needs of mothers and fathers. In light of this finding, his study explores the extent to which culture influences fathers' participation in the care of children with disabilities and subsequent needs expressed by fathers.

Bailey and his team are currently collecting data on 250 Mexican-American and Puerto Rican parents of young children with disabilities living in the mainland U.S. He presented a few major findings from data on the 42 couples surveyed thus far. For instance, while there were no differences in the total needs expressed by mothers and fathers, Latino fathers expressed more financial needs and more needs for community support. Neither their length of time in the U.S. nor their child's age, gender, or severity of disability were related to Latino fathers' expressed needs or perceived supports. Socioeconomic status did not correlate with expressed needs for fathers, but did correlate highly with perceived family support, friendship support, informal support and total support.

Jan Blacher's longitudinal study of family adaptation to mental retardation focuses on 250 Latina (mostly Mexican) mothers living in East Los Angeles, but includes a subsample of fathers. Each mother included in the sample was the primary care provider of a mentally retarded child between the ages of three and eighteen, and the majority of mothers were also poor, single parents. Given their circumstances, these women were at high risk for compromised mental and emotional health. This study examines mothers' well-being in terms of stress, depression, and general health.

Blacher presented findings on the extent to which fathers provide support to mothers. Since the mothers were the children's primary caregivers, fathers indirectly affect children through their influence on mothers' well-being. Findings indicate that Latino fathers and mothers agreed on the amount of help fathers provided in eight areas. More importantly, the mother's perception of the father's support -- not the actual amount of support received -- was a significant moderator of her stress. Similarly, Latino fathers' presence served as a buffer for maternal depression.

Chinese Immigrant Fathers. Iris Mink provided the cultural context for her study of Chinese immigrants by first contrasting Chinese and American cultures. According to Mink, the European principles of mastery, control, and individualism provide the basis for American culture, while the Eastern tradition of harmony and collectivism characterizes Chinese culture. Confucianism, one of the main teachings of traditional Asian culture, focuses on the family as the basic unit of society and promotes social harmony in the family by delineating a distinct hierarchy of roles and relationships. For example, the relationship between father and son is primary, and the relationship between husband and wife is secondary. The father is deemed the highly regarded and completely respected authority figure charged with providing for and maintaining the reputation of the family. The mother is the nurturing caretaker of the family, and the children are to be obedient, demonstrate familial piety, and bring honor to the family.

In part because of the cultural emphasis on children as a source of piety and esteem, those with disabilities like mental retardation bring shame and dishonor to their family. The mother is often blamed for the disability and the father is responsible for restoring the family's reputation. Mink investigates the existence of these traditional attitudes and beliefs among Chinese immigrant parents.

Mink conducted focus groups separately with mothers and with fathers to explore their beliefs about the causes of mental retardation and the aspects of controllability and blame associated with each cause. Fathers and mothers gave the same responses regarding causes of mental retardation in their separate focus groups, but fathers were more judgmental about the circumstances, in some instances blaming the mothers for uncontrollable causes of the child's retardation. Mink concluded that these issues of underlying blame and shame regarding disabled children may have implications for policy development.

American Indian Fathers. Bette Keltner's research team interviewed 90 mothers and 30 fathers from large and small tribes in South Dakota and Alabama about family life, parenting, and adaptation to children with developmental disabilities. She preceded her discussion of findings with important contextual information, focusing mainly on the great variability in this population. American Indians are one percent of the U.S. population, but they are extremely diverse both across and within the hundreds of existing tribes. About half live on reservations, while others live mostly in urban communities. While there are some commonalities, there are also many distinctly different traditions. She attributed part of this diversity to acculturation and adaptation to regional and sociopolitical forces that shape culture.

Keltner noted the salience of spirituality in fathering and in understanding family and culture. American Indian spirituality in Alabama centers around the Baptist church, while traditional Indian religion is the focus in South Dakota. In American Indian communities in both states, the common spiritual dimension of harmony rather than mastery is evident and translates into compassion and respect for others. A father remarked that the way one treats a severely disabled

child is the way adults should be treated. Parenting activities involve teaching children. including disabled children, to respect and provide assistance to others. Keltner noted that parents impart values through role modeling and instructive stories; mothers told family-related stories and fathers told nature-related stories. Keltner also referred to the emphasis on family interdependence. For example, like Joe's anthropological research on American Indians, Keltner's study identified grandfathers as the main storytellers and teachers, and fathers as the main protectors and disciplinarians.

Responses to some of Keltner's interview items were similar for mother and fathers. For instance. both mothers and fathers referred to spending quality time with their children during family outings, mealtimes, and traditional rituals. Mothers were more likely to refer to daily routines with children, but fathers more often mentioned correcting their behavior, particularly inappropriate interactions with people outside the home. Keltner also found that parents shared common perceptions of problems facing families with school-age children in their tribe including concerns about alcohol abuse, violence, and education. Fathers expressed hopes and goals for their children -- living a sober life. getting an education, and contributing to the community -- that were clearly consistent with the avoidance of these perceived community problems.

African-American Fathers. Linda Burton's seven-year ethnographic study of 186 multigenerational African American families used an integrative conceptual approach that includes life course, generational, developmental, and ecological perspectives. Her research paradigm suggests several assumptions for studying African American fathers:

- There are multiple forms of fatherhood among African Americans, including but going beyond biological father to include secondary fathers and surrogate fathers.

- Fathers respond differently to their roles depending, for instance, on their level of economic security. So, fathers who are working hard to meet basic needs may appear negligent in fulfilling their father roles when, in fact, economic circumstances simply limit their ability to do so.

- Intergenerational practices create and shape the parenting behaviors fathers display.

- The high level of residential mobility among fathers in multigenerational families has implications for fathers' roles.

- Mothers have different, sometimes incomplete, perceptions of what fathers do, and thus do not always acknowledge fathers' roles.

