Emotional Involvement Matters: An Analysis of Parenting Patterns and Academic Outcomes of High School Students in 1980, 1990, and 2002

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BY

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Emotional Involvement Matters: An Analysis of Parenting Patterns and Academic Outcomes of High School Students in 1980, 1990, and 2002

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This dissertation is dedicated to those who lost their lives, their loved ones, and their hometowns to the earthquake and tsunami disaster on March 11th, 2011 in Northern Japan.

Abstract

This dissertation addresses the relationship between parental practices and educational and developmental outcomes of high school students in 1980, 1990 and 2002 to explore these three questions: (1) if social capital at home is the key characteristic of parental involvement in education; and (2) if the historical shifts between 1980 and 2002 affected the way in which parents are involved in their children's education. The datasets used for this study were: High School and Beyond (HBS), National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS), and Educational Longitudinal Study (ELS).

Early theory and research focused mainly on the transformation and activation of cultural capital through parental involvement in education. It was found that students from middle- and higher-income families have the advantage of receiving higher levels of parental involvement than their peers from low-income families. However, recent research reports that students from high-income families experience severe levels of emotional distress and behavioral problems even if they do well at school. A large body of psychological research also indicates that the parental marital status and the quality of time with parents can influence children's behavioral and emotional outcomes. Consequently, the historical shifts between 1980 and 2002 in mothers' occupational status, gender roles, and family composition can indicate how parenting practices and good relationships between parents and children influence educational and developmental outcomes of high school students.

Previous studies ignored three other important dimensions of parenting practices: emotional involvement, autonomy support, and structure. This study examined this relationship using parenting dimensions to determine how cultural capital and social capital within the family interact to indicate educational outcome, high school graduation or Grade Point Average (GPA), positive attitudes toward school, and behavioral problems of lower-class and upper-middle-class students.

The results showed that parental emotional involvement is the significant indicator of increased levels of positive attitudes toward school, which was the key characteristic that was associated with high GPAs and high school completion. This finding was consistent across the three different time periods. It suggests the importance of well-established relationships between parents and children, that is, strong social capital between the two agents, which indicate a good consistency with Coleman's (1989) social capital theory. These relationships at home can be at risk when students have mothers with professional careers who work for long hours and live in households with marital disruptions or a single parent, all of which tend to decrease the quality and quantity of time spent together.

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first line of your response to my inquiry a couple years ago read, “Welcome.” I instantly felt something extraordinarily exciting was happening, and it really did. You have shown me what a great teacher can do to a failing student as myself. You have taught me the joy of playing strings again and of life.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

For the past three decades, researchers in the sociology of education have empirically documented the predictors and consequences of both high school dropout and completion. Receiving a high school diploma is a prerequisite for higher education, which is increasingly necessary for upward social mobility. Students who do not succeed in graduating from high school generally receive less income and may not have jobs and benefits such as health insurance. In their efforts to find the predictors of high school dropout, many studies emphasize the importance of parental involvement (Anguiano, 2004; Downey, 1994; Eckstein & Wolpin, 1999; Entwise et al., 2004; Roderick, 2003; Rumberger et al., 1990). According to Greene's (2001, 2003) reports and federal report (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2010) on high school graduation rates in the U.S., the percentage of the students who graduated was 72% in 1998, 70% in 2001 and 69% in 2008. The differences between those who graduate and those who drop out become more apparent when categorized by race: 76% of Whites, 51% of Blacks, 55% of Hispanics, 79% of Asians, and 50% of Native Americans completed high school. When the results are categorized by race plus the urbanicity of school districts, which reveal the social status of the neighborhood, it is evident that the districts in major cities such as Cleveland and Dallas show substantially low graduation rates across the three racial groups: White, Black, and Hispanic (Greene, 2003). This indicates that race and social class are closely related to high school completion. Researchers interested in decreasing dropout rates have focused on cultural and social capital as socio-economic status (SES) mechanisms that can prevent unequal social

reproduction in the next generation (Alexander et al., 2001; Anguiano, 2004; Crosnoe, 2001; Epstein, 2001; Fantuzzo et al., 2004; Fischer & Kmec, 2004; Lareau, 2002, 2003; Rumberger, 2004; Rumberger & Larson, 1998; Shaub, 2010; South et al., 2005; Yamamoto & Brinton, 2010).

A large body of research has examined the processes that make students drop out of school. The research in this area has reported numerous predictors that contribute to understanding students' failure to complete high school, including demographic characteristics of students and their families, i.e., SES, family income, parental educational level, parental marital status, and family composition (Anguiano, 2004; Kabbani, 2001); residential and educational mobility (South et al., 2005; Rumberger & Larson, 1998); parenting practices (McNeal, 1999; Teachman et al., 1996); school performance (Rumberger, 1987); and school and community characteristics (Rumberger, 2004). Although many researchers have intensively studied the characteristics of students and their families as factors in high school completion, the *social* process that keeps students in school remains understudied (Ream & Rumberger, 2008). The current study focuses on the social process around students' academic success in high school. In these high school years, students tend to develop three types of social relationships: with parents, peers and teachers. For this dissertation, I examine how the relationship with parents influence students' developmental outcomes, including academic achievement, emotional and behavioral adjustment, and, finally, high school completion.

Within the family, the social processes that can influence students' academic outcomes include parental involvement in education. Early theories and research mainly focused on the importance of such parental involvement. Recent research literature has confirmed that parental involvement in education does positively influence students' educational success (Crosnoe, 2001; Epstein, 2001; Fantuzzo et al., 2004; Fischer & Kmec, 2004; Lareau, 2002, 2003; Shaub,

2010; Yamamoto & Brinton, 2010). During the past decades, this has been strongly emphasized by many scholars and practitioners, and it has been confirmed that levels of parental involvement differ across social classes (Anguiano, 2004; Astone & McLanahan, 1992; Berends, 1995; Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Epstein, 1985; Lareau, 2002; McNeal, 1999; Rumberger, 1983; 1987; Rumberger, et al., 1990). Typically, researchers in the sociology of education have actualized parental involvement as the number of books at home and extra-curricular activities scheduled for students (Lareau, 2000, Dika & Singh, 2002, Epstein, 2001); checking and helping with homework (Epstein, 2001; Lareau, 1989, 2003; Fablo et al., 2001; Anguiano, 2004); having conversations about school work with children (Lareau, 2003; Anguiano, 2004), parental participation in school meetings, activities and school advocacy (Baker & Stevenson, 1986; McNeal, 1999; Lareau, 2003; Anguiano, 2004); frequency of parental contact with teachers (McNeal, 1999); parental expectations for students' future plans (Lopez et al. 2001; Teachman & Paasch, 1998) and other activities, including reading and cooking with children (Barnard, 2004).

Previous research has focused on the positive effects of parental involvement in education as a form of cultural capital and social capital, centering on the importance of involved parents (Epstein, Johns Hopkins University, Center for Social Organization of Schools & National Institute of Education (U.S.), 1983, 1984). The positive effect of parental involvement in school performance and achievement has been documented for students from both upper middle- and middle-class families (McNeal, 1999; Thrall, 2008) and working- and lower-class families. In the case of lower SES students in particular, successful parental involvement compensates for the lack of cultural capital in the households and neighborhoods (Dimmagio & Mohr, 1985; Frustenberg & Hughes, 1995; Lopez et al., 2001). Recognition of the valuable outcomes as a result of parental involvement is reflected in educational policies including No

Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act, 2012 (4) (2001) as the renewal of Title 1. Title 1 of NCLB legally requires schools to aid procedures that actively involve parents in the course of their children's educational process.

Parental involvement in education in itself, however, may not result in the best outcomes for all children. Psychologists and practitioners have recently noticed that an increasing number of affluent students are experiencing developmental difficulties because of parental expectations and the pressures extremely involved parents subject students to (Luthar 2002, 2003), commonly known as "Helicopter Parents" (Taub, 2008). These professionals strongly emphasize that affluent parents today have been attempting to make their children's futures successful by providing as many educational materials as possible, providing opportunities for both school and extra-curricular activities, helping with most homework, and having high expectations without being aware that their efforts may be negatively affecting the psychological and behavioral development of their children (Barnes & Farrell, 1992; Grolnick, 2003; Lavine, 2006; Luther, 1995, 1998, 2003; Luther & Becker, 2002; Luthar & Latendresse, 2005).

When psychologists ask their emotionally and behaviorally impaired high school and college clients about students' relationships with their parents, their answers fall into two distinct categories: "My mom's everywhere [and close when the student and his mother are working/studying together], but at the same time, she is nowhere [because he can't share his emotions with his mother]" or "I am so close to my mom, but I feel like I can't do anything without her because she's been helping me with my school work and making decisions for everything in my life" (Lavine 2006). These psychologically distressed children feel depressed and have low self-esteem because their parents push them too hard to excel while they are emotionally distant, or because they believe they are not able to do things such as working on

their own homework without their parents. A study of the development of high school students and drug involvement shows that depressed students with negative attitudes and low self-esteem are most likely to be involved in drug use, especially marijuana (Mensch & Kandel, 1988). These examples represent an increasing number of cases of these phenomena in students from affluent families. This research on affluent students indicates that high levels of parental involvement in education may hurt children, even if the parental intent is to help students engage in school, if no strong emotional bond connects parents and children. Little autonomy support, i.e., promoting children's independence, for high school students results in students feeling incapable.

Coleman (1988) briefly describes these indications as unique cases of a lack of social capital within the family. The importance of children's emotional connection to parents has also been taken into account in research on working- and lower-class students regarding their behavioral maladjustment and high school completion (Astone & McLanahan, 1991; Hashima & Amato, 1994; Ream & Palardy, 2008). Furthermore, research on students from some working- and lower-class families found that some of these struggling students, who either almost dropped out or dropped out, completed high school after having gone through joining gang groups or emotional hardships, such as pregnancy, because they felt emotionally supported by their parent's desire for them to complete high school (Roderick, 2003; Rumberger et al., 1990).

