Nonresident Father Involvement in Immigrant Families

Lenna Nepomnyaschy, Rutgers University Louis Donnelly, Rutgers University

Immigration to the US has tripled over the last 35 years, as has the proportion of children in the US with at least one immigrant parent, rising from 6% in 1970 to 20% today (Capps and Fortuny 2006). At the same time, half of all children in the US will spend some time in a single parent family (Kennedy and Bumpass 2008). Even though children of immigrants are more likely to be living in a two-parent family than are children of native-born parents (82% vs. 70%, respectively) (U.S. Census Bureau 2010), they are much more likely to experience poverty and a number of material hardships (Hernandez 2004; Capps and Fortuny 2006). Because all children in single-parent families, particularly single-mother families, are much more likely to be poor than children in two-parent families (44% vs. 11%) (U.S. Census Bureau 2010), children living with an immigrant single-parent are doubly at risk.

Three-quarters of children of immigrants are Hispanic or Asian, and many of these parents, particularly the mothers, have substantial language barriers and often arrive with little formal education (Hernandez 2004). Estimates reveal that while approximately 30% of immigrant parents are legal permanent residents (but not citizens) and another 30% may be undocumented, 75% of children of immigrants are US-born citizens (Capps and Fortuny 2006). And while these children are eligible for all government safety net programs, evidence suggests that they are much less likely to participate in any of these programs including Medicaid, SCHIP, food stamps, or TANF (Capps and Fortuny 2006; Hernandez 2004). Given these circumstances of children in single-parent immigrant families – increased risk of poverty and hardship and reduced access to safety net programs – involvement of nonresident fathers in these children's

lives should be particularly important. Unfortunately, very little is known about the role of nonresident fathers in these families.

A number of empirical studies have looked at patterns and predictors of father involvement among specific groups of immigrant fathers (Formoso et al. 2007; Jain and Belsky 1997; Tamis-LeMonda, Kahana-Kalman, and Yoshikawa 2009; Bronte-Tinkew et al. 2006; Coltrane, Parke, and Adams 2004; Parke et al. 2004; Qin 2009; Lamb 2008; Este and Tachble 2009). But, most of this work has focused on resident fathers. Another group of studies has examined racial/ethnic differences in patterns of nonresident father involvement, with a specific focus on Hispanic and Asian (only one study) families, most of whom are likely immigrants (King, Harris, and Heard 2004; Cabrera et al. 2008; Hofferth, Forry, and Peters 2010; Mincy and Nepomnyaschy 2005; Edin, Tach, and Mincy 2009; Pouncy et al. 2003). In a few quantitative studies focusing on nonresident fathers' financial and social involvement with children, family nativity status has been included as a control (Nepomnyaschy 2007; Nepomnyaschy and Garfinkel 2010). Generalizing across these last two types of studies, evidence suggests that both Hispanic and foreign-born nonresident fathers are less likely to have child support orders and to pay formal support than white and US-born fathers; however, compliance rates (proportion of order paid) for those foreign-born and Hispanic fathers who do have orders are no different than those of white and US-born fathers. The most in-depth quantitative study of racial/ethnic differences in nonresident fathers' social involvement with children found that Hispanic fathers had less contact with their children than did white fathers, but Asian fathers were no different (King, Harris, and Heard 2004). Within the Hispanic group, Cuban fathers were the most involved and within the Asian group, Filipino fathers were the most involved. This study did not look specifically at nativity status; however, it is likely that many of these parents were foreignborn.

No study has focused specifically on understanding the patterns and determinants of nonresident fathers' involvement (both financial and social) with their children among immigrant families. This is mainly due to the lack of data with adequate sample sizes. While a number of datasets have excellent measures of fathers' involvement with children and others have large samples of nonresident parents, few have both of these with a large enough sample of foreignborn parents.

The current study will use five waves of pooled data (2000 to 2008) from the Current Population Survey – Child Support Supplement (CPS-CSS), to address this gap in knowledge. The CPS-CSS, a nationally representative survey of child support-eligible households in the US, is the only available dataset that has adequate samples sizes to compare patterns and determinants of nonresident fathers' involvement between children with US- and foreign-born mothers and to examine differences within the foreign-born group, by race/ethnicity, by sending regions of the world, by naturalization status, by mother's education, by years of residence in the US, and by areas of residence in the US.

Fathers' involvement entails both financial contributions and time spent with their children. Further, fathers can contribute financially in a number of ways: (1) by paying on a legal obligation through the formal child support enforcement system (formal support); (2) by giving cash directly to the mother or child (informal cash support); and (3) by providing non-cash items, such as gifts, clothes, and food directly to the mother or child (in-kind support). Fathers' social involvement with children involves the frequency of contact and the types of activities that they do together. Prior research has identified a number of mother, father, and child characteristics

which are associated with nonresident fathers' financial and social involvement with their children. The characteristics that are salient for father involvement may be different for immigrant families than for native-born families.

The analyses in this paper will first describe and compare the prevalence of each type of father involvement between native-born and foreign-born families and across different groups within the foreign-born group (by race/ethnicity, education, geographic area of origin, citizenships status in the US, and years and region of residence within the US). Next, the analyses will identify how fathers package these types of involvement and will characterize fathers into classes based on their patterns of involvement using latent class analysis. Finally, the analyses will examine the determinants of the different patterns of involvement identified above. Patterns and determinants of fathers' involvement will be compared between US and foreign-born families as well as across more refined groups of immigrant mothers (as above).