Burton's study included 50 in-depth and 70 less detailed interviews with fathers of all ages. She noted that many were quite involved in the care of their children and that several models of care

giving involving fathers emerged. Similarly, Aisha Ray described high levels of involvement among the low-income, African American fathers in her sample. Fathers were cited by mothers as the second most likely child care provider (after the mother), even above the maternal grandmother. Similarly, two-thirds of the 100 mothers in Ray's sample reported that fathers were reliable providers of material and financial support.

Joe referred to cross-cultural research in anthropology that revealed common themes of fathers as protectors, providers, and educators. The African American fathers Ray interviewed described roles consistent with these cross-cultural themes, commonly referring to their provider role as primary. They also viewed themselves as protectors of their children in both the home (from the harm of hot stoves, electric outlets, etc.) and the neighborhood. These fathers emphasized the importance of their roles as teachers and advisors. For example, they consider themselves responsible for teaching their children the difference between right and wrong and how to negotiate their sometimes threatening inner-city environment. In addition to these roles of provider, protector, and teacher, fathers also typically identified their role as companion and friend to their children.

According to Robin Jarrett, ethnographic research shows that African American fathers expect to contribute financially when possible, but consider involvement in the daily lives of their children a more important contribution. Fathers discipline, maintain the safety of their children in dangerous neighborhoods, provide personal care, and encourage school achievement. Jarrett also noted overlaps between the roles of biological father and sociological fathers, such as older brothers, older cousins, uncles, and stepfathers. She stressed that fathering is a dynamic social process that includes various patterns and cycles of father involvement, as well as the possibility of different fathers in the lives of children over time.

What circumstances affect fathering?

Lamb referred to a hierarchy of potential barriers to father involvement beginning with individual factors like motivation, followed by the small social context of partners and relationships, and finally by broad institutional and societal barriers. Overcoming the last level of barriers -- for example, through public policies or work place practices -- may facilitate paternal involvement, but only if fathers have already overcome the two previous sets of barriers. They must successfully traverse all levels to maintain ongoing, committed involvement. As Jarrett indicated, various interrelated individual and societal factors affect the nature, level, and quality of fathering.

Among the specific barriers to father involvement mentioned by various presenters were unemployment, incarceration, and relationships among family members:

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Unemployment and Incarceration. Burton referred to two predominantly African- American neighborhoods in which more than 60 percent of males between 16 and 64 were unemployed. Keltner noted an unemployment rate of 85 percent in an American Indian community; in this community, none of the parents interviewed mentioned the providing for children's material well-being as a role for fathers. Randy Day pointed out that unemployment increases the likelihood of separation and divorce. and economic stress compromises relationships by promoting tension and hostility and reducing warmth in the home. When fathers are able to contribute financially, they may be more likely to remain invested in their marital or partner relationship and involved with their children.

Burton also noted the high incarceration rates among African American males ages 18 to 24 in her study area. Jarrett indicated that issues related to incarceration have become increasing common in recent ethnographic studies. In some accounts, mothers recall the hardships associated with taking children to visit their fathers in prison; in others, fathers recently released from prison describe strained attempts to reconnect with their children after long periods of absence.

Elevated rates of incarceration, unemployment, and violent crime in high-risk neighborhoods produce accelerated life courses. Burton and others have documented the belief among some African American males that they will not live past age 21 and therefore pursue the fatherhood role at an early age. Burton noted that the common age difference of 25 years between generations may be reduced significantly as a consequence of an accelerated life course and concomitant early fertility. As Jarrett pointed out, the age of the father has implications for fathering. Young fathers have developmental issues that may limit their ability to assume full responsibility for their offspring. Also, parents and children close in age often relate to each other like siblings which, as Burton explained, can challenge parental hierarchies in families.

Relationships Among Family Members. Jarrett observed that relationships between mothers and fathers may also affect the way fathers assume responsibility for their children. Fathers are more likely to be involved when children are conceived within marriage or other long-term committed relationships. Mercer Sullivan's ethnographic study of low-income white, African American, and Latino fathers revealed that non-resident fathers were very involved in the support and care of their children, especially when fathers and mothers were on amicable terms. Ray found that mothers' satisfaction with how fathers met their provider responsibilities was related to whether they were still a couple, how close mothers stated they were, and how well they got along with one another.

Jarrett noted that extended family members can support or disrupt the father-child relationship. Findings from Burton's study illustrate this point. She identified a dual-family intergenerational model of care giving in which a father and his family are very involved in the care of a child, but

also found that when a father and his family were not involved, it was often because the maternal child's grandmother would not allow their involvement.

Burton's research also highlights the important influence of intergenerational practices and behaviors on the parenting styles of fathers. She asserted that some young fathers grapple with the lingering effects of their parents' relationship on their own lives and relationships. Many also disclosed the trauma of childhood experiences, such as sexual abuse. Men who as children or adolescents were marginalized by their parents, or placed virtually on their own at a young age, sometimes repeated this pattern with their own sons. Burton found that fathers talked about their childhood and revealed that they began to learn parenting behaviors very early in life. Fathers often repeated the parenting behaviors of an earlier generation, even negative ones, in the absence of positive role models. Such role models are conspicuously missing from media sources accessible to young fathers. Burton's content analysis of print media and her review of television presentations revealed the dearth of positive profiles of mid-life African American fathers.

Methodological Considerations

What approaches are effective for collecting data on fathers from various cultures?

Don Bailey noted that when European mothers and fathers in matched couples were asked their preference of either a written survey or personal interview, fathers usually preferred to fill out the survey, and mothers preferred to talk to the interviewer. He also found that some Latino fathers were willing to complete some survey items but others viewed the items as useless or intrusive and refused to participate. He proposed that the nature of the survey instrument and the methods of gathering information may need to vary with the respondent. His team used a variety of data collection techniques. They also accommodated fathers by having them decide the most convenient location for their follow-up interview.