The lack of social capital, i.e., weak or negative interactions between the parent and child, parental emotional and autonomy support, can be a result of parenting style. Grolnick (2002) emphasizes the importance of balanced parenting practices she calls "parenting dimensions," which include educational and emotional involvement, monitoring and age-appropriate rule setting at home, and attitudes that support children's autonomy.

In addition, a growing body of research has focused on students' positive attitude towards school significantly increasing the likelihood of high school completion (Marks, 2000; Marcus & Sanders-Reio, 2001). Disliking school, on the other hand, has been reported as a negative predictor of higher achievement and one of the strongest predictors of high school dropout (Ekstrom et al., 1986; Hallinan, 2008). In her study of Chicago schools, Hallinan (2008) reported the significance of teachers' positive attitudes in supporting students' social and emotional well-being and students' academic achievement. Her results show that teachers' caring and supporting attitudes significantly increase students' attachment to school.

To date, little research considers the possible links with the social dynamics students experience with their parents at home and how they are associated with students' developmental outcomes. Furthermore, little is known about how those links have been associated with each other and influence the outcomes during social changes in the family —such as the increase in divorced couples, single mothers, and working mothers — that the US experienced during the past decades (Amato, 1994, 2005; Amato & Fowler, 2002; Amato & Zuo, 1992; Brown, 2004; Hochschild, 1989; Pong, 1997; Vandewater & Lansford, 1998). As a result of the changes within social contexts, the ways of providing and receiving parental involvement have changed, especially within and outside the family.

Families in the United States experienced drastic changes during the post-war period, especially between 1970 and 2000 (Fischer, 2003; Teachman et al., 2000; Robinson & Hunter, 2008). When a recession hit the country in the 1970s, a number of stay-at-home mothers started working for the paid labor force to support their families and maintain their quality of life as middle-class citizens. In addition to that, their expectations for their children to have successful lives became so intense that motherhood was measured as how successful children were

performing in school and later lives. *Supermom*, a working mother who pursued her career and handled both house work and child rearing tasks, appeared around this time (Gauthir et al., 2006). Supermoms were intensively involved in the education of their children. Helping and checking homework, participating in school events and managing several extra-curricular activities were the main duties of Supermoms. As the population of Supermoms increased, so did the societal norms of successful parenting practices and devoted fathers. These changes in norms led many young U.S. parents to marital conflicts, which influenced a dramatic increase in the U.S. divorce rate at this time. This resulted in an increasing number of single-headed households and families with a stepparent, which triggered many cases of psychological distress in young children and adolescents (Amato & Booth, 2000). Therefore, studying the differences in the parental practices and parent-child relationships between the time before the appearance of Supermom and after is important because it can reveal whether the historical shifts in parenting toward Supermom caused the hyper parental involvement and emotional disconnection between parents and their children.

I, therefore, determine (1) what types of parental involvement, cultural capital or social capital-related, have had a stronger effect on educational, positive attitudes towards school, and behavioral outcomes; (2) whether parental involvement influences students' positive attitude towards school and classes and behavioral maladjustment; (3) whether there were historical shifts in regard to the effects of those social relationships between 1980 and 2002.

This dissertation explores how parenting practices as forms of social capital between parents and children influence educational and behavioral outcomes. I review existing literature on parental involvement and policies in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 indicates the datasets and the methodology for the analyses. Chapter 4 through 6 presents the descriptive statistics and

analytical results on the three time points: 1980, 1990, and 2002. Finally, I discuss the finding from the analyses and suggest possible policy implications in Chapter 7.

Chapter 2

Literature review

Parental involvement is an umbrella term which includes cultural norms and resources such as educational materials, homework help, and a number of extra-curricular activities, most of which are considered various forms of cultural capital. In order to deepen our understanding of this umbrella term, parental involvement, I organized this chapter into six sections. First, I discuss literature on the effects of parental involvement on students' educational outcomes. Second, I relate general understanding of the parental involvement effect to two sociological theories: cultural capital and social capital. Third, I present the actual parental involvement policies at district level with examples of Chicago and Los Angeles Unified districts. Moreover, I discuss parental involvement and the school-home partnership at school level suggested by Epstein et al. (2011). Fourth, I discuss the possible SES differences in parental involvement with examples of lower-class and upper-middle-class parents and students. Fifth, I present the new way of understanding parental involvement through the lenses of psychological views using parenting practices. Sixth, I discuss changes in social contexts within U.S. families and young children between 1970 and 2000, which suggest that the resources and quality of parental involvement have changed over time. I start with discussing the associations between parental involvement and students' educational outcomes.

2.1 Parental involvement and students' educational outcomes

As mentioned earlier, recent research and a large body of literature have confirmed that parental involvement in education does positively influence students' educational success (Bodovski & Farkas, 2008; Crosnoe, 2001; Epstein, 2001; Fantuzzo et al., 2004; Fischer & Kmec, 2004; Lareau 2002, 2003; Shaub 2010; Yamamoto & Brinton, 2010). During the past decades, this has been strongly emphasized by many scholars and practitioners, and it has been confirmed that levels of parental involvement differ across social class (Anguiano, 2004; Astone & McLanahan, 1992; Berndt, 1999; Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Epstein, 1985; Lareau, 2002; McNeal, 1999; Rumberger, 1983, 1987; Rumberger et al., 1990). Typically, researchers in the sociology of education have actualized parental involvement as the number of books at home and extra-curricular activities scheduled for students (Lareau, 2000, Dika & Singh, 2002, Epstein, 2001); checking and helping with homework (Epstein, 2001; Lareau, 1989, 2003; Fablo et al., 2001; Anguiano, 2004); having conversations about school work with children (Lareau, 2003; Anguiano, 2004), parental participation in school meetings, activities and school advocacy (Baker & Stevenson, 1986; McNeal, 1999; Lareau, 2003; Anguiano, 2004); frequent parental contact with teachers (McNeal, 1999); parental expectations for students' future plans (Lopez, 2001; Teachman & Paasch, 1998; and other activities, including reading and cooking with children (Barnard, 2004).

Although results are somewhat mixed, several studies on youth have documented parental involvement as a positive predictor of not only students' math performance (Fan & Williams, 2010; Sheldon & Epstein, 2005; Sirvani, 2007) and better reading achievement (Powell-Smith et al., 2000) but also higher standardized test scores (Jeynes, 2005). Stewart (2008) also discusses the importance of parent-child discussions on school courses and activities that are positively associated with school achievement.

Hoover-Dempsey et al. (2001) suggest that parental homework not only help support students' achievement but also gives children experiences and feedback to learn behaviors, attitudes towards and knowledge of learning, and academic skills from their parents. Other studies also have found positive effects of parental involvement on lower high school dropout rates (Anguiano, 2004; Rumberger, 1995) and fewer behavioral problems in school (Domina, 2005) increases and class engagement (Simon, 2001).

Muller (1998) indicates that parental involvement does have significant temporal effects. Using 8th and 10th grade items, National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988, she found that the amount of discussion students had with their parents and parental monitoring about out-of-school activities in 8th grade positively predicted students' 10th grade test scores. Moreover, when parents participated in more school events in 8th grade, 10th grade scores increased, while scores decreased when students were unsupervised after school. Contrary to Muller's earlier findings on high school students, Lee and Bowen (2006) find that parents' management of activities and time is not positively associated with academic achievement.

Despite some mixed findings, most scholars agree that when high school students have higher levels of parental involvement, they experience better grades, behavior, attendance, and preparedness for class than students who have less parental involvement regardless of students' family background and previous educational achievement (Astone & McLanahan, 1991; Manning & Lamb, 2003; Simon, 2001). Simon (2001) used Epstein's framework of school level-promotion of parental involvement (introduced in section 3.3 in this dissertation) including parenting, communicating, volunteering, learning at home, decision making, and collaborating with the community to measure the levels of involvement for high school students. Simon's results showed that the more involved parents were, the higher were the grades and test scores in

math and reading students experienced even after family background, gender, and students' prior achievement were considered.

Despite the findings from the other studies regarding the positive effects of parental involvement on educational outcomes, Domina (2005) does not find any association between parental involvement and educational outcomes of elementary school children, yet he finds a correlation between the level of involvement and behavior regulation. The author used National Longitudinal Survey and Youth of 1979 data to examine the effect of parental involvement and the development of youth. The selection of parental involvement measures he used were: parental participation in PTA meetings, parent-teacher conferences, volunteering activities in and outside the classroom, and helping with and checking homework. His results showed that parental participation did non-significantly or negatively affected children's educational achievement when the family and school environment and children's previous achievements were controlled for the analysis. On the other hand, parental involvement at school did significantly prevent children's behavioral problems.

While parental involvement can be positive predictors of educational outcomes, some researchers have noted it can negatively influence students' lives. For example, Izzo et al. (2001) report that the quantity of parent-child interaction became less as parent-teacher interactions increased. Fan and Chen (2001) found that parental academic expectations had a positive effect on students' academic growth, while parents contacting school had opposite effects. Moreover, Domina (2005) shows that parental participation in school events, volunteering at school, and helping with homework were factors of a negative relationship later in students' lives, although those were positively related to students' academic achievement when students were younger. Muller (1998) finds that parental intervention in school activities and grades had a significantly

negative effect on math achievement tests in 10th grade. As can be noticed, many different parental behaviors are considered to be parental involvement and their effects are not always consistent. Simon (2001) also found a negative association between parental communication with school and students' outcomes – students were less likely to do well at school when parents contacted the school about academic and behavioral outcomes (Simon 2001).

