

THE INFLUENCE OF SUPPORT FROM ROMANTIC PARTNER SOCIAL FATHERS
AND NONRESIDENT BIOLOGICAL FATHERS ON MATERNAL WELLBEING IN
MEXICAN-AMERICAN FAMILIES

by

Henry Gonzalez

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the

SCHOOL OF FAMILY AND CONSUMER SCIENCES

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE
WITH A MAJOR IN FAMILY STUDIES AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

2012

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Special thanks to Drs. Melissa A. Barnett, Melissa A. Curran and Ann M. Mastergeorge for their invaluable feedback on this manuscript. This material is based upon work supported by the National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship under Grant No. DGE-1143953. Any opinion, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Science Foundation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	6
INTRODUCTION.....	7
Maternal Mental Health.....	11
Shifting Family Structure Patterns among Mexican-American Families.....	12
Romantic Partners as Fathers.....	14
Nonresident Biological Fathers and their Families.....	16
Multiple Fathers as Multiple Sources of Support.....	17
Fathers in Romantic Relationships.....	18
Fathers and their Parenting Roles.....	19
Instrumental Social Support.....	20
Ecological Factors Linked to Maternal Mental Health.....	21
The Present Study.....	22
METHODS.....	24
Sample.....	24
Procedures.....	25
Measures.....	26
Analytic Strategies.....	33

RESULTS.....	35
DISCUSSION.....	39
Future Directions.....	46
Strengths & Limitations.....	47
Implications.....	48
APPENDIX.....	51
REFERENCES.....	60

ABSTRACT

Paternal support is often linked to lower levels of maternal distress. However, this link is less established among the increasing numbers of Mexican-American families with a romantic partner social (RPS) father, that is, mothers' partners who are not formally identified as stepfathers. This study applied a bioecological systems framework to test linkages between RPS father support and maternal depression and parenting stress above and beyond ecological stressors, and to consider whether nonresident biological father support and general instrumental support moderate this link. Using data from the *Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study*, this study analyzes a subsample of Mexican-American mothers ($N = 76$) with three-year-olds, who are involved in a relationship with a RPS father and maintain contact with the nonresident biological father. Findings indicate that mothers who reported greater support from RPS fathers also reported lower depressive symptomatology when they also reported greater support from nonresident biological fathers or reported being in a recent relationship with the RPS father; mothers from more established relationships reported more depressive symptoms. However, mothers with lower perceived instrumental social support reported high maternal depressive symptoms, even while receiving support from RPS fathers. Neither source of support significantly predicted maternal parenting stress. Overall, our results reveal complex, interactive associations between these combined sources of support and maternal mental health in these increasingly common family structures.

Keywords: instrumental social support, maternal depression, Mexican-American families, nonresident biological fathers, parenting stress, romantic partner social fathers

INTRODUCTION

There is a need for the study of the influence of father involvement on families, particularly among ethnic minority families (e.g., Cabrera, Tamis-LeMonda, Bradley, Hofferth, & Lamb, 2000). Although studies on biological father involvement have been steadily increasing, analyses on non-biological father involvement lag far behind in family scholarship. This gap in the literature is striking considering the growing presence of non-biological fathers in contemporary families. Families in the U.S. are experiencing a period of rapid change in family structure (e.g., Cherlin, 2010a). For example, there has been a marked decline in marriage rates and an increase in divorce rates across families of different ethnic origins (e.g., Bramlett & Mosher, 2002; Stewart, 2008). Many ethnic minority families, particularly Mexican-American families, have experienced the rapid shifts in family organization, with over 7% of single mother families and 9% of stepfamilies of Mexican origin across the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012).

Research on Mexican-American families frequently classifies households as two-parent, tight-knit, working-class families despite the growing population of Mexican-American stepfamilies. Very little is known of how Mexican-American mothers fare within diverse family structures, particularly in repartnered families (e.g., Cabrera & Garcia-Coll, 2004; Coltrane et al., 2008; U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). As Ganong and Coleman (2004) write,

"There has been a great deal of focus on outcomes for children in stepfamilies, without the apparent acknowledgment or recognition of the importance of the mother in relation to this, and her continued wellbeing and relationship with her child. There are surprisingly few studies on mothers in stepfamilies...and we know more about nonresidential [biological] fathers" (p. 153-154).

Maternal mental wellbeing, particularly maternal depression and parenting stress, may vary according to family structure. Several studies have found mothers in repartnered families are more likely to report a history of depression compared to women from intact, biological families (e.g., Nicholson, Fergusson, & Horwood, 1999; Foley et al., 2004). For instance, one study shows mothers living in stepfamilies (27%) were nearly four times more likely to be moderately or severely depressed compared to their counterparts from stable two-parent, biological families (7%) (Rodgers, Pickles, Power, Collishaw, & Maughan, 1999). Few studies have shed light on support processes within repartnered families influencing maternal mental health (e.g. Smith, 2008). Although there has been increasing recognition and research on the effects nonresident biological fathers have on maternal wellbeing, many studies have also shown the considerable influence instrumental social support has on ameliorating maternal mental health. However, fewer studies have investigated the support mothers may gain from the men they repartner with, who some scholars classify as “romantic partner social (RPS) fathers” (Jayakody & Kalil, 2002). Although studies have theoretically set the foundation for dual father dynamics, many have failed to consider the cumulative impact the contributions from different fathers have on maternal wellbeing.

A bioecological systems framework will be utilized to examine the influence of perceived levels of support from RPS fathers and nonresident biological fathers on maternal wellbeing. Bronfenbrenner and Morris (2006) describe a bioecological systems framework as specifically accounting for contextual factors in the environment influencing individuals and families. The framework operates under the ultimate premise

of development functioning within nested ecological contexts (e.g., family, policy, and the larger culture) with interactions between a person and his/her contexts. Specifically, this framework conceptualizes individuals functioning within ecological contexts and influencing both environments and other individuals. Implicit in this model is the notion that relationships influence maternal mental health, which is simultaneously influenced by other ecological factors (e.g., economic hardship), including child factors. Analyzing the unique ecological stressors Mexican-American mothers face through an ecological systems lens is the most fitting method to capture the experiences of these women. Not only do these mothers face stressors from parenting, but also from a host of other ecological stressors due to language barriers and U.S. immigrant status, which are often strongly associated with high-unemployment rates and economic hardship (e.g., Roosa et al., 2009; White, Roosa, & Weaver, 2009). These *macrosystem* (e.g., acculturation), *exosystem* (e.g., economic hardship), and *microsystem* (e.g., child externalizing and internalizing behavior problems) strains mothers may face are meaningful ecological stressors influencing mothers' parenting and relationship quality with their children, but importantly also mothers' mental health (e.g., maternal depressive symptomatology; maternal parenting stress) (e.g., Roosa et al., 2009). Most importantly, this study highlights different forms of mothers' perceived support from *mesosystem* (e.g., instrumental social support) and *microsystem* (e.g., RPS father support; nonresident biological father support) ecological contexts, and how these sources of support interact with other factors from macro-, exo-, and micro-systems to determine maternal mental health.

To keep in line with the most up to date version of Bronfenbrenner's theory of human development, this study utilizes his bioecological systems framework (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) that further incorporates proximal processes and biological mechanisms since his earlier versions addressing only basic process-context paradigms (e.g., Bronfenbrenner, 1989, 1999). Recent research has moved beyond basic social address or process-context paradigms, in an effort to capture more dynamic processes that differ based on interactions among individual and contextual characteristics. This study only borrows a limited set of concepts from the bioecological systems theory, and does not fully incorporate the gamut of biological and environmental processes to call it a complete bioecological model (see Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield, & Karnik, 2009). Although this study does not explicitly assess an element of time or biological and genetic factors, a *process-person-context model* (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) is utilized, incorporating important personal characteristics of the mother, such as her proxy-level of acculturation (e.g., years in the U.S.; nativity; language) and economic hardship, in order to set up the question of whether having support from nonresidential biological fathers and RPS fathers, positively or negatively impacts maternal depressive symptomatology and parenting stress. Specifically, this study will use data from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing (FFCW) study to investigate whether support from these two types of fathers promote positive outcomes for maternal wellbeing.

Maternal Mental Health

Maternal depression is a major U.S. public health concern. Recent estimates from a national epidemiological study show close to 17% of women are classified as having major depression under the diagnostic criteria at some point in their lives (Hasin, Goodwin, Stinson, & Grant, 2005). Other studies find higher rates of depression among economically disadvantaged women (e.g., Bassuk, Buckner, Perloff, & Bassuk, 1998). There is considerable evidence of the direct influence maternal depression has on parenting behaviors and overall family relations and functioning (e.g., Goodman, 2008; Goodman & Gotlib, 2002; Lovejoy, Graczyk, O'Hare, & Neuman, 2000; Munson, McMahon, & Spieker, 2001; Grace, Evindar, & Stewart, 2003; Turney, 2012). For instance, Foster, Garber, and Durlak (2008) find that mothers experiencing high-levels of depressive symptomatology display fewer positive parenting behaviors and more negative parenting behaviors towards their children during a problem-solving task. Moreover, in this same study, mothers' depressive symptoms were associated with low levels of maternal positivity and high levels of maternal negativity, which were related to higher child externalizing problems (Foster, Garber, & Durlak, 2008). Thus, uncovering ways to lessen maternal depressive symptoms is a fundamental step to improving the wellbeing of mothers and their families. Still, gaining a comprehensive understanding of maternal wellbeing cannot be fully met without considering maternal parenting stress.

Parenting stress arguably has one of the biggest detrimental effects on the wellbeing of parents, children, and parent-child relationships (e.g., Crnic, Gaze, &

Hoffman, 2005). Findings from several studies suggest the parental role is one of the greatest sources of stress in women's lives (e.g., Barnett & Baruch, 1985). Parenting stress in this study is restricted to parenting daily hassles from children's typical, but challenging behavior, and potential frustrations and challenges from childrearing (e.g., Crnic et al., 2005; Berry & Jones, 1995). This is of particular importance considering that parents who report greater satisfaction in their parenting also report greater physical and mental health (Rodriguez, 2011; Wickrama et al., 2001). Indeed, poor physical health due to parenting stress may compromise maternal mental health and also a mother's access to instrumental social support, which impedes her ability to cope with stressors (Sepa, Frodi, & Ludvigsson, 2004). Similarly, high levels of maternal parenting stress can contribute to the disruption of parenting practices and family relations, particularly the parent-child and mother-father relationship (e.g., Bronte-Tinkew, Horowitz, & Carrano, 2010; Gault-Sherman, 2012; Guajardo, Snyder, & Petersen, 2009).

Shifting Family Structure Patterns among Mexican-American Families

Mexican-American repartnered families are steadily on the rise, but little is known about the wellbeing of these families. Although repartnering rates are steadily increasing among Mexican-Americans, they traditionally uphold a high regard towards marriage, with lower rates of divorce compared to other groups of similar socioeconomic status (e.g., Oropesa, 1996; Yoshikawa, 2011). These trends may be due to *familism*, which is a set of values and beliefs placing overriding importance on the family over personal needs in order to foster the collective good of the family (Bean, Curtis, &

Marcum, 1977; Rumbaut & Portes, 2001). Mexican-American families undergoing divorce or separation and repartnership face a unique dilemma when doing so; as many may encounter a certain degree of stigma for violating the value of familism as they defy important social mores (Rumbaut & Portes, 2001). Divorcing parents may fear being perceived as a broken family rather than as a unified and cohesive family (Bean et al., 1977). Therefore, research is needed to understand the unique roles and contributions nonresident biological fathers and RPS fathers make within Mexican-American families.

There is a preponderance of evidence pointing to the benefits of supportive intimate relationships for parenting behaviors (e.g., Cardoso, Padilla, & Sampson, 2010; Crnic & Greenberg, 1990; Sepa, Frodi, & Ludvigsson, 2004). However, much of this work fails to consider unconventional forms of support in families with unique structures. Among Mexican-American families, immediate and extended family play a key role in supporting parents (e.g., Tamis-LeMonda, Niwa, Kahana-Kalman, & Yoshikawa, 2008). Although biological fathers, grandparents, and aunts and uncles have traditionally been the central figures in the support network of Mexican-American mothers, it is important to consider whether new parental figures play a key role in influencing maternal wellbeing. There has been great momentum in the studies of father involvement, and there is growing evidence of the influence father support has on maternal wellbeing (e.g., Edwards et al., 2012). For instance, intimate relationships with fathers marked by low social and emotional support undermine mothers' mental wellbeing, whereas relationships marked by support and intimacy between partners bolster maternal mental health (Stapleton & Bradbury, 2012; Stapleton et al., 2012). Moreover, mothers who

report receiving more support from fathers, perceive the demands of parenting in a positive light and experience less aggravation in parenting than mothers with conflicting relationships with fathers (e.g., Bronte-Tinkew, Horowitz, & Carrano, 2010; Solmeyer & Feinberg, 2011; Thorp, Krause, Cukrowicz, & Lynch, 2004). Indeed, the support mothers receive from fathers may carry direct implications for maternal wellbeing. Nevertheless, no study has investigated whether these findings apply to families with RPS fathers (e.g. Tamis-Lemonda et al., 2008).