Blacher recruited her sample of Latino families of children with disabilities from a Los Angeles regional center that provides developmental services. The center's endorsement of Blacher's study helped overcome parents' initial distrust and suspicion of the study. To further establish trust, Blacher met with families during their visits to the center and worked with their case workers to learn more about them. Because most families were poor and their phones were often disconnected, she contacted them through their friends and extended family members. Blacher also offered a flexible interview schedule to accommodate fathers' long work hours and provided culturally appropriate incentives to enhance participation. She acknowledged that it has been much more difficult to recruit families for the control group, but some of the same strategies have proven effective.

Mink and her colleagues used focus groups to capture beliefs and attitudes about mental retardation from Chinese immigrant mothers and fathers. To place participants at ease and facilitate discussion among them, the focus groups were organized by language, gender, and education. Mink reported that fathers were especially receptive to the focus group method. They appeared to be more casual and less concerned with managing the impression they were making than were mothers. For instance, fathers offered personal opinions more spontaneously, and overall their responses seemed more genuine.

Agatha Gallo's study examined parents' views of childhood chronic illnesses, such as insulin dependent diabetes and arthritis. Mothers and fathers participated separately in two interviews and also completed a standard questionnaire. When they were asked what they thought of the interview, many mothers and fathers expressed enthusiasm. They were very pleased to have an opportunity to share their experiences raising a chronically ill child, and indicated that most people are interested only in visible illnesses or disabilities among children. They had never before been asked about the issues they and their children face.

Both Ray and Burton found that African American fathers were usually uncomfortable with structured interviews requiring written responses. However, they were open to personal interviews and quite willing to be audiotaped and/or videotaped. Ray noted that the young African American parents in her sample actually enjoyed being interviewed, in large part because they had so few opportunities to talk with other people about their lives. Similarly, when Burton asked fathers why they were so candid, they expressed an appreciation for the opportunity to be heard. Both Ray and Burton found that respondents were willing to provide rich, comprehensive insights into the issues under study and to discuss their lives in general. Ray reported that interviews with fathers lasted on average five hours, and Burton noted an average interview length of seven hours for fathers in her sample. Both presenters acknowledged the importance of first establishing trust and attributed their successful data collection efforts to the initial time spent gaining legitimacy and recognition within the community.

During preliminary questionnaire development for their study of American Indians in South Dakota and Alabama, Keltner and her colleagues learned that no one wanted to be interviewed with pencil and paper. As a result, they designed a semi-structured interview that used a personal approach and asked broad questions related to family life, parenting, and adaptation to children with developmental disabilities. Parents were receptive to these personal interviews, and, in fact, fathers provided long, detailed responses, particularly when the interviewer was a male.

Other presenters also noted the importance of the interviewer's gender. Blacher found that Latino respondents, mainly of Mexican origin, were not at all comfortable with female interviewers, so males interviewed fathers and females interviewed mothers. Similarly, Bailey reported that his study of Mexican and Puerto Rican families living in the mainland U.S. employed Latino males to interview fathers and Latino females to interview mothers. However, Bristol pointed out that a respondent's preferences about his interviewer's gender may depend on the questions being asked. In some cases, men may be more comfortable sharing some kinds of information with women rather than men; in other cases, the reverse may be true. Ray, for example, found that middle-aged African American women were the most effective interviewers of the young, low-income, African American parents in her sample because both mothers and fathers were most comfortable with them.

What are important considerations for developing new research instruments?

Day pointed out that researchers typically adopt a linear causality model of fathering characterized by a sequence of behaviors and outcomes and focusing on unidirectional, bivariate associations between father involvement and child development. He noted the limitations of this approach and described instead a systemic process with multiple directions of influence on fathers' roles and child well-being. For example, fathers may influence child well-being; children may influence parental well-being; and mothers may mediate the relationship between fathers and their children. Like several other presenters, Day emphasized the importance of

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studying fathers' well-being and adaptation to family roles. Throughout his discussion, Day proposed a series of questions aimed at developing multidimensional concepts and multivariate descriptions of fathering. He recommended the exploration of, for instance. overall parental investments, whether mothers and fathers invest differently, parenting styles across the life course, the influence of marital adjustment on fathering. the effects of unemployment and economic stress on fathers' engagement, and the effects of the media on fathers' perceptions of their roles.

Elizabeth Peters suggested a focus on questions that reveal differences between mothers and fathers in terms of goals, perceptions, and values and how these differences are resolved. She offered the example of child support receipt and payment: mothers report receiving less than fathers report paying. The disparity appears to be related to differing parental perceptions of what constitutes child support, but such issues need to be investigated in more depth. Peters described two models related to how differences between parents are resolved. The first is based on sex role stereotypes; mothers make decisions in one area, and fathers in another. The second involves bargaining power and determining which parent has the best opportunities if separation occurs. The common belief is that mothers have more interest in their children's well-being than do fathers, so if mothers have more power, the children will be better off. Peters pointed out that public benefits are distributed to mothers based on this assumption. However, she urged researchers, for the sake of research and policy, to avoid such simplistic conclusions and instead delve more deeply into questions of how parental differences are resolved, what fathers actually contribute, and how their contributions are reflected in childrearing practices.

Several presenters noted that asking mothers and fathers the same question may or may not result in the same answer. In addition, Bailey pointed out even when the responses are the same the underlying reasons may be quite different. He gave as an example a survey item that asks which parent was with the child over a 24-hour period. Both parents may have reported that the father was there, but fathers and mothers differed on their view of the father's level of responsibility during his presence. The father considered himself to have been responsible even though he read the paper while the child played nearby and called the mother whenever a problem arose. Bailey emphasized the importance of knowing the underlying reason for parental responses.

Joe called for the development of father-sensitive instruments. She acknowledged the importance of culturally sensitive tools but maintained that more attention should be given to creating father-sensitive tools based on various disciplines and accounting for distinctions, such as culture, religiosity, and neighborhood environment. Additionally, Joe recommended that anthropologists pursue longitudinal studies of American Indians, incorporating issues like their religious and environmental contexts. Similarly, several presenters recommended additional focus on fathers from various ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Blacher noted that fathers of children with disabilities, especially Latino and other minority fathers, are rarely the focus of

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research, yet it is important to understand how these fathers react and cope and what roles they play in childrearing.