Findings from this study will provide the first evidence of the role of nonresident fathers in the lives of children in immigrant families. This group of children is particularly at risk for poor health and developmental outcomes because they are much more likely to be poor (than children in native-born single-parent families and children in two-parent immigrant families) and are much less likely to participate in safety net programs (than any other families in the US). This combination of factors suggests that nonresident fathers' financial and social involvement may be crucial to the health and well-being of children in these families.

References

- Bronte-Tinkew, Jacinta, Kristin A. Moore, Randolph C. Capps, and Jonathan Zaff. 2006. The influence of father involvement on youth risk behaviors among adolescents: A comparison of native-born and immigrant families. *Social Science Research* 35 (1):181-209.
- Cabrera, Natasha J., Rebecca M. Ryan, Stephanie J. Mitchell, Jacqueline D. Shannon, and Catherine S. Tamis-LeMonda. 2008. Low-income, nonresident father involvement with their toddlers: Variation by fathers' race and ethnicity. *Journal of Family Psychology* 22 (4):643-647.
- Capps, Randolph C., and Karina Fortuny. 2006. Immigration and Child and Family Policy. The Urban Institute and Child Trends Roundtable on Children in Low-Income Families. Washington, DC.
- Coltrane, S., R. D. Parke, and M. Adams. 2004. Complexity of Father Involvement in Low-Income Mexican American Families*. *Family Relations* 53 (2):179-189.
- Edin, Kathryn, Laura Tach, and Ronald Mincy. 2009. Claiming Fatherhood: Race and the Dynamics of Paternal Involvement among Unmarried Men. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 621 (1):149-177.
- Este, David, and Admasu Tachble. 2009. Fatherhood in the Canadian Context: Perceptions and Experiences of Sudanese Refugee Men. *Sex Roles* 60 (7):456-466.
- Formoso, D., N. A. Gonzales, M. Barrera, and L. E. Dumka. 2007. Interparental Relations, Maternal Employment, and Fathering in Mexican American Families. *Journal of Marriage and Family* 69 (1):26-39.
- Hernandez, Donald J. 2004. Demographic Change and the Life Circumstances of Immigrant Children. *The Future of Children* 14 (2).
- Hofferth, Sandra, Nicole Forry, and H. Peters. 2010. Child Support, Father–Child Contact, and Preteens' Involvement with Nonresidential Fathers: Racial/Ethnic Differences. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues* 31 (1):14-32.
- Jain, Anju, and Jay Belsky. 1997. Fathering and Acculturation: Immigrant Indian Families with Young Children. *Journal of Marriage and Family* 59 (4):873-883.

- Kennedy, Sheela, and Larry Bumpass. 2008. Cohabitation and Children's Living Arrangements: New Estimates from the United States. Germany, Republic of: Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research, Rostock, Germany.
- King, Valarie, Kathleen Mullan Harris, and Holly E. Heard. 2004. Racial and Ethnic Diversity in Nonresident Father Involvement. *Journal of Marriage & Family* 66 (1):1-21.
- Lamb, Michael. 2008. The Many Faces of Fatherhood: Some Thoughts about Fatherhood and Immigration. In *On New Shores: Understanding Immigrant Fathers in North America*, edited by S. S. Chuang and R. P. Moreno. New York: Lexington Books.
- Mincy, Ronald, and Lenna Nepomnyaschy. 2005. Child Support and Minority Fathers in Fragile Families. Center for Research on Child Wellbeing Working Paper #2005-23-FF. Princeton University. http://crcw.princeton.edu/workingpapers/WP05-23 mincy.pdf.
- Nepomnyaschy, Lenna. 2007. Child Support and Father-Child Contact: Testing Reciprocal Pathways. *Demography* 44 (1):93-112.
- Nepomnyaschy, Lenna, and Irwin Garfinkel. 2010. Child Support Enforcement and Fathers' Contributions to Their Nonmarital Children. *Social Service Review* 84 (3):341-380.
- Parke, R. D., S. Coltrane, Sharon Borthwick-Duffy, Justina Powers, Michelle Adams, William Fabricius, Sanford Braver, and Delia Saenz. 2004. Assessing Father Involvement in Mexican-American Families. In *Conceptualizing and Measuring Father Involvement*, edited by R. D. Day and M. Lamb. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Pouncy, H., A. Green, R. Mincy, C-C. Huang, and L. Nepomnyaschy. 2003. Minority noncustodial fathers and child support: Attitudes and perceptions A final report. Report prepared for the US Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families, Office of Child Support Enforcement, Small Business Innovation Research.
- Qin, D.B. 2009. Gendered Processes of Adaptation: Understanding Parent-Child Relations in Chinese Immigrant Families. *Sex Roles* 60 (7-8):467-481.
- Tamis-LeMonda, Catherine, Ronit Kahana-Kalman, and Hirokazu Yoshikawa. 2009. Father Involvement in Immigrant and Ethnically Diverse Families from the Prenatal Period to the Second Year: Prediction and Mediating Mechanisms. *Sex Roles* 60 (7):496-509.
- U.S. Census Bureau. 2010. America's Families and Living Arrangements: 2009. Housing and Household Economics Statistics Division, Fertility & Family Statistics Branch. http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/hh-fam/cps2009.html.

U.S. Census Bureau. 2010. Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2009. Current Population Reports, P60-238.