

**The Intersection of Race, Socio-Economic Resources, and Parental
Investment on Children's Well-Being for Public Policy Research:
Implication for a New Direction?**

*Note: This is only a preliminary draft. A final version of the paper will be
submitted later to the PAA meeting.*

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Introduction:

Public policy research on minority families has shown that economic hardship diminishes black parents' ability to care for their children (Rainwater 1970, Peters 1981; McAdoo 1981; Boykin and Toms 1985; Gomel et al. 1998). Sociologists studying the effects of social stratification on family life have also consistently linked socio-economic differentials to child-rearing orientations (Kerchoff 1972; Gecas 1979; Bronfenbrenner 1979). The most persuasive and central theme is that individual's social location influences family process through the effects of parents' working conditions (Maccoby 1954; Klatskin 1952; White 1957; Bronfenbrenner 1958; Kohn 1989; 1963; Pearlin and Kohn 1966).

Despite substantial evidence of socio-economic differences in public policy family research, significant limitations persist in public policy literature on minority parenting behaviors. Our knowledge of minority parenting in America is mostly based upon specific populations of dysfunctional minority parents in poverty or in single parenthood. Less attention has been dedicated to resolve the substantial confounding issues of race and class in the literature of minority parenting (McAdoo 1981; Holliday 1985; Gomel et al. 1998).

In a decade review of research on families of color, Taylor, Chatters, Tucker, and Lewis (1990) concluded that public policy research on minority childrearing behaviors is marred by substantial methodological weakness. The most critical methodological issue is a confounding issue of race and class. A large body of studies relied on small convenient samples of low income black "matriarchal" mothers, who are dysfunctional, controlling, and unresponsive to their children's needs (Hannerz 1969, Liebow 1966, Rainwater 1966, Schulz 1969). Unfortunately, these findings on dysfunctional low income black parents, although a minority of black families, have become generally accepted as descriptive of the family life of all blacks in America (e.g. Moynihan report 1965).

This paper attempts to take up the methodological confounding problem of class and race in public policy research on children's well-being, and proposes new policy directions to recognize the intersections of race, socio-economic resources, and parental behaviors. I argue that public policy research on children's well-being must differentiate the effect of race from the effects of socioeconomic factors in parental investment and parental practices. Parenting practices may vary across black, Hispanic, and white families for numerous reasons. First, differences in parenting styles may be due to differences in socioeconomic circumstances. Minority parents, like all parents, are determined to play a pivotal and crucial role in instructing their children to participate successfully in society. Thus, minority parents, even when living in the lower social strata, may attempt to compensate for their lack of economic resource. Therefore, it is reasonable to suspect that minority parents may provide more parental supervision and parental support to their children compared to white parents.

Second, differences in parenting in white and minority families may result from attitudes and values that are inherently cultural in origin. Parenting practices are affected not only by socioeconomic status but also by cultural norms and values that imbue notions of appropriate parental behaviors. Given that minorities must deal with the historical legacy and current manifestations of racism in the United States, minority parents may utilize distinct parenting strategies to prepare their children for survival in mainstream America.

Third, since women's labor force participation increased in recent decades, parenting behaviors are likely to alter, due to work demands and work roles. Empirical policy implicated research is thus needed to determine whether race, economic conditions, cultural beliefs, or other factors—work roles or marital status, are more important in explaining differences in parenting styles,

particularly since each factor carries with it very different implication for public policy concerns with respect to minority family in the United States.

This paper focuses on addressing three important empirical and theoretical questions: To what extent is the effect of race on parenting behaviors and parenting styles? To what extent do socio-economic differentials account for differences in parental behaviors and parenting styles in minority family? What are the implications for public policy on children's well-being? My primary goals in this study are: (1) to examine the effect of race on parenting style, measured with two distinct behavioral dimensions--parental restrictiveness and parental engagement, (2) to investigate how social and structural determinants of parental support and parental control differ by gender and by racial groups, (3) to find out if minorities with lower socio-economic status, compared to those with higher socioeconomic status, practice different parenting behaviors, (4) to propose new public policy direction to incorporate a complex network of factors—race, socio-economic resources that influence parenting behaviors and children's well-being?

To answer these questions, I utilize data from the 1987-1988 National Survey of Families and Household (NSFH) to determine the relative influences of race, socioeconomic factors, work roles, on parenting behaviors—restrictiveness and engagement. I first demonstrate racial group differences in relative levels of parental restrictiveness and parental engagement for children 5-11 and 12-18. Then, I establish the extent to which racial differences in parental restrictiveness and engagement persist by socioeconomic factors, racial/cultural ideologies, and work roles.

In exploring these questions, this research seeks to add to our understanding of patterns of parental socialization in white and minority families. It will also shed light on how socio-economic backgrounds may reinforce or constrain parental investment differently in white and minority families. In

addition to studying racial differences in parenting styles, I also analyzed mothers and fathers as well as variation by age of children (5-11 and 12-18). Thus, my results will contribute additional knowledge on how parenting is conditioned by maternal and paternal investment.

Theoretical and Empirical Backgrounds :

Among the earliest theories of parenting behaviors in minority families, the socioeconomic perspective was viewed as the major explanation for a healthy home environment where parents consistently aim to serve the physical, emotional, and economic needs of children. Conversely, minority families in poverty are viewed as an unhealthy home environment, with single parents who are controlling, yet unresponsive and controlling of their children. The main consensus among many research findings on minority parents is that economic hardship diminishes minority single parents' ability to provide emotional and cognitive support to their children.

However, while I do not doubt that economic constraint increases distress for minority parents, there are still some unresolved important methodological questions of the relationship between race and parenting behaviors. The most prevalent unresolved issue in research of the socioeconomic perspective is poor methodological design—that is, reliance on small convenient samples of single mothers receiving public assistance and living in public housing. This issue has contributed to a confounding problem of race and class, making it impossible to differentiate the effect of limited economic resource from the effect of race on minority parenting behaviors.

The distinction between the effects of socioeconomic factors on minority parents and whites has rarely been made explicit in research of the socioeconomic

perspective. Although poverty may diminish minority parents' ability to provide emotional, cognitive, and economic support to their children, it is also plausible that white parents in poverty may devote little attention to providing restrictions and engagements to their children. Thus, all parents in poverty, irrespective of race, may compromise the provision of clothing, shelter, food, and caring to their children, compare to parents not facing economic constraints.

More importantly, the most problematic methodological issue in studies of the socioeconomic perspective is a failure to distinguish between the effects of socioeconomic resources on minority families in poverty from minorities not in poverty. It is highly plausible that minority parents without the economic constraints may be just as likely to place high levels of restriction and engagement on their children compared to whites, due to distinct cultural beliefs that are entirely unrelated to socioeconomic factors. Minority parents may hold cultural beliefs—such as traditional family values and egalitarian gender ideologies, that prescribe a higher propensity to restrict and engage with their children compared to whites. Thus, rather than transferring economic restrictions into less attention towards their children's needs, as predicted by the socioeconomic perspective, minority parents may attempt to adhere to their cultural beliefs, thereby supervising and engaging more with their children compared to whites. Furthermore, in addition to cultural beliefs, it is also likely that minority parents may have a higher propensity to restrict and engage with their children, due to a lower work demands and time constraints.

In summary, four unresolved issues about the relationship of race and parenting behaviors remain in the literature of minority parenting practices. First, does race, independent of socioeconomic factors, have an effect on parenting behaviors? Second, of those minority parents in poverty, are they different than whites living in poverty in parenting practices? Third, to what extent do cultural

beliefs manifest themselves in minority parenting behaviors? Fourth, can the higher propensity of poor parenting found in minority parents living in poverty be explained by time constraints?

In taking up these issues, I utilize three theoretical perspectives—the socioeconomic perspective, the racial/cultural perspective, and the time constraint perspective. Briefly, the socioeconomic and racial/cultural perspectives both posit that minority parents are more restrictive compared to whites. However, the socioeconomic perspective interprets the higher propensity of minority parents to control their children as an outcome of disadvantaged economic circumstances. Contrarily, minority parenting behaviors are viewed as a manifestation of distinct cultural/racial attitudes embedded in minority cultures. Finally, the time constraint perspective posits that irrespective of race, parents lower their controls and engagement time with children, due to increased time constraints from work. I will first present a thorough review of each theory, followed by a discussion of supporting evidence. In turn, I will review unresolved issues embedded in the literature of each theory, and utilize these issues as a framework to guide my hypotheses.

The Socio-Economic Theoretical Approach:

The socioeconomic perspective posits that parents' social class positions affect their childrearing values, which in turn, influence parenting behaviors—support and control of children. According to the socioeconomic perspective, it is not race per se, but rather class membership that exerts an indirect impact on parents' values for themselves and their orientations toward society, self, ultimately affecting every facet of behaviors. Class membership is defined by one's educational attainment, occupation, and income (Kohn 1977). Different

positions in the occupational structure vary in their level of complexity, intellectual flexibility, and self direction. Occupational settings and working conditions influence parents' life outlooks and parental values, which in turn, affect childrearing orientations.

An implicit assumption of this perspective is that parents with different level of educational attainment occupy different locations in the occupational structure. In turn, occupational opportunities determine occupational settings, the complexity of work, and income, thereby affecting ultimately one's class position. The socio-economic perspective argues that parents with high levels of education in middle class occupations, requiring high level of intellectual flexibility and self motivation, tend to instill and promote autonomous self direction in children, to provide appropriate level of support, guidance, while at the same time, placing a high level of control over children's behaviors. Alternatively, parents with low levels of education in lower class occupations, requiring standardization, tend to emphasize high level of control over children's behavior through the encouragement of adhering to rules and conformity, while only providing low level of support and affection to their children.

A substantial body of sociological research conducted before the 1990s, predominately involving white families, has found support for the socioeconomic perspective (Kohn 1959b; 1963; 1969; 1977; Kohn and Schooler 1983). Kohn and colleagues interviewed mothers and found that parents in middle class skilled occupations are characteristically provided with intellectual flexibility, and self direction, due to complexity required for skilled occupations. As a result, middle class parents are more likely to value self direction for their children, to feel greater obligation to be supportive of their children, and to value child's motives and feelings for guiding children's behaviors.