What are some of the issues associated with combining quantitative and qualitative methods?

One goal of the conference was to explore ways of combining quantitative and qualitative research methods to enhance the study of fathers. Vivian Gadsden noted that a search of NCOFF's large database of studies on fathers identified about 70 that combined ethnographic and quantitative research. Many of these studies used quantitative methods for the first phase and then followed up with qualitative approaches to explore issues in more depth. She also found that researchers commonly used ethnography to develop hypotheses and then crafted quantitative strategies for the next phase of investigation.

Sullivan pointed out that social scientists often refer to qualitative research as "theory generating" and quantitative research as "theory testing." They contend that qualitative research looks at social process and interactions and has high content and context validity, while quantitative research focuses on distributions and generalizability. However, he warned that separating qualitative and quantitative research in this way presents a false dichotomy. Both approaches are concerned with all aspects of methodology, and both test and generate theories.

Overall, presenters' comments suggested that combining methods may refer to either the interactive use of characteristically quantitative and qualitative approaches during the implementation of a study, or the sequential use of different methods. An example of the latter approach is the use of small-scale quantitative or qualitative methods, followed by large-scale quantitative approaches to confirm, validate, and/or expand initial findings. Several presenters referred to the interactive use of methods, such as gathering and merging data from surveys and in depth-interviews. Presenters illustrated the feasibility of applying quantitative testing techniques to qualitative data through software packages designed to analyze narrative responses.

Elizabeth Martin and Mercer Sullivan were among the presenters who described the merits of sequentially combining methods. Martin pointed out that the Census Bureau sponsors ethnographic research, for example, to investigate the undercount of minority men in large surveys. Ethnographic methods provide the opportunity to explore specific questions from large surveys in greater depth and to determine the appropriate wording of questions and interpretation of answers. They can also contribute to question design in large-scale surveys. Finally, the insights gained through qualitative investigation can enhance survey methodology. For example, Martin described ethnographic findings that improved large survey methods used to identify household members and distinguish between tenuous attachment and permanent residency.

Sullivan collected ethnographic data on sexual and parenting behaviors and demographic characteristics of young fathers in three low-income neighborhoods. then validated his observations with small-area health data, as well as other existing quantitative data on local school enrollment, crime, and occupational patterns. He noted that the ethnographic and quantitative data measuring the same characteristics were generally congruent. The detail and richness offered by ethnographic findings helped researchers interpret some of the quantitative data.

What are recommendations for integrating developmental, ethnographic, and demographic approaches to the study of fathers?

Mark Appelbaum explained that developmental research usually involves original data comprised of small samples of convenience with high levels of exclusion and focusing on very specific micro measures. Consequently, these small-scale studies tend to be decontextualized and narrow. In contrast. demographic research includes secondary data sources consisting of large population-based samples and macro measures or class variables. He noted that good national data could help contextualize developmental studies and suggested a geocode model for data on fathers and families. Psychologists now use geocoding with Census data to determine how closely their samples represent the population of their study area. Appelbaum recommended the development of a nationally representative coding system that is extremely well documented, publicly accessible, and linked to Census data, and that includes in-depth data on fathers and families to allow researchers to assess both the generalizability and the limitations of their studies.

Michael Agar offered suggestions on a team approach to combining methods. He noted that his experience working with agencies and organizations around integrating research approaches has revealed the centrality of three components: attitude, question, and modality. He therefore proposed the acronym AQM to highlight his recommendations:

- First, when the interdisciplinary research team meets to discuss integrating approaches, each member must display an **attitude** of respect and remain open to the input of other team members.

- Secondly, all team members should participate in initial decision making about the course of the project; team projects are most successful when members work together to frame the **question**.

- Next, deciding whether the **modality** is learning or testing should precede the team's selection of specific techniques. According to Agar, qualitative approaches are most appropriate when you want to learn something: conversely, quantitative methods are most appropriate if you think you know something and want to test your hypotheses.

Arland Thornton identified potential barriers to merging methods, including differing perspectives on what factors are important to study. For example, one discipline may identify income and prices as focal, another may suggest culture and values, and another, human interactions and relationships. Like Agar, he recommended that researchers come together during the initial conceptualization phase to develop early consensus on basic questions of why and how they are pursuing the project. To proceed on one accord, research team members must give credence to each others' theoretical orientations and remain open to trying different approaches to address a common question.

Thornton proposed a model for merging study designs that begins with the implementation of a nationally representative study, followed by the use of national survey instruments on a much smaller sample selected from local communities, and finally a small number of in depth-interviews and community ethnographies. He asserted that this approach, referred to as a "T" design, is potentially more cost effective than several separate studies and offers national breadth with community depth.

What are some additional issues associated with future research on fathers?

Recognizing present budget constraints, both Gontran Lamberty and Jerry West emphasized the importance of convincing potential funders that fathers should be a central part of studies on children. Lamberty asserted that child development theories continue to view mothers as the natural pre-eminent force in the lives of their children. Fathers, for the most part, have been devalued, which explains the scarcity of funds earmarked for research on their roles and contributions. According to West, the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) has adopted a model of viewing the family from the perspective of the family without differentiating between parents. However, mothers are most often the focal respondents of NCES' surveys because they are usually identified as most knowledgeable about the education of their children. These surveys collect information on parents or guardians who are household members but gather very little data on non-resident parents, so some fathers are often left out. West noted that including non-resident fathers would require new sampling and data collection strategies and, most importantly, additional funding. He raised the possibility of adding questions and samples to an upcoming survey and undertaking nested studies in the future.