Desimone (1999) examined the differential effect of parental involvement (such as parent-child discussions about school work, discussions about post-high school education, volunteering, rules about homework, PTO involvement, parental homework checks, contacting school about school work, fathers' discussions about high school courses, and knowing parents of their children's friends) on math and reading achievement and on overall grades of low-income and middle-income high school students. At the high school level, for both low- and middle-income students, parental homework checks were negatively associated with educational outcomes, while parent-child discussions about school were positively associated. Differential effects were observed when discussions about post-high school education and rules about homework were considered: they had negatively influenced both low- and middle-income high school students. That is, those parental involvement measures did not affect math and reading achievement and overall grades of low-income students (Desimone, 1999).

Race.

Levels of parental involvement have shown racial/ethnic differences due to students' and parents' cultural attitudes (Hovart, 2001; Ogbu, 2003). Ogbu (2003) conducted a study on the educational gap between White and African American students in the affluent city of Shaker Heights, Ohio. He found that the attitude towards and levels of parental involvement differed racially, especially

between White and African American parents. White parents were eager to develop their children's ability for their future in college and beyond. In contrast, African American parents were more reluctant to pressure their children about their academic success and were more willing to provide their children with autonomy than their White counterparts. Furthermore, among African American students, achieving academic success in school was considered "acting White" (p.15), and African American students who completed homework, studied regularly for classes, and listened to pop music instead of rap were subject to be labeled "acting White" by their African American peers. Ogbu (2003) noted that such cultural attitude toward academic success hinders the achievement of African American students, even from affluent families where children supposedly receive high levels of both cultural and social capital. Ogbu's research has shown that parental involvement might not always be a form of cultural and social capital, but might also be affected by the racial background of students and parents.

Coleman (1988) considered the racial differences of social capital by showing examples of working-class Asian mothers who recently migrated. The Asian mothers whom Coleman examined did not have high educational attainments and were not fluent in English. When their children entered school, those mothers bought two textbooks instead of one, one for their child and another for themselves, so that they could review the content prior to class and support their children. Although their levels of cultural capital measured by educational attainment were low, their efforts to compensate for their educational deficiency developed a higher level of social capital between mother and child, which explains why most Asian students who recently migrated do as well as their counterparts of other races. This example of Asian mothers shows the importance of social capital in parental involvement, although most research on parental involvement concluded that levels of parental involvement are low when cultural capital is low.

Previous research has shown the effects of parental involvement on students of different racial groups. Desimore (1999) examined the differential effects of parental involvement on White, African American, Hispanic and Asian students. Her results show that parental PTO involvement affects math achievement of African American and Hispanic students more than that of White and Asian students. Discussions with children about school also have a strong association with math achievement for White and Asian students. On the other hand, the math achievement of African American and Hispanic students are negatively influenced by parent-child discussions. For all grades, parent-child discussions have the strongest effect across all racial groups. Interestingly, parental homework checks are negatively associated with math and reading achievement and overall grades for any racial groups at high school levels (Desimore, 1999).

Lee and Bowen (2008) also found racial differences in the effect of parent-child discussions at the elementary school level. Parent-child discussions were significantly associated with educational outcomes among White students; however, the same was negative among Hispanic students. In their study, Hispanic parents reported less frequent discussions than parents in other racial groups, but the level of frequency was correlated with lower achievement of their children. Among Hispanics, increased discussions were a sign of lower achievement, although the causal effect is not clear.

By conducting a meta-analysis, Jeynes (2001) concludes that high levels of overall parental involvement reduce the existing achievement gap between White and minority students. Perna and Titus (2007) examined the effects of parental involvement on two-year and four-year college enrollment of White and African American students. After controlling other factors related to income, cultural capital, and social capital, the authors found differential effects of

parental involvement. For example, African American students showed a higher college enrollment rate than other racial groups when their parents contacted school about college and educational issues. On the other hand, the same group of students showed a relatively lower enrollment rate than other racial groups when parents only discussed school- and education-related topics with students at home but not with school officials.

Gender.

The level of parental involvement boys and girls receive, especially the way in which parents socialize with their children, is different. In general, parents practice more restrictive, yet nurturing parenting methods with girls than with boys (Block, 1983). Stevenson and Baker (1987) found that more parents were active with boys in school activities and with girls in home activities. Furthermore, the amount of parental involvement that boys received decreased as they grew, while the involvement with girls tended to continue (Stevenson & Baker, 1987). Baker and Stevenson (1986) also found that boys' mothers were more likely to intervene with boys in terms of their math placement test than girls' mothers when mothers were better educated.

Muller (1998) examined the gender difference in the level of parental involvement adolescents receive by using parental involvement items and math achievement tests scores 8th to 12th grade NELS (National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988) data. Having controlled the parental educational level and family income, she focused on the types of parental involvement such as parental expectations for students' success, discussions with parents about high school programs and college, the number of extracurricular activities in which students participated, the amount of unsupervised time after school, parental participation in school events, and intervention in students' activities and grades. However, those differences in parental

involvement did not show any significant gender difference in math achievement test scores (Muller, 1998). Muller's results provided clear evidence of a gender difference in math scores only when parental involvement was controlled for her Ordinal Least Squared (OLS) regression analyses. Using the same dataset, Keith et al. (1997) also found no significant difference between boys and girls at high school levels when the level of parental involvement was controlled in their SEM (Structural Equation Modeling) analyses.

Other researchers have found that associations between parental involvement resulted from family composition and academic outcomes (Buchman & DePrete, 2006; Buchman et al., 2008). In general, girls experience better grades and behavioral adjustment relative to boys in high school. Traditionally, girls are considered to socialize better with their mothers than with their fathers and boys with fathers than with their mothers at home (Buchmann et al., 2008). Especially boys and their cohorts born in the 1960s were advantaged by socializing more with their educated fathers than their mothers. With the cohort born after the mid-1960s, the male advantage started to lessen since more women attained higher education and provided the same kind of advantages to their daughters that fathers had previously provided to sons (Buchmann & Diprete, 2006). Therefore, if girls have well educated mothers, they do better than those with mothers who are high school dropouts; the same is true of boys and fathers. This leads to the conclusion that when girls are raised in single-father households and boys in single-mother households, they are less likely to receive the same levels of socialization with their parent as the students living with same sex parents. This may create a gender difference in academic outcomes (Buchmann et al., 2008).

In the next section, I introduce the theoretical understanding where the idea of parental involvement emerged. I then cover the current educational policy on parental involvement and a few examples of state, district, and school policy of parental involvement. I propose differential effects of parental involvement for upper middle- and middle-class and working- and lower-class students. Lastly, I demonstrate historical backgrounds and relate why the differential effects of parental involvement in terms of social class emerged between 1980 and 2000.

2.2 Theoretical explanation of parental involvement

Cultural capital.

Parental involvement has been seen as a form of cultural capital by some researchers and theorists and as social capital by others. Pierre Bourdieu (1984) characterized cultural capital as a form of cultural knowledge and resources that members of "dominant classes" in society have. Bourdieu's (1989) model of cultural capital consists of three central states: embodied state (dispositions of body and mindset), objectified state (cultural goods and possessions), and institutionalized state (educational qualifications and credentials). The levels of the three states result in "habitus," i.e., habitual behaviors and ways of thinking of each person within social interactions. This means the higher the socio-economic status (SES), the higher the levels of all three states. The higher the SES, the more advantaged the habitus within the house and the privileges in society. Additionally, the higher the parental cultural knowledge and resources children receive within households, the higher the levels of parental involvement. Understanding the importance of education and academic involvement leads most parents of the middle- and upper middle-classes to undertake strategies to become successful in the "dominant classes"

(Lareau, 2003). This concept of cultural capital explains that students from working- and lower-class families may receive lower levels of parental involvement and do not achieve as well as their upper middle- and middle-class counterparts or experience dropout from school because of their lower levels of cultural knowledge and resources in the class to which they belong.

Parents' cultural capital is, therefore, strongly related to parental recognition of the importance of involvement in their children's education, which directly contributes to the levels of actual parental involvement. Upper middle- and middle-class parents already know from their cultural resources that reading to their children is important because it enhances vocabulary and knowledge, and their cultural knowledge enables them to provide information beyond just reading books. Although the method of involvement might change —from reading to children to helping with homework, taking children to museums, attending school events, and discussing college attendance as children grow older — the level of cultural capital continues to allow upper middle- and middle-class parents to positively influence children's educational outcomes.

In her studies on family life and education, Lareau (1978, 2001, 2003) found that upper middle- and middle-class parents and working- and lower-class parents are involved in significantly different procedures regarding the education of their 3rd and 4th grade children. Using her definition of upper-middle and middle-class, either one of the parents has a college degree, and working- and lower-class, both parents completed only high school or less. Lareau's ethnographical observation revealed clear differences between parents of two different groups. For example, while upper-middle and middle-class parents use what Lareau calls "concerted cultivation," (2001) working- and lower-class parents use "naturalistic growth" (2001). Concerted cultivation is the style of upper-middle and middle-class parents' involvement observed by Lareau. For example, highly educated parents use more sophisticated vocabulary

when talking to their children, and provide opportunities for children to talk to and negotiate with professionals and other adults such as medical doctors, coaches and even their parents. They feel comfortable at the local school, and are actively involved in school events and parent-teacher conferences. Natural growth is the style of working- and lower-class parents' involvement. Those parents focus more on cultivating children's characters and autonomous behaviors by letting their children play and watch TV as they desire. Due to the lack of educational experiences, working- and lower-class parents are uncomfortable talking to or contacting teachers, have difficulty in reading formal documents from school, and do not understand why teachers are concerned about their children.

Bodovski and Farkas (2008) empirically examined whether Lareau's concerted cultivation was a strong predictor of educational outcomes. Using Early Childhood Longitudinal Study-Kindergarten Cohort (ECLS-K) data, the authors hypothesized the concerted cultivation using 29 items (measuring perceptions of parental responsibilities toward their child's education, family time activities planned for the child, relationships between parents and the child's school, number of books at home, along with parental expectations for children's educational outcomes). The parental social class was positively correlated with children's higher educational outcomes by measuring reading test scores and teachers' judgment. As Lareau concluded, the authors also found that parental social class was associated with the strategy of cultivation, which was positively related to higher test scores and teachers' judgment, both of which resulted from effective learning behaviors and cognitive skills (Bodovski & Farkas, 2008).