Parents in unskilled occupations are more subjected to standardization and direct supervision, since their occupations required production and manipulation of things and goods. Working class parents in unskilled jobs are found to value conformity, obedience, neatness, self control, and children's ability to follow rules (Kohn 1963; 1969; Kohn and Schooler 1969;1973; 1983). As a result, Kohn (1977) contented that class differences in parental valuation for self-direction versus conformity stem from differences in the occupations performed by members of different classes. In sum, the structural imperatives of jobs have conditioned men's and women's view of what is desirable and possible for not only themselves, but also for their children as well.

Support for the socioeconomic perspective is found in the literature on child development. Luster, Rhoades and Haas (1989) found that mothers' social class positions are related to maternal values and child-rearing beliefs. Mothers in middle class skilled occupations were more likely to value self direction child-rearing and scored highly on measures of maternal involvement and warmth than mothers in unskilled manual jobs. Rogers, Parcel, and Menaghan (1991) found strong evidence of a direct link between parents' working conditions and mothering techniques. Mothers in jobs with higher substantive complexity offered more cognitive stimulation and were more affectively and physically appropriate than mothers who worked in occupations requiring less complex activities.

In spite of the substantial evidence of socioeconomic differentials on parenting values, this body of research is generally based on white families. Most researchers assumed white and minority parents respond to the effects of socioeconomic status in the same way. In particular, given the government's "war on poverty" effort, research effort to study minority family life is motivated by social policy concern to combat poverty in inner city neighborhoods, teenage

pregnancy, teenage delinquency, and single parenthood. For example, a large majority of qualitative research, published after the 1960s, studied the negative effects of poverty and single parenthood in black households. Rainwater (1970) studied a small sample of blacks living at a public housing project in St. Louis. His findings showed that single mothers facing economic stress are less effective in controlling children's misconduct during early childhood, and are also less able to provide a protective and stimulating home environment to children. In *Beyond Ghetto Walls*, he contended that

“lower class Negro women do not show the deep psychological involvement with infants and young children that is characteristic of higher social classes. They rarely manifest the anxious attention to children, the sense of awesome responsibility along with the pleasure, that is characteristic of many working class women. Nor do they have the sense of the instrumental, almost occupational, challenge of rearing children properly that is characteristics of the middle class”
(Rainwater 1970, pp. 218).

The main conclusion from Rainwater's study is that economic hardship diminishes black parents' ability to interact with and socialize children in ways that are beneficial to their well-being.

Since Rainwater's study, many researchers continued to focus on economic constraint as the causal mechanism for psychological depression in low income minority parents, ultimately contributing to poor parenting. McLoyd et al. (1994) found that for black mothers, unemployment and economic strain contributed to maternal depression, greater punitiveness, and higher levels of

restrictions towards adolescent children. Elder, Eccles, Ardel, and Lord (1995) examined the impact of unstable work conditions and low income, and found that increased emotional distress was associated with negative parenting behaviors, particularly in black low income families. These researchers concluded that compare to whites, black parents in severe poverty experience more economic stress and psychological depressions, which in turn, lead parents to become less responsive, less affectionate, and monitor less their children's behaviors.

However, other researchers have found contradictory evidence. Bluestone and Tamis-LeMonda (1999) found no significant class differences in black mothers of children 5-12. Working and middle class black mothers of children were found to employ mostly reasoning and other child-centered approaches to discipline their children, and refrained from physical punishment. Kelly, Power, and Wimbush (1992) studied a sample of low income parents. They found that black mothers who use authoritarian techniques are as likely as other parents, who do not reason with their children, to consider their children's perspectives. In a study of three racial groups, Leadbeater and Bishop (1994) found that black mothers were the most protective, strict, and vigilant, compared to Puerto Rican mothers, and white mothers. However, it was not clear in this study if the effects of socioeconomic factors were incorporated into the analysis.

Past research on Hispanic families in the United States is equally mixed, inconsistent, inconclusive, and marred by methodological problems. Most studies do not control for the effects of socioeconomic factors that may influence parenting behaviors. For example, Martinez (1988) studied a group of Hispanic mothers and infants in a laboratory setting. His results showed that compare to whites, although these mothers have only a mean tenth grade education, they are the least likely to employ the permissive parenting style. Most mothers used

authoritative childrearing practices that centered on child center approach, verbal encouragement, and individualistic values, despite their low level of education.

However, other researchers (Hamner and Turner 1990; Vega 1990) found that Hispanic American mothers are primarily permissive, within a patriarchal and authoritarian family structure, and Hispanic fathers are primarily authoritative in parenting style, with high level of warmth, affection, with egalitarian attitudes (Gonzalez 1982; Hawkes and Tylor 1975). Unfortunately, it is not clear if socioeconomic status or parental education were statistically controlled in these studies.

Substantial limitations remain in the study of parenting in minority family. First, many studies on minority families suffer from poor methodology--such as employing only qualitative methods in which small non-representative samples of minority families living in severe poverty at public housing projects are interviewed. This methodological weakness with using non-representative sample makes it difficult to unravel the confounding effects of class and race. Thus, substantial difficulty remains in generalizing our existing knowledge of economic disadvantaged black parents to all minority parents.

Second, most early studies in the sociological literature of parenting focus only on the so-called 'problem population'—single parents, low income parents of emotionally disturbed, academically non-achieving or delinquent children (McLoyd, Cauce, Takeuchi, and Wilson 2000; Taylor, Chatters, Tucker, and Lewis 1990). As a result, we know much less about intact healthy minority family and parenting behaviors. Many researchers assume socioeconomic differences affect white and minority families similarly. However, it is highly probable that minority parents develop unique strategies that differ from white parents, due to their feelings of responsibility to prepare their children for possible discriminatory experiences in life.

Third, many researchers do not consider the effects of ethnic or cultural factors on parenting behaviors. Some investigators make no mention of race or ethnicity (Perrucci and Targ 1988), while others include samples composed solely of white families (Conger and Elder 1994), and incorporate race only as a control variable in their analysis (Hashima and Amato 1994).

Given that most previous research on minority parenting have failed to conceptualize an adequate theoretical and methodological model to study minority parenting styles and behaviors, this paper will attempt to disentangle the relative effects of race and the effect of socioeconomic status on parenting in minority family. I conceptualize race as a factor correlated with socioeconomic status. I hypothesize minority mothers and fathers to have lower educational attainment and to be in lower socioeconomic positions. In turn, minority parents are predicted to be more restrictive of their children's behaviors compare to white parents. Given that control requires parental supervision, I hypothesize minority parents to place provide higher level of support and engagement to their children. Similarly, white mothers and fathers are hypothesized to have higher level of educational attainment and to be in higher socioeconomic status than minority parents. In turn, white parents are predicted to monitor less their children's behaviors, while at the same time, provide higher level of warmth, affection, and support to their children, compare to their minority parents with lower socioeconomic status.

The Racial and Cultural Perspective:

The second theoretical approach, developed to explain the lives of minority parents and their child-rearing styles, is embedded in the racial and cultural attitudes and beliefs of minority parents (Toth and Xu 1999). This

perspective posits that cultural factors condition significantly how parents of different socio-economic backgrounds control and invest in children. Due to the historical legacy and current manifestations of racism, minority parents may intentionally set their expectations and socialization strategies to prepare their children to face a potential difficult reality of pursuing opportunity in life (Taylor et al. 1990).

An implicit assumption of the racial and cultural perspective is that minority parents in the United States must cope with the ambiguities of a cultural heritage that emphasizes democratic equality for all, while at the same time, deal with discrimination and racial injustice (Gracia-Coll et al. 1996). Compared to white parents, minority parents hold distinct cultural and racial ideologies that influence their parenting values and practices towards their children. As a result, minority parents monitor more closely children's behaviors, and provide more parental support, through teaching and socializing children skills to navigate ethnic and racial barriers.

Support for this cultural/ethnic perspective is found in the literature on gender and the division of labor within the household. For example, a large body of empirical findings demonstrates that compared to whites minority husbands hold substantially different attitudes related to gender role ideologies, cultural traditions, and familistic orientations across racial groups (Bartz and Levine 1978; Baumrind 1968; Ogbu 1992; Garcia-Coll 1990). Black and Hispanic husbands have more positive attitudes toward working wives (Demo and Cox 2000). Black fathers, compared to white fathers, spend more time and perform a larger share of domestic chores--cooking, cleaning, washing clothes, grocery shopping, childcare, and also share more with their wives in decisions on child-rearing activities (McAdoo 1981). More specifically, even when education, age, and paid labor time are controlled, black husbands are found to have more egalitarian attitudes

compared to their white counterparts (McAdoo 1981). Not only do unemployed black fathers spend more time in household labor and childcare compared to whites, but they also increase their household labor and childcare time if they are employed (Kamo and Cohen 1998). Regardless of gender, blacks are also found to hold less traditional attitudes on family values and premarital sexual relationship. Hispanic fathers have also been found to place greater value on children, on the role of parenting, and have stronger orientation toward familism than whites (Toth and Xu 1999).

Studies on parent-child interaction in the literature on child development have also found evidence of a restrictive parenting style in minority family. Black and Hispanic parents score higher on indices of authoritarianism and place more control over their children's behaviors compared to white parents (Dornbusch et al. 1987). Black parents tend to endorse conformity, and adherence to rules in their childrearing behaviors. Yet, they also provide higher level of affection, verbal interaction, and warmth compared to white parents (McLoyd 1990). In particular, black fathers who face chronic financial stress and negative life events are most likely than their more affluent counterparts to provide low level of warmth and verbal interaction, to be restrictive, to value obedience, and to use physical punishment in disciplining their children (Orbuch and Eyster 1997; McLoyd 1990). Similar to black fathers, Hispanic fathers tend to emphasize the norms of family closeness and expect their children to show more respect for conformity than white parents (Carrasquillo 1997). In contrast to white parents but similar to blacks, Hispanic fathers are more likely than white parents to monitor their children and are more apt to interact and spent time with them (Toth and Xu 1999).

While prior research showed minority parents to hold different cultural and gender ideologies, most studies have failed to conceptualize race as a

systemic part of their theoretical perspective. For example, Cooksey and Fondell (1996) found significant racial variations in fathering behaviors, but race is only a control variable in their model. These authors did not attempt to develop a theoretical conceptualization of the effect of race on parenting. Indeed, Palkovitz (1997) argued that there exists a common misconception in the literature, based on an assumption that parenting is theoretically and empirically uniform in a culturally and racially diverse nation. Contrary to this misconception, other studies have found cultural factors—father's non-traditional gender ideology, to contribute positively to minority fathers' participation in childcare (Baruch and Barnett 1981). Similarly, Marsiglio (1993) found significant race effects on fathers' familistic values, but the effects of gender ideology were negligible.