Mark Fucello offered a policy-oriented perspective focusing on the implications of current welfare reform legislation for fathers and families. He observed that work requirements and time limits will require welfare recipients to assume more responsibility for their family's financial support in a shorter time frame. In addition, custodial mothers will face tough sanctions if they do not cooperate with state child support enforcement efforts to locate fathers and establish paternity. On the other hand, Fucello referred to new opportunities for fathers to receive training and benefits that were originally restricted to mothers as caretakers. These opportunities appear to reflect a renewed awareness that helping fathers is also a way to help families. Policy makers

need to know how best to assist both resident and non-resident fathers to support their families financially and emotionally. Some public funds have already been directed to several programs that aim to increase father involvement. In light of these decisions, Fucello stressed the importance of effective program evaluation and recommended that researchers consider working together to develop better evaluation methods. He closed by noting the stark reality that policy making proceeds with or without the input of research.

Improving Data on Fathers

As stated in the introduction, this conference is one of a series of meetings to develop an agenda for improving federal data on fathers. The first meeting in this series was a Town Meeting on Fathering and Male Fertility which explored the strengths and limitations of existing large-scale surveys that include data on fathers. The conference summarized in this report explored ways to combine approaches and findings from small-scale qualitative studies in a number of disciplines with data from large-scale surveys. This final section highlights three issues related to large-scale surveys that were raised by presenters at the Town Meeting and for which presenters at the qualitative conference had related comments, concerns, and recommendations based on their own work. Future meetings in this series will no doubt raise additional issues and elaborate on the three presented below.

The Mother Template. Several presenters at the Town Meeting were critical of the research focus on mothers as respondents and the tendency to study fathers largely with measures designed for mothers. They pointed out that mothers and fathers do not necessarily view reality in the same way and that questions developed for women about family structure and parent-child interactions do not fully capture the way men interact with their children.

A few conference presenters acknowledged that their research focussed primarily on mothers and only included a small subsample of fathers. For instance, Blacher noted that research on children with disabilities usually focuses on mothers because, they are considered to be more knowledgeable about the child, more likely to handle the child's schooling and health services, and more accessible for interviewing. On the other hand, several presenters described studies that targeted fathers as principle respondents (e.g. Sullivan); fathers and mothers as a couple (e.g. Bailey; Gallo; Mink); fathers, mothers, and children (e.g. Ramey); and fathers and other multigenerational family members (e.g. Burton). In general, whether fathers were primary or secondary respondents, conference presenters believed fathers' perceptions added depth and richness to study findings.

Like presenters at the Town Meeting, many conference presenters also noted that mothers and fathers may have different views on their roles in the family as well as on other related issues. As Joe pointed out, mother-sensitive and even culturally-sensitive instruments are common, but father-sensitive tools are needed across disciplines and approaches. However, conference presenters described qualitative research techniques such as semi-structured interviews that allowed them to capture the nuances of various perspectives. These methods facilitated the gathering of rich data on fathers and families, by encouraging respondents to elaborate at length.

Multiple Family Forms. Several Town Meeting presenters noted the need to shift away from the two-parent, middle income, white family as the sole point of reference and toward a greater

examination of multiple family configurations, particularly in the context of different ethnic groups.

Conference presenters illustrated progress toward this end. For example, Bailey's study involves married couples from several different cultures. Blacher referred to the prevalence of single-parent Latina mothers in her sample but also included many Latino married couples. Keltner's research on American Indians revealed various family formations and interdependence among members, especially within extended family structures. Ramey's population-based research included a sample of African American middle-class families, a group which has received relatively little research focus. Burton's seven-year ethnographic study of multigenerational African American families uncovered numerous family configurations. Sullivan's ethnography provided a view of the various patterns of marriage and cohabitation among low-income white, African American, and Latino fathers. By exploring the family dynamics of young, low-income African American mothers and fathers, Ray's work offered insight into the "fragile family" structure Mincy described at the Town Meeting.

Reaching Under-represented Fathers. As Town Meeting presenters pointed out, in virtually all existing surveys and collections of administrative data, certain subpopulations of men are undercounted. Administrative data are limited to, for example, fathers who have established legal paternity or who are divorced. Household surveys often miss low-income and minority males.

Several presenters of ethnographic and other small scale-studies described how they were able to successfully engage fathers often under represented in large survey data collection efforts. They offered methods that may or may not be feasible for large survey designs. Many of the approaches are quite labor intensive and require long hours first locating and then interviewing fathers. Several presenters echoed the resounding theme of first establishing trust and legitimacy in the study area. Ethnographers attributed much of their success in finding and interviewing hard-to-reach fathers to the time spent developing and nurturing relationships with community members, who then referred fathers and encouraged their participation. Presenters indicated that some fathers from various cultural and ethnic groups were opposed to structured pencil and paper surveys but amenable to focus group and personal interview methods where they were able to remain casual, open, and unconstrained by closed-ended response categories. Overall, presenters stressed the importance of maintaining flexibility in terms of interview design, data collection methods, and interview scheduling. In addition, many noted the importance of understanding the cultural factors associated with interviewer selection.

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Appendix
Summary of Presentations

Session I: How Do Fathers Father and What Difference Does It Make?

WHAT ARE FATHERS FOR?
Michael Lamb
National Institute of Child Health and Human Development

Lamb began by describing how the dominant role assigned to fathers by society had changed several times in American history, reflecting social and economic changes. He warned, however, that this tendency to assign a single role to fathers at any given time obscures the multiple roles that fathers have always played and can overlook cultural differences and differences across socioeconomic classes. He then summarized the results of recent studies designed to assess the impact that fathers have on their children, considering descriptive studies as well as those concerned with the effects of father absence, child adjustment, increased paternal involvement, and attachment. These studies generally suggest that children benefit from parental warmth, parental involvement, family harmony, and the absence of economic stress and family conflict -- contributions that both mothers and fathers can make. He then offered two concluding observation. First, modern fathers and mothers affect their children's development in very similar ways. Second, fathers play a variety of coexisting roles in their children's lives, including caregiver, companion, economic provider, role model, mother's support, and protector.