Lareau (2008) also reported that the social class differences in parental involvement continue to exist in children's youth and young adulthood. Lareau followed some of the children from her 2003 study into their high school years and young adulthood. The upper-middle and

middle-class parents, who know how to be successful at school, accelerate their level of involvement as their children grow. For instance, their typical procedures of involvement are monitoring children's grades and test scores, making sure students know when to take SATs, visiting colleges and universities that interest students, and helping students prepare college applications. Some of the working- and lower-class parents, however, did not know about SAT or college application deadlines, which resulted in their children missing opportunities for scholarships or even college entrance. Their expectations for their children to attend college were significantly lower compared to their affluent counterparts. Lareau called these social class differences that existed in childhood "unequal childhoods" and showed that this inequality continues later in their lives (Lareau, 2008).

Social capital.

James Coleman (1988) emphasized the importance of the interactions within the family, one of the possible social networks one can have, and theorized that family capital can be divided into three types: financial capital, human capital, and social capital. Financial capital can be determined by household income or wealth, and human capital is approximately determined by the parents' highest education levels. Coleman noted that financial and human capital can be transmitted through social capital, which is determined by the quality of the interactions and social relationships between parents, children, and peers. Social capital exists "in the structure of relations between actors and among actors," determining the levels of trustworthiness between actors, social organizations, norms, and networks where one normally obtains information. Existing both in the family and outside the family, social capital can influence children and youth through family composition, friends, neighborhood, and community. Social capital within the

family is manifested in the physical presence of parents at home and the amount of attention paid by parents to their child. Because the number of parents and the number of siblings at home can determine the amount of attention children receive, these facts can shape the levels of social capital and can also indirectly influence students' high school completion as well as parental educational levels (Kaufman, 2005). Coleman also noted that even with an intense level of parental attention directed towards a child and the physical absence of the parents, there can be a lack of social capital. Even when there are high levels of cultural capital, if relationships between the actors in the family — children and parents — are not strong, cultural capital will be transferred in a negative manner or will not even be transferred.

Ream and Palardy (2008) pointed out the importance of parent-child interaction. The authors treated parental cultural capital as "potential" and "ability" to support children; in other words, the availability of cultural capital mean parents hold the potential and ability to support their children's educational success. However, the availability does not mean the cultural capital gets "actualized" in their children. In order to distribute the parental cultural norms and resources, there must be parent-child interaction (i.e., informal talking). Lareau and Hovart (1999) refer to this as "activation of cultural capital."

Traditionally, understanding social capital within the family heavily depended on family composition. In his study using nationally collected data, High School and Beyond, Coleman (1988) focused on family composition, taking the number of adults in a household into account but mainly examining single parent or two parent households. His argument was that in a one-parent household, children receive less parental time, parental attention, and interaction with parents when compared with two-parent households; therefore, the family structure causes a deficiency in the degree of social capital the children experience. The predictor Coleman used

for this study was simply family composition: whether two parents lived in the household. As some researchers noted, although family composition may be a consistent indicator of parents' social control, it does not measure social interactions between parents and a child (Croninger & Lee, 2001). In addressing the issue of social capital within the family, using Coleman's measurement of a single variable of family composition is less than optimal. Studies focusing on family composition and parental involvement have revealed that parents in a one-parent household, mostly mothers, spend more time with their children talking about school events and making sure how their children are doing but are less involved in school work and events than two-parent households (Ashworth & Walker, 1994; Astone & McLanahan, 1991, 1994). Astone and McLanahan (1991, 1994) also found that the quality of parental involvement decreased in families with a step-parent in comparison with one-parent households or two biological parent households, even though in Coleman's view there were two adults present (either two biological parents or one biological parent and one stepparent) in the household.

Not only does family composition influence how social capital affects parental involvement and students' outcomes, the number of children within the family influences the quality and amount of attention parents can provide to a child. Several previous studies concluded that a large sibship size can negatively affect the educational attainment of students (Coleman, 1988; Conley, 2000; Conley & Glauber, 2006)**,** as can other factors such as low levels of parental expectations for their child's education and parental absence. These findings indicate that social capital may indicate levels of parental involvement due to the decreased attention each child receives from their parents (Coleman, 1988; Conley, 2000). Each additional sibling decreases the degree of parental involvement by 25 percent for the other siblings**.** That is, the more siblings there are in the family, the less parental attention and involvement children receive

(Blake, 1989; Heer, 1985; Conley, 2000). Becker and Lewis (1973) concluded that when parents experience economic and emotional hardships due to economic and non-economic circumstances such as the birth of an additional child, these circumstances tend to limit the levels of parental involvement according to their family budget. In their study of boys' educational attainment, Conley and Glauber (2006) found a negative effect of having three or more children living in a household, compared to having just two children, on private school attendance. The effect was significant for both Caucasian and Hispanic boys. The number of children, therefore, is also considered as a predictor of social capital within a family.

2.3 Educational Policies in Parental Involvement

Policy makers have been concerned about how education policy can facilitate the educational success of disadvantaged students who typically cannot receive as much parental involvement as their affluent counterparts do. According to cultural capital and social capital theories on parental involvement, working- and lower-class parents have very different notions of the importance of education and of how they can support their children both at home and at school. First, I review a brief history of parental involvement policies in the U.S. between the post-war era and the current policy as a part of Title I of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2002.

Brief History of Parental Involvement Policies.

Parental involvement gained more attention when federal government implemented Head Start, Project Follow Through, and Title I programs for preschool and elementary level education to make the entry into school education much smoother for the children from low income families

and disadvantaged neighborhoods (Epstein, 2000; Keesling & Melaragno, 1983; Zigler & Valentine, 1979). Along with the drive to involve parents in children's education, a higher rate of women with a college degree created a positive environment for mothers to be actively involved in the development of their children at an early age.

Head Start Program.

The Head Start program was originally launched in 1965 as a part of President Johnson's "War on Poverty" (Currie & Thomas, 1995). This program was implemented for the enhancement of health, nutrition and parental involvement in low income children and families (Currie & Thomas, 1995). Originally planned to provide an educational environment for low income children for a few weeks during summer, the program expanded to $3,500 per child, $2.2 billion per year funding that served 622,000 eligible children, or 28% of U.S. 3 to 5 year-old children by 1990 (Stewart, 1992), and more than 905,000 children in 2005, funding an average of $7,222 per child a year. The fiscal year 2010 budget was nearly $7.3 billion. The eligibility for the program is mostly income: family income must be less than 130% of the poverty level set by the federal government. This program was reauthorized in 2007 (Currie & Thomas, 1995). Project Follow Through, as its name implies, is the extended program of Head Start through the elementary school years of students. The project also provides low income families and students with the availability of health, nutrition, and social services and is meant to be a continuation of Head Start Program.

Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Title 1, Part A, of Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA, 1965, reauthorized every five years) funds schools that experience low achievement with a high percentage of the student population coming from low income families, intervention programs and other disadvantaged environments. Title 1 funds must be spent in order to improve the school system and the environment which help students achieve better educational outcomes and prevent students from experiencing truancy, dropout and other negative outcomes (Department of Education website). Title 1 of ESEA was reauthorized as a part of No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB 2002) in 2002 by President Bush.

No Child Left Behind Act.

Currently, section 1118 of NCLB mandates that districts help all schools to develop and implement parental involvement programs in order for their students to achieve better educational achievements. This policy dictates district and school responsibilities for implementing and advancing the program to involve parents and families. NCLB also requires federal and state governments and districts to continuously monitor the process and progress of the involvement program and compliance with the federal regulations for receiving Title I funding. Districts are responsible for monitoring school programs for their compliance and progress and guide schools and school personnel to improve their existing programs. These district responsibilities require strong leadership, better skills and a tremendous amount of time (Epstein et al., 2011). In 2010, $13 billion was provided as Title 1 funds (Lynch & McCallion, 2010). Many critics believe this level of funding is inadequate to achieve stated NCLB goals.

2.4 District level policy

In this section, I present some district level parental involvement policies from two school districts, the Chicago Public School and Los Angeles Unified School districts, both of which are located in cities and have a number of Title I schools, as examples of how districts promote parental involvement as a part of educational policy.

The case of the Chicago Public Schools.

At district level, the Chicago Public Schools, for example, implemented Title I as a *Parent Involvement Policy* (Chicago Public Schools Policy Manual, 2004). As general expectations, it states: "The Board believes that parental involvement is important to the establishment of an educational environment that encourages high student academic achievement." The purposes of this policy include (1) to cultivate the partnership between home, school and the community; (2) to provide students with an encouraging environment and; (3) to follow the NCLB's Title I requirements for establishing a policy on parental involvement.

The Chicago Public School district defined parental involvement as follows:

> The term parental involvement means the participation of parents in regular, two-way, and meaningful communication involving student academic learning and other school activities, including ensuring that parents play an integral role in assisting their child's learning, that parents are encouraged to be actively involved in their child's education, that parents are full partners in their child's education and are included, as appropriate, in decision-making and on advisory committees to assist in the education of their child.
>
> (Cited from the website of Chicago Public School district)

To implement the parental involvement policy, the district established six activities: District-Wide Title I Parent Involvement Plan, School Review and Improvement, School Parent Involvement Activities to Increase Students Achievement, Integration of Parent Involvement Strategies, Evaluation, and Building Capacity for Parental involvement. These activities review and evaluate the partnership between schools and parents, create strategies for better parental involvement, and, finally, help parents and families establish better home environments and support systems for their children.

The case of the Los Angeles Unified School district.