This paper utilizes the cultural/racial ideologies to study parenting behaviors and parenting styles in minority families. Racial/cultural ideologies are conceptualized as three different dimensions—gender role traditionalism, sexual conservatism, and conjugal familism. Gender role traditionalism indicates the extent to which minority parents hold traditional gender role ideologies. Sexual conservatism reflects minority parents' cultural beliefs about childbearing and childrearing. Conjugal familism shows minority parents' attitudes regarding traditional family values.

Past research showed that parents' traditional and conservative beliefs about gender role, sexual conservatism, and conjugal familism increased the levels of restriction of and engagement with their children (Alwin 1996; Thomson 1997). Therefore, I predict Hispanic parents to have more conservative and traditional family values, gender role ideologies, childrearing and childbearing beliefs. In turn, Hispanic parents are predicted to control and engage more with their children compare to whites.

Black parents are predicted to have more egalitarian attitudes towards gender roles, childrearing and family values than whites. Due to their less conservative attitudes with respect to sharing housework and childrearing, blacks, particularly fathers, are predicted to supervise more their children's behaviors. In turn, blacks are predicted to socialize their children with higher level of support, guidance, affection, engagement than whites.

The Time Constraint Approach:

Parental time is conceptualized as a necessary resource for parent-child interaction. Through interaction with children, parents are likely to transfer important values, skills, and expectations to children, thereby fostering a healthy home environment. Moreover, parent's economic resources and time are likely to be correlated with family structure, thus affecting parenting behaviors—support and control. Thus, home economic theory (Becker 1991) posits that parent's availability to devote time to children depends on the amount of time required for performance of other task, and the availability of an additional adult's time.

Empirical support for the time constraint perspective is found in the literature of home economics, gender, and sociology. South and Spitze (1994) found that compared to non-married and cohabiting mothers, married mothers spend more time in paid work and spend less time in parental engagement and parental control, due to the limitation of time constraints. In particular, the time women spend doing housework is higher among cohabitators than among the single mothers, and housework time is affected significantly by hours in paid employment and school enrollment. Lundberg and Rose (2002) also found that married fathers increased their annual hours of work and received significantly

higher hourly wage rates, but mothers significantly reduced hours in paid labor, and wages.

In spite of a large body of literature that predominantly focuses on the intersection of gender and parents' labor market behavior, less effort has been dedicated to study how work roles may influence parenting behaviors and parenting styles across family structures and racial groups. Past studies consistently find single parents to work longer hours than married parents, which adversely affects parental supervision and parental control (Amato 1987; Astone and McLanahan 1991; Thomson, Hanson, and McLanahan 1994).

However, no study has examined parenting behaviors in cohabiting family. Since minority parents are likely to be unmarried, and in a cohabitating relationship or single parenthood (Bumpass and Lu 2000), minority parents are hypothesized to have lower income compared to whites. In turn, minority parents may work more hours, thereby lowering their control and engagement with their children. Alternatively, given that minority parents are more likely to work fewer hours, with lower earnings (Kaufman and Uhlenberg 2000), I predict minority parents to compensate for the deficiency of their socioeconomic resources, by engaging and spending more time in meals, outings to museum, and reading books or doing projects with their children. Hence, through more parent-child interactions, I predict minority parents to control and guide their children's behaviors more than white parents with comparable economic resources.

Conceptualization of Parenting Behaviors

In order to review hypotheses, my first task is to identify and define the ‘parental behavior’ dependent variables of interest. Two most central and pervasive dimensions of parental behaviors postulate to explain socialization in childhood are ‘parental support’ and ‘parental control’. Parental support refers to parental behaviors toward children which are loving, affectionate, involving, and supportive (Baumrind 1969). For example, parental support includes praising, encouraging, expressing affection physically and verbally (Rollins and Thomas 1979), offering empathetic understanding, and showing high level of responsiveness to children’s needs (Baumrind 1971). Conversely, a lack of parental support includes neglectful, cool, unresponsive, inaccessible, emotionally detached behaviors.

Parental support has also been variously defined as “interaction characterized by nurturance, warmth, approval, and other positive sentiments from the parents to the child” (Ellis, Thomas, and Rollins 1976: 713); “behaviors manifest by a parent toward a child that makes the child feel comfortable in the presence of the parent and confirms in the child’s mind that he is basically accepted and approved as a person by that parent” (Thomas, Gecas, Weigert, and Rooney 1974). Although these definitions differ in their conceptualizations of parental support, they, nevertheless, share one essential feature. These definitions all identify parent’s behaviors that confirm or validate the child, make the child feel good about himself as a person, and give the child a sense of value by the parent.

Interestingly, although displays of parental affection, physical affection, and spending time with children in activities are distinct indicators of ‘support’, it typically emerges as one uni-dimensional construct in research. Much of the evidence suggests that all indicators—verbal affection, physical affection,

spending time together correlate highly, and thus reflect one unidimensional overall behavioral pattern (Schaefer 1965). For example, Barber et al. (1992) find that indicators of physical affection and spending time together cluster and load highly as one single factor--labeled 'engagement'. In addition, Rollins and Thomas (1979) find no evidence that the distinct indicators which make up the unidimensional factor used typically in research have different effects on child outcomes, or effects which vary from those of the factor as a whole.

Given that parental support typically emerges as one unidimensional overall behavior pattern, this paper will measure parental support based on the level of parental engagement. Parental engagement indicates the number of times a parent engages with his child--helping with homework, reading books, working on projects, having private talks, and going out to museums, etc. The rationale to measure parental support as parental engagement is that parental engagement encompasses a wider range of parental practices and supportive behaviors than the traditional conceptualization of 'support' found in past literature. Past literature typically measures parental support as 'positive-supportive' parental behaviors--such as hugs and praises, that make the child feel valued and loved. This traditional conceptualization does not include other types of instructional practices parents provide that not only care but also pass skills onto a child. By including instances when a parent shares stories, does homework, and works on projects together with a child, parental engagement encompasses all various types of instructional parental practices that target and ensure healthy development in children.

Parental control refers to restrictions and regulations placed on children's behavior (Baumrind 1971). Traditional indicators of parental control include making demands on children, imposing rules and restrictions on children's behaviors (Rollins and Thomas 1979), and removing rewards and privileges from

children who disobey (Schaefer 1965). Unlike parental support, parental control is a multidimensional concept. One may conceptualize parental control as the ‘amount’ of restrictions and regulations placed on a child’s behaviors.

Alternatively, parental control may also be conceptualized as a set of externally imposed rules. These rules are based only on the parent’s own desires and view of what is ‘right’, which subsequently expects children’s compliance.

Conversely, parental control may also be conceptualized as a set of ‘shared rules’, based on both the parent’s perspectives and the child’s ideas of the best rules for children’s behaviors. Given that it is typically difficult to examine if the child’s input is included in the process of rule formulation, this paper will measure parental control based only on the ‘amount’ of restrictions and regulations placed onto a child’s behavior.

Researchers in child development have utilized these two concepts of parental support and parental control, and developed a typology of parenting styles—authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive (Baumrid 1971; 1978). The authoritarian parents establish firm rules prescribing children’s behavior, and place a high value on children’s obedience to the rules. Even when the child’s interests differ from the parents, authoritarian parents tend to discourage discussion with children about rules, and do not solicit children’s input when formulating rules. In summary, an authoritarian parent subscribes to a predetermined set of standards, offering low level of responsiveness to help the child develop autonomous thinking. The authoritarian parental style can be characterized by a high level of parental control but a low level of parental support to children.

Similar to the authoritarian parents, the authoritative parents provide rules for their children’s conduct. However, they tend to share with children the reasoning behind the rules. Thus, the authoritative parents are both controlling

and demanding, providing clear structure to children, but they are also warm, nurturing, and receptive to children's communication, and attempt to use reasoning rather than physical punishment to control children's misconduct. In summary, authoritative parental behavior is viewed as a unique combination of high control and high positive engagement of the child's autonomous and independent thinking (Barumrind 1978). The authoritative parents may be expected to encourage children's conformity, while at the same time, also foster independent thinking skills in children.

Permissive parents are generally oriented toward fulfilling the child's wishes, with few demands, if any, on the child. The rationale of the permissive parents is based on children's development of a self regulating monitoring system for their own behaviors. Hence, the permissive parents view themselves as a resource for children, but not as an active agent in shaping or determining children's present or future behavior. The permissive parents grant their children much freedom, either because they are either ideologically opposed to external control over individual freedom, or because they wish to offer their children freedom to escape parental responsibilities. In summary, permissive parenting is conceptualized with high levels of love, affection, freedom for children, and low level of parental control or parental support.

Although parental support and parental control are distinct dimensions, theorists of child development have argued that the concepts of parental support and parental control are not orthogonal. In particular, authoritative control often coincides with high level of support, since authoritative parents encourage children's involvement in decision-making. Through reasoning with children, the authoritative parents convey to children a deep sense of respect, and that their opinion is valuable and important. Numerous studies have also confirmed a strong positive relationship between parental support and control for authoritative

parenting behaviors (Baumrind 1971), suggesting that the two concepts should not be considered as bi-polar ends of a single continuum. Authoritarian control may imply a low level of support. However, while authoritarian parents may impose rules and restrictions without children's involvement, the authoritarian parents may also bestow much physical and verbal affection on children. The permissive parents may encourage children to develop a self regulating behavioral system, yet at the same time, remain relatively emotionally and physically detached and distant from their children.

In this paper, I will view these two concepts of parenting behaviors—parental restrictiveness and parental engagement, as related but conceptually distinct dimensions of parental investment.