FATHERHOOD: AN OVERVIEW OF ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDIES
Robin L. Jarrett
Loyola University of Chicago

Jarrett provided an overview of ethnographic studies that shed light on the issue of fatherhood, focusing on urban ethnographies that examine low-income and working class families and communities. She reviewed 300 studies conducted by sociologists and anthropologists that examined family life, child and youth development, education, and employment. She characterized the ethnographic approach as subjective, participatory, processural, and contextual. Among the key questions ethnographers ask about fathers are the meaning of fatherhood, the definition and variety of paternal roles, the quality of fathering, the patterns that characterize the paternal role over time, and the influence of contextual factors on who fathers, when they father, and how they father. The conceptual implications from ethnographic findings is that fathering should be seen as a dynamic, contextual process. The stages of the lifecycle, neighborhoods, the job market, relationships, and other contextual factors need to be taken into account when studying fatherhood.

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Based on their findings, ethnographers would advise policy makers to focus on barriers to effective fathering, rather than deviances; to understand the dynamic and changing needs of families and fathers; and to consider the actual ways and contexts in which people live. Jarrett also suggested some directions for future research: studying men intensively, since men and fathers are still understudied populations; studying fathers in different age groups; and including the perceptions and experiences of children in research on fathers.

FATHERHOOD: WHERE IS THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL INQUIRY?
Jennie R. Joe
University of Arizona

Joe gave an overview of the anthropological interest in and work on fatherhood, analyzed the usefulness of these types of inquiries, and described how anthropological studies contribute to the concept of fatherhood in different cultures. Anthropology as a discipline in the social sciences has produced studies on parenthood, childrearing practices. childhood socialization. gender roles, and many other related topics within a cross-cultural context and/or against elements of cultural change. Anthropologists have also contributed significant information on socialization, paternal behaviors, and male roles through cross-species studies of primates. Cross-cultural studies show different roles and expectations for fathers and identify important markers of child development that differ across cultures. Studies with a sociocultural perspective view families in the context of the larger culture, focusing on marriage and gender roles, taboos, family patterns, and types of parent-child interactions.

Based on the findings of anthropological research, and in particular on the findings of a recent study of childrearing behaviors across five native American tribes, Joe recommended that future research on fathers reassess the tools developed for middle-class families, and that new tools be developed to assess minority cultures and single parenthood. She also suggested looking more closely at the interactions and roles in extended families, and exploring men's motivations for having children. She encouraged the development of father-sensitive instruments; she also recommended the use of longitudinal studies that would capture cultural change and incorporate the larger context of society as well as the influences of the environment and religion.

WHAT WE KNOW AND WHAT WE NEED TO KNOW ABOUT FATHERS' INVOLVEMENT IN FAMILY LIFE
Randal D. Day
Washington State University

Day reviewed articles on fathers' involvement and fathers' care, drawn from a wide range of sociological and anthropological literature. He discussed several seminal articles that represent prototypical efforts to describe the impact of father presence/absence on family and child well-being. Day focused on studies that have used larger national data sets or larger

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comprehensive attempts to measure father or male behavior within families. He found that most of the studies are based on a linear causal model and assume that fathers' involvement has a positive effect on child well-being, typically measured with a set of indicators of child well-being. He questioned the one-dimensional use of the term 'father involvement', as well as one-directional inferences from father involvement.

Based on compelling findings from this literature review, Day proposed a multidimensional concept of fathering that would examine such components as different forms of fathers' engagement and investment, different forms of physical and psychological presence, quality of the parent relationship, level of parent involvement, maturity level of fathers, life satisfaction of fathers and their impact on children, the importance and role of the mother in mediating the father-child relationship, parental role ambiguity, economic well-being of parents, forms and effectiveness of parental discipline, warmth and support within the family, and macro-level influences such as media images of fathers. For future studies of fatherhood, Day recommended avoiding bivariate associations, mother templates, and emotionally-charged terms. He further suggested taking race differences into account, examining variables with intermediate outcomes, and ascertaining the nature of fathers' involvement.

Session II: Fatherhood: American Cultural and Ethnic Contexts

UNDERCOVER PARENTING: REFRAMING PARADIGMS FOR STUDYING
AFRICAN AMERICAN FATHERS
Linda Burton
The Pennsylvania State University

Burton presented a multigenerational study of African American families conducted in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. The seven-year ethnographic study followed 186 families at different levels, using various methodologies and perspectives. Burton integrated life course and developmental perspectives, studies of generations, and the ecological study of neighborhoods to explore role transitions around early childbearing and the role of males as caregivers. The conceptual framework of the study assumed that (1) multiple forms of fatherhood exist within the African American community, (2) the notion of fatherhood goes beyond the direct line of biological fathers, (3) different levels of awareness of fatherhood exist, (4) the mobility patterns of men in the African American community are an important factor in understanding fathering, (5) intergenerational processes are instrumental in the "making" of a father, and (6) mothers and fathers have different perceptions of what fathers do.

This study found that young fathers are quite involved in the care of their children, typically within diverse family structures and generational settings. Several conceptually interesting issues emerged, including the effects of painful experiences, such as a history of childhood sexual abuse; the onset of caregiving responsibilities at very young ages; the marginalization of

boys and men within their families of origin and its impact on young fathers; the effects of accelerated life courses, especially in high risk neighborhoods: the narrow age differences between young fathers and their children, which pose a challenge to parental hierarchy in the family; and the virtual invisibility of mid-life fathers in the African American community.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON CHINESE IMMIGRANT FATHERS
Iris Tan Mink
University of California at Los Angeles

Mink studied Chinese immigrant families in the U.S. and their beliefs and attitudes about mental retardation, using a combined approach of quantitative psychology and a qualitative ethnographic component. She began with a brief overview of the several waves of Chinese immigration into the U.S., and of the demographic characteristics of the current and projected Asian American population, then described critical differences between Chinese and Western cultures. In Western culture, the principles of control and individualism are dominant. while Chinese culture reflects Confucian teachings on social harmony, social responsibility, and hierarchy of relationships based on seniority. Accordingly, each family member has a specific role: the father is the unquestioned head of the family; the mother's role is nurturing and caring; and children are to be obedient and to bring honor to the family. Sons are preferred over daughters, because they have the responsibility of caring for elderly parents. A child's disability is thought to be the mother's fault and brings dishonor to the family. The father's obligation in this circumstance is to rehabilitate the family's reputation.