Similar to CPS, the L.A. Unified School district emphasized the Title I requirement to implement parental involvement programs to help all students achieve better and overcome the challenging environments in which students live. The district indicates the importance of the partnership between schools and families as well as the professional development of teachers and school staff to support children throughout life, not just in school, for better outcomes. Its parental involvement policy requirements, which attempt to promote the academic, emotional and social development of children, are as follows:

1. Involve parents in the joint development of its plan and in the process of school review and improvement.
2. Provide coordination, technical assistance, and other support necessary to assist participating schools in planning and implementing effective parent involvement activities to improve student achievement.
3. Build the schools' and parents' capacity for strong parental involvement.

4. Coordinate and integrate parental involvement strategies with those of other programs, such as Head Start.
5. Conduct, with the involvement of parents, and annual evaluation of the content and effectiveness of the parental involvement policy in improving the academic quality of Title I schools.
6. Determine whether there has been increased participation and whether these are barriers to greater participation, particularly by parents who are disabled, who have limited English proficiency, limited literacy, or are of any racial or ethnic minority background.
7. Use the evaluation findings to design strategies for more effective parental involvement and to revise parents' involvement policies at the District and school levels.
8. Involve parents in the activities of Title I schools.

(Los Angeles Unified School District Bulletin, 2006, p. 4)

L.A. Unified also evaluates the content and effectiveness of parental involvement school-level programs annually. Furthermore, the district requires school staff including teachers, administrators and others, and parents to carry out the school-parent compact. The compact describes the school-home partnership's aims and outlines the details of activities that parents, school staff and students undertake. The compact stresses the importance of ongoing communication between teachers, school staff, and parents through parent-teacher conferences, regular reports from school on children's progress, easier access to staff members, and volunteering school events and class (for younger children).

Title I is for schools in disadvantaged districts, mostly in low SES neighborhoods, to facilitate school involvement among parents. To demonstrate why those schools should receive the funding, for example, teachers in Epstein and Dauber' study (1991) indicated that the "hard-

to-reach" parents were less educated parents, working parents, and single parents. Educational researchers often call the disadvantaged environments of children from low income families and neighborhoods "deficiencies." As mentioned in the previous section, Lareau (2000, 2003) also observed the low levels of involvement low income parents can provide to their children due to a lack of experience in educational success among less educated parents in low income families. Epstein and Dauber (1991), however, indicated that the problems might be attributed to a lack of good school programs for parental involvement and links between home, school and communities.

2.5 School level policies

Epstein et al. (2011) emphasizes that district-level leadership is crucial for the implementation of school level parental involvement practices. The study tested the survey data of 407 schools from 24 districts on how districts support leadership and the development of parental involvement practices at school. Their findings showed that the constant support of districts significantly contributed to the implementation of parental involvement programs at the school level and advanced the level of involvement in their children's education. In the next section, I discuss more findings from studies on home, school and community partnerships programs by Epstein and her colleagues.

School level partnership with family and community.

As Epstein (2001, 2004) suggests, school personnel promote parental involvement that enhances awareness of family supervision, good attendance, the importance of communication with teachers, volunteering at school, and involvement with decision making in their community (see

Table 1). This framework's emphasis falls on the school to assume the leadership to involve parents so they could establish a supporting community for students. To enhance a lack of cultural capital at home and social capital in the community among low income families and neighborhoods, Epstein's framework of parental involvement for mostly elementary level students focuses on the partnerships among home, school and community. Her framework consists of six categories: parenting, communicating, volunteering, learning at home, decision making, and collaborating with the community.

Table 1 Epstein's framework of involvement (Epstein & Sanders, 2000).

Parenting	Helping all families understand child and adolescent development and establish home environments that support children as students.
Communicating	Designing and conducting effective forms of communication about school programs and children's progress.
Volunteering	Recruiting and organizing help and support for school functions and activities.
Learning at home	Providing information and ideas to families about how to help students at home with homework and curriculum-related activities and decisions.
Decision making	Including parent representatives and all families in school decisions.
Collaborating with the community	Identifying and integrating resources and services from the community to strengthen and support schools, students and their families

Parenting emphasizes supporting families in establishing a home environment that encourages educational success. Family support programs at school offer workshops on parent

education, health, nutrition and other concerns and conduct home visits. These programs are fairly important especially in lower-income neighborhoods where parents tend to be unfamiliar with issues such as impacts of nutrition and health to children's education. Communicating focuses on school-to-home and home-to-school communications about children's educational progress and programs at school. This includes having parent-teacher conferences, more frequent communication using memos, phone calls, and newsletters and preparing translations if necessary. Interactions and communication between home and school can boost the level of social ties through which cultural resources that children receive; that is, stronger social capital and increased level of cultural capital. Volunteering emphasizes the schools' attempts to arrange and organize parent help and support for teachers, administrators, other parents, and most importantly, students. Parental participation as school volunteers can increase the degree of supportive attitudes toward school at home and in neighborhoods. Children can see how much parents care about their schools which can also nurture their positive attitudes toward school and learning. Learning at home features school personnel clearly providing information on how to educationally support children at home with school work and other school related activities. This emphasizes that school personnel should teach parents a school's homework policies; they should teach parents how they can monitor and discuss school programs at home, and how students and parents can make better decisions as a family. This category is especially important for parents with little educational experiences (such as high school dropouts) because those parents tend to have negative images of schools and be unfamiliar with school programs. Decision-making includes involving parents in school decisions, and establishing better practices to develop parent leaders and representatives. This category focuses on creating an active PTA/PTO environment for parent participation and leadership and providing information to

parents on school and local elections. Some parents are unfamiliar with how they can involve with decision making process at school. Educating and engaging those parents in PTA/PTO environment can enhance the information channel among home, school, and community. The last category, collaborating with the community, emphasizes the strengthening of family practices, school programs, and the development of student learning and the environment by using resources and services within the community. Through partnerships the school community provides information on community programs and services on health, cultural and social support, local agencies, organizations, businesses, and recreational activities. This category is also important in the way it involves the entire community surrounding the family and school. It boosts the level of social ties in the community and the attitudes toward education as a whole.

Understanding and sharing the importance of educational achievement and attainment is important to students, parents and schools. Epstein and Sanders (2000) found that their sample of students, parents and teachers had little common understanding of interests in children and at school. Some parents did not understand why parents should be involved and why teachers were interested in involved parents. Most low income parents did not know what was happening at school, and did not know about school programs, activities and opportunities their children could take advantage of. Most teachers did not know what educational goals and expectations parents have for their children, how parents help children with homework, and how parents monitor children at home.

2.6 SES differences in parental involvement

A number of previous studies have confirmed SES differences in parental educational involvement as discussed in Section 2.2 in this dissertation. Children in higher social class tend

to have well-educated parents, thus, those children tend to receive much cultural recourses that can support their educational growth. However, it is noteworthy that there are an increasing number of reports on students from affluent families experiencing severe levels of psychological distress and behavioral problems. Some students from affluent families drop out from high school or college. What are the indicators of those affluent dropouts, who supposedly receive substantial resources and educational support from their parents? On the other hand, more than half of lower-class students do graduate from high school. A number of them tend to live in a family where both parents do not hold a high school diploma. What are the indicators of those high school graduates from low-income families? In this section, I present a few examples of two different cases: well-meant parental educational involvement backfire and emotional connections save educationally failing students.

The case of upper middle- and middle-class students and families:

Lots of involvement, but unintended negative effects of well-meant parental involvement

As noted above, a growing number of psychologists have recently recognized the severe depression and substance use by affluent children and have warned parents about their parenting practices (Grolnick, 2002; Lavine, 2006; Luthar, 2003; Luthar & Latendresse, 2005; Lye, 1996). Luthar (2003) mentions the extremely high levels of pressure to succeed and the physical and emotional isolation affluent students experience daily. Affluent children are often pressured to excel in academic classes and extra-curricular activities to maximize their opportunities for future success. For instance, Lareau (2000) briefly points out "the dark side of parental involvement" and portrayed the example of Emily and her deeply involved mother:

> Some [affluent] children whose parents were heavily involved in their schooling showed signs of stress. When I was observing in first grade I noticed, for example, that Emily developed stomach aches — sometime two or three times per week — during the reading period. [Her mother] noticed this as well.
>
> [p. 149]

Emily's teacher also noted how the first grader's parents pushed her in both athletics and academics. She felt Emily was exhausted most of the time:

> They [Emily's parents] put quite a bit of pressure on her, quite a bit of pressure. In terms of education and in terms of athletics. She swims every day and that puts education in second place. You only have so much energy; I don't care how old you are. Swimming for an hour a day, five or six days a week, it makes you tired.
>
> [p. 149]

Emily's parents, whose daughter was experiencing difficulties in reading, did everything they could. They read to her, bought many reading materials for her, even hired a tutor to read to her and her younger brother during summer. Finally, the mother and father were emotionally distraught about Emily's failure in academic performance (Lareau, 2000, p.152). However, their efforts at well-intended involvement and well-intended concerns resulted in unintentional outcomes – Emily's emotional and behavioral distress.