Romantic Partners as Fathers

The increasing rates of divorce and nonmarital births lead to increasing variability in family structures, such as repartnered families (e.g., Cherlin, 2004, 2010b; Coontz, 2004; England & Edin, 2007). It has been estimated that one-third (33%) of all children in the U.S. will eventually live in a stepfamily, mainly in stepfather families (e.g., Teachman & Tedrow, 2008; Robertson, 2008). Scholars agree a stepfamily constitutes a household with a remarried couple family and at least one stepchild (Ganong & Coleman, 2004). Nevertheless, definitions of stepfamilies remain fuzzy. For instance, men who are romantically involved with a mother who has at least one child by another man are not immediately nor formally considered stepfathers early on in the relationship (Marsiglio & Hinojosa, 2010). The roles of these men remain ambiguous; they may be a mother's boyfriend or cohabitating male partner taking the role of a father, but not yet identified as a formal stepfather by mothers and extended family. Some scholars refer to these men as RPS fathers; they are a unique group, and are expected to grow as intact family dissolution continues to increase (Jayakody & Kalil, 2002). With divorce rates in the U.S.

remaining high, and rates of cohabitation and out-of-wedlock parenting on the rise, there could be greater opportunities for RPS fathers to enter these families, even among Mexican-Americans.(e.g., Hamilton, Ventura, Martin, & Sutton, 2005; Smock, 2000). For many families, particularly ethnic minority families, uncles, grandfathers, brothers, or friends act as “social fathers”, however, they do not fulfill the unique roles of being both a romantic partner to the mother and a father to the child (e.g., Jayakody & Kalil, 2002; Marsiglio & Hinojosa, 2010; Richardson Jr., 2009). Moreover, RPS fathers often face the challenge of not being fully regarded as father figures by family and extended kin, even though they contribute time and resources for the betterment of the child. Although some studies describe repartnered couples as committed, mothers and extended family generally view RPS fathers as less committed to their responsibilities as fathers and not deserving of their “father” status (Doucet, 2006). These fathers are often described as the least attractive mates in the marriage market; mainly because they are older, never-married men with low educational achievement and economic resources, (e.g., Anderson, 2000; Driscoll et al., 1999; Hernandez & Brandon, 2002). Although research on RPS fathers is limited, a few studies have shown the value of RPS father involvement for child wellbeing (e.g., Berger, Carlson, Bzostek, & Osborne, 2008). For example, Bzostek (2008) finds that higher levels of engagement with resident social fathers are associated with fewer child externalizing and internalizing behavioral problems and better overall health for children (Bzostek, 2008). However, there is virtually no study uncovering the influence RPS father support has on maternal wellbeing.

Nonresident Biological Fathers and their Families

Many studies have focused on the influence biological fathers have on child and family wellbeing, yet fewer studies have investigated the impact nonresident biological fathers continue to have on their families. Although there is a growing understanding of the influence nonresident biological father support has on single-mothers, much of this work has focused on financial support, many times in the form of compulsory child support payments (e.g., Featherstone, 2009). There is a negative stereotype labeling nonresident fathers as “deadbeat dads”, who leave their family completely and fail to provide for or support mothers and their children, whether via financial or emotional support (e.g., Parke & Brott, 1999). Nevertheless, nonresident biological fathers may support single-mothers in several different ways, such as coparental support (e.g., Amato & Sobolewski, 2004; Carlson, McLanahan, & Brooks-Gunn, 2008; Sobolewski & King, 2005). The coparenting relationship is conceptually distinct from the parent-child relationship, regardless of whether the parents remain romantically involved (Schoppe-Sullivan, Mangelsdorf, Frosch & McHale 2004). In fact, nationally representative studies demonstrate that frequency in nonresident biological father-child contact, such as in the form of play or going on outings, has increased in the last forty years, and continues to be on the rise (Amato, Meyers, & Emery, 2009). In this same report, unwed, young, and Hispanic mothers reported lower levels of father involvement. Nevertheless, the presence of a single-mother’s romantic partner in the family may reduce the frequency of contact

between a nonresident biological father and his child, but it does not diminish the level of engagement among fathers who are already engaged with their child (Hofferth, Pleck, Stueve, Bianchi, & Syer, 2002; Sano, Smith, & Lanigan, 2011). For instance, Juby, Billette, Laplante, and Le Bourdais (2007) also find a reduction in frequency of visits among nonresident biological fathers when mothers form romantic partnerships with other men (Juby, Billette, Laplante, & Le Bourdais, 2007).

Multiple Fathers as Multiple Sources of Support

The cumulative influences between both RPS father and nonresidential biological father involvement on maternal wellbeing are not well understood. As Berger et al. (2008) emphasize, most studies on stepfamilies have focused primarily on comparisons between married biological fathers and stepfathers. Very rarely have the contributions from both nonresident biological fathers and social fathers on these families been considered (Berger et al., 2008). On the one hand, mothers may fare best when receiving support from both RPS fathers and nonresident biological fathers. On the other hand, both fathers may clash and create further distress for mothers. For instance, a study by Jayakody and Kalil (2002) with a predominantly poor African-American sample finds lower nonresident biological father involvement with the presence of an involved RPS father in the home (Jayakody & Kalil, 2002). The authors suggest a plausible replacement or competitiveness between RPS fathers and nonresident biological fathers. Moreover, nonresident biological fathers may feel they are no longer needed to provide for their families, if they acknowledge that there is another father fulfilling the role of a provider.

Support from these two fathers may jointly bolster maternal mental health. Still, although studies have theoretically set the foundation for dual father dynamics, many have failed to consider the cumulative impact these fathers' contributions have on maternal wellbeing.

Fathers in romantic relationships. Evidence for the benefits RPS fathers bring to the family compared to nonresident biological fathers remains mixed. Some studies suggest a difference in the nature of the relationship between repartnered families compared to intact, biological families. For instance, some studies show repartnered families are more open in communication, more egalitarian with child rearing and housekeeping roles, and experience fewer arguments over time spent together and household duties (e.g., Acock & Demo, 1994; MacDonald & Demaris, 1995). Still, other research suggests more disagreements in repartnered families over household roles and childcare, along with more relationship conflict and concerns over relationship satisfaction (e.g., Ferri & Smith, 1998). These conflicting findings may be explained by relationship length among repartnered families as proposed by some research (see Bray & Berger, 1993). For instance, some studies find higher relationship satisfaction among repartnered couples with a longer established relationship (e.g., Bray & Berger, 1993), yet some other studies find recently repartnered families in more satisfactory relationships when repartnered fathers were not expected to assume a parental role (e.g., Robertson, 2008). Moreover, repartnered non-biological fathers eventually form closer relationships with children (Robertson, 2008). For instance, one study finds more

satisfactory relationships among repartnered families when more closer relationships are formed between repartnered fathers and children (Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1982).

Fathers and their parenting roles. Studies provide evidence for nonresident biological fathers devoting more time, energy, and resources to their children compared to repartnered fathers (e.g., Cooksey & Fondell, 1996; Hofferth & Anderson, 2003). Several studies also point to the lack of investment stepparents place on their stepchildren compared to biological parents (e.g., Amato & Sobolewski, 2004; Ganong & Coleman, 2004; Coleman, Ganong, & Fine, 2000; Nelson, 2004). However, in a study using FFCW study data of five-year-old children, researchers find married social fathers engaging in parenting practices of equal, if not better, quality than their biological father counterparts (Berger et al., 2008). Nevertheless, other research also using data from the FFCW study find no meaningful differences between these family relationships, but find that quality of family functioning stems more from instability and difficult transitions from family reformation (e.g., Beck, Cooper, McLanahan, & Brooks-Gunn, 2008). Other studies on unwed families from the FFCW study, however, find single-mothers repartnering with men who have greater human capital, are in better psychosocial health, provide higher quality parenting practices, and are more actively involved with their children compared to biological fathers (e.g., Bzostek, 2008; Gibson-Davis, 2008). For instance, one study finds children with greater feelings of self worth and efficacy from having access to support and encouragement from additional paternal sources, such as extended family and neighbors, particularly in low-income ethnic minority families (Coley, 1998). However, it is largely assumed that mothers receive direct support from these fathers, and

very little research points to any definitive conclusions on overall maternal wellbeing in these families.

The inconsistencies in the literature among these different family structures are perplexing, and point to the need for a further understanding of family structures that have often been labeled as “at-risk” or “fragile” families. With new expectations, routines, and role dynamics, families with RPS fathers have to manage these changes appropriately in order to function harmoniously among one another. It is imperative to gain an understanding of these families if social workers and family practitioners are to support these unique, yet growing, families.

Instrumental Social Support

High levels of instrumental social support have been found to improve the conditions of mothers and their children (e.g., Correa, Bonilla, & Reyes-MacPherson, 2011; Meadows, 2011; Pierce et al., 1991; Radey, 2008). Extended family support in Mexican-American families is a highly regarded source of support (e.g., Behnke et al., 2008; Vega, Kolody, Valle, & Weir, 1991; Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin, & Perez-Stable, 1987). Therefore, Mexican-American mothers may rely on and expect support from extended family, regardless of their relationship with the child’s father. Still, in a sample of unmarried families from the first and second data-collection waves of the FFCW study, Padilla, Radey, Hummer, and Kim (2006) find Mexican-immigrant single-mothers substantially lacking instrumental social support compared to non-Hispanic White mothers (Padilla, Radey, Hummer, & Kim, 2006). Both “formal” social support, which includes federal support programs such as food stamps or TANF

(Temporary Assistance for Needy Families), and “instrumental” social support (e.g., cash, place to live, emergency child care) however, do not differ between immigrant and U.S. born Mexican-origin single mothers (Padilla et al., 2006). A measure for the influence of formal social support on maternal wellbeing is therefore not made with this study’s sample of immigrant and U.S. born Mexican-origin mothers.

Ecological Factors Linked to Maternal Mental Health

In order to focus the present study on associations between paternal support and maternal mental health, several other important covariates linked to maternal wellbeing are considered in this study’s statistical models. First, more proximal (e.g., microsystem) ecological stressors on maternal mental health, such as child behavior problems, have been linked to risks for maternal parenting stress and depressive symptomatology (e.g., Gross, Shaw, Burwell, & Nagin, 2009; Willford, Calkins, & Keane, 2007). Second, maternal depression and parenting stress are also proximal ecological stressors for maternal mental health that are highly interlinked; on the one hand, mothers reporting elevated depressive symptoms also report more parenting stress (e.g., Foster et al., 2008; Gelfand, Teti, & Radin Fox, 1992; Goodman, 2008; Muslow et al., 2002), while mothers reporting more parenting stress also report greater depressive symptomatology (e.g., Murray, Fiori-Cowley, & Hooper, 1996). Therefore, maternal parenting stress and maternal depressive symptoms are included in the models predicting each other. Third, exosystem-level stressors, such as economic hardship, have been linked with adverse mental outcomes for adults (e.g., Kiernan & Huerta, 2008; Lynch, Kaplan, & Shema, 1997). Finally, stressors from macrosystem ecological contexts, such as low proxy-levels

of acculturation (e.g., nativity and length of residency in host country; language) have been associated with elevated risks for maternal parenting stress and depression among Mexican-American mothers (e.g., Martinez-Schallmoser, Telleen, & Macmullen, 2003; White et al., 2009).

The Present Study

Our method of examining within group differences in an ethnic minority group is an approach that has been recommended highly by many in the scientific community (e.g., Fisher et al., 2002; Steinberg & Fletcher, 1998). Within ethnic-group analyses allow for a more precise measure of family functioning and processes that are more informative in helping facilitate public policy and intervention efforts, particularly among unique groups such as Mexican-American families with RPS fathers (Knight, Roosa, & Umana-Taylor, 2009). In other words, examining the variations in protective factors of support from multiple fathers may provide a comprehensive understanding of family support and maternal wellbeing that will inform policies and practice with the large and growing group of Mexican-American families in the U.S. For instance, immigration and issues of acculturation are highly important to the Mexican-American population compared to other groups (White et al., 2009; Knight et al., 2009). A new man coming into the Mexican-American family may face the challenge of fulfilling the role of both a romantic partner and a father (Saracho & Spodek, 2008). This study will shed light on the contributions RPS fathers are making to maternal mental health, even when accounting for nonresident biological father support.

This study specifically tests whether support from RPS fathers and nonresident biological fathers predict lower levels of maternal depression and maternal parenting stress among a Mexican-American subsample from the FFCW study. The association between father support and maternal wellbeing is becoming well established (e.g., Edwards et al., 2012), but the buffering effects of support from non-biological fathers, especially RPS fathers, remain unclear. This study is informed by three hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Higher levels of mothers' perceived support from both RPS fathers and nonresident biological fathers will be associated with lower levels of maternal parenting stress and depressive symptomatology.

Hypothesis 2: Higher levels of mothers' perceived support from both RPS fathers and instrumental social support will be associated with lower levels of maternal depressive symptomatology and parenting stress.

Hypothesis 3: The association between mothers' perceived support from RPS fathers and maternal depressive symptomatology and parenting stress will vary by relationship length between mothers and RPS fathers, and that higher levels of RPS father support and lower maternal depressive symptoms and parenting stress will be observed among longer relationships.

METHODS

Sample

A subsample of Mexican-American mothers ($N = 76$) involved with a RPS father was gathered from the FFCW study (see Table 1). The FFCW is a longitudinal study of nearly 5,000 low-income families from across twenty major U.S. cities followed from birth. The national sample consists of births within hospitals located in cities with 200,000 people or more. The FFCW study provides nationally representative data on nonmarital births, aimed at sampling new unwed parents, including fathers. To date, the FFCW provides the most comprehensive and nationally representative data on unwed fathers (Carlson & McLanahan, 2010). The FFCW study is currently in its fifth wave, where children are nine-years-old. The current study uses data from baseline (birth) and the third wave (three-year-old children) of the FFCW study.