Proposed Conceptual Model:

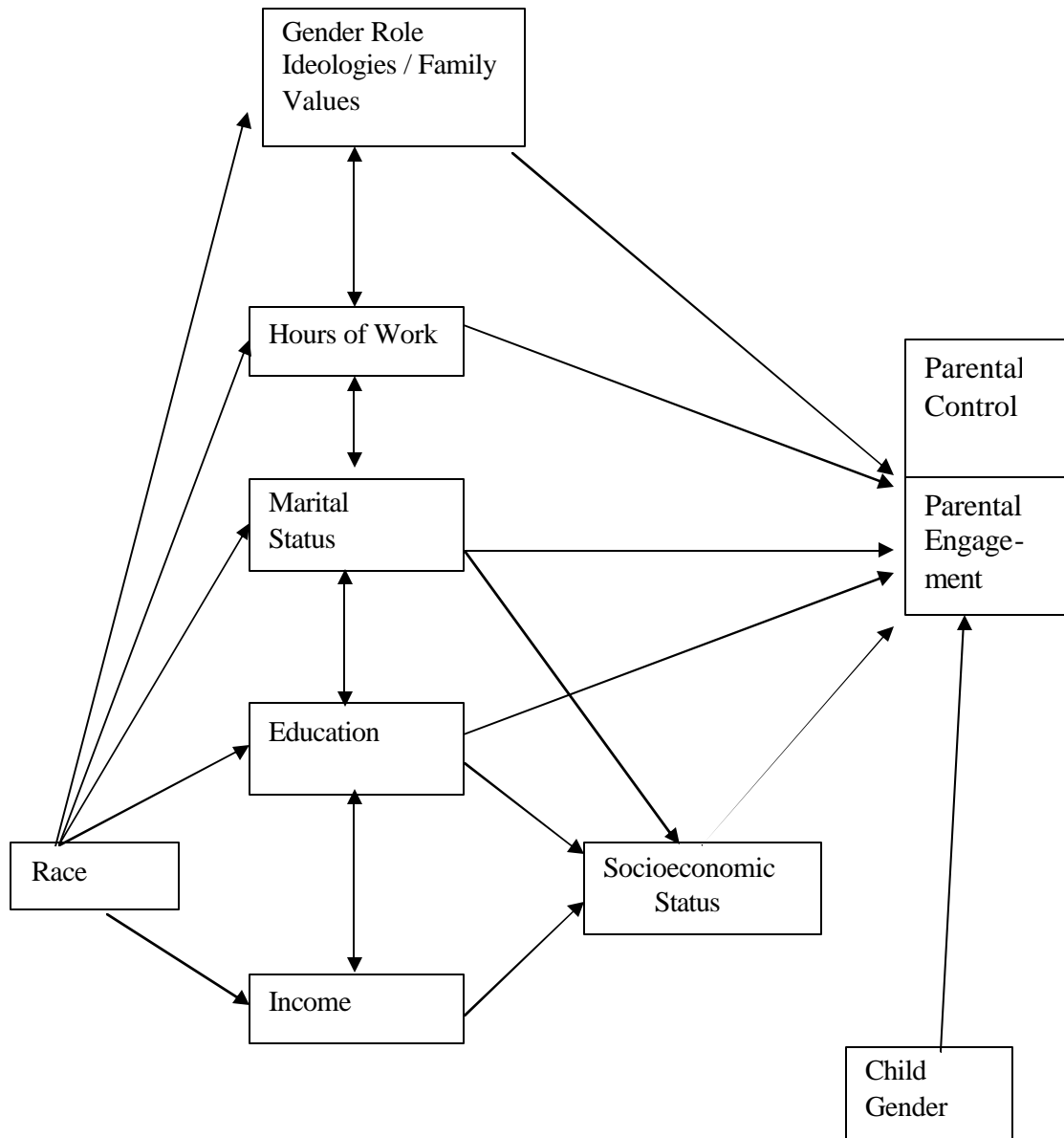


Figure 1-1: Model of Parenting Styles By Race and Socioeconomic Determinants:

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 3.1: Minority parents will be negatively related to income, education, and SEI; lower positions in the social structure will be positively related to parental restrictions but negatively related to parental engagement.

Research of the socioeconomic approach suggests parent's position in the social structure affects the levels of restrictions and engagement placed onto a child (Gecas 1979). Parent's positions in the social structure are associated with race, income, education, and occupation. Minority parents in lower social strata have less control over their work (Lareau 1989), and less power in dealing with other social institutions---schools, courts, etc (Gecas 1979). When minority parents lack socioeconomic resources and power, they may feel that they have fewer alternatives available to them (Hess 1970). They may adapt and conform to authority (i.e. employer) in exchange of resources. In turn, through adaptations to external rules and authority, minority parents may come to perceive conformity to authority as a required survival skill that must be transferred to their children. Thus, minority parents may socialize their children to conform to authority by placing high level of restrictions compared to whites, as a way to ensure their children acquire successful survival skills.

Minority parents may also engaged more with children. Evidence from past research has also shown that black and Hispanic parents supplement a greater level of engagement to their children compared to whites (Bartz and Levine 1979). Because racism exists and may harm minority children, minority parents may come to adopt more engaging and nurturing skills--such as providing more private talks and outings with their children, to protect their children from the extra-family environment (Peters 1988).

Partly based on research of the socioeconomic perspective, education will also be positively associated with parental restrictiveness and engagement, independent of parent's race and income as well. Kohn (1977) contented that education is positively associated with parents' intellectual flexibility, and intellectual flexibility reflects parent's ability to understand the internal motivations that underline children's behaviors. Thus, given that a parent with low level of education has low level of intellectual flexibility, he may impose high levels of external rules and rigid restrictions onto a child.

Hypothesis 3.2: Minority parents will be negatively related to traditional family values, gender ideologies, and sexual attitudes; minority parents will be positively related parental restrictions and parental engagement.

Research from the racial/cultural theoretical approach suggests that minority families face a different cultural and structural environment. Due to the historical legacy of racism, minority families hold distinct cultural values and parenting practices. Black parents hold less conservative attitudes regarding pre-marital sexual behaviors, gender ideologies, and family values (Gracia-Coll et al. 1996), and Hispanic parents hold less traditional attitudes towards pre-marital sexual behaviors, but more conservative attitudes toward gender role ideologies and family values (Carrasquillo 1997). These distinct value orientations of minority parents are associated positively with parental restrictiveness and engagement. Research on black and Hispanic fathers suggests that they share higher proportions of housework and childcare with their wife compared to whites (McAdoo 1981). With more egalitarian attitudes towards gender ideologies, family values, and pre-marital sexual behaviors, black and Hispanic parents may take on more parental responsibility in protecting their children. Some black and Hispanic parents report feeling that they need to take on an additional parental

responsibility to prepare their children for racism (Willie 1985). Some minority parents report that they need to be more 'restrictive' and 'protective' of their children, since they must ensure that their children can develop skills to take care of themselves (Willie 1985). The implication is that black and Hispanic children must be able to conform to a culturally distinct environment in order to be successful. Minority parents may thus come to exert high levels of restrictions on their children, as a pathway to 'protect' their children.

Similarly, as a way of adaptation to a distinct cultural environment, black and Hispanic parents will also engaged more with children. This is due to the fact that black and Hispanic children are more likely to be exposed to racism and insults in the extra-family environments (Peters 1988). Thus, black and Hispanic parents may wish to protect their children by responding and engaging more with their children compared to whites.

Hypothesis 3.3: Minority parents will be negatively related to work hours; minority parents will be positively related parental restrictions and parental engagement.

Research of the time constraint approach suggests that parents who work fewer hours not only have more time to place higher levels of restrictions on their children, but they also engaged more with their children (Young et al. 2001). Parent's time with a child is a valuable resource required of parents to place controls and restrictions on their children, and it is also required for parental engagement. Research suggests that blacks and Hispanics have lower labor force participation rates and work fewer hours compared to whites (Borjas and Tienda 1985). When minority parents spend less time at work, they have more time to engage more with their children. When minority parents spend less time in work

compared to whites, they may also spend more time in placing restrictions over their children's behaviors.

Data

The data come from the first wave of the National Survey of Families and Households (1987-88). The National Survey of Families and Households included a national representative sample of 13,017 respondents, from 9,643 households, with a specific over-sampling of blacks, Puerto Ricans, Hispanic Americans, single parents, cohabiting couples, and recently married persons, with children, or with step-children. In each household, one randomly selected adult between the ages of 19 to 95 was interviewed as the primary respondent. The primary respondent was asked to provide information on all members who lived in the households for full time, half time, less than half time, and to list out the nature of the relationship between this primary respondent, with each of the household members. In addition, the primary respondent was also asked to provide on a household roster the names of all children under the age of 18, and those over the ages of 18.

In addition to interviewing the primary respondent of the household, the NSFH also included a series of self-enumerated questionnaires for all primary respondents, and their current married or cohabiting spouse. These self-enumerated questionnaires are divided into 13 sections, and they covered topics related to a wide range of family experience--marital disruption, attitudes toward pre-marital sex, cohabitation, non-marital fertility, parental sex roles, parental attitudes, division of household labor, family values, parenting behaviors, parental values and quality of relationship between biological parents and co-resident biological children, step children, and non-resident biological children.

Measures:

The unit of analysis in this study is the focal child. To ensure a random selection of a child, the child whose first name came alphabetically first was selected to be the focal child. For each focal child, the primary respondent was asked a series of questions about the relationship between the parents and the child, the behaviors and activities of the child, and parenting practices of the respondent. For this study, statistical analysis are limited only to biological, step, adopted, foster, and cohabiting partner's children between the ages of 5 to 18, living in the household on a full time basis. Thus, in this study, the total number of children is 5,703. Since children of different ages have different needs from parents, separated analyses are performed for the younger age 5-11, and adolescents age 12-18.

Family structure of the children is determined by the marital status of the parents, coded as married, cohabiting, or single. Married parents refer to all primary respondents who are either the biological, step, foster, adopted parents of the children, who are currently married at the time of the interviews, and are living full time in the household. This sample includes all non-biological parents who are the spouse of focal child's parent, and are living full time in the same household. Cohabiting parents refer to parents who are biological, step, adopted, or the cohabiting partner of the child's parent, and who are not currently married. Thus, cohabiting parents include divorced parents who are currently cohabiting with a new partner. Single parents are either the biological, step, adopted, or foster parent of the child, and are currently not married, and not cohabiting with any partner.

All respondents are interviewed about their racial background and work experience. First, respondents are asked to identify any racial groups that best describe them from a list of categories: Non-Hispanic White, Black, Hispanic

American, Chicano, Hispanico, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Other Hispanic, American Indian, Asian, or others. Our sample consisted of a total of 5,703 parents, with 3,832 Non-Hispanic Whites, 1,112 Blacks, 370 Hispanic American, Chicano, Hispanic, 94 Puerto Rican, 19 Cuban, 81 Other Hispanic, 19 American Indian, 61 Asian, and 1 other. Due to limitation on available data, Hispanic, Puerto Rican, Cuban parents are all coded as Hispanic, while Asians, American Indians, and others are recoded as non-blacks.