Mink's study of beliefs and attitudes about mental retardation in the Chinese immigrant community included a broad spectrum of questions about parenting and differences in the parental roles between mothers and fathers. Using focus groups, she found fathers far more casual and spontaneous in offering personal opinions than mothers. Fathers' and mothers' responses were very similar when asked about the causes and risk factors of mental retardation. but, fathers more often attributed blame for a child's disability to the mother, even after acknowledge that the underlying cause was beyond the mother's control.

AMERICAN INDIAN PARENTING PRACTICES
Bette Keltner
University of Alabama at Birmingham

Keltner began her presentation by noting the great diversity of traditions and cultures in the American Indian population. Her study examined parenting practices among 120 American Indian parents of children with developmental disabilities in South Dakota and Alabama. Using a semi-structured questionnaire related to family life, parenting, and adaptation to children with

developmental disabilities, Keltner gathered and analyzed narrative data from 90 mothers and 30 fathers. Fathers' responses were as long and detailed as mothers'.

Spirituality was a critical feature of fathering and family life. Mothers and fathers engaged in a range of parenting activities. Both identified meals together, outings, and traditional rituals as ways to spend quality time with their children. They shared responsibility for teaching and socializing children, although mothers' responses tended to mention daily routines while fathers often cited correcting their children's behavior. Mothers and fathers passed on values to their children through stories, with clear differences in the types of stories each told. Both parents expressed concerns about alcohol abuse, violence, and education. In this regard, fathers' discussions of their hopes and goals for their children related directly to avoiding these problems, stressing the value of sobriety, getting an education, and contributing to the community.

FATHERS, FAMILIES, RETARDATION AND CULTURAL CONTEXT
Jan Blacher
University of California at Riverside

Blacher emphasized the importance of understanding the role that fathers play in childrearing, especially in families with a child with mental retardation. It is important to know how fathers react and cope, what they do, and how their support ultimately affects mothers and children. Her study of Latino fathers of children with severe retardation focused on the following kinds of questions: How could a sample be recruited that adequately represents Latino fathers? How do cultural differences in fathers' roles vis-a-vis parenting influence their willingness to participate in research? How does it influence the types of responses they will give? What are some important questions we might ask about Latino fathers?

There are many factors that limit the researcher's accessibility to Latino fathers, including cultural roles, long working hours, and suspiciousness. However, those difficulties could be overcome with special methods of recruitment, staffing, and an adequate research protocol. In particular, she found that male interviewers were crucial in studying Latino fathers, though recruiting male Latino interviewers was quite difficult.

She found that fathers' presence and mothers' satisfaction with support by the father- regardless of the actual amount of help given- contributed to maternal well-being. She also found a high rate of agreement between males and females on the amount of help given by the father.

ASSESSING NEEDS OF FATHERS: METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS. RESEARCH FINDINGS, AND CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES
Don Bailey
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Bailey began his presentation with a description of the Family Needs Survey, an instrument for assessing perceived need for services among parents of children with disabilities. Cross-cultural data suggested similar patterns of need across cultures, but variation in the total needs expressed. The data also indicated that American mothers expressed more needs than did American fathers. while in other cultures (specifically Sweden and Puerto Rico) mothers and fathers did not differ in the amount of need each expressed. This difference across cultures raises questions of the extent to which culture influences fathers' participation in the care of children with disabilities and subsequent needs expressed by fathers.

Bailey also described an on-going study of 250 Mexican American and Puerto Rican parents of young children with disabilities to determine the extent to which caregiver characteristics, child characteristics, and family supports are related to beliefs about disability, family needs, and perception of services. No differences in the total amount of expressed needs between fathers and mothers could be found, but the pattern of needs varied greatly. He offered the following preliminary conclusions, based on his work to date: (1) Some fathers are willing to complete some survey measures, but others view them as useless or intrusive and refuse to participate. Thus if researchers or practitioners want to gain a representative sample of fathers, special efforts are likely to be needed. (2) Asking mothers and fathers about a phenomenon may not result in similar answers. Researchers and practitioners should not assume that a mother's responses necessarily reflect the desires or perceptions of the father. (3) The factors that relate to mothers' and fathers' ratings on a questionnaire may be different. Thus, even when similar ratings are obtained, the reasons for those ratings might be quite different.

Session III: And the Twain Shall Meet: A Rapprochement Between Demographic and Developmental/Ethnographic Research

SURVEYS ON FATHERHOOD WITH COMBINED APPROACHES: A SUMMARY OF EXISTING STUDIES
Vivian Gadsden
University of Pennsylvania

Gadsden reviewed a comprehensive database on fatherhood compiled by the National Center on Fathers and Families, and found 70 relevant studies that combined both ethnographic and quantitative analysis. They cover a diversity of topics: fatherhood in general; differential impact of fathers on girls and boys; impact of fathers' involvement on children's risk behavior and educational outcomes; the impact of fathers' absence; intergenerational processes; issues of parenting; manhood and masculinity; and child development. The mixed methodologies employed in these studies allowed researchers to capture data on the broad range of fathers' roles and the nature of fathering, but there is still a great need to conceptualize parenting and fathering in particular.

The studies Gadsden reviewed can be used as points of entry to evaluate and develop research designs. They include significant and compelling information on young, low-income minority males, underscoring the need to find effective ways to include this subpopulation of fathers in studies on fatherhood and parenting. Her review also highlighted the continuing need to examine fatherhood in relation to child well-being.