Close to three-quarters of RPS fathers in this study were Hispanic, and predominantly of Mexican-origin (see Table 2). More than half of nonresident biological fathers maintain contact with their children. No RPS fathers or nonresident biological fathers were reported to be deceased. Less than one-third of nonresident biological fathers are reported to have a legal agreement to make child-support payments (see Table 3). Mexican immigrant and further-generation Mexican-American families have been shown to utilize many federal and judicial programs (e.g., child support) at significantly lower rates compared to non-Hispanic White, U.S. born families (Padilla et al., 2006).

Therefore, measures of financial support from nonresident biological fathers were not considered as a predictor for the sample in this study. More than half of mothers were cohabitating with RPS fathers, for an average length of time of four years. Over one third of mothers were not married to RPS fathers.

RPS fathers ($M_{\text{age}} = 27.3$ years, $SD = 8.3$, age range: 19-50 years) are significantly older than mothers ($t(75) = -6.16, p < .001$). Close to three quarters (73%) of mothers in this sample are U.S. born. Year of first residency in the U.S. for non-U.S. born mothers ranges from 1970 to 1999. Although considering the instability and fragile nature of these families, nearly all mothers could identify the biological fathers of their children.

Procedures

The baseline interviews were made in the hospital shortly after the birth of the child. Third-wave data were collected from phone interviews. After the core study interview, a supplemental in-home or telephone interview was also conducted with mothers during the third wave. In this supplemental interview, mothers were asked a number of questions, including questions concerning child behavior problems and parental stress. In many cases, mothers provided fathers' contact information. Moreover, information on fathers not interviewed was collected via mother reports. Mother interviews preceded those with fathers, based on the assumption that if parents were no longer living together, mothers would have updated information on the location of fathers. See Reichman, Teitler, Garfinkel, and McLanahan (2001) for a comprehensive and detailed overview of the sample and design of the study.

Baseline measures of mothers' demographic information were merged with data from the third wave of the study. The dataset was accessed via the FFCW study website <http://www.fragilefamilies.princeton.edu/index.asp>. A short study proposal was electronically submitted before data-access was granted. This study was considered exempt by the Human Subjects Research and Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the author's affiliated institution. SPSS (IBM) software version 21 was used for data management and statistical analyses.

Measures

Maternal depression. The Major Depressive Episode (MDE) ($\alpha = .94$), a 15-item scale, was used to measure mothers' levels of depressive symptomatology during the third wave. Questions from the MDE are derived from the Composite International Diagnostic Interview Short-Form (CIDI-SF) (Kessler, Andrews, Mroczek, Ustun, & Wittchen, 1998). The CIDI-SF takes a portion of questions from the CIDI. Consistent with the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders – Fourth Edition (DSM-IV), the CIDI is a standardized instrument for the assessment of mental disorders (American Psychiatric Association, 1994). Symptoms of dysphoria (or depression) and anhedonia (inability to enjoy common pleasures) are measured by the MDE. Respondents are first asked whether in the past year they've experienced any feelings of dysphoria or anhedonia for two or more weeks in a row. If so, more specific questions on the frequency of these symptoms were then asked. The MDE includes questions about *“losing interest, feeling tired, change in weight, trouble sleeping, trouble concentrating,*

feeling worthless, and thinking about death". An item concerning change in weight was omitted from the analyses. No outstanding changes in internal reliability were observed from item omission, albeit, a slight improvement ($\alpha = .90$ to $\alpha = .94$).

Although some items were omitted from CIDI, all necessary items to determine predicted probabilities for the presence of a depressive disorder are included in the MDE. Scoring procedures are consistent with the instructions proposed by Kessler and Mroczek (1994 and 1997) (Fragile Families Research Brief, 2006). To meet the diagnostic stem requirement in the MDE, respondents must endorse all three questions about having two weeks of dysphoric mood or anhedonia. Endorsing the dysphoric stem leads to skipping the anhedonia stem. Additionally, participants must report two-weeks of symptoms lasting at least "*about half of the day*" and "*almost every day*". Scoring instructions described by Walters, Kessler, Nelson, and Mroczek (2002) propose that the cut-off for endorsing a stem must be experiencing symptoms for at least "*most of the day*" (Walters, Kessler, Nelson, & Mroczek, 2002). Similar to other studies (e.g., Whitaker, Orzol, & Kahn, 2006) using data from the FFCW study, these procedures were not employed, particularly because of the non-clinical sample in this study; there is little to no reason to expect severe dysphoric or adhedonic symptomatology. Scores from respondents who deny any presence or persistence of disorders lead to a skip-out, which corresponds to a probability of a disorder equal to zero. Respondents who disclose being on medication for depression received the highest score possible (e.g., 14) in the MDE, and were not asked further questions on their symptoms. No participant in this subsample reported being on anti-depressants or any other medications for depression.

Parenting stress. A 5-item modified version of the Parental Distress Subscale of the Parenting Stress Index-Short Form (PSI-SF) was used to evaluate daily hassles and frustrations from parenting and challenging behavior due to childrearing (Abidin, 1995). The original Parental Distress Subscale (12-items) has been shown to be a multidimensional subscale comprising two subscales: Parenting Demands Distress (PDD) (5-items) and General Distress (7-items) (e.g., McKelvey et al., 2009). Only items coming from the PDD will be utilized in this study to evaluate levels of parenting stress. The PDD Subscale has been successfully used in other recent studies also using data from the FFCW study to measure and predict parenting stress (e.g., Farmer & Lee, 2011). Respondents are asked whether they agree with a list of statements, rated under a Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5 (*Strongly Agree* = 1, *Agree* = 2, *Not Sure* = 3, *Disagree* = 4, *Strongly Disagree* = 5). All items are reverse-coded; larger scores represent higher levels of parenting stress. All items measure mothers' responses. Sample items include, "*You feel trapped by your responsibilities as a parent?*", "*Since having (CHILD) you feel that you are almost never able to do things that you like to do?*" and "*You find yourself giving up more of your life to meet your child(ren)'s needs than you ever expected?*". The Cronbach's alpha for the PDD Subscale was .96. The PDD Subscale has a minimum score of 5 and a maximum score of 25. An overall score was calculated by averaging individual scores, producing an overall mean score with higher scores indicating higher levels of parenting stress.

RPS father support. Mothers' perceived levels of support from RPS fathers were measured using an 8-item *socioemotional support* ($\alpha = .88$) subscale of the Multi-dimensional Support Scale (Winefield, Winefield, & Tiggermann, 2000). The original scale includes 12 items, but following the lead of other investigators using FFCW data (e.g., Carlson, Pilkauskas, McLanahan, & Brooks-Gunn, 2011), four items were omitted pertaining to abuse or violence (e.g., “*slaps or kicks you*” or “*hits you with a fist or an object that could hurt you*”). The measure is in the form of a Likert scale, ranging from 1 (*often*) to 3 (*never*). Items relate to partners expressing affection or love, helping with things that are important, and understanding the hurts and joys of mothers (e.g., “*How often does (or did) father encourage or help with things important to you?*”). Items expressing positive indications of socioemotional support are reversed-coded to denote higher indications of support. The scores for socioemotional support were obtained by calculating the mean average.

Biological father support. Mothers' perceived levels of support from biological fathers were evaluated by a 6-item measure of *coparental support* ($\alpha = .88$). All items from the original scale were included in this study. Items relate to issues of interparental cooperation, communication, and respect and value of each other's parental roles, such as, “*He supports you in the way you want to raise child*” and “*You and father talk about problems that come up with child*”, are measures related to coparenting. The measure is in the form of a Likert scale, ranging from 1 (*always true*) to 3 (*rarely true*). All items from this scale were reverse coded and averaged so that higher scores represent greater degree of support.

Instrumental Social support. Three items from a survey measuring accessibility of instrumental social support ($\alpha = .79$) were used to determine mothers' levels of perceived instrumental social support. Five items were removed from the original questionnaire due to the demographics of this particular subsample, especially the high concentration of low-income and recently-immigrated families. For instance, the following item was removed: "If you needed help during the next year, could you count on someone to...loan you [about] \$1,000?" or "co-signing for \$5,000?". Scale reliability alpha values improved substantially after the five items were omitted (e.g., $\alpha = .19$ to $\alpha = .79$). Instrumental social support variables were similarly operationalized by Manuel et al. (2012) and Ciabattari (2007). Moreover, other studies using data from the FFCW with a similar subsample of Mexican-American families also performed this same omitting procedure, with the rationale that these families have a limited probability in seeking and receiving loans for this amount (e.g., Padilla et al., 2006). The three-item scale evaluates perceived access to instrumental support with money, emergency childcare, and shelter, if needed. Instrumental social support items are coded as 1 (*Yes*) and 2 (*No*) dichotomous responses. Item responses are reverse coded and summed, such that higher scores indicate greater perceived access to instrumental social support.

Economic hardship. Mothers' economic hardship was assessed using the mean of a 10-item measure of *economic hardship*. The ten items are dichotomous "Yes/No" questions, and are a subset from the "Basic Needs – Ability to Meet Expenses" section of the Survey on Income and Program Participation (SIPP), the Study of Work, Welfare, and Family Well-Being of Iowa Families in the Family Investment Program, and Social

Indicators Survey (SIS) (Fragile Families Research Brief, 2006). Questions from the economic hardship measure concern issues related to material hardship and financial difficulties in the past year, such as having to work overtime, being evicted from a home or apartment, not paying the full amount on utility bills, and cutting back on buying clothing. All questions are in reference to the respondent, except for the following item: “*Was there anyone in your household who needed to see a doctor or go to the hospital but couldn’t go because of the cost?*” The Cronbach’s alpha for the economic hardship scale was .63.

Child behavior problems. A 56-item subscale from the *child’s behavior problems* scale of the Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL) was used to assess children’s levels of externalizing and internalizing problem behaviors (Achenbach, 1988; 1992; Achenbach & Rescorla, 2000). Items assessing *aggressive* or *disruptive behavior* were used to determine externalizing behavior ($\alpha = .79$) and *anxious* or *depressed behavior*, *social withdrawal*, and *need for mental health services*, were included as a measure for internalizing behavior ($\alpha = .82$) problems. Items such as, “*(He/She) is defiant*” and “*(He/She) looks unhappy without good reason*”, were used to measure externalizing and internalizing symptoms, respectively. All items were measured in a 0 to 2 Likert scale, ranging from “*not true = 0*” to “*very true or often true = 2*”. All item scores from externalizing and internalizing behaviors were combined and summed so that higher scores represented more child behavior problems, overall.

Relationship length. Mothers were given the options to report the “number of months” and/or “the number of years” they’ve been in a relationship with the RPS father. In order to combine the two items into one, reported “number of years” were multiplied by twelve, and were then added with the reported “number of months”. Mothers who did not respond to either “number of months” ($n = 28$) or “number of years” ($n = 33$) were given a zero. Thus, the variable, *relationship length with RPS father*, refers to the total number of months.

Length of residency in the U.S. To calculate mothers’ *length of time living in the U.S.*, the two following categories had to be considered: U.S. born and non-U.S. born. For mothers born in the U.S., their reported age was used as a proxy for the number of years living in the U.S. Mothers who reported not being born in the U.S. were asked the year they first came to the U.S. to live. This was an open-ended question, and mothers were asked to write-in their responses in the space provided. The “year” items reported by mothers were then recalculated to represent the number of years they have been living in the U.S. In order to compute these mothers’ length of time in the U.S., their year of first coming to the U.S. to live was subtracted by the year mothers completed the core survey at baseline.

Analytic Strategies

Differences between nonresident biological fathers and RPS fathers in their levels of support provided were tested with basic ANOVAs. Differences in maternal parenting stress, maternal depression, RPS father support, nonresident biological father support, and relationship length between RPS father and mother were also analyzed. Pearson moment correlations were then computed for the dependent and independent variables. All continuous predictors and covariates were mean centered. No signs of multicollinearity were detected among predictors in either model. Hierarchical linear regression analysis was used to test the hypotheses.

Two models were tested with maternal depression and maternal parenting stress as dependent variables. In the first set of models with maternal parenting stress as an outcome, maternal depression was included in Step 1 as a covariate. Conversely, maternal parenting stress was included as a covariate in the second set of models with maternal depression as the outcome. Steps 1 (control variables - economic hardship, maternal parenting stress or maternal depression, years in the U.S., child behavior problems), Steps 2 (two -main predictors – instrumental social support, nonresident biological father support), Steps 3 (RPS father support, relationship length with RPS father), and Steps 4 (*RPS father support X relationship length with RPS father, RPS father support X nonresident biological father support, RPS father support X instrumental social support*) were identical in each model. The three interaction terms in Step 4 were included in order to test for moderation effects. Statistically significant

interaction terms were probed following standard pick-a-point procedures (Aiken & West, 1991; Preacher, Curran, & Bauer, 2012). Specifically, interactions were evaluated by plotting simple slopes of the lines defining the association between independent and dependent variables at -1 SD, mean and +1 SD levels of the moderator variables (e.g., nonresident biological father support; RPS father-mother relationship length; instrumental social support).

RESULTS

Pearson moment correlation analyses reveal the dynamic interplay between the three sources of support. For instance, instrumental social support has a significant positive correlation with both RPS father support and biological father support (see Table 4). However, there is no statistically significant correlation of support between both fathers. Nevertheless, a statistically significant negative correlation between RPS father support and maternal depression is observed. Maternal parenting stress and nonresident biological father support are negatively correlated; these same results are not observed with either RPS father support or instrumental social support.