Parent's work hours are provided by all primary respondents in terms of the number of total hours worked last week. Each respondent was asked "how many hours did you work last week?" Due to the wide variation in the range of number of hours, from 0 to 80, this variable is recoded into 5 categories--part time (1-20), working more than 20 hours yet fewer than 40 (21-39), full time (40 hours), more than 40 hours (40 or more), and not in labor force. About 25% of the parents in this sample are not currently involved in the labor force—either unemployed, or are not actively seeking employment.

Family income comes from all 'related members' who live full time in the household with the focal child of our study, and is available only from families whose primary respondent is the householder. Since only primary respondents who are the householder provided the income information of all members, a substantial population of our sample had not provided any information (approximately 20%). This variable was originally coded with sub-sectioned categories—0, \$1-4,999, \$5,000-9,999, 10,000-19,999, 20,000 to 29,999, 30,000 to 39,999, 40,000 to 49,999, 50,000 or more. Due to the large sample of family income with no information, I imputed the mean of the overall distribution for cases with missing income information. It is important to note that an imputation with the mean of the overall distribution for families with non-responses may bias our results. This is because an imputation assumes that families with non-respond

are financially compatible to the families who provided information of the family. To compensate for possible bias, I included a dichotomous variable for cases with imputed mean in all OLS regression models. I also performed several OLS analysis with a log transformation of the income variable, and found no significant difference in the results. Thus, a final decision was made to choose the log transformed income variable with imputed means for missing cases.

Primary respondents of our sample were also interviewed regarding the highest level of schooling they achieved. This variable is originally coded as a continuous variable ranging from the lowest level 0 to the highest level 24. Due to the purpose of this study, it is sub-divided into categories of less than high school, high school graduate, some college, college graduate or more.

Parents were also asked to provide information about their occupations. All respondents were asked “what are the main activities or duties of your job?” Information collected from this survey question was subsequently reconstructed according to the socio-economic indexes of the 1980 Census Occupational Classification Scheme. As a result, for each survey respondent who provided information of their occupation, they are given a total based socio-economic index score.

To measure parent’s cultural attitudes regarding gender role traditionalism, sexual conservatism, and conjugal familism, I performed exploratory factor analysis on a series of attitudinal questions. First, I computed and examined the correlation matrix of a total of 14 variables. Next, to extract the initial factors, the correlation matrix was factor analyzed using the principle component solution. The principle component analysis reduces the manifest variables to a smaller number of latent factors. Based on the selection criteria of only selecting eigenvalue greater or equal to 1, three orthogonal factors are selected. The first factor—gender role traditionalism, accounts for 28 percent of the total variance.

The second factor—sexual conservatism, accounts for 18 percent of the total variance, and the third factor—congrual familism, accounts for 15 percent of the total variance. Thus, the three initial factors explain about 61 percent of the total variance. Finally, for the purpose of interpretation, the factors are orthogonally rotated to a simple structure using the Varimax method.

Table 1.A presents the factor loadings of gender role traditionalism. Gender role traditionalism indicates the extent to which, in the respondent's view, women shall adhere to the traditional role of mothers--whose main purpose is to stay home to ensure that young children receive proper care and love. Respondents' attitudes may range from 1-strongly agree or 5-strongly disagree for the following 5 items:

- Mother who work full time when their youngest child is under age 5?
- Children under 3 years being cared for all day in a day care center?
- Mother who work part time when their youngest child is under 5?
- It is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and family.
- Preschool children are likely to suffer if their mother is employed.

Based on the results from exploratory factor analysis, I construct a factor scale of gender role traditionalism for mothers and fathers. I first added scores from all 5 questions, with items scored in the direction of traditional values. Therefore, a high score on this scale indicates more traditional attitudes toward gender roles. Results from reliability analysis of gender role traditionalism produced Cronbach's alpha of .80 for men, and .78 for women.

(Table 1.a about here)

Table 1.B presents the factor loadings of sexual conservatism. Sexual conservatism indicates the extent to which parents hold traditional values

regarding pre-marital sexual behaviors, pre-marital childbearing, and pre-marital childrearing. Below are the 4 items used to indicate the concept of 'sexual conservatism'.

Women who have a child without getting married?

It is all right for an unmarried couple to live together even if they have no interest in considering marriage.

It is all right for unmarried 18 year olds to have sexual relations if they have strong affection for each other.

It is all right for an unmarried couple to live together as long as they have plans to marry.

(Table 1.b about here)

Next, I also constructed a factor scale for sexual conservatism, with each item scored in the direction of traditional values, from all 4 statements listed above. Results of reliability analysis produced a Cronbach's alpha of .76 for men and .75 for women.

Table 1.C presents the factor loadings of conjugal familism. Conjugal familism indicates the extent to which parents hold conservatism attitudes toward the family—that it is the most important union that provides stability for childrearing and childbearing. Below are the 5 following items used to indicate the concept of 'conjugal familism':

It's better for a person to get married than to go through life being single.

A couple with an unhappy marriage getting a divorce if their youngest child is under 5?

Marriage is a life time relationship and should never be ended except under extreme circumstances.

Children have fewer problems with two natural parents than with one natural parent and one step parent.

It's better for a person to have a child than to go through life childless.

(Table 1.c about here)

With the items scored in the direction of traditional values, I aggregate the scores from all 5 variables, and results from reliability analysis produced a Cronbach's alpha of .55 for men, and .75 for women. Although the reliability of conjugal familism scale is lower than expected, after further investigation of the response from parents, I discovered that majority of parents agree with all of the five statements with little variation. For example, most parents agree that children fare better in households with two natural parents than with stepparents, and that an unhappy marriage shall end even when the child is under 5. This is due to a most notable change in the last 30 years of an increasing acceptance of divorce and non-marriage in our society (Thornton, Alwin, and Camburn 1983; Morgan, Alwin, and Griffin 1979). Thus, the final decision is to include this scale, as it may be the best indicator of familistic orientation of minority parents.

The dependent variables are 2 distinct indices—parental restrictiveness, and parental engagement. Each index is comprised of a series of items that asked parents how often they perform various types of activities with their child. Thus, each index measures parental investment in children, based on two major dimension of parenting—demandingness and responsiveness (Baurmind 1968).

For the concept of parental restrictiveness, I created an index with the sum of 5 questions regarding parent's control on (1) Children's whereabouts, (2) Amount of television watched, (3) Content of television watched, (4) Whether the child is assigned to do chores at home. Each of these variables was coded with 0

and 1, with 1 indicating parental control over a particular activity. Thus, the highest score in the index is 4, indicating that parents control children in all 4 activities. Result of a reliability analysis showed a Cronbach's alpha of .68, suggesting that this index is moderately reliable indicator for parental restrictiveness.

As for the measurement of parental responsiveness/engagement, data are derived from parental reports of daily interactions and engagement activities with their children. All parents were asked "how often they spend time with their children in:

- (1) Leisure activities away from home such as picnics, movies, sports,
- (2) At home working on a project or playing together,
- (3) Having private talks,
- (4) Helping with reading or homework.

Clearly, parent-child engagement activities at home or in leisure activities require active participation, and reciprocal interactions between parents and children foster parent-child interaction and engagement. I constructed an index of parental engagement to measure the total number of times parents engaged with the child in at least one or more activities--leisure, working/playing at home, having private talks, and helping with reading/homework. As a result, the engagement index ranges from 0-20. Finally, a reliability analysis showed a Cronbach's alpha of .76 for parental engagement, suggesting that this index is fairly reliable. Table 2 presents the percentage distribution of parent by their marital status, race, gender, education, poverty, and child gender. Table 3 presents the frequent distribution of parents by their SES, work hours, family income, and cultural ideologies.

(Table 2 about here)

(Table 3 about here)

Method:

Data analyses are conducted in five parts: Descriptive statistics, Pearson correlations, bivariate regressions, OLS regressions and OLS regressions by parent's education. The descriptive statistics present the frequency distribution of parenting control/restrictiveness and parental support/engagement by mothers and fathers of children 5-11 and 12-18. The Pearson correlations show the strength, magnitude, direction of associations between race, parental restrictiveness, shared meal time, and parental engagement. The strength of a correlation coefficient may range from 0 through 1, with 1 indicating the strongest association between two variables. Next, to confirm the findings of the correlations, I proceed to present results from bivariate regressions of race by socioeconomic status, family income, education, hours of work, gender role ideologies, sexual conservatism, conjugal familism, by parental engagement and restrictiveness of mothers and fathers of children 5-11 and 12-18.

Multiple regressions are performed first on parenting behaviors by mothers and fathers for two separate groups of children age 5-11 and 12-18, and secondly by parent's education. The purpose of this latter specification model is used to illustrate if an interaction exists between race and socioeconomic status on parenting behaviors. It is probable that white and minority middle class parents do not differ in parenting skills, but that blacks and Hispanics in the lowest socioeconomic strata may have different parenting skills.

Data Analyses

Overall Patterns of Parental Restrictiveness and Parental Engagement by Mothers and Fathers:

Table 4 and 5 shows the aggregate rates of mothers and fathers who place restrictions over children 5-11 and 12- 18. Before more complex analyses are introduced, it is useful to understand general trends of parenting behaviors by race. In general, two patterns may be discerned. First, regardless of gender, parents place more control over young children 5-11 than older children 12-18 for all indicators of parental restrictiveness—knowing children’s whereabouts, assigning chores to children, restricting the amount and type of television children watched. In particular, for young children 5-11, regardless of gender, mothers and fathers are universally invested in knowing children’s whereabouts, 94% and 93%, respectively. Almost all mothers and fathers of young children restrict the content of television children watched, 84%, and 85%, respectively. Most parents also assigned household chores to young children.

In contrast, parents impose substantially less restrictions over children 12-18. In particular, only two-thirds of the parents required their children to tell their whereabouts (75% fathers and 80% mothers). In addition, less than half of the parents restrict the content of television children watched (45% mothers and 40% fathers), and less than one third of the parents restrict the amount of television watched (28% mothers and 24% fathers). In sum, parents are less restrictive of their older children. One most exceptional pattern is that both mothers and fathers allocated more household chores to older children, suggesting that parent do transfer more household responsibility to older children.