CARE GIVING AND PROVIDING: THE EFFECT OF PATERNAL INVOLVEMENT OF URBAN LOW-INCOME AFRICAN AMERICAN FATHERS ON PARENTAL RELATIONS
Aisha Ray and Sydney Hans
The University of Chicago

Ray presented a study of the involvement of very low-income African American fathers with their toddlers. One hundred families comprised the sample. All families consisted of a mother and toddler and could include the child's father, maternal grandmother, or mother's current partner. Data collection was accomplished through a series of intensive interviews which included a balance between structured and unstructured questions. Paternal involvement was assessed from the point of view of mothers in two domains: care giving and provision financial and material support. Four patterns of father involvement since the toddlers birth were identified: very involved now, somewhat involved now, not involved now, and never involved. The majority of fathers (76%) were very or somewhat involved with the toddler at the time of the interviews. Contrary to expectations, father's involvement was not related to the fathers' age, educational attainment, the number of children he had with the toddler's mother, or the number of children he had with previous partners. Father involvement was also not related to similar

characteristics of the mothers. But paternal involvement was significantly related (p<.05) to whether the father was: 1) providing income to the family, 2) had been employed in the last two years, 3) resided with the toddler's mother, and 4) was the mothers' current partner. Most women in the sample indicated an important care giving role for the toddlers' fathers. Most mothers reported that fathers were reliable providers of material and financial support. Mothers were significantly more likely to describe very involved fathers as reliable providers, and to describe the effect of their providing as positive. A father's provision of income to the family was significantly related to his involvement with his children. Mothers' satisfaction with how well fathers fulfilled the provider role was related to whether they were still a couple, how close the mother stated they were, and how well they got along with one another. Mothers who stated that fathers did the things they expected a father to do for his child were more likely to describe fathers as reliable providers. These data suggest that the majority of poor mostly unmarried African American fathers are working in the legitimate work force, are reliable providers, make significant financial contributors to their children, are attached to and engaged in their children's lives, and play a significant role in their care. Fathers' roles were perceived in a multifaceted way: the provider role was primary, but fathers were also seen as protectors, and teachers.

FATHERS THROUGH THE EYES OF CHILDREN, MOTHERS, OBSERVERS AND THEMSELVES

Sharon Landesman Ramey
University of Alabama at Birmingham

Ramey described findings about fathers derived from multiple perspectives, including direct reports from children. She highlighted findings from a longitudinal, population-based study of 400 middle class White/non-Hispanic and African American families, and a longitudinal study of Mexican and Mexican American Migrant Head Start families. The findings strongly affirm the centrality of fathers in children's everyday lives and in the dynamics of the family. Children perceive their fathers in ways that are both distinctive from and generally complementary to their perceptions of mothers. Children's gender and ethnicity are associated with many significant differences in how they rate their mothers *versus* their fathers.

Direct observations of families revealed that married mothers and fathers interact somewhat distinctively with their children, yet together represent a parental subsystem. In the absence of a father, divorced mothers play a dual or compensatory role, such that their children receive essentially equivalent levels and types of social exchanges as do children in two-parent homes. Assessments of the social networks of mothers and fathers indicate significant differences in how they use their social support to help with parenting and family-related matters. Fathers make a sharper distinction between their general life satisfaction and their perceptions of family life than do mothers, whose personal well-being is more closely associated with multiple aspects of family functioning.

Future research needs a much greater specification of particular patterns of family functioning which are associated with distinctive developmental trajectories among family members. Fundamental notions of causality need to be challenged, and cohort and cultural biases that characterize most current theories and family assessment tools need to be transcended. In Ramey's view, small, unrepresentative samples should continue to be the basis for "in-depth" studies, since large, nationally representative samples provide inadequate and infrequent measures or proxies for the processes and variables of greatest theoretical interest.

COMBINING ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA ON YOUNG FATHERS WITH SMALL AREA HEALTH DATA ON BIRTHS AND ABORTIONS
Mercer L. Sullivan
Rutgers University

Sullivan compared ethnographic data on sexual and parenting behaviors of young fathers in three low-income neighborhoods (predominantly white, black, and Latino respectively) with small area health data from the same neighborhoods. Where data measured the same things, they were generally congruent. The ethnographic data revealed distinctively different marriage patterns across the three different neighborhoods, and strong differences in the household patterns. Overall, strong effects of poverty on family formation, sexuality, and use of contraception could be found. But the data also showed that culture and community have potential mediating effects. One of the main findings was, that marriage was a poor indicator of contact and support by the father. A great amount of contact remained among unmarried, non-cohabiting parents and their children.

PARENTS' VIEW OF ACCEPTANCE IN CHILDHOOD CHRONIC ILLNESS
Agatha Gallo
University of Illinois at Chicago

While past research on loss and chronic sorrow documents how parents of young children with congenital disabilities accept the disability, little is known about how parents of school-aged children with chronic illness view acceptance of a child's chronic illness. Gallo measured mood disturbances and satisfaction with family functioning in relation to parental acceptance of the chronic illness, combining qualitative and quantitative analysis. As part of a larger grounded theory study, 56 mothers and 47 fathers with children with a chronic illness participated in both standardized and non-standardized interviews. Gallo described how mothers' and fathers' view acceptance and examined relations between the extent of acceptance of the illness and measures of parental mood disturbances satisfaction with family life functioning.

The study showed that fathers and mothers viewed acceptance differently: while mothers viewed acceptance as a positive approach to coping with the situation and managing the illness, fathers were more likely to view acceptance negatively. Accepting the illness appeared to them as losing control and surrendering to the circumstances. Fathers and mothers also differed in regard to

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mood disturbances and satisfaction with family life functioning: mothers reported more mood disturbances and less satisfaction with family life functioning than the fathers. But for both fathers and mothers. more satisfaction and fewer disturbances were strongly related to positive views of acceptance. These results demonstrate the importance, in at least some instances, of collecting identical data from mothers and fathers.

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