No significant mean differences were observed in levels of support from fathers or instrumental social support between U.S. born and non-U.S. born mothers, except mothers born in the U.S. reported significantly more support from nonresident biological fathers than mothers not born in the U.S., $F(1, 74) = 4.65, p = .034$. Younger mothers were significantly more likely to receive instrumental social support, $F(18, 57) = 2.23, p = .011$, compared to their older age counterparts. Mothers with more recent partnerships with RPS fathers were more likely to report less maternal parenting stress, $F(3, 70) = 3.08, p = .033$, compared to mothers with a longer established relationship with RPS fathers. No other mean-level differences in support from either source were observed by membership in other ecological variables, including educational status, economic hardship, or marital status.

Paternal Support As Associated with Maternal Depression

This study hypothesized that higher levels of mothers' perceived support from both RPS fathers and nonresident biological fathers would be associated with lower levels of maternal parenting stress and depressive symptomatology. Hierarchical multiple regression analyses show that RPS father socioemotional support and nonresident biological father coparental support independently predict levels of maternal depressive symptomatology (see Table 5). The results of the regression indicated the two predictors explained 49% of the variance ($Adj. R^2 = .33$, $F(3, 40) = 3.5$, $p < .05$). It was found that RPS fathers significantly predicted maternal depressive symptomatology ($\beta = -1.37$, $p < .05$), as did support from nonresident biological fathers ($\beta = 3.69$, $p < .05$). Instrumental social support ($\beta = 2.88$, $p < .05$) also independently predicted more maternal depressive symptomatology. Independent predictions from these three forms of support were not interpreted, considering that interaction effects between these sources of support were significant at the last step of the model. Thus, simple slopes of the lines were plotted for the relationship between RPS father support and maternal depression with conditional values of nonresident biological father support set at the mean, and 1 SD below and above the mean. As shown in Figure 1, first when mothers reported higher levels of nonresident biological support, there was an inverse association between maternal depressive symptomatology and RPS father support ($\beta = -5.1$, $t = -4.4$, $p = 0.001$).

RPS Father Support and Maternal Depression by Instrumental Social Support

In this study, it was hypothesized that higher levels of mothers' perceived support from both RPS fathers and instrumental social support would be associated with lower levels of maternal depressive symptomatology and parenting stress. Probing analyses show an inverse association between maternal depressive symptomatology and RPS father support when mothers reported lower levels of instrumental social support ($\beta = -4.6, t = -2.3, p = 0.01$) (see Figure 2). In other words, with higher reported RPS father support, lower levels of maternal depression were observed when mothers reported a low degree of instrumental social support. Just like the interaction effect between RPS father- and nonresident biological father-support observed with lower depressive symptom levels, instrumental social support is moderating the relationship between high-RPS father support and low-depressive symptoms.

RPS Father Support and Maternal Depression by Relationship Length

This study hypothesized that the association between mothers' perceived support from RPS fathers and maternal depressive symptomatology and parenting stress would vary by relationship length between mothers and RPS fathers, and that higher levels of RPS father support and lower maternal depressive symptoms and parenting stress will be observed among longer relationships. As shown in Figure 3, probing interaction analysis show first, that when mothers reported shorter relationship length with RPS fathers, an inverse association between maternal depression scores and RPS father support is observed ($\beta = -5.3, t = -3.0, p = 0.01$). Second, when mothers report a longer relationship

length with RPS fathers, results show a positive association between maternal depression and perceived support from RPS fathers ($\beta = 2.6, t = 2.2, p = 0.04$). This fails to support our hypothesis of greater support from RPS fathers being associated with higher reported maternal wellbeing among mothers with a longer relationship with RPS fathers.

Support As Associated with Maternal Parenting Stress

Findings from regression analyses reveal that neither instrumental social support, RPS father, nor biological father support independently predict mothers' reported levels of parenting stress, above and beyond other ecological stressors (see Table 6). No identified ecological stressor in the model significantly contributed to parenting stress at any steps of the regression analyses, except for child behavior problems.

DISCUSSION

There is large consensus among researchers over the importance of maternal mental health for the wellbeing of families (Herbst & Tekin, 2012; Mensah & Kiernan, 2011). However, there has been very little research on the wellbeing of mothers in families with a RPS father, particularly in Mexican-American families. With the rapid reorganization of family structure in the U.S., more and more single-mothers face unique ecological challenges under these conditions (Lansford, Ceballo, Abbey, & Stewart, 2004; McLanahan & Sandefur, 1994). Mothers are generally referred to as the central figures of families, and are often considered the “glue” of the family (McLanahan & Sandefur, 1994). Uncovering and underscoring the sources of support that bolster maternal wellbeing is a promising route to improving family wellbeing in fragile families. This is particularly needed in families traditionally considered cohesive, particularly Mexican-American families (Bean et al., 1977). Thus, the present study uncovers the sources of support bolstering maternal wellbeing for Mexican-American mothers. This study analyzed whether the three sources of support: instrumental-, RPS father-, and nonresident biological father-support, are associated with mothers’ levels of self-reported depression and parenting stress, above and beyond ecological stressors. With a new “father” in the picture, mothers and nonresident biological fathers, alike, learn new ways to navigate their family relations and functions (e.g., Ganong & Coleman, 2004; Jayakody & Kalil, 2002; Pryor, 2008; Robertson, 2008). Rarely have other studies considered the contributions different types of fathers make for the wellbeing of those living among these families (e.g., Cabrera et al., 2010; Marsiglio &

Hinojosa, 2010; Osborne, Berger, & Magnuson, 2012). These unique or cumulative sources of support may improve the health conditions of mothers in these increasingly growing family structures.

The results from this study reveal the important contributions fathers' support has on maternal wellbeing. Fathers, particularly RPS fathers, are proximal sources of support for mothers, yet have been left ignored in the mental health arena. The findings demonstrate that multiple proximal and exosystem sources of support and ecological stressors were associated with maternal mental health, especially support from different fathers. Although the cross-sectional nature of the analyses does not allow us to definitively establish the directionality of the effects, the findings illustrate the complexity of these independent sources of support when functioning together to ameliorate maternal mental health.

Paternal Support As Associated with Maternal Depression

Although there is research providing evidence for the salutary effects of support from both RPS fathers and nonresident biological fathers on maternal wellbeing, most of this research fails to consider support as a process, but rather operationalize it as mere presence of fathers (e.g., Bzostek, 2008). Moreover, some work has also shown the strong likelihood of RPS fathers and nonresident biological fathers clashing and inhibiting their involvement in the family (e.g., Jayakody & Kalil, 2002). Nevertheless, results from this study show otherwise. The present study shows that low-levels of maternal depression are observed when higher levels of both nonresident biological

father support and RPS father support interact. In other words, positive maternal mental health outcomes are observed when mothers report support from both RPS fathers and nonresident biological fathers. It may be that mothers are reporting lower levels of depressive symptomatology due to the support they perceive to receive from both RPS fathers and nonresident biological fathers. As a consequence of their depressive symptoms, mothers may be seeking support from both fathers. Additionally, these mothers may have a tendency of partnering with supportive fathers, especially since mothers are reporting high levels of support from both fathers. As shown by literature of the high degree of familism in Mexican-American families, fathers, whether they are biological or not, may have an interest in putting the needs of their families over their own (e.g., Behnke et al., 2008; Saracho & Spodek, 2008). Although one study finds that the presence of a new father in African-American families decreases the frequency of contact or support provided by nonresident biological fathers (Jayakody & Kalil, 2002), it is still unclear whether these same patterns of nonresident biological father involvement function similarly among other ethnic groups, particularly Mexican Americans.

RPS Father Support and Maternal Depression by Instrumental Social Support

Considering previous findings of instrumental social support as a protective buffer for mental health, instrumental social support was therefore expected to be associated with lower depressive symptomatology regardless of support from fathers (e.g., Howell, Mora, Di Bonaventura, & Leventhal, 2009). However, the results from this study convey a more complex story. Surprisingly, mothers in this study with both high levels of

instrumental social support and RPS father support are worse-off than mothers with low-instrumental social support, with respect to maternal depressive symptomatology. Yet, due to the cross-sectional nature of the analyses, directionality of effects cannot be established. For example, high levels of instrumental social support may lead to greater depressive symptomatology because the abundance of instrumental social support could place a burden on maternal wellbeing (e.g., Antonucci, Akiyama, & Lansford, 1998; Losada et al., 2006). Mexican-American families are identified as tight-knit and highly cohesive, and the family is often considered a major source of support (e.g., Baer & Schmitz, 2007; Cauce & Domenech-Rodriguez, 2002; Rodriguez, Mira, Paez, & Myers, 2007; White et al., 2009). As some studies have demonstrated, this high degree of family cohesion can have adverse effects on maternal mental wellbeing (e.g., Miranda, Estrada, & Firpo-Jimenez, 2000; Rivera et al., 2008). Still, another plausible explanation could be that mothers who are experiencing higher symptoms of depression are more likely receiving support from those around them who perceive the need for support. This may explain why levels of RPS father support are high when mothers are reporting low-instrumental social support. It may be that because of their lack of instrumental social support, mothers are seeking support from RPS fathers. RPS fathers may make all the difference for mothers lacking instrumental social support, particularly since bivariate analyses show lower maternal depressive symptomatology being associated with the more support mothers receive from RPS fathers.

RPS Father Support and Maternal Depression by Relationship Length

Higher levels of reported RPS father support were associated with higher levels of maternal depressive symptoms, but only when the relationship between the RPS father and mother is of longer length. In other words, RPS father support was positively associated with maternal depressive symptoms when relationships were on average 2 years of length ($SD = 2.8$) or more. Although studies investigating the link between relationship stability and maternal wellbeing in repartnered families are scant, much of the findings on intact families point to the protective effects both stability and commitment have on maternal-, child-, and overall family-wellbeing (e.g., Cavanagh & Huston, 2006; Fomby & Cherlin, 2007; Osborne & McLanahan, 2007). However, our findings are inconsistent with the literature. One plausible explanation for these results may be that mothers in a relationship longer than two years with RPS fathers may not be benefiting from the quality of support provided by RPS fathers, even though mothers are reporting more of it. In other words, the support provided by RPS fathers may not supersede the depressive symptomatology mothers may be experiencing. This could be further explained by some research on assortative mating, which suggests that simply one intimate relationship may not be enough to ameliorate maternal depression, especially if intimate partners don't have the capacity to provide such support (e.g., Turney, 2012). This may be the case even more so if there is concordance in depressive symptomatology between mothers and RPS fathers, which may result in lower objective quality of socioemotional support provided by romantic partners (e.g., McLeod & Eckberg, 1993).

An inverse association between RPS father support and maternal depressive symptoms were found when relationships were on average 2 years of length ($SD = 2.8$) or under. These findings may be explained by mothers overestimating the support they receive from their new romantic partners. This biased way of thinking has been referred to as a *positive illusion* effect, which is an adaptive function in romantic relationships in which “one’s relationship is regarded as desirable and controllable, with a rosy future...[suggesting] the adaptive value of such illusion” (Martz et al., 1998, p. 160; Murray & Holmes, 1997; Murray, Holmes, & Griffin, 1996). In addition, a selection effect may be at play, such that mothers are selecting competitive mates who are both highly committed and supportive as partners. This is consistent with previous studies providing evidence for the selectivity among single-mothers when seeking a partner (Bzostek, McLanahan, & Carlson, 2012). Although our data do not provide sufficient information to empirically determine the level of selectivity women applied when seeking a partner, our sample shows RPS fathers generally possess more favorable qualities than most biological fathers, particularly on matters of education, employment, and incarceration rates.

Support and Maternal Parenting Stress

Although all three sources of support are observed to have a statistically significant interplay with maternal depression, these same dynamics with maternal parenting stress are not observed. Both RPS father support and nonresident biological father support together only predict levels of maternal parenting stress at marginally significant levels. It may be that the values these mothers place on their roles as parents

may be influencing the overall perceptions mothers have over the stressors and aggravation coming from parenting (e.g., German, Gonzales, & Dumka, 2009; Roosa, Morgan-Lopez, Cree, & Specter, 2002). Research has shown Mexican-American mothers strong endorsement of familism values compared to other Hispanic subgroups, including Puerto Ricans, Central/South Americans, and Cubans (e.g., Landale et al., 2006), which they may be placing an overriding interest in fulfilling their role and duties as parents rather than perceiving parenting as an experience. Measurements of more explicit processes, such as measurement of daily hassles from parenting, may be needed in order to explicitly tap into the underlying stressors mothers may be experiencing from parenting, rather than aggravation and stress from the demands of their parenting role.

Moreover, measurement error for maternal parenting stress may explain these unanticipated findings. There have been some critiques on the cultural sensitivity and application of the PSI among ethnically-minority families, particularly Mexican-American families (e.g., Dumka, Gonzales, Wood, & Formoso, 1998; Neece, Green, & Baker, 2012). Still, child behavior problems in this study were observed to significantly predict maternal parenting stress as shown in previous research (e.g., Rodriguez, 2011). As a study by Rodriguez (2011) demonstrates, a measure of the role of parenting stress specifically is associated with behavior problems, rather than stress from parents' daily hassles or major life events outside the parent-child system. Thus, confidence in the construct validity of the parenting stress measure in this study is further met. However, in terms of RPS fathers, it may be that socioemotional support may not directly influence maternal parenting stress. Other forms of support coming from RPS fathers, such as

coparental-, instrumental-, or financial-support, may play a more direct role in mitigating maternal parenting stress (e.g., Featherstone, 2009; McHale & Irace, 2011). Future studies should consider measuring other forms of support provided by RPS fathers.