(Table 4.a and Table 4.b about here)

The second overall pattern of parenting behaviors is that mothers impose more restriction and engagement to children of all ages than fathers. Mothers are

also more likely to assign chores than fathers for children of both age groups. In addition, for all indicators of parental restrictiveness—knowing child whereabouts, amount of TV, content of TV, and chores, mothers place more restrictions than fathers on children 5-11 and 12-18. Mothers spend more time with children age 5-11 and 12-18 in all indicators of parental engagement--leisure activities, working on project or playing together, having private talks, and doing homework or reading together. The mean of mother's engagement index is 14.5 for children 5-11, and 11.6 of children 12-18. In comparison, the mean of fathers' engagement index is 12.1 of children 5-11, and 9.2 of children 12-18.

(Table 5.a and Table 5.b about here)

Overview of Associations

Socioeconomic Effects on Parental Restrictiveness and Parental Engagement by Race:

The analysis in this section investigates the hypotheses of the socioeconomic perspective, measured with five indicators-- race, education, income, and socioeconomic status (SEI). Table 6 presents the zero-order Pearsonian correlations between these five indicators of socioeconomic status by parental engagement, and restrictiveness for mothers and fathers with children 5-11.

(Table 6 about here)

First, consistent with the previous research of the socioeconomic theoretical perspective, education has a significant positive effect on SEI for mothers and fathers (.52 and .53), and in turn, education, income, and SEI are positively correlated with parental engagement and parental restrictiveness. Most importantly, race is significantly related to education, income, and SEI. Although the magnitudes of the coefficients are small, whites are positively correlated with

3 indicators of socioeconomic status--education (.23 and .29), income (.15 and .16), and socioeconomic score (.13 and .23), for mothers and fathers, respectively. However, there is no significant relationship between whites and parental engagement, or restrictiveness for young children. Thus, white parents are not more likely to engage or restrict their children.

In contrast, these patterns of associations between race and socioeconomic status are reverse for blacks and Hispanics. In particular, black mothers are negatively correlated with income (-.10), while black fathers are negatively correlated with SEI (-.13). Furthermore, contrary to previous research that suggested minority parents as more restrictive, I find no significant association between blacks and parental restrictiveness. Thus, black mothers and fathers are not more restrictive of their children.

Similar to patterns of socioeconomic effects on black parents, Hispanic mothers and fathers are negatively correlated with all measures of socioeconomic status--education (-.34 and -.33), income (-.09 and -.14), SEI (-.16 and -.18). Most importantly, Hispanics have no significant relationship with parental restrictiveness or parental engagement, suggesting that Hispanic parents are not less controlling or more engaging with their children. In sum, these correlations, though small in magnitude, indicate that for parents with young children, race has no effect on parenting behaviors.

Parents vary the levels of engagement they provide to children of different ages. To assess the effects of race, I analyzed parents' behaviors with older children 12-18. Table 7 presents the zero order Pearsonian correlations between various measures of socioeconomic status and parental engagement, and restrictiveness. Consistent with the socioeconomic perspective, regardless of gender, whites are positively correlated with education, income, and SEI. Most

importantly, although the magnitudes of the correlations are small, whites are negatively correlated with restrictiveness.

In contrast, these patterns of associations between measures of socioeconomic status and race are reverse for blacks and Hispanics. Black mothers and fathers are negatively correlated with education, income, and SEI. In addition, black fathers are positively correlated with restrictiveness. Similarly, Hispanic mothers and fathers are negatively correlated with education and SEI, and Hispanic mothers are also positively correlated with parental restrictiveness.

(Table 7 about here)

To summarize, as I have hypothesized, race is significantly correlated with various indicators of socioeconomic status for all parents, regardless of children's age. Interestingly, race is not an influential correlate of parenting of young children 5-11 in white or minority families. One possible explanation for this pattern is that regardless of race, parents, in general, are more instrumental at an early stage of their children's life. As children age, parents are likely to impose fewer restrictions and provide more autonomy to their older children. However, given that my results on minority parents showed that they are still more restrictive of their older children, race, then, is clearly an influential factor for parenting in minority families.

Effects of Cultural/Racial Ideology on Parental Restrictiveness and Engagement by Race:

The analysis in this section investigates the hypotheses of the cultural/racial perspective, measured with 3 indicators—gender traditionalism, sexual conservatism, and conjugal familism. Table 8 presents the zero-order correlations between gender traditionalism, sexual conservatism, conjugal

familism, parental restrictiveness, parental engagement, by race and gender of parents with young children 5-11. Consistent with prior research, the general patterns in my findings show that minority parents tend to hold distinct attitudes regarding gender roles, family values, and sexual behavior. Most importantly, although the coefficients are small, black fathers and mothers hold less traditional values on gender roles (-.10 and -.14), and black mothers hold less sexual conservative attitudes (-.08).

(Table 8 about here)

However, these relationships between race and ideologies are reverse for Hispanics. Hispanic mothers and fathers are both more traditional in gender role attitudes (.14 and .14), and have more traditional conjugal familistic orientations (.17 and .20). Surprisingly, Hispanic mothers are negatively correlated with sexual conservatism, suggesting that they hold less traditional attitudes regarding premarital childbearing and childrearing. As for whites, mothers are positively correlated with attitudes of sexual conservatism, conjugal familism, but white fathers are negatively correlated with conjugal familism. These suggest that white mothers hold more traditional values in premarital childbearing, childrearing, and family values. Contrarily, white fathers hold less traditionalism attitudes toward family values. In addition, gender role traditionalism, sexual conservatism, and conjugal familism are all positively correlated with parental restrictiveness. This indicates that parents with more conservative attitudes toward gender role, premarital childbearing, and family values are more likely to place high level of control over their children.

(Table 9 about here)

For children 12-18, the effects of race on parents' attitudes toward gender roles, sexual conservatism, and conjugal familism are consistent with the findings on parents with children 5-11. White mothers have more conservative attitudes

toward premarital sexual behaviors and premarital childbearing, and white fathers have less traditional familistic values. Black mothers and fathers both tend to hold less traditional values on gender roles (-.08 and -.08), and black mothers also have less traditional attitudes toward premarital childbearing (-.09). Hispanic mothers and fathers tend to hold more conservative attitudes towards gender roles (.15 and .13), and conjugal familistic values (.24 and .14). In summary, results in table 7 and table 8 are consistent with the predictions of the racial/cultural perspective. Race influences parents' attitudes regarding gender roles, sexual conservatism, and conjugal familism. Most importantly, black parents hold less traditional values towards gender roles and premarital childbearing, but Hispanic parents hold more traditional attitudes on gender roles, premarital childbearing, and conjugal values.

Time Constraints on Parental Restrictiveness and Engagement by Race and Gender

The analyses in this section examine the time constraint perspective, measured with five indicators—race, marital status, work hours, education, and income.

(Table 10 about here)

Table 10 presents the zero order Pearsonian correlations for marital status, work hours, education, income, parental restrictiveness, parental engagement, by race and gender of parents with children 5-11. Consistent with previous literature, race is correlated with marital status. White mothers and fathers are more likely to be married, and are less likely to be single. In contrast, this pattern is significantly different for blacks. In particular, black mothers and fathers are less likely to be married, while black mothers are significantly more likely to be single.

As for Hispanics, no significant relationship is found between Hispanic mothers and marital status. However, there is no significant relationship between race and work hours for parents with young children 5-11. This finding suggests that race is clearly an influential factor on marital status, but it is unclear how the relationship between race and marital status affects the work hours of parents with young children 5-11.

(Table 11 about here)

For children 12-18, I find a similar pattern of relationship between race and marital status. Table 11 shows the Pearson correlations of parents' marital status, work hours, education, income, parental restrictiveness, parental engagement, by race and gender. White mothers are negatively correlated with work hours. However, white mothers are also negatively correlated with parental restrictiveness. This indicates that white mothers are unlikely to face time constraint, yet they are simply less restrictive of their children. Hispanic mothers are positively correlated with work hours, but they are also more restrictive of their children. As for blacks, there is no significant relationship between blacks and work hours, but black fathers are more restrictive.

Consistent with the time constraint perspective, marital status is significantly related to work hours. Married mothers and fathers are positively correlated with education and income. In turn, married fathers are positively correlated with work hours, but married mothers are negatively correlated with work hours. Most importantly, married parents have a positive relationship with parental restrictiveness, and married fathers are negatively correlated with parental engagement. These findings suggest that married couples are able to utilize the availability of their spouse's time to fulfill their responsibility of parenting.

In contrast, single and cohabiting parents are negatively correlated with education, income, and are positively correlated with poverty. However, there is no significant relationship between work hours and cohabiting parents, yet cohabiting parents are negatively correlated with parental restrictiveness. One possible interpretation is that parents who enter into cohabitation have more egalitarian beliefs regarding marriage and childrearing. Thus, it is probable that parents in cohabitation practice different parenting skills that are unrelated to time constraints.

Most surprisingly, single fathers are positively correlated with parental restrictiveness. However, it is important to note that single fathers are the primary caregiver of their children. Therefore, given that single fathers are residing with their children, they are likely to provide more parental engagement to their children. No significant effect is found between single parents and parental restrictiveness. Thus, single parents are not less restrictive, contrary to the past research on single parents.

In summary, these results provided only partial support to the time constraint approach. Consistent with the time constraint approach, marital status is significantly related to work hours, and race is significantly related to marital status. White married mothers work significantly fewer hours compared to single and cohabiting parents. Yet, there is no evidence to suggest that white married mothers place more restrictions or provide more engagements to their children. This contradicts the time constraint perspective, particularly because it shows that married mothers who work fewer hours allocate more time to engage and restricted their children.

Bivariate Regressions

To further explicate how race affects parenting skill, I perform bivariate regression of race on socioeconomic score, family income, education, hours of work, gender traditionalism, sexual conservatism, conjugal familism, engagement, restrictiveness for mothers and fathers of children 5-11, and 12-18. Table 11 and Table 12 show the bivariate regression results for mothers and fathers of children 5-11 and 12-18. For parents 5-11 and 12-18, whites are positively associated with socioeconomic score, family income, education for mothers and fathers of children 5-11 and 12-18. In contrast, blacks and Hispanics mothers and fathers of children 5-11 and 12-18 are negatively associated with socioeconomic score, family income, and educational attainment. These findings suggest that white parents are likely to have higher income, socioeconomic status, and education than Non-Whites. Consistent with my hypotheses, black and Hispanic mothers and fathers are more likely to have lower income, education, and socioeconomic score, compared to whites.