This growing phenomenon, which Luthar and other psychologists portray, may create extreme stress for children (Ansaty & Luthar, 2009; Luthar & Becker, 2002; Luthar & D'Avanzo, 1999; Luthar et al., 2006). Most of the students Levine (2006) studied were from upper-middle-class families. They owned almost all the new products one can see on TV and in magazines, and their parents provided them with the best educational environment possible: educational

materials, private tutors, a high number of extra-curricular activities, an early start in deciding future success and future prospects. However, many affluent students who had highly involved parents were severely depressed and engaged in substance use and sexual activities. One of Levine's clients Tyler stated:

> I have everything a kid could ask for, but I'm not really interested in much of anything. I'm kind of going through the motions, trying to make my parents proud.
>
> [p. 89]

As Levine observed, her young clients gradually talked about their family interactions. She discovered that the parents were deeply involved and committed to their children's academic success and school activities without trying to cultivate the emotional side of the relationship with their children and to mature the sense of autonomy children should develop as they go through their adolescence into adulthood. In some of the cases, affluent parents try extremely hard to make their children's future easier, and thus parents tend to miss or ignore the signs of distress teens might show:

> .... Mom spent hours every night reading and rereading his school reports, and grilling him before major tests in order to insure that his grades remained high. [Tyler] was criticized for minor academic lapses. An attractive athlete, he had little trouble "hooking up" with girls, but felt no emotional connection during these experiences. In spite of Tyler's growing unhappiness during his senior year, his father worked behind the scenes of his alma mater and was able to secure Tyler's admission. When Tyler left for the East Coast, both parents breathed a sigh of relief. ……. For several months after Tyler left I would run into one of his parents from time to time and they would give glowing reports about how much Tyler "loved" his school. This was in stark contrast to the teary boy who was still calling me several times a week, his depression escalating, his substance abuse increasing, and his ability to attend classes becoming virtually nonexistent……

> Like many of the children I see from affluent, high-powered families, Tyler was stuck between a rock and a hard place. Not wanting to disappoint his parents who poured time, attention and resources into him, he unwittingly had sacrificed his own self-development under the pressure of his parents' hopes and anxieties. His dad, a self-made man, had to "claw" his way to the top. He wanted an easier life for his son. Unfortunately, in the process, he neglected to notice that his son was quite different from him…… Mom, in the meantime, often neglected by her hardworking husband, and bright but with no intellectual outlets, had poured all of her unrealized ambitions into her oldest, compliant son. Her over-involvement with Tyler kept at bay her anger at her husband and her boredom.
>
> [pp. 89-90]

In the end, Tyler dropped out of his prestigious college and went home. What Tyler was lacking in the course of his relationship with his parents were emotional connection and autonomy. Levine spent a year with him to build up his self-management skills. He had to learn how to manage his own school work and to deal with his frustration without using drugs and alcohol while he attended a local community college because he had no opportunities to learn those basic skills to be "himself" and to become "self-reliant" as he always had his mother around, taking care of his academic work, extra-curricular activities and daily schedule. That is, "well-intended" involvement, in fact, was intervening in Tyler's developmental process.

This example illustrates that high levels of parental involvement do not always result in positive outcomes for students. For working- and lower-class students, who theoretically hold low levels of both cultural and social capital because of the level of parental education and income, a certain degree of parental involvement is required to academically succeed, as previous research concluded. However, as seen in the example of affluent students, without parental emotional support and autonomy support of children, parental involvement in education

can turn into causes of students' severe psychological and behavioral maladjustment. In order to explore the relationship between parental involvement in education and students' developmental outcomes, I will employ a well-established theoretical framework, parental dimensions (Grolnick, 2002) to measure parenting style and practices based on the relationships and interactions between parents and children. Examining the parent-child relationship and interactions within the family allows me to investigate the crucial component in this study: social capital within the family.

As noted earlier, recent research of college students has considered the existence of "helicopter parents" (Carney-Hall, 2008; Taub, 2008) and their children, who are called the "millennial generation" (Howe & Strauss, 2000; 2003; Ng et al., 2010; Taub, 2008). The term "helicopter parents," which has become popular among college administrators in the last decade, refers to parents who are "hovering around the adult students prepared to intervene" (Carney-Hall, 2008, p.3). The term "millennial generation" refers to students who were born between 1980 and 1995 and Generation Y. Some college administrators and professors provide good examples of helicopter parents: they make daily calls to a dean to make sure their children's college lives are enjoyable or to complain that light bulbs in a dorm room need to be replaced, and they email professors that exams were too difficult for their children (Hoover, 2008). Sons and daughters of baby boom echoes called Generation X are close to their parents, as a number of studies and parenting books emphasized close relationships between parents and children during the past two decades (Taub, 2008). According to Howe and Strauss (2003), 90% of young people considered themselves to be close to their parents in 1997. Grace (2006) found that college students talked to their parents about 10 times per week in their first year in college. These findings and examples of helicopter parents indicate that the high levels of parental

involvement in the past decades have created students who have a close relationship with their overly involved parents.

As other psychologists and researchers mentioned, Taub (2008) notes the negative side of high degrees of parental involvement such as that seen in helicopter parents. Taub warns that the closeness between parents and children might unintentionally harm children's development of competence. College professionals criticize helicopter parents for their "sweeping in to try to solve all of their college students' problems" (p. 17). Those problems can be as personal as conflicts with roommates or friends and as academic as decision making over college courses and negotiation over grades and exams. When parents solve children's problems, they are also taking opportunities for children to solve the problem on their own, which may help to develop their interpersonal, intellectual, and social competence (Taub, 2008). By helping their college-aged children, they are unintentionally communicating the belief that their children are incapable of solving the problem on their own, which influences children's self-efficacy and self-esteem.

The case of working- and lower-class students and families:

Want to be involved, but do not know how, yet family emotional support works.

Many studies have confirmed that parental involvement in education improves students' academic achievement and school engagement (Anguiano, 2004; Downey, 1994; Eckstein & Wolpin, 1999; Entwise et al., 2004; Roderick 2003; Rumberger et al.,1990); however, some ethnographic studies revealed that most parents in working- and lower-class families did not know how they could help their children academically. In her intensive interview studies with 3rd and 4th grade elementary school children and their families, Lareau (2000; 2003) shows the difference in notions of parental involvement among working- and lower-class mothers and

upper-middle- and middle-class mothers. One mother in a working- and lower-class family from Lareau's (2000) interviews said of responsibilities between herself and the teacher with respect to her son's schooling:

> To me, my part was here at home. I'm to teach him manners and to see that he did get to school and that he was happy. To try and show him different things. It was like I told my husband, there was nothing that I wanted the kids to miss out on. Now her part, the school's part – to me was that they were with him to teach him to learn. Hopefully someday he would be able to use all of that. That was what I thought was their part – to teach him to read, the writing, any kind of schooling.
>
> [p. 41]

Moreover, Lareau's study shows examples of how willing mothers in working- and lower-class families are to help sometimes, but their lack of higher education tends to interfere with their desire to help, as one of the working- and lower-class mothers in Lareau's (2000) study stated:

> I had a reading problem myself and I have to admit that I don't really read very good myself.
>
> [p.19]

Other research explains why some parents do not attend school events and parent-teacher conferences (Finders & Lewis, 1994). By conducting interviews with low income Hispanic and White parents, Finders and Lewis (1994) found that those low income parents desire to be involved as teachers and administrators expect them to be, but face obstacles in visiting their children's schools. First, their own school experiences, especially when they have dropped out of school, lower these parents' confidence about school. This creates parental mistrust towards teachers and schools, which can prevent parents from staying away from school. Second, low income parents do not have methods of transportation to go to school, although most of them desire to attend school events. Additionally, when parents have multiple young children, they

must arrange child care in order for them to leave their house. In most of the cases, economic constraints are severe, which prevent them from having child care for multiple hours and fully participating in school events.

Working- and lower-class parents sometimes struggle with the expectations of teachers and schools regarding high parental involvement. However, some studies show that parent-child relationships might help students to stay in school and eventually graduate from school (Roderick, 2003). The economically disadvantaged high school students in Roderick's Chicago study (2003) expressed how their families supported their children emotionally, not academically, and the emotional support actually led them to graduate from high school:

> My father . . . like, when I get in trouble, he will, you know, watch me do my work. . . . He's the one who . . . made me sit in his room and do my work . . . so I wouldn't of got that grade in biology if it wasn't for my father. . . . I wouldn't have done it, you know . . . you get lazy and stuff…..
> That's all they talk about, school, school, school, school, school. . . . Stay off the streets, go to school, get you a nice girlfriend, and just settle down . . .they always stay on me about school……
> It was my family[that] motivated me. . .
>
> [p. 560 -601]

In this example of Roderick's study (2003), some students did graduated from high school because they received parental emotional support and high expectations to complete high school although they could not receive any other forms of parental involvement such as homework help and parental participation in school events.

Chen and Gregory (2010) showed the positive effects of parental expectations on academic achievement of low achieving 8th grade students through their process of transition to high school. Fifty-nine students who participated in this study had a mean 9th grade GPA of 1.81

on a scale from 1 to 4. The authors used parental participation in school events, encouragement, and grade and attainment expectations perceived by students as parental involvement measures. The results of this study demonstrated the positive relationships between parental expectations and higher GPA in 9th grade, while other types of involvement did not have significant effects. Although parental SES or family income was not considered in this study, the evidence from Chen and Gregory (2010) supports the importance of parental expectations in Roderick (2003) for low achieving students.

It has been widely believed that students who are not engaged in school work, and hence are more likely to drop out of high school, are more likely to experience truancy, academic failure and substance use such as alcohol, cigarettes and marijuana and to be from minority students who are from working- and lower-class families (Mensch & Kandel, 1988). Previous research emphasized that the students' engagement in bad behaviors resulted from lower parental values in academic success and relationships with parents and family members, lower self-esteem, and stronger ties with peers (Rizzuto et al., 2008; Shwartz et al., 2008; Wentzel and Caldwell 1997). Since low social class, low parental education level, students' truancy, depression, rebellious attitudes and delinquencies are so strongly predictive of behavior maladjustment and dropout, dramatically little attention has been paid to high performing affluent students (Mensch & Kandel, 1988). In the next section, I discuss the examples from upper middle- and middle-class students who experience some of the same challenging circumstances.