Future Directions

About a third of all children born in the U.S. are born to unmarried parents, with even higher proportions among poor and ethnic minority populations. The welfare of children growing up in these families may differ compared to other family structures. Future studies should supplement the findings in this study by measuring how these paternal and social sources of support influence child wellbeing. Moreover, an extension of this study could capture other forms of support these fathers contribute to mothers and families (e.g., instrumental support). In addition, future studies should also consider measuring fathers' endorsement of familism values, in order to shed light on the intrinsic motivations of these fathers to supporting their families. Degree of adherence to familism values may very well be a factor moderating the quantity and quality of support fathers provide to their families. Further, mothers' endorsement of familism should also be considered to explicitly measure the role variability in familism level might play for levels of maternal parenting stress. Measures of mental wellbeing for both RPS fathers and nonresident biological fathers should be sought, in order to gain a broader and deeper understanding of the conditions in which these fathers function within these families. Future studies should also measure formal sources of support, such as public/government support (e.g., WIC; Early Head Start Program). Although this study only examined a

subsample of Mexican-American families from the FFCW study, other studies should replicate this investigation with other ethnic groups.

Strengths and Limitations

One of the major strengths of this study is that the FFCW dataset provides one of the largest national datasets on fathers from low-income families. Moreover, it includes RPS fathers in Mexican-American families, who are a subgroup of fathers who have been virtually ignored in studies of father involvement. Still, our subsample of Mexican-American mothers intimately involved with RPS fathers was limited, thus limiting the statistical power to detect small effects. This study would have benefited from a larger sample size.

The FFCW study provides key variables necessary to gain a holistic and in-depth understanding of the conditions and ecological contexts these families are functioning in. Measures of economic hardship, immigration status, language, and child behavior problems are key indicators crucial to providing a comprehensive understanding of maternal wellbeing in these low-income and unmarried, Mexican-American families. Our method of examining within group differences in an ethnic minority group is a novel approach that has been recommended highly by many in the scientific community (e.g., Fisher et al., 2002; Knight, Roosa, & Umana-Taylor, 2009; Steinberg & Fletcher, 1998).

A significant limitation of this study comes from the cross-sectional analyses, which limit the ability to definitively confirm the directionality of the associations. However, the FFCW data was limited in tracking the stability of RPS fathers over time,

which limits our ability to analyze the overall long-term support these fathers provide. An additional limitation of the study is that only self-report measures from mothers were analyzed. Future studies should collect and analyze self-reported information directly from RPS and nonresidential biological fathers as well, in order to capture a more precise and comprehensive understanding of the contributions these fathers make. Definitive conclusions on the influence RPS father support and nonresident biological father support have on depressive symptomatology and maternal parenting stress cannot be made due to the cross-sectional nature of the analyses. Nevertheless, these findings provide evidence for the unique contributions both fathers make for their families.

Implications

This study is a response to Marsiglio's and Hinojosa's (2010) call for research focused on healthy dimensions of families with unique family structures, in an effort to facilitate positive change in family relations among these families. The findings from this study provide further evidence of the need for policies and social services to foster support from both RPS fathers and nonresident biological fathers in low-income, Mexican-American families. This study helps bridge an understanding of the independent and cumulative support contributions both types of fathers make for mothers' mental wellbeing. This study challenges the common misconceptions the public has on nonresident biological fathers who are often stereotyped as being "deadbeat dads" and making little-to-no contributions to their former families (e.g., Marks & Palkovitz, 2004; Parke & Brott, 1999). Many of these conventional prejudices are reinforced by popular

media, often portraying the image of nonresident biological fathers abandoning their families and breaking their promises of providing for them. Moreover, policymakers and the public, in general, have maintained the belief that involvement from both biological fathers and RPS fathers would clash, and result in even more problems for mothers (e.g., McLanahan & Sandefur, 1994; Bermudez, Stinson, Zak-Hunter, & Abrams, 2011). This study provides clear evidence debunking these misconceptions, particularly for Mexican-American families.

Studies on unique family structures, such as stepfamilies, only consider the differences in a single, family structure variable (e.g., stepfamilies vs. intact families), rather than assessing the processes existing within these families, such as support from different fathers (e.g., White & Gilbreth, 2001; McLanahan & Sandefur, 1994). Evaluating support processes protecting maternal wellbeing are essential to facilitate and inform policies and programs that work to ameliorate maternal mental health.

There were a number of state and federal policies that were recently implemented pushing single-mothers on welfare (e.g., TANF) to marry, in an effort to attenuate poverty among this subgroup of women (see McLanahan & Sandefur, 1994 for a further discussion). There has also been a legal push to encourage nonresident biological father involvement, particularly in providing child support payments (Featherstone, 2009). Nevertheless, the findings of this study illustrate the need and the importance for fathers to provide other forms of support, such as coparental support, even with the presence of, and involvement from, a RPS father in the family.

Policies should consider investing in resources helping RPS fathers with their transition into these new families. As this study shows, the unique support coming from RPS fathers, along with the combined support coming from biological fathers, bolsters mothers' mental wellbeing. Public policies should invest in helping these types of reformed families negotiate the presence of these two fathers, and help them coordinate and adjust to the new structure. Family programs should work with both fathers in cases where there is both a RPS father and a nonresident biological father involved in the family, since mothers may benefit the most when receiving high quality support from both of these fathers. Family and social work programs working with fathers should specifically focus on bolstering both socioemotional and coparental support from RPS fathers and nonresident biological fathers, respectively, in an effort to amplify the positive influences they may have on maternal wellbeing.

APPENDIX

Table 1

Descriptives of Mexican-American Mothers from the FFCW study (N = 76)

Characteristic	N (%)	M (SD)	Min	Max
Age		22.3 (4.6)	16	39
Born in the U.S.?				
Yes	55 (72)			
No	21 (28)			
Year of first residency in the U.S.				
1970-1979	3 (10)			
1980-1989	8 (40)			
1990-1999	10 (50)			
Spanish speaking (survey language)				
Yes	11 (15)			
No	59 (78)			
Biological father contact with focal child				
Yes	47 (62)			
No	24 (32)			
Relationship with RPS father (yrs.)		2.14 (2.8)	.08	6.2
Married to RPS father				
Yes	11 (15)			
No	63 (83)			
Length of marriage (yrs.)		2.64 (1.9)	1	4
1	3 (27)			
2	1 (9)			
3	4 (36)			
4	3 (27)			
Live with RPS father most of the time?				
Yes	43 (57)			
No	31 (41)			
Length of cohabitation (yrs.)		4.0 (1.7)	1	6
1	3 (7)			
2	6 (14)			
3	11 (26)			
4	11 (26)			
5	9 (21)			
6	2 (5)			
Focal child's gender				
Male	38 (50)			
Female	38 (50)			
Education				
Less than high school	58 (76)			
Completed high school	14 (19)			
Children with someone other than the biological father				
Yes	25 (33)			
No	20 (26)			

Table 2

Demographic characteristics of RPS Fathers Involved in a Relationship with Mexican-American Mothers

Characteristic	<i>N</i>	(%)
Race/ethnicity		
Hispanic	39	(51)
White	18	(24)
Black	12	(16)
Native American	4	(5)
Hispanic/Latino descent?		
Yes	54	(71)
No	20	(26)
Education		
Less than high school	11	(15)
Completed high school	38	(51)
College	19	(26)
Most frequent activity (in previous week)		
Nothing	1	(2)
Working at a regular job	64	(86)
Looking for work	2	(3)
Unable to work	1	(2)
In jail/prison	1	(2)
Stay at home parent	1	(2)
Working and school	2	(3)
Unpaid activities in exchange for basic necessities (e.g., meals, income, clothing, shelter)		
Yes	6	(8)
No	68	(92)
Physical or mental health conditions limiting work capacity?		
Yes	4	(5)
No	70	(92)
Problems keeping a job and friends due to alcohol or drug use?		
Yes	2	(3)
No	72	(95)
Biological children?		
Yes	45	(59)
No	29	(38)
How many biological children?		
Less than 3	31	(69)
More than 3	14	(22)
Spent any time in jail or prison		
Yes	13	(17)
No	61	(80)

Table 3

Demographic Characteristics of Nonresident Biological Fathers Involved in a Relationship with Mexican-American Mothers

Characteristic	N	(%)
Married or living with another mother		
Yes	25	(33)
No	30	(40)
Children with another woman		
Yes	38	(50)
No	22	(29)
Obligation to pay child support for these children		
Yes	18	(47)
No	10	(26)
Legal custody of focal child		
Yes	1	(1)
No	70	(92)
Children with focal mother		
1	57	(75)
2	14	(18)
3	3	(4)
4	2	(3)
Kind of father to the mother		
Excellent	7	(9)
Very good	4	(5)
Good	16	(21)
Not very good	40	(53)
Child support/legal agreement		
Yes	22	(29)
No	35	(46)
Career activities		
Working	35	(46)
Unemployed	13	(17)
In jail	6	(8)
In school	1	(1)
Disability	1	(1)
Spent time in jail or prison?		
Yes	19	(25)
No	26	(34)
Physical or mental health limiting work capability?		
Yes	4	(5)
No	61	(80)

Table 4

Pearson Moment Correlations of Variables from Mexican-American Mothers Involved in a Relationship with RPS Fathers from the Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study (N =76)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Maternal depression	–	.19	-.30*	-.00	.31**	.06	.11	.02	-.05	-.02	.02	-.03
2. Nonresident biological father support		–	.10	.24*	.21	-.09	-.28*	.25*	-.04	.01	-.19	-.11
3. RPS father support			–	.26*	-.04	-.22	-.10	-.18	-.00	-.17	.02	-.22
4. Instrumental social support				–	.14	-.09	-.04	-.11	-.08	-.00	.07	-.15
5. Economic hardship					–	.12	.08	.05	-.27*	-.03	-.04	-.15
6. Child behavior problems						–	.33*	.23	-.17	-.08	.09	.32*
7. Maternal parenting stress							–	-.14	.01	-.06	-.22	.05
8. Years residing in the U.S.								–	-.10	.09	.01	.10
9. Child gender									–	.04	-.17	-.05
10. Years of relationship with RPS father										–	.02	-.04
11. Years of marriage with RPS father											–	.25*
12. Number of household members												–
<i>M</i>		1.8	22.9	.89	1.2	.52	2.2	19.1		2.1	2.6	3.5
<i>SD</i>		.92	25.7	.26	.16	.30	.82	7.1		2.8	1.9	1.9

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. Child Gender: Male = 1, Female = 2.

Table 5

Predicting Maternal Depression from Nonresident Biological Father and RPS Father Support in Mexican-American Families

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SEB</i>	β
Economic hardship	.61	.23	.37**	.59	.23	.35*	.56	.22	.34*	.88	.26	.53**
Maternal parenting stress	.13	.12	.15	.17	.12	.20	.16	.12	.20	.03	.12	.03
Years in the U.S.	-.17	.16	-.21	-.22	.16	-.26	-.22	.16	-.27	-.15	.15	-.19
Child behavior problems	-.00	.12	-.01	-.02	.12	-.02	-.08	.11	-.10	-.08	.12	-.11
Spanish (survey language)	-.45	.52	-.18	-.60	.55	-.23	-.53	.52	-.21	-.27	.49	-.10
Social support				-.22	.14	-.22	-.10	.14	-.10	-2.89	1.10	2.88*
Bio-father support				.12	.11	.15	.11	.11	.15	2.80	1.07	3.69*
RPSF support							-.29	.11	-.38	-1.03	.42	-1.37*
Relationship length							-.18	.11	-.22	-3.61	1.45	-4.34*
RPSF support X relationship length										3.39	1.43	3.95*
RPSF support X bio-father support										-2.86	1.12	-3.72*
RPSF support X social support										3.09	1.20	3.23*
<i>Adjusted R²</i>		.08			.11			.21			.33	
<i>F for change in R²</i>		1.9			1.6			4.0*			3.5*	

Note. RPSF support = Romantic Partner Social Father support; Bio-father support = Nonresident Biological Father Support; Relationship length = Romantic Partner Social Father-Mother Relationship Length; Social support = Instrumental Social Support.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 6

Predicting Maternal Parenting Stress from Nonresident Biological Father and RPS Father Support in Mexican-American Families