(Table 12 about here)

(Table 13 about here)

Multivariate Analysis

To access the partial effects of race, education, income, SEI, work hours, marital status, poverty, gender role ideologies, familistic values, and sexual conservative attitudes on parenting behaviors, 5 regression models are employed to predict parenting restrictiveness and parental engagement. Model 1 estimated only the effect of race, with whites as the reference category. Model 2 investigates hypotheses of the socioeconomic perspective, and examined only the effects of marital status, education, income, SEI. Model 3 tests the hypotheses of the time constraint perspective, and examines only the effects of work hours.

Model 4 examines the hypotheses of the racial/cultural perspective, and investigates only the effect of parent's attitudes towards gender role ideologies, premarital sexual behaviors, and conjugal familism. Model 5 examines the effects of all 3 theoretical perspectives, by controlling for the effects of all socioeconomic factors, hours work, and parent's family values. To compare the effect of different predictors, results of each model will be presented with standardized beta coefficient.

Mother's Restrictiveness of Young children (5-11) and Older children (12-18):

Table 14 and 16 show the results of OLS regressions of mother's restrictiveness for children 5-11 and 12-18, respectively. By comparing the results of various independent variables on mother's restrictiveness across the two groups of children, the following conclusions may be drawn. First, consistent with the central hypothesis of this paper, race is significantly related to maternal restrictiveness of older children, as shown in model 1. Blacks and Hispanic mothers are significantly more restrictive of their teenagers compared to whites.

Consistent with the hypotheses of the socioeconomic perspective, irrespective of children's age, mother's restrictiveness is strongly related to education and marital status, as shown in model 2. According to the socioeconomic perspective, mothers with more education are likely to occupy higher occupations with high level of self directive and intellectual ability, thereby placing more emphasis on inducing self directions in their young children (Kohn 1977). My results show that mothers with some college or more education are significantly more likely to place restrictions on their children than mothers with only high school education.

In addition, consistent with socioeconomic perspective, marital status is significantly correlated with one's social status, and parenting behaviors. Compared to married mothers, mothers in cohabitation are significantly less likely to place restrictions on their children. These results confirm the socioeconomic perspective, and demonstrate that mother's social status, as indicated by education and marital status, are the strongest influences on parental restrictiveness.

Consistent with the time constraint argument, mothers who are not working or working only part time are more likely to monitor their children's behaviors and whereabouts. Thus, lower work hours increase the propensity of mothers monitoring their children, as shown in model 3.

In both groups of children, mother's attitudes toward pre-marital sexual union have strong influences on restrictiveness, as shown in model 4. This finding supports the racial/cultural perspective, as parents with more conservative and traditional values regarding pre-marital sexual union placed significantly more restrictions.

When all intervening variables--socioeconomic factors, racial/cultural factors, and time constraint factors are incorporated in model 5, the effect of race remains consistently significant on maternal restrictiveness of older children 12-18. Black and Hispanic mothers are significantly more likely to place restrictions over their older children compared to whites. This result provides support to the main hypotheses of this paper, and indicates that blacks and Hispanics are more restrictive of their children compared to white parents. Furthermore, the significant relationships of education, mother's conservative sexual attitudes and parental restrictiveness are again confirmed in model 5. Of all intervening variables, the strongest predictors are mother's education and their traditional attitudes toward pre-marital sexual unions. Mothers with high level of education

and conservative attitudes towards premarital sexual unions are significantly more likely to place restrictions over their children, regardless of the children's age.

Finally, it is important to note that the effect of mother's conservative sexual attitudes is stronger than the effect of race on maternal restrictiveness. This finding provides strong support to racial/cultural perspectives. Therefore, for mothers, education and attitudes towards childbearing and childrearing in premarital sexual union are associated with 'parental resource and knowledge' of how best to 'protect' children.

(Table 14 about here)

(Table 16 about here)

Father's Restrictiveness of Young Children (5-11) and Older children (12-18)

Results of a similar analysis for father's restrictiveness are provided in table 15 and 17. Consistent with the central hypotheses of this paper, minority fathers place significantly more restrictions on their children than whites, as shown in table 15 and 17, regardless of children's age. As shown in model 1, blacks and Hispanics place significantly more restrictions over their children.

In addition, consistent with patterns of results on maternal restrictiveness, cohabiting fathers are significantly less likely to place restrictions on both young and older children than married fathers, as shown in model 2. This finding again indicates that parent's marital status is a significant factor associated with socioeconomic resources, as parents in marriage are able to combine economic resources and time to invest in children.

A most unexpected result is that for young and older children, working more than 40 hours is associated with higher propensity of paternal restrictions, as shown in model 3. Fathers who work more than 40 hours are significantly more

likely to place restrictions on their children, regardless of their children's age. This finding is inconsistent with the time constraint perspective, since it argues that parent's availability to devote time to children depends on the amount of time required for performance of other task. One plausible explanation is that fathers working more than 40 hours alter the amount of time spend on fulfilling other task—such as household tasks. In fact, recent research has begun to document some evidence that indicates a recent change in the culture of fatherhood. In recent years, the expectations for fathers to invest a considerable time to help with childcare have grown, and fathers have increasingly spend more time to help with childcare and less time in sharing household labor with their spouse (Bianchi et al. 2000; Sayer, Bianchi, and Robinson 2004).

Consistent with hypotheses of the racial/cultural argument, parents with conservative attitudes towards childrearing in pre-marital sexual union exert significantly more restrictions on young and old children, as shown in model 4. Holding traditional attitudes regarding childrearing and childbearing in premarital unions increase the propensity of fathers placing restrictions on their children, regardless of the children's age. Thus, this finding suggests that traditional attitudes toward premarital childbearing affect the levels of parental instruction and monitoring of children's behaviors.

When all intervening variables are incorporated, as shown in model 5, race remains consistently the strongest significant factor of paternal restrictiveness throughout all models of young and older children. That is, irrespective of children's age, when all intervening variables are controlled, black and Hispanic fathers are significantly more likely to restrict their children than whites. In addition, regardless of children's age, holding conservative attitudes toward childbearing in premarital sexual union increases the propensity of paternal restrictiveness, net of all other control variables. These results support the

hypotheses of the racial/cultural perspective, as parents with conservative attitudes are significantly more restrictive of their children.

One unexpected result in model 5 is that father's restrictiveness varied by children's age and gender. For young children 5-11, fathers place significantly more restrictions on sons than daughters. Interestingly, for older children 12-18, no significant effect of child's gender is observed on father's restrictiveness. Indeed, for older children, the strongest predictor for father's restrictiveness is race.

(Table 15 about here)

(Table 17 about here)

Mother's Engagement with Young Children (5-11) and Older Children (12-18):

To estimate the effect of race on parental engagement, I examine the patterns of maternal and paternal engagement by both young and older children. My analyses in this section present a substantially different picture of the relationship between race and parental engagement. Inconsistent with the central hypotheses of this paper, regardless of models and children's age, no significant effect of race is observed. Black and Hispanic mothers are no more likely to engage with their children than white mothers.

Consistent with the socioeconomic perspective, mother's education emerges as the strongest effect on engagement, regardless of models and ages of children. Mothers with less than a high school education are significantly less engaged with their children compared to high school graduates, regardless of children's age. This finding suggests that mother's engagement is mostly influenced by educational attainment of mothers, whereas race only has a weak

and negligible effect. However, family income, SEI, and marital status have no significant influence on maternal engagement. One plausible explanation is that education exerts a different impact on maternal engagement compared to socioeconomic resources. Mothers with economic resources may provide food, shelter, and clothing to their children, yet it may not be converted to parental guidance, love, and engagement. In contrast, mother's education may indicate a high level of parental knowledge in childrearing strategies, which ultimately induces more parent-child engagement in activities—such as having private talks, reading a book, doing homework, and going to museums.

In addition, consistent with the hypotheses of the racial/cultural perspective, holding conservative sexual attitudes toward premarital childrearing and childbearing increases the propensity of maternal engagement. More specifically, regardless of children's age, mothers with more traditional ideologies on premarital childbearing engaged significantly more with their children. In sum, given that the effect of race is negligible on all of the 5 regression models, I may conclude that for mothers, engagement with children of all ages maybe less influenced by race, but by parenting skills and parental knowledge of positive children's development.

(Table 18 about here)

(Table 20 about here)

Father's Engagement in Young Children (5-11) and Older Children (12-18):

Results of table 19 and 21 show the patterns of father's engagement by young and older children. At the surface, no significant effect of race emerged in model 1. Consistent with patterns of results on maternal engagement, educated fathers have a substantially higher propensity of engaging with their young and older children, as shown in model 2. Fathers with at least some college education

are significantly more likely to engage with their children than high school graduates. This finding confirms the importance of parental education in fostering positive children's development. Education provides parents with not only intellectual flexibility, but also new knowledge of what is best for children's development.

Similar to the results in patterns of mother's engagement, the significant relationship of marital status and parental engagement is again confirmed. My analyses in model 2 show that single fathers are significantly more likely to engage with young children than married fathers. On surface, this finding may be considered as inconsistent with the socioeconomic perspective, as it clearly states that parents in marriage have more socioeconomic resources, due to the combined effects of marriage. Yet, upon further investigation of the NSFH data, I find that this significant positive relationship between single fathers and engagement is indirectly related to the hypotheses of the time constraint perspective. The NSFH includes only single fathers residing with children, who must bear the sole responsibility of providing childcare and guidance to children, without the availability of another partner. It is thus very plausible to find single fathers engaging significantly more with their children than married fathers, particularly since married fathers have the option to transfer childcare responsibility to their spouse.

The most important finding is that when all intervening variables are controlled in model 5, race emerges as one of the most significant positive factors in father's engagement for both young and older children. This finding provides strong support to the central hypotheses of this paper, as black and Hispanic fathers engaged significantly more with their children than whites. In addition, the positive relationship between parental education and engagement also emerged again in model 5. In fact, the effect of college education on paternal

engagement is more impressive than race. This finding is consistent with the socioeconomic perspective. Father's education provides crucial parenting skills and knowledge, which encourages fathers to invest time to better the development of their children.

Finally, although the racial/cultural perspective argues that fathers holding traditional family values, and gender role ideologies engage more with their children, only weak effect is found. Instead, engagement with fathers is primarily determined by father's education, secondarily by race, and thirdly by the gender of the child, as fathers engage significantly more with their sons than daughters.