2.7 The problem with understanding parental involvement

Many practitioners have recently argued that affluent children may have severe psychological distress and behavioral maladjustment. During her session with her eighteen-year-old client, Levine (2006) found that affluent students did not have chances to talk about personal matters, current events, or their feelings with their parents, which resulted in failure to cultivate psychological connection to their parents and a lack of autonomy, despite their parents' high expectations for success for their lives. The students and their parents were deeply involved in school work, events, and extracurricular activities. Although the students were achieving honor roll status, they were emotionally distressed, engaged in smoking, alcohol use, and sexual activities, and gradually started missing classes. I argue that a number of studies in the sociology of education has been focusing on the quantity of parental involvement and ignoring the quality of involvement through parent-child interactions.

Pomerantz et al. (2008) point out that a large body of research on parental involvement tended to focus on *quantity* of involvement rather than *quality* of involvement, utilizing Grolnick's (2002) notions of autonomy support and parental control. Autonomy supportive involvement means, for example, "parents support children in developing their own schedule for homework" (Grolnick, 2002, p.20); in contrast, controlling involvement means "parents make decisions without children's input about the topic of their school research project" (Grolnick, 2002, p.20) When parents focus so much on *how much* they can help, rather than the processes of how parents can cultivate children's learning process, they tend to feel overly pressured and frustrated, which causes a cycle of more controlling involvement.

As noted above, parental involvement in education as a form of cultural and social capital has been broadly recognized in educational policies as one promising avenue toward

improvement in educational achievement and attainment for students. Research in the sociology of education has acknowledged the importance of parental involvement for students of any age to be successful at school (Anguiano, 2004; Epstein, 1986, 2001; Jarrett, 1999) and how the levels of parental involvement could be determined by social class (Lareau, 2002; Lavine, 2006). However, few studies have considered the links between cultural capital and social capital within and outside the family and how these factors interact through the process in which parental cultural capital is transferred to children in a supportive or controlling manner through parent-child interactions. Although much research has investigated with what content parents can help students, little has considered how the process of parental involvement is practiced. Therefore, this study focuses on the relationships among the types of parental involvement and the possible manners in which parental involvement is carried out between the parents and child at home, with a particular focus on the differential effects of parental involvement in relation to social class and race on educational outcomes.

Alternative understanding of parental involvement.

When discussing how families are engaged or can become involved in their children's education, researchers in the sociology of education tend to focus on what parents do or what children receive from their parents rather than how parents are or how children interact with their parents at home. This lack of concern about the "ecology of the family as a context for human development" (Bronfenbrenner, 2004) leads some parents to the idea that parents' primary focus should be on children's educational outcomes, overlooking social, emotional and behavioral outcomes as human development as a whole (see Table 2).

Table 2 A brief summary of the Ecological Systems Theory, Bronfenbrenner (1979)

System	Description	Example
Microsystem	The setting in which an individual lives	Family, peers, teachers, school, neighborhood,
Mesosystem	The relations of experiences in microsystem to each other	Family experiences to school experiences
Exosystem	The relations of individual experiences at different setting to other members in microsystem	Mother's experiences at work to children' experience at home
Macrosystem	Cultural setting in which an individual lives	Socio-economic status, individualism, industrialized culture
Chronosystem	Societal trend	High divorce rate in the 1980s and its effects on the children

In trying to implement child development research and theories into policies, a leading psychologist in human development and a co-founder of the national Head Start program, Urie Bronfenbrenner, suggested the ecological systems theory. The ecological systems theory focuses on the importance of considering the environments in which children are raised. In his developmental model, Bronfenbrenner (1979) suggested microsystem, mesosystem, macrosystem, exosystem, and chronosystem. The microsystem is the environment in which an individual lives. For example, the family, peers, teachers, school, and neighborhood belong to the microsystem. This system can suggest that positive relationships with peers or teachers might support students' developmental outcomes even when students experience relatively negative relationships within the family. The mesosystem is the relations between an individual's experiences in each setting of the microsystem. For example, the relation of family experiences

to peer experiences and family experiences to school experiences is a part of the mesosystem. This system can suggest the effect of community connectedness or disconnectedness and partnerships between school and home. The exosystem is the relationships between one's experiences to the other's experiences. For instance, a mother's negative experiences at work can affect how she behaves to her children at home; a husband's employment situation at work can affect his attitude toward his wife, which can negatively affect their marriage stability. The macrosystem is cultural norms and aspects with which an individual lives. For example, socio-economic status is a part of the macrosystem. The chronosystem is the societal trend in which an individual lives. For instance, the significantly higher divorce rate in the 1980s and 1990s than in the previous decades affected individuals who lived in these time periods and the children of this generation.

Using the ecological systems theory as a conceptual framework, Nichols et al. (2010) examined how families and peers in microsystems are related to educational aspirations of African American adolescents. Their sample consisted of 130 educationally at-risk African American students who lived in socially disadvantaged urban areas. Their results indicated that variables shared by family and peers, such as attitudes toward education, school self-esteem, and perceived parental involvement and expectations, were positively associated with educational aspirations students experience. They also conducted analyses with two levels – individual level and community level – to investigate which of the systems, macro and microsystems, strongly affect students' educational aspiration. The community level variables, such as the number of community resources present and the utilization of the resources, added to their analytical model as the second level of their hierarchical linear analysis. The results showed a non-significant association between the community system and educational aspiration, which implies that living

in a positive microsystem helps students have higher levels of aspiration that can lead them to better academic achievement and attainment.

As Bronfenbrenner (1979, 2004) argued, research in the fields that relate to human development should strongly emphasize the environments and their interactions that surround children. When educational researchers examine academic outcomes such as achievement and educational attainment, they tend to focus on one single factor in the microsystem such as the effects of family, peer, and teacher on outcomes. For this dissertation, however, I utilize microsystems to examine the differential effects of family, controlling macrosystem variables such as school variability at the level two of the hierarchical linear modeling. The current study also considers the chronosystem by using three different datasets from 1980, 1990, and 2002 to investigate the effects of social shifts.

Social capital within the family can also be influenced by parenting style because it can be derived from levels of social interactions between the parents and child, which translate into exchanging parental behaviors, beliefs, expectations, and language use (Baumrind, 1971). However, little attention has been paid to parental involvement in education as a part of parenting in the fields of sociology of education. Based on the levels of two dimensions, responsiveness and demandingness, Baumrind (1971) described four prototypes suggested in the parenting style theory: authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, and rejecting-neglecting. *Authoritative* parents are demanding and responsive to their children's needs, whereas *Authoritarian* parents are demanding and directive, but not responsive, a style often seen across racial boundaries in working- and lower-class families, such as African-American and Asian parents (Chao,1994). *Permissive-Indulgent* parents are very responsive but not demanding.

Lastly, *Rejecting-Neglecting* parents are neither responsive nor demanding, and rather reject and neglect their children and their existence (see Table 3).

Table 3 Baumrind's parenting style theory

	High demandingness	**Low demandingness**
High responsiveness	Authoritative	Permissive/Indulgent
Low responsiveness	Authoritarian	Rejecting/Neglecting

Psychologists believe that higher SES parents use an authoritative style and that lower SES parents practice an authoritarian style based on the way the parents talk to and behave around their children. Authoritative parents enjoy having negotiations with children; on the other hand, authoritarian parents use more directive methods to converse with their children, such as "Do this, do that," "Don't do it!" or "Clean up your room!"

Investigating the influences of family on high school dropout behaviors, Rumberger et al. (1990) made use of three types of Baumrind's older version of parenting styles (authoritative, authoritarian and permissive) as predictors among other family-related variables (Diener et al., 1993; Rumberger et al., 1990). They created questions and indices that generated the styles. The indices for authoritative style included, for example, whether as in their family communication (1) parents tell the youth to look at both sides of issues, (2) parents admit that youth sometimes know more than they do, (3) parents talk about politics within the family, and (4) parents emphasize that everyone should help with decisions in the family (p. 287). The indices for

authoritarian style included parents telling youth the following: (1) that youth should not argue with adults, (2) that the youth will know better when he or she grows up, and (3) that the parents are correct and should not be questioned (p. 287). The indices for permissive included the following parental messages (1) hard work in school is not important to the parents, (2) the parents do not care if the student gets bad grades, (3) the parents do not care whether the student gets good grades (p.287). Rumberger et al.'s results indicated that students from permissive families were more likely to drop out. The drawback of this study is that the authors used the earlier version of Baumrind's concept of parenting styles, consisting of three styles, rather than the updated one, which also adds permissive and neglecting-rejecting. The indices, however, for the permissive style used in the study were connected more to the neglecting style in the later index in Baumrind's study (1991).

Glasgow and colleagues (1997), on the other hand, examined the effects of parenting style on educational outcomes using Baumrind's (1991) more recent four parenting styles: authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent and neglectful. They linked the four styles to how parents in each category would contribute to the educational outcomes of their children. The study used the sample of 2,353 high school students who were fifteen or sixteen years of age at the time of the survey. Parenting style was measured based on students' perception of their parents, and educational outcomes were measured by students' self-responses on classroom engagement, homework, academic achievement, and educational expectations. The results show that the most positively influential and successful style in cultivating personal and social responsibility with less limitation to students' emerging autonomy as adolescents was the authoritative style. Furthermore, non-authoritative styles were strongly correlated with a greater tendency to engage

in dysfunctional behaviors in high school. Students from families practicing these non-authoritative styles tended to have a lower level of self-efficacy (Glasgow et al., 1997).

In trying to understand the effects of parent-child interactions, Amato and Booth (2000), like several other researchers, emphasize two dimensions: parental support and control. Parental support refers to parental affection, responsiveness, praise, encouragement, everyday help, and guidance, (p.17) and parental control refers to rule formation, rule enforcement, and supervision (p.17). A number of past studies agree with Amato and Booth's two dimensional understanding of parenting. For example, Shaefer (1959) conducted a factor analysis of parental behaviors and found two dimensions: (1) warmth versus hostility, and (2) control versus autonomy. Other researchers have consistently found two dimensions that are similar to Shaefer's early study (Amato, 1990; Backer, 1964; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Rohner, 1986). Most of these two dimensions of parenting behaviors researchers conceptualized agree with Baumrind's (1971) two basic dimensions: responsiveness and demandingness (see Table 4).