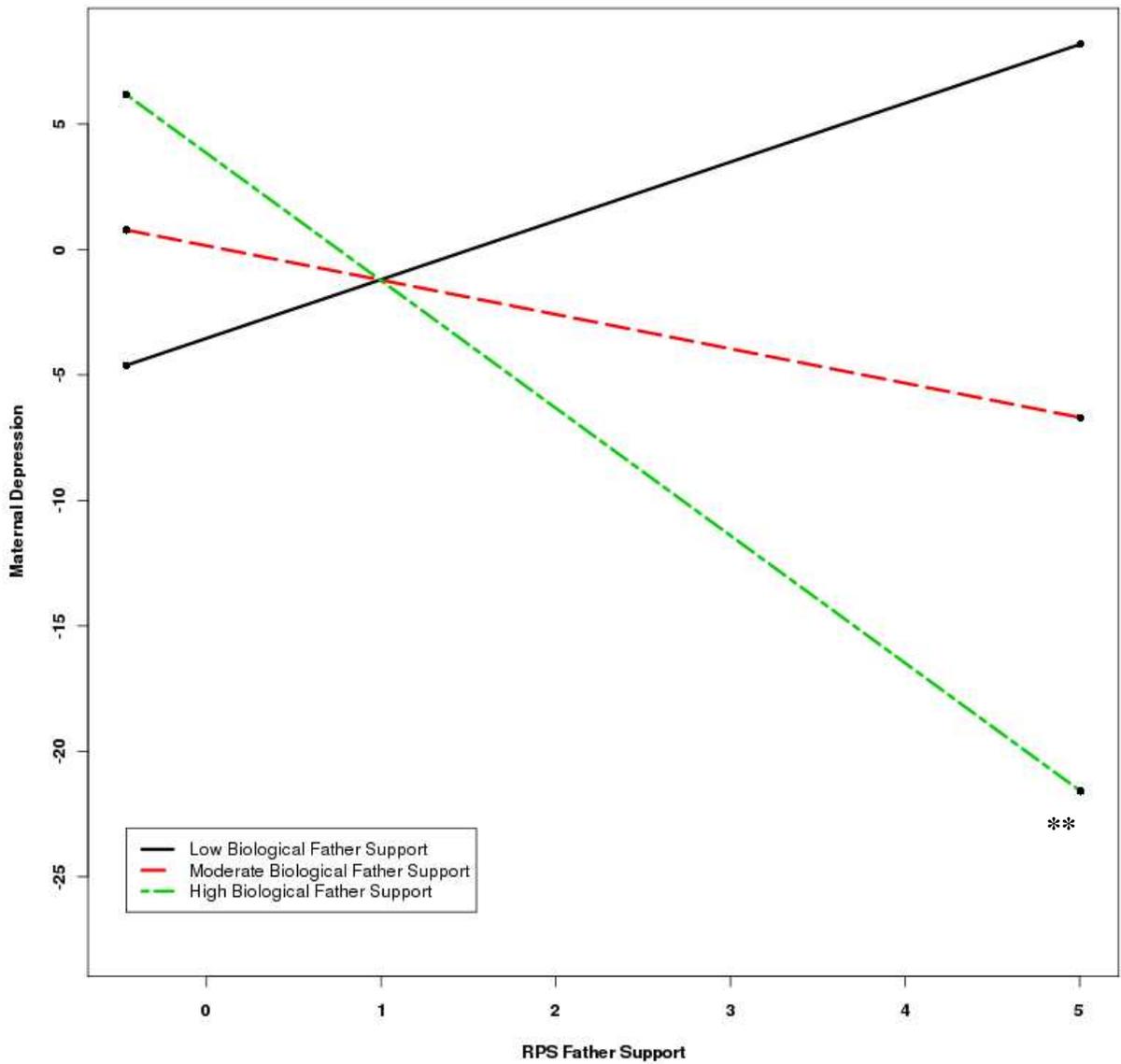
Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SEB</i>	β
Economic hardship	-.02	.23	-.01	-.00	.24	-.00	-.01	.25	-.01	.34	.33	.21
Maternal depression	.11	.11	.15	.15	.11	.20	.17	.12	.22	.03	.13	.04
Years in the U.S.	.04	.16	.05	.08	.16	.10	.09	.17	.11	.10	.17	.12
Child behavior problems	.29	.11	.37**	.28	.11	.35*	.29	.11	.37*	.25	.13	.33
Spanish (survey language)	.82	.49	.32	.84	.53	.33	.85	.54	.33	.87	.54	.34
Social support				.17	.14	.17	.15	.15	.15	-1.86	1.28	-1.88
Bio-father support				-.14	.11	-.19	-.14	.11	-.19	1.94	1.3	2.59
RPSF support							.05	.12	.07	-.55	.50	-.75
Relationship length							.03	.12	.03	-2.83	1.70	-3.45
RPSF support X relationship length										2.80	1.66	3.30
RPSF support X bio-father support										-2.19	1.31	-2.87
RPSF support X social support										2.19	1.41	2.31
<i>Adjusted R</i> ²		.13			.14			.10			.13	
<i>F</i> for change in <i>R</i> ²		2.50*			1.41			.09			1.44	

Note. RPSF support = Romantic Partner Social Father support; Bio-father support = Nonresident Biological Father Support; Relationship length = Romantic Partner Social Father-Mother Relationship Length; Social support = Instrumental Social Support.

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

Figure 1

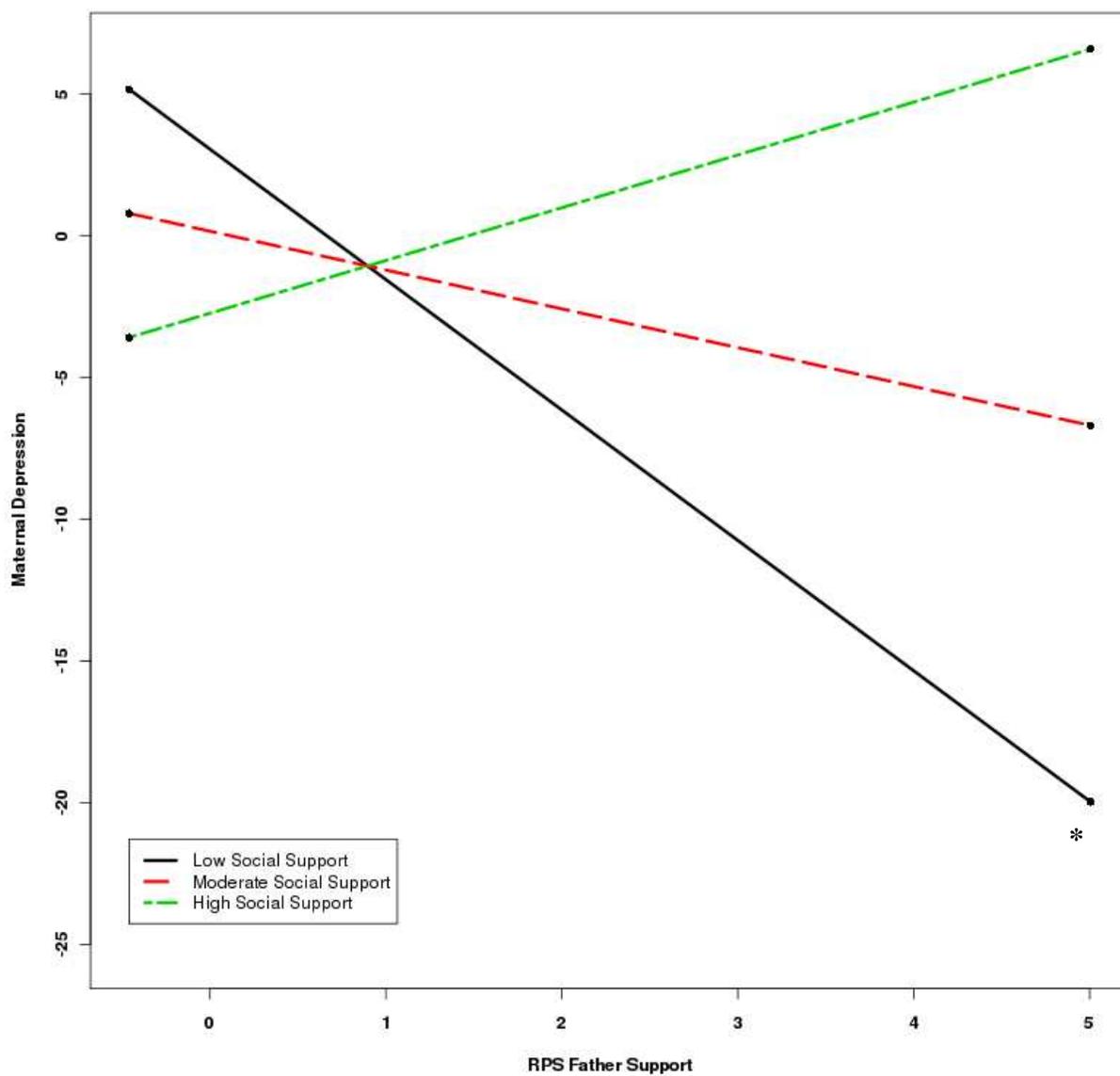
Multiple Linear Regression Two-Way Interactions Analyses of RPS Father Support and Nonresident Biological Father Support on Maternal Depression



Note. ** $p < .01$.

Figure 2

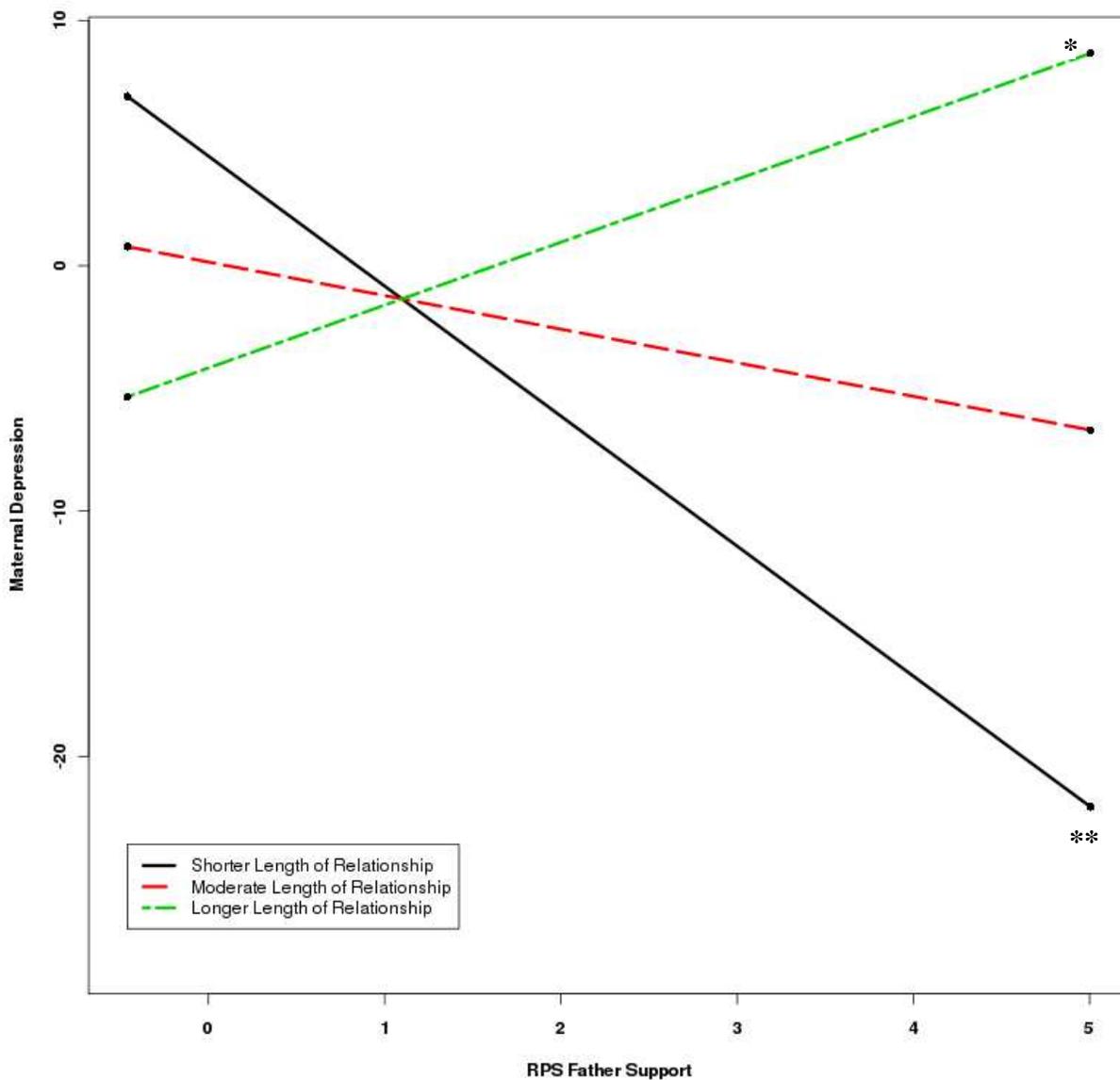
Multiple Linear Regression Two-Way Interactions Analyses of RPS Father Support and Instrumental Social Support on Maternal Depression



Note. * $p < .05$.

Figure 3

Multiple Linear Regression Two-Way Interactions Analyses of RPS Father Support and RPS Father-Mother Relationship Length on Maternal Depression



Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

REFERENCES

- Abidin, R. R. (1995). *Parenting stress index* (3rd ed.). Odessa, FL: Psychological Assessment Resource.
- Achenbach, T. M. (1988). *Child behavior checklist for ages 2-3*. Burlington, VT: University Associates in Psychiatry.
- Achenbach, T. M. (1992). *Manual for the Child behavior checklist (2-3) and 1992 profile*. Burlington, VT: Department of Psychiatry, University of Vermont.
- Achenbach, T.M., & Rescorla, L.A. (2000). *Manual for ASEBA preschool forms & profiles*. Burlington, VT: Research Center for Children, Youth, and Families, University of Vermont.
- Acock, A. C., & Demo, D. H. (1994). *Family diversity and well-being*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Aiken, L. S., & West, S. G. (1991). *Multiple regression: Testing and interpreting interactions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Amato, P. R., Meyers, C. E., & Emery, R. E. (2009). Changes in nonresident father-child contact from 1976 to 2002. *Family Relations*, 58(1), 41-53.
- Amato, P., & Sobolewski, J. (2004). The effects of divorce on fathers and children: Nonresidential fathers and stepfathers. In Lamb, M. (Ed.), *The role of the father in child development* (4th ed., pp. 341 – 367). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- American Psychiatric Association (1994). *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders, Fourth Edition*. Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association.
- Anderson, K. G. (2000). The life histories of American stepfathers in evolutionary perspective. *Human Nature*, 11, 307-333.
- Antonucci, T. C., Akiyama, H., & Lansford, J. E. (1998). Negative effects of close social relations. *Family Relations*, 47(4), 379-384.
- Baer, J. C., & Schmitz, M. F. (2007). Ethnic differences in trajectories of family cohesion for Mexican American and non-Hispanic White adolescents. *Journal of Youth & Adolescence*, 36(4), 583-592.
- Barnett, R. C., & Baruch, G. K. (1985). Women's involvement in multiple roles and psychological distress. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51, 983-992.