(Table 19 about here)

(Table 21 about here)

Possible Explanations: Patterns of Parental Restrictiveness by Education

An additional question is whether the effect of race on parenting behaviors varied by parent's socioeconomic status for older children 12-18. It is highly plausible that while black parents in lower class positions are more restrictive of their children than middle class whites, middle class blacks may not differ from middle class whites who place low level of restriction on their children.

To address this question, multiple regression equations are preformed on two groups of parents with children 12-18—(1) parents with high school education or less, and (2) parents with at least some college education or more. The rationale to perform analyses on varying level of education is because education, as one of the most important socioeconomic indicators, is consistently the strongest predictor on parenting behaviors, while income and SEI have not shown to have any significant impact on parenting. Due to small sample sizes of minority men, I was unable to perform separate analyses on men by the level of

educational attainment. Thus, the analyses in this section will include parent's gender as a control variable.

To access the possible interaction between race and education on parenting behaviors, five models are tested. The first model investigates only the effect of race. To access the hypotheses of the socioeconomic perspective, the second model includes marital status, log family income, and SEI. The third model is developed to examine the time constraint perspective, and includes variables of work hours. The fourth set investigated the effects of cultural ideologies, and the fifth set tests for all three theoretical perspectives and includes interactions between race and the effects of cultural ideologies.

According to the socioeconomic perspective, I may expect blacks with low level of education to control their children's behaviors more than whites, due to disadvantaged social and economic positions. In contrast, blacks with high level of education are expected to not deviate from whites who held comparable level of education. However, results from my analyses on parents with varying levels of education fail to support this argument. As shown in table 22 and 23, in both the samples of parents with high and low education, the effects of race is statistically significant. That is, regardless of the level of educational attainment, black and Hispanic parents monitor and restrict their children significantly more than white.

More specifically, focusing first on parents with low education in table 22, the size of the coefficients for blacks and Hispanics are consistent and significant across all models 1 through 5. That is, the inclusion of covariates does not diminish the size nor the significance of race in parental restrictiveness. This finding provides strong support to the central argument of this paper, as Blacks and Hispanics are significantly more restrictive of their children than whites.

In fact, of black parents with low education, the interaction terms between race and cultural ideologies have a significant impact on parental restrictiveness, as shown in model 5. Of the 3 racial groups, blacks holding traditional family values are significantly more restrictive of their children than non-blacks. Thus, consistent with the racial/cultural perspective, the analysis demonstrates that of blacks in lower class backgrounds, traditional family ideology substantially impacts parent's behaviors. However, no significant difference is found of blacks with traditional attitudes towards pre-marital childrearing, suggesting that blacks holding conservative attitudes towards premarital childbearing may not restrict their children differently than non-blacks.

Similar to blacks, the interaction between cultural ideologies and Hispanics is also statistically significant. More specifically, results from model 5 shows that Hispanic parents with conservative attitudes toward gender roles, premarital childbearing and childrearing are substantially more restrictive of their children than non-Hispanic. These findings are consistent with racial/cultural argument, as Hispanics are expected to hold more traditional ideologies regardless gender roles, and pre-marital childrearing.

Results from a similar analysis for the parents with high education are provided in table 23. First, consistent with the findings on parents with low education, race continues to be an important factor throughout all models 1 through 5. As varying sets of intervening variables are introduced into each of the subsequent models, the size of the positive coefficient and significance for blacks and Hispanics remains consistent. Net of all other covariates, black and Hispanic parents with high level of educational attainment are significantly more restrictive and controlling of their children compared to whites with comparable educational attainment.

However, unlike parents with low education, none of the interactions between race and racial/cultural ideologies are statistically significant, indicating that minority parents with more conservative value orientations are no more restrictive of their children's behaviors than parents with more liberal attitudes. One plausible explanation is that minority parents with high level of educational attainment are likely to hold more liberal attitudes regarding family values, gender roles, and premarital childrearing and childbearing. Given a more liberal outlook, the more restrictive parenting styles of highly educated minority parents will likely be related to education, instead of cultural ideologies.

In fact, in highly educated households, time constraint is a significant factor on parental restrictiveness. Thus, consistent with the time constraint perspective, work hours is significant associated with parental restrictiveness. Of parents with at least some college education, parents who working only part time are significantly more controlling and restrictive of their children's behaviors.

(Table 22 about here)

(Table 23 about here)

Patterns of Parental Engagement by Education:

According to the socioeconomic perspective, minority parents with low level of education are predicted to engage less with their children. Middle class minority parents are predicted to engage more with their children. However, the analyses of parental engagement by the level of parental education fail to support the socioeconomic perspective. The effect of race is statistically significant in both the samples of highly educated parents and parents with low education, as shown in table 24 and 25. Specifically, for both samples of parents with high and low education, no significant effect of race is found when only socioeconomic

factors or only time constraints factors are held constant, as shown in model 2 and 3. This suggests that the socioeconomic factors do not significantly impact parental engagement of minority parents.

In addition, the interaction terms between Hispanic and sexual conservatism is also statistically significant for both samples of parents with high and low level of education. This suggests that Hispanics with more conservative attitudes toward premarital childrearing and childbearing are substantially more restrictive of their children than non-Hispanics. Thus, consistent with the racial/cultural perspective, cultural ideologies and beliefs are important determinants for parental engagement.

(Table 24 about here)

(Table 25 about here)

Conclusion

Returning to the main questions of this study: Has this study resolved the confounding issues of race and socioeconomic status on parenting in public policy research on children's well-being? What is the effect of race on parental restrictiveness and parental engagement? Are these racial differences in parenting behaviors due to socioeconomic differentials? Or are these differences due to variations in cultural and racial ideologies? To what extent are minorities' and whites' parenting behaviors influenced by time constraint? Finally, what are the implications for public policy on children's well-being?

The analyses of this paper have consistently shown that race has a significant impact on parental restrictiveness and parental engagement. More specifically, black and Hispanic parents are consistently found to place more restrictions and provide more engagement with their children compared to whites, net of socioeconomic factors, time constraints, and cultural ideologies. More

importantly, the significant effect of race is not readily explainable by socioeconomic factors. Race affects parental restrictiveness and engagement of parents with low and high socioeconomic status. Indeed, the most dominant theme of my findings is that regardless of parent's socioeconomic status, minority parents monitor substantially more of their children's behaviors, while also provide significantly higher level of engagement.

Has this study resolved the confounding issues of race and class in public policy research on children's well-being? Are racial differences in parenting behaviors due to socioeconomic differentials? According to the socioeconomic perspective, middle class parents are more engaging and supportive of their children, while working class parents are less engaging and less restrictive. The results of this paper are consistent with the socioeconomic argument. Parents with some college or more education are substantially more restrictive and engaging with their children than parents with only a high school education. In particular, the effect of mother's education appears to be more influential than race. That is, consistent with the hypotheses of the socioeconomic perspective, highly educated mothers monitor and engage substantially more with their children in reading books, doing homework, working on projects, and having private talks.

However, of all the socioeconomic indicators, this study has failed to find any significant impact of income and SEI on parental restrictiveness or parental engagement. This suggests that family income may not impact directly on parenting behaviors. One plausible explanation is that monetary resources provide food, shelter, and clothing to children, but it may not directly impact parental behaviors. Parents with few economic resources maybe highly engaging with their children because they feel that they must equip their children with important survival skills. In turn, through engaging with children, parents are

likely to monitor their children's behaviors, thereby placing high level of restrictions on their children. Indeed, a more recent study has shown that the effect of income on parental socialization values has declined in recent decades. Alwin (1984) examined trends in parental socialization values in Detroit of 1958, 1971, 1983 and found that family income and occupational effects declined in significance from 1958 to non-significance in 1971 and 1983. These changes across the three different time periods are consistent with Bronfenbrenner's 1958 observation that educational differences in parental behaviors are increasing, but social class differences in childrearing may be declining (Bronfenbrenner 1958). Thus, in conjunction with the research on changing parental socialization, this study indicates that parental education is the most important factor for parental restrictiveness and parental engagement. Parents with high level of education provide substantially higher level of engagement and restrictiveness than parents with low education.

Turning to the cultural/racial theoretical approach, my results have shown that cultural ideologies influence significantly the behaviors of all parents. Parents with conservative attitudes toward premarital childbearing and childrearing are substantially more restrictive of their children than parents with more liberal attitudes. In addition, consistent with previous research on minority parental beliefs and value orientations, race significantly impacts parenting behaviors. Indeed, for Hispanic parents, the propensity of a higher level of control on their children is due entirely to their more traditional attitudes toward gender ideologies and sexual attitudes. Clearly, these findings indicate that Hispanic parents with traditional gender ideologies and conservative attitudes regarding premarital childrearing place 'higher' value on children, which in turn, induces higher level of parental restrictiveness and engagement.

As to the time constraint perspective, it may be useful to understand why parents with varying work hours demonstrate distinct patterns of restrictiveness and engagement. My results have consistently shown that mothers and fathers working less than 20 hours a week are more restrictive and engaging with their children. Clearly, time devoted to eating meals, doing homework, studying, visiting museum, picnics, or playing together requires at least time from one parent to actively engage with the child. Yet, time spend in childcare may also be directly related to time in paid work. For example, Young (2000) finds that after the first year of marriage, mothers generally increased substantially the amount of time spend in childcare and housework, while married fathers increased their time in paid work. In sum, these finding indicates that father's and mother's time operates in a balancing system between spouses. Single parents are likely to face time conflicts between paid work and parental investment, as they not only have to take on the sole responsibility of an economic resource provider, but also must provide guidance, nurturing, love, and guidance to their children. Therefore, it is clear, then, that these time constraints of parents do not operate within a vacuum. Gender and marital status play a crucial role in the allocation of parental time to childrearing, and race will likely intervene in the bargaining between spouses.

Overall, this study sheds considerable light to the substantial confounding issues of race and class, and implicates new directions in public policy research related to children's well-being. First, it demonstrates that public policy research (e.g. Moynihan Report) has failed to capture accurately the intricate intersections between race, class, culture, and work roles on parenting and children's well-being. Moreover, it shows that irrespective of socio-economic differentials, minority parents place high levels of control and engagement on their children, due to distinct cultural and family values. These findings clearly challenge the stereotype of dysfunctional minority parents in low social strata portrayed in

public policy research. It demonstrates that black and Hispanic families in the United States hold distinct cultural beliefs and values, and in turn, socialize their children differently than white parents. Thus, future public policy must attempt to recognize the saliency of a complex intersection between race, class, socioeconomic differentials, and work roles on parenting and children's well-being.

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