- Bassuk, E. L., Buckner, J. C., Perloff, J. N., & Bassuk, S. S. (1998). Prevalence of mental health and substance use disorders among homeless and low-income housed mothers. *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, *155*(11), 1561-1564.
- Bean, F. D., Curtis, R. L., & Marcum, J. P. (1977). Familism and marital satisfaction among Mexican Americans: The effects of family size, wife's labor force participation, and conjugal power. *Journal of Marriage & Family*, *39*, 759-767.
- Beck, A., Cooper, C. E., McLanahan, S. S., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2010). Relationship transitions and maternal parenting. *Journal of Marriage & Family*, *72*(2), 219–233.
- Behnke, A. O., Macdermid, S. M., Coltrane, S. L., Parke, R. D., Duffy, S., & Widaman, K. F. (2008). Family cohesion in the lives of Mexican American and European American parents. *Journal of Marriage & Family*, *70*, 1045-1059.
- Berger, L. M., Carlson, M. J., Bzostek, S. H., & Osborne, C. (2008). Parenting practices of resident fathers: The role of marital and biological ties. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *70*, 625-639.
- Bermudez, J. M., Stinson, M. A., Zak-Hunter, L., & Abrams, B. J. (2011). Mejor sola que mal acompañada: Strengths and challenges of Mexican-origin mothers parenting alone. *Journal of Divorce & Remarriage*, *52*, 622–641.
- Berry, J. O., & Jones, W. H. (1995). The parental stress scale: Initial psychometric evidence. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, *12*, 463-472.
- Bramlett, M. D., & Mosher, W. D. (2002). Cohabitation, marriage, divorce, and remarriage in the United States. Retrieved from www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/series/sr_23_022.pdf.
- Bray, J. H., & Berger, S. H. (1993). Developmental Issues in StepFamilies Research Project: Family relationships and parent-child interactions. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *7*(1), 3-76-90.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1989). Ecological systems theory. In R. Vasta (Ed.), *Annals of child development* (Vol. 6, pp. 187 – 249). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1999). Environments in developmental perspective: Theoretical and operational models. In S. L. Friedman & T. D. Wachs (Eds.), *Measuring environment across the life span: Emerging methods and concepts* (pp. 3 – 28). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. (2006). The bioecological model of human development. In R. M. Lerner & W. Damon (Eds.), *Handbook of child*

psychology: Vol. 1. Theoretical models of human development (6th ed., pp. 793–828). New York, NY: Wiley.

- Bronte-Tinkew, J., Horowitz, A., & Carrano, J. (2010). Aggravation and stress in parenting: Associations with coparenting and father engagement among resident fathers. *Journal of Family Issues*, *31*(4), 525-555.
- Bzostek, S. H. (2008). Social fathers and child well-being. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *70*, 950-961.
- Bzostek, S. H., McLanahan, S. S., & Carlson, M. J. (2012). Mothers' repartnering after a nonmarital birth. *Social Forces*, 1-25.
- Cabrera, N. J., & Garcia-Coll, C. (2004). Latino fathers: Uncharted territory in need of much exploration. In M. E. Lamb (Ed.), *The role of the father in child development* (5th ed., pp. 98-120). New York, NY: Wiley.
- Cabrera, N. J., Tamis-LeMonda, C. S., Bradley, R. H., Hofferth, S., & Lamb, M. E. (2000). Fatherhood in the twenty-first century. *Child Development*, *71*, 127-136.
- Cardoso, J. B., Padilla, Y. C., & Sampson, M. (2010). Racial and ethnic variation in the predictors of maternal parenting stress. *Journal of Social Service Research*, *36*(5), 429-444.
- Carlson, M. J., & McLanahan, S. S. (2010). Fathers in fragile families. In M. E. Lamb (Ed.), *The role of the father in child development* (5th ed., pp. 241-269). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Carlson, M. J., & McLanahan, S. S., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2008). Coparenting and nonresident fathers' involvement with young children after a nonmarital birth. *Demography*, *45*(2), 461-488.
- Carlson, M. J., Pilkauskas, N. V., McLanahan, S. S., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2011). Couples as partners and parents over children's early years. *Journal of Marriage & Family*, *73*(2), 317-334.
- Cauce, A. M., & Domenech-Rodriguez, M. (2002). Latino families: Myths and realities. In J. M. Contreras, K. A. Kerns, & A. M. Neal-Barnett (Eds.), *Latino children and families in the United States* (pp. 5-25). Westport, CT: Praeger Press.
- Cavanagh, S. E., & Huston, A. C. (2006). Family instability and children's early problem behavior. *Social Forces*, *85*(1), 551-581.
- Cherlin, A. J. (2004). The deinstitutionalization of American marriage. *Journal of*

Marriage & Family, 66(4), 848-861.

Cherlin, A. J. (2010a). Demographic trends in the United States: A review of research in the 2000s. *Journal of Marriage & Family*, 72(3), 403-419.

Cherlin, A. J. (2010b). *The marriage-go-round: The state of marriage and family in America today*. New York, NY: Vintage.

Ciabattari, T. (2007). Single mothers, social capital, and work–family conflict. *Journal of Family Issues*, 28(1), 34-60.

Coleman, M., Ganong, L., & Fine, M. (2000). Reinvestigating remarriage: Another decade of progress. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 62, 1288-1307.

Coley, R. L. (1998). Children's socialization experiences and functioning in single-mother households: The importance of fathers and other men. *Child Development*, 69, 291-230.

Coltrane, S., Gutierrez, E., & Parke, R. D. (2008). Stepfathers in cultural context: Mexican-American families in the United States. In J. Pryor (Ed.) *The international handbook of stepfamilies: Policy and practice in legal, research, and clinical environments*, (pp. 100-121). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Cooksey, E. C., & Fondell, M. M. (1996). Spending time with his kids: Effects of family structure on fathers' and children's lives. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 58, 693-707.

Coontz, S. (2004). The world historical transformation of marriage. *Journal of Marriage & Family*, 66, 974-979.

Correa, V. I., Bonilla, Z. E., Reyes-MacPherson, M. E. (2011). Support networks of single Puerto Rican mothers of children with disabilities. *Journal of Child & Family Studies*, 20(1), 66-77.

Crnic, K. A., Gaze, C., & Hoffman, C. (2005). Cumulative parenting stress across the preschool period: Relations to maternal parenting and child behaviour at age 5. *Infant and Child Development*, 14, 117–132.

Crnic, K. A., & Greenberg, M. T. (1990). Minor parenting stress with young children. *Child Development*, 61, 1628–1637.

Doucet, A. (2006). *Do men mother? Fathering, care and domestic responsibility*. Toronto: Toronto University Press.

- Driscoll, A. K., Hearn, G. K., Evans, V. J., Moore, K. A., Sugland, B. W., & Call, V. (1999). Nonmarital childbearing among adult women. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *61*, 178-187.
- Edwards, R. C., Thullen, M. J., Isarowong, N., Shiu, C. S., Henson, L., & Hans, S. L. (2012). Supportive relationships and the trajectory of depressive symptoms among young, African American mothers. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *26*(4), 585-594.
- England, P., & Edin, K. (2007). *Unmarried couples with children*. New York, NY: Sage.
- Farmer, A. Y., & Lee, S. K. (2011). The effects of parenting stress, perceived mastery, and maternal depression on parent-child interaction. *Journal of Social Service Research*, *37*(5), 516-525.
- Featherstone, B. (2009). *Contemporary fathering: Theory, policy and practice*. Bristol, UK: Policy Press.
- Ferri, E., & Smith, K. (1998). *Step-parenting in the 1990s*. London: Family Policy Studies Centre.
- Fisher, C. B., Hoagwood, K., Boyce, C., Duster, T., Frank, D. A., ...Zayas, L. H. (2002). Research ethics for mental health science involving ethnic minority children and youths. *American Psychologist*, *57*(12), 1024-1040.
- Foley, D. L., Pickles, A., Rutter, M., Gardner, C. O., Maes, H. H., ...Eaves, L. J. (2004). Risks for conduct disorder symptoms associated with parental alcoholism in stepfather families versus intact families from a community sample. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, *45*(4), 687-696.
- Fomby, P., & Cherlin, A. J. (2007). Family instability and child well-being. *American Sociological Review*, *72*(2), 181-204.
- Foster, C. J. E., Garber, J., & Durlak, J. A. (2008). Current and past maternal depression, maternal interaction behaviors, and children's externalizing and internalizing symptoms. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, *36*, 527-537. doi:10.1007/s10802-007-9197-1.
- Fragile Families. (2006). Scales documentation and question sources for three-year questionnaires. Retrieved from <http://www.fragilefamilies.princeton.edu/documentation.asp>
- Ganong, L. H., & Coleman, M. (2004). *Stepfamily relationships: Development, dynamics, and Interventions*. New York, NY: Plenum.

- Gault-Sherman, M. (2012). It's a two-way street: The bidirectional relationship between parenting and delinquency. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *41*, 121-45.
- Gelfand, D., Teti, D., & Radin Fox, C. (1992). Sources of parenting stress for depressed and nondepressed mothers of infants. *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology*, *21*, 262-272.
- Gibson-Davis, C. M. (2008). Family structure effects on maternal and paternal parenting in low-income families. *Journal of Marriage & Family*, *70*, 452-465.
- Goodman, J. H. (2008). Influences of maternal postpartum depression on fathers and on father-infant interaction. *Infant Mental Health Journal*, *29*(6), 624-643.
- Goodman, S. H., & Gotlib, I. H. (2002). Introduction. In S. H. Goodman & I. H. Gotlib (Eds.), *Children of depressed parents: Mechanisms of risk and implications for treatment* (pp. 3-9). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Grace, S. L., Evindar, A., & Stewart, D. E. (2003). The effect of postpartum depression on child cognitive development and behavior: A review and critical analysis of the literature. *Archives of Women's Mental Health*, *6*(4), 263-274.
- Gross, H. E., Shaw, D. S., Burwell, R. A., & Nagin, D. S. (2009). Transactional processes in child disruptive behavior and maternal depression: A longitudinal study from early childhood to adolescence. *Development and psychopathology*, *21*(1), 139-156.
- Guajardo, N. R., Snyder, G., & Petersen, R. (2009). Relationships among parenting practices, parental stress, child behaviour, and children's social-cognitive development. *Infant and Child Development*, *18*(1), 37-60.
- Hamilton, B. E., Ventura, S. J., Martin, J. A., & Sutton, P. D. (2005). Preliminary births of 2004. *Health E-Stats*. Hyattsville, MD: National Center for Health Statistics.
- Hasin, D. S., Goodwin, R. D., Stinson, F. S., & Grant, B. F. (2005). Epidemiology of major depressive disorder: Results from the national epidemiologic survey on alcoholism and related conditions. *Archives of General Psychiatry*, *62*(10), 1097-1106.
- Herbst, C. M., & Tekin, E. (2012). *Child care subsidies, maternal well-being, and child-parent interactions: Evidence from three nationally representative datasets* (No. w17774). National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Hernandez, D., & Brandon, P. D. (2002). Who are the fathers of today? In C. S. Tamis-

- Lemonda and N. Cabrera (Eds.), *Handbook of father involvement: Multidisciplinary perspectives* (pp. 33-62). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Hetherington, E. M., Cox, M., & Cox, R. (1982). Effects of divorce on parents and children. In M. E. Lamb (Ed.) *Nontraditional families: Parenting and child development* (pp. 233-288). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Hofferth, S. L., & Anderson, K. G. (2003). Are all dads equal? Biology versus marriage as a basis for paternal investment. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 65, 213-232.
- Hofferth, S. L., Pleck, J. H., Stueve, J. L., Bianchi, S., & Sayer, L. (2002). The demography of fathers: What fathers do. In C. Tamis-LeMonda & N. Cabrera (Eds.), *Handbook of father involvement: Multidisciplinary perspectives* (pp. 63-90). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Howell, E. A., Mora, P. A., DiBonaventura, M. D., & Leventhal, H. (2009). Modifiable factors associated with changes in postpartum depressive symptoms. *Archives of Women's Mental Health*, 12(2), 113-120.
- Jayakody, R., & Kalil, A. (2002). Social fathering in low-income, African American families with preschool children. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 64, 504-516.
- Juby, H., Billette, J., Laplante, B., & Le Bourdais, C. (2007). Nonresident fathers and children: Parents' new unions and frequency of contact. *Journal of Family Issues*, 28(9), 1220-1245.
- Kessler, R. C., Andrews, G., Mroczek, D., Ustun, T. B., & Wittchen, H. U. (1998). The World Health Organization Composite International Diagnostic Interview Short-Form (CIDI-SF). *International Journal of Methods in Psychiatric Research*, 7, 171-185.
- Kiernan, K. E., & Huerta, M. C. (2008). Economic deprivation, maternal depression, parenting and children's cognitive and emotional development in early childhood. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 59(4), 783-806.
- Knight, G. P., Roosa, M. W., & Umana-Taylor, A. J. (2009). Introduction to studying ethnic minority and economically disadvantaged populations. In *Studying ethnic minority and economically disadvantaged populations: Methodological challenges and best practices* (pp. 3-28). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Landale N. S., Oropesa, R. S., & Bradatan, C. (2006). Hispanic families in the United

States: Family structure and process in an era of family change. In M. Tienda, & F. Mitchel (Eds.), *Hispanics and the future of America*. Washington, DC: National Academies Press. Available from: <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK19902/>

- Lansford, J. E., Ceballo, R., Abbey, A., & Stewart, A. J. (2004). Does Family Structure Matter?: A Comparison of Adoptive, Two-Parent Biological, Single-Mother, Stepfather, and Stepmother Households. *Journal of Marriage and family*, 63(3), 840-851.
- Losada, A., Shurgot, G. R., Knight, B. G., Márquez, M., Montorio, I., Izal, M., & Ruiz, M. A. (2006). Cross-cultural study comparing the association of familism with burden and depressive symptoms in two samples of Hispanic dementia caregivers. *Aging & Mental Health*, 10(1), 69-76.
- Lovejoy, M. C., Graczyk, P. A., O'Hare, E., & Neuman, G. (2000). Maternal depression and parenting behavior: A meta-analytic review. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 20, 561-592.
- Lynch, J. W., Kaplan, G. A., & Shema, S. J. (1997). Cumulative impact of sustained economic hardship on physical, cognitive, psychological, and social functioning. *New England Journal of Medicine*, 337(26), 1889-1895.
- MacDonald, W. L., & DeMaris, A. (1995). Remarriage, stepchildren, and marital conflict: Challenges to the incomplete institutionalization hypothesis. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 57, 387-398.
- Manuel, J. I., Martinson, M. L., Bledsoe-Mansori, S. E., & Bellamy, J. L. (2012). The influence of stress and social support on depressive symptoms in mothers with young children. *Social Science & Medicine*, 75(11), 2013-2020.
- Marks, L., & Palkovitz, R. (2004). American fatherhood types: The good, the bad, and the uninterested. *Fathering*, 2(2), 113-129.
- Marsiglio, W., & Hinojosa, R. (2010). Stepfathers' lives: Exploring social context and interpersonal complexity. In M. Lamb (Ed.), *The role of the father in child development* (5th ed., pp. 270-295). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Martinez-Schallmoser, L., Telleen, S., & Macmullen, N. J. (2003). The effect of social support and acculturation on postpartum depression in Mexican American women. *Journal of Transcultural Nursing*, 14(4), 329-338.
- Martz, J. M., Verette, J., Arriaga, X. B., Slovik, L. F., Cox, C. L., & Rusbult, C. E. (1998). Positive illusion in close relationships. *Personal Relationships*, 5, 159-

181.

- McHale, J., & Irace, K. (2011). Coparenting in diverse family systems. In J. McHale & K. M. Lindahl (Eds.), *Coparenting: A conceptual and clinical examination of family systems* (pp. 15–37). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association. doi:10.1037/12328-001.
- McKelvey, L. M., Whiteside-Mansell, L., Faldowski, R. A., Shears, J., Ayoub, C., & Hart, A. D. (2009). Validity of the short form of the Parenting Stress Index for fathers of toddlers. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 18*, 102–111.
- McLanahan, S., & Sandefur, G. (1994). *Growing up with a single parent: What hurts, what helps*. Harvard University Press.
- McLeod, J. D., & Eckberg, D. A. (1993). Concordance for depressive disorders and marital quality. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 55*, 733-746.
- Meadows, S. O. (2011). The association between perceptions of social support and maternal mental health: A cumulative perspective. *Journal of Family Issues, 32*(2), 181-208.
- Mensah, F. K., & Kiernan, K. E. (2011). Maternal general health and children's cognitive development and behaviour in the early years: findings from the Millennium Cohort Study. *Child: Care, health and development, 37*(1), 44-54.
- Miranda, A. O., Estrada, D., & Firpo-Jimenez, M. (2000). Differences in family cohesion, adaptability, and environment among Latino families in dissimilar stages of acculturation. *Family Journal, 8*, 341-350.
- Mulsow, M., Caldera, Y. M., Pursley, M., Reifman, A., & Huston, A. C. (2002) Multilevel factors influencing maternal stress during the first three years. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 64*(4), 944–956.
- Munson, J. A., McMahon, R. J., & Spieker, S. J. (2001). Structure and variability in the developmental trajectory of children's externalizing problems: Impact of infant attachment, maternal depressive symptomatology, and child sex. *Development and Psychopathology, 13*(2), 277-296.
- Murray, L., Fiori-Cowley, A., Hooper, R., & Cooper, P. (1996). The impact of postnatal depression and associated adversity on early mother-infant interactions and later infant outcome. *Child development, 67*(5), 2512-2526.
- Murray, S. L., & Holmes, J. G. (1997). A leap of faith?: Positive illusions in romantic relationships. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 23*, 586-604.

- Murray, S. L., Holmes, J. G., & Griffin, D. W. (1996). The benefits of positive illusions: Idealization and the construction of satisfaction in close relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 70*, 79-98.
- Neece, C. L., Green, S. A., & Baker, B. L. (2012). Parenting stress and child behavior problems: A transactional relationship across time. *American Journal on Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities, 117*(1), 48-66.
- Nicholson, J. M., Fergusson, D. M., & Horwood, L. J. (1999). Effects on later adjustment of living in a stepfamily during childhood and adolescence. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 40*(3), 405-416.
- Oropesa, R. S. (1996). Normative beliefs about marriage and cohabitation: A comparison of non-Latino Whites, Mexican Americans, and Puerto Ricans. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 58*, 49-62.
- Osborne, C., Berger, L. M., & Magnuson, K. (2012). Family structure transitions and changes in maternal resources and well-being. *Demography, 49*(1), 1-25.
- Osborne, C., & McLanahan, S. (2007). Partnership instability and child well-being. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 69*(4), 1065-1083.
- Padilla, Y. C., Radey, M. D., Hummer, R. A., & Kim, E. (2006). The living conditions of U.S.-born children of Mexican immigrants in unmarried families. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 28*(3), 331-349.
- Parke, R. D., & Brott, A. (1999). *Throwaway dads*. Boston, MA: Houghton-Mifflin.
- Pierce, G. R., Sarason, I. G., & Sarason, B. R. (1991). General and relationship-based perceptions of social support: Are two constructs better than one?. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 61*(6), 1028-1039.
- Preacher, K. J., Curran, P. J., & Bauer, D. J. (2012). *Simple intercepts, simple slopes, and regions of significant in MLR 2-way interactions*. Retrieved from <http://quantpsy.org/interact/mlr2.htm>.
- Radey, M. (2008). The influence of social supports on employment for Hispanic, Black, and White unmarried mothers. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues, 29*(3), 445-460.
- Reichman, N. E., Teitler, J. O., Garfinkel, I., & McLanahan, S. S. (2001). Fragile families: Sample and design. *Children and Youth Services Review, 23*(4-5), 303-326.

- Richardson Jr., J. B. (2009). Men do matter: Ethnographic insights on the socially supportive role of the African American uncle in the lives of inner-city African American male youth. *Journal of Family Issues*, 30(8), 1041-1069.
- Rivera, F. I., Guarnaccia, P. J., Mulvaney-Day, N., Lin, J. Y., Torres, M., & Alegría, M. (2008). Family cohesion and its relationship to psychological distress among Latino groups. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 30(3), 357-378.
- Robertson, J. (2008). Stepfathers in families. In J. Pryor (Ed.), *The international handbook of stepfamilies: Policy and practice in legal, research, and clinical environments* (pp. 125-150). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Rodgers, B., Pickles, A., Power, C., Collishaw, S., & Maughan, B. (1999). Validity of the Malaise Inventory in general population samples. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology*, 34(6), 333-341.
- Rodriguez, C. M. (2011). Association between independent reports of maternal parenting stress and children's internalizing symptomatology. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 20(5), 631-639.
- Rodriguez, N., Mira, C. B., Paez, N. D., & Myers, H. F. (2007). Exploring the complexities of familism and acculturation: Central constructs for people of Mexican origin. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 39(1-2), 61-77.
- Roosa, M. W., Weaver, S. R., White, R. M. B., Tein, J., Knight, G. P., Gonzales, N., & Saenz, D. (2009). Family and neighborhood fit or misfit and the adaptation of Mexican Americans. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 44(1-2), 15-27.
- Rumbaut, R. G., & Portes, A. (2001). *Ethnicities: Children of immigrants in America*. Berkeley and New California Press and Sage.
- Sabogal, F., Marin, G., Otero-Sabogal, R., Marin, B. V., & Perez-Stable, P. (1987). Hispanic familism and acculturation. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 9, 397-412.
- Sano, Y., Smith, S., & Lanigan, J. (2011). Predicting presence and level of nonresident fathers' involvement in infants' lives: Mothers' perspective. *Journal of Divorce & Remarriage*, 52(5), 350-368.
- Saracho, O. N., & Spodek, B. (2008). Demythologizing the Mexican American father. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 7(2), 79-96.
- Sepa, A., Frodi, A., & Ludvigsson, J. (2004). Psychosocial correlates of parenting stress,

- lack of support, and lack of confidence/security. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, 45, 169–179.
- Smith, M. (2008). Resident mothers in stepfamilies. In J. Pryor (Ed.), *The international handbook of stepfamilies: Policy and practice in legal, research, and clinical environments* (pp. 125-150). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Smock, P. (2000). Cohabitation in the United States: An appraisal of research themes, findings, and implications. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 1-20.
- Sobolewski, J. M., & King, V. (2005). The importance of the coparental relationship for nonresident fathers' ties to children. *Journal of Marriage & Family*, 67, 1196-1212.
- Solmeyer, A. R., & Feinberg, M. E. (2011). Mother and father adjustment during early parenthood: The roles of infant temperament and coparenting relationship quality. *Infant Behavior and Development*, 34(4), 504-514.
- Stapleton, L. R. T., & Bradbury, T. N. (2012). Marital interaction prior to parenthood predicts parent–child interaction 9 years later. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 26(4), 479-487.
- Stapleton, L. R. T., Schetter, C. D., Westling, E., Rini, C., Glynn, L. M., Hobel, C. J., & Sandman, C. A. (2012). Perceived partner support in pregnancy predicts lower maternal and infant distress. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 26(3), 453-463.
- Steinberg, L., & Fletcher, A. C. (1998). Data analytic strategies in research on ethnic minority youth. In V. McLoyd & L. Steinberg (Eds.), *Studying minority adolescents: Conceptual, methodological, and theoretical issues* (pp. 279-294). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Stewart, S. D. (2008). Boundary ambiguity in stepfamilies. *Journal of Family Issues*, 26, 1002-1029.
- Tamis-LeMonda, C. S., Niwa, E. Y., Kahana-Kalman, R., & Yoshikawa, H. (2008). Breaking new ground: Dominican, Mexican, and Chinese fathers and families. In S. S. Chuang, & R. P. Moreno (Eds.), *On new shores: Understanding immigrant fathers in North America* (pp. 231-255). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Teachman, J., & Tedrow, L. (2008). The demography of stepfamilies in the United States. In J. Pryor (Ed.), *The international handbook of stepfamilies: Policy and practice in legal, research, and clinical environments* (pp. 125-150). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

- Thorp, S. R., Krause, E. D., Cukrowicz, K. C., & Lynch, T. R. (2004). Postpartum partner support, demand withdraw communication, and maternal stress. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 28, 362–369.
- Tudge, J. R., Mokrova, I., Hatfield, B. E., & Karnik, R. B. (2009). Uses and misuses of Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory of human development. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 1(4), 198-210.
- Turney, K. (2012). Pathways of disadvantage: Explaining the relationship between maternal depression and children's problem behaviors. *Social Science Research*, 41(6), 1546-1564.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2000). The Hispanic population in the United States: Current Population Reports (P20-535). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2012). Households and families: 2010. *2010 Census Briefs*. Washington, DC. Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/hhes/families/>.
- Vega, W. A., Kolody, B., Valle, R., & Weir, J. (1991). Social networks, social support, and their relationship to depression among immigrant Mexican women. *Human Organization*, 50, 154-162.
- Walters, E. E., Kessler, R. C., Nelson, R. C., & Mroczek, D. (2002). *Scoring the World Health Organization's Composite International Diagnostic Interview Short Form (CIDI-SF)*. Copy of memo provided by Princeton University.
- Whitaker, R. C., Orzol, S. M., & Kahn, R. S. (2006). Maternal mental health, substance use, and domestic violence in the year after delivery and subsequent behavior problems in children at age 3 years. *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 63(3), 551–560.
- White, R. M. B., Roosa, M. W., & Weaver, S. R. (2009). Cultural and contextual influences on parenting in Mexican American families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 71, 61–79.
- White, L., & Gilbreth, J. G. (2001). When children have two fathers: Effects of relationships with stepfathers and noncustodial fathers on adolescent outcome. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 63, 155-167.
- Wickrama, K. A. S., Lorenz, F. O., Wallace, L. E., Peiris, L., Conger, R. D., & Elder Jr., G. H. (2001). Family influence on physical health during the middle years: The case of onset of hypertension. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 63(2), 527-539.
- Willford, A., Calkins, S., & Keane, S. (2007). Predicting change in parenting stress

across early childhood: Child and maternal factors. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 35, 251–263. doi:10.1007/s10802-006-9082-3.

Winefield, H.R., Winefield, A.H., & Tiggemann, M. (1992). Social support and psychological well-being in young adults: The Multi-dimensional Support Scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 58, 198–210.

Yoshikawa, H. (2011). *Immigrants raising citizens: Undocumented parents and their young children*. New York, NY: Sage.