Table 4 Summary of studies on two dimensions of parenting behaviors

Study	Dimension 1	Dimension 2
Shaefer (1959)	Warmth versus hostility	Control versus autonomy
Backer (1964)	Warmth and acceptance versus hostility and rejection	Restrictiveness versus permissiveness
Baumrind (1971)	Responsiveness	Demandingness
Maccoby and Martin (1983)	Accepting, responsive and child-centered versus rejecting, unresponsive and parent-centered	Demanding and controlling versus undemanding and non-controlling
Rohner (1986)	Accepting, responsive and child-centered versus rejecting, unresponsive and parent-centered	Demanding and controlling versus undemanding and non-controlling
Amato (1990)	Parental support	Parental control

Parenting and educational outcomes with newer perspectives in parenting styles.

Later Grolnick and Slowaczek (1994) presented a slightly different perspective on measuring parenting style. They used the idea of how parents are involved in their children's lives through three dimensional understanding of involvement. Rather than using Baumrind's four prototypes and other researchers' two dimensional parenting behaviors, the authors examined the effects of three types of involvement as forms of parenting styles in a study on the educational achievement of eleven- to fourteen-year-old children: intellectual involvement, school involvement and personal involvement. Intellectual involvement included intellectual activities at home, such as helping children with homework and going to the library. School involvement

included attending school activities and events and volunteering in the classroom. Personal involvement includes having knowledge of the school experiences of their children, their grades, and the names of their children's friends in the classroom. and so forth. Their results showed that the more involvement children receive in school and the greater the intellectual involvement, the better grades they receive at school, which suggests parental involvement in education results in children's educational success. This agrees with the conclusion many sociologists of education have presented in the past two decades.

Grolnick (2002) later theorized three dimensions, autonomy support, structure, and involvement, to replace Baumrind's model of parenting style. *Autonomy support* is defined as a degree of parental attitudes that support children's autonomy. *Structure* is defined as the degree of age-appropriate rules and demands that are practiced by parents at home. *Involvement* is defined as a degree of parental involvement in children's physical and cognitive development as well as emotional attachment between the two (see Table 5).

Table 5 Grolnick's parenting dimensions

Involvement	Physical, intellectual, psychological involvement
Autonomy support	Supporting children's autonomy in making decisions by themselves
Structure	Application of age-appropriate rules at home

The author suggests that parenting style can be described depending on the levels of each dimension practiced by parents. The difference between Baumrind's theory and Grolnick's dimensions is that Baumrind measures parenting practices only as the degrees of parental responsiveness/warmth and demandingness/behavioral control, which corresponds to Grolnick's autonomy support and structure, whereas Groldnick's model indicates the dimension of involvement that measures physical, educational, psychological involvement that cannot specifically be measured by the levels of responsiveness and demandingness. This dimension will allow the capturing of the parental styles based on the quality of more specific practices rather than on responsiveness and demandingness.

Parenting practices also differ across social class and have been changing as the US experiences social changes in the family such as the increase in the number of divorced couples, single mothers, and working mothers (Amato, 2002; Darling & Steingberg, 1993; Schaub, 2010). As a result, the ways of providing and receiving cultural capital and social capital have changed within the family for different social classes.

Grolnick (2002) also notes that these types of parental involvement can turn into parental control when the other parenting dimensions, structure and autonomy support, are ignored and when parents' are ego-involved. Many mothers who are involved can be extremely sensitive and serious about their children's achievement. The more they are involved, the more pressure they feel about the evaluations of their children by school and society and the more they see their children's educational success as an evaluation of their own parenting, because the success in education tend to directly translate into higher paying occupations in the U.S. (Grolnick, 2002). Parents who are concerned about children's education are more likely to be educated, so upper middle- and middle-class parents can fall into the trap of "ego involvement," in which parents'

involvement in education is driven by the belief that it is their obligation and that their "self-worth" depends upon being good, concerned parents (Pomerantz et al., 2007). Parents may feel overly pressured and practice over-involvement in children's education; as a result, a number of children raised in affluent families are the ones who prosper in school but are having serious emotional distress and behavioral maladjustment (Grolnick, 2002; Levine, 2006).

2.8 Changes in social contexts within families with young children between 1970 and 2000

Parent-child relationships, portrayed as social capital within the family in this study, dramatically changed between 1970 and 2000. In studies of family issues in the contemporary era, this period is important because of the remarkable economic and social changes U.S. families with children underwent during the time period. Therefore, this study includes this historical dimension to examine the current and critical issues of families in the U.S. In this section, a brief review of the history of U.S. families demonstrates the characteristics of this period.

During the post-WWII period, the United States experienced historical events including both economic affluence and recession, and social changes in pursuing higher educational, stronger women's roles, a higher divorce rate and a higher single-parent household rate (Brown, 2004; Pong, 1997; Teachman & Paasch, 1994; Vandewater & Landford, 1998; Voydanoff & Donnely, 1998). The U.S. economy advanced rapidly as technology in industry grew during and after the war, driving youth to achieve higher education to pursue professional work. The advancement of technology created jobs such as secretary, typist, and care giver. and so forth for women. In this section, I present brief historical backgrounds of shifts in the U.S. economy,

gender roles, and family structure, all of which a number of researchers have emphasized as strong factors that have changed family life in the U.S.

U.S. economy and families.

During the recession of the 1970s and the 1980s, when the economic well-being of middle-class families declined with the loss of fathers' jobs, more mothers moved into the paid labor force. In the early 1980s, the median income for men remained the same or declined but slightly rose for women. This motivated more wives to work outside the house. Amato and Booth (2000) found that 29% of the fathers in their sample were unemployed for one month or longer, and about 30% of parents stated their financial situations had worsened at least for a short period of time between 1980 and 1988. Mothers' income, however, somewhat increased by about the same amount as that by which the fathers' fell, so on average annual family income did not seem to change. This increase in women's income provided a number of mothers' with opportunities to demand more help with housework and childrearing from their husbands; consequently, women obtained more say in households. During this time period, therefore, major changes in gender roles and parental attitudes took place (Amato & Booth, 1995).

Changes in gender role.

Educational attainment in the U.S. increased after the WWII. According to Amato and Booth (2000), only 8% of U.S. citizens aged between 25 and 29 years old had college degrees and 53% graduated from high school during that time. By 1970, the college graduation rate doubled to 16% and the high school graduate rate increased to 75%, reaching 22% and 84% in 1980 (Amato and Booth 2000, cited from U.S Bureau of the Census 1992, p. 219). In fact, because of the

demands of female workforce participation, accelerated by the women's movement in the 1970s and 1980s, the college enrollment rate of women was more than that of men by the 1980s (Rury, 2006). Women's college entry continued to increase during the 1980s, and statistics show that women's college enrollment was as much as 10% greater than men's enrollment in the 1990s (Rury, 2006).

Educational levels continued to increase during the 1970s; however, the growth of economic affluence started slowing down as presented earlier. Therefore, along with the increase in educational level in women, higher levels of their labor force participation caused them to have the "second shift" (Hochschild, 1989). The traditional life within the family changed dramatically, as a result, putting more pressure on mothers to handle two "shifts," one at work as a worker and another at home as a mother and a wife. More educated mothers were deeply concerned about their children's education and how they did as good parents. The phrase "Supermom" appeared during the late 1980s (Robinson, 2008). *Supermom* refers to mothers who work outside the house, do all tasks at home, become deeply involved in children's education and everyday life including homework help, school events and meetings, birthday parties, play dates and holiday celebrations (Hochschild, 1989; Robinson, 2008). According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 47 percent of American mothers with children under age eighteen worked for pay in 1975; by 2000, the rate had risen to 73 percent. In 1990, 49 percent of mothers with children under age six worked outside the house, while by 2001, the percentage rose to 63% (The Bureau of Labor Statistics; Hochschild, 1989). The work hours outside the house for mothers increased even during a short period between 1990 and 1995 from 39.7 to 44.5 hours on average (Booth & Amatom, 1994; Juster et al., 1995).

In her study of middle-class and lower-class dual-working parents of young children, Hochschild (1989) portrayed the differences between working mothers in two different social contexts from 1980 through 1988. College-educated middle-class mothers who had responsibilities as professionals and the demands of juggling work, housework and childrearing tasks at home tended to be physically tired and emotionally stressed. To handle the two shifts using the same amount of time given, their family life was always "speed-up." (Hochschild, 1989). The mothers always experienced a struggle between pursuing their own career at work and being good moms and wives to spend more leisure time together or to relax alone. Only 20% percent of men in Hochschild's study did housework equally, while 70% of men somewhat shared the housework. On the other hand, lower-class mothers were much more optimistic when compared to their counterparts in the middle-class. They tended to stay at home most of the time, took care of their children at home, and worked part-time, earning about $5,000 a year while their children were at school, then went home at five o'clock and fixed dinner.

Shifts in parenting roles and practices within those middle-class, dual-working households were observed as the mothers' frustration and exhaustion with being supermoms and handling the second shift grew. At the beginning of the era, the mothers tried intensively to do all (jobs at work, housework and childrearing at home) the tasks perfectly, and they gradually stopped disciplining their children. Mothers also avoided having discussions with their husbands about sharing more of their household tasks as much as they used to because they simply did not have time for those conversations or believed that it was easier for them to care for the household by themselves (Hochischild, 1989; Kindlon, 2001). Mothers were just too tired to reason and negotiate with their children and husbands. Their exhaustion from the two shifts at work and at home resulted in their children's permissiveness.

Thus, the evidence of working middle-class mothers who had shifted to the "do-it-yourself" mother role in Hochischild's (1989) study in the 1980s means that the high school children between 1990 and 2000 grew up seeing shifts in gender roles and conflicts between parents. They were the generation Hochischild studied back in the 1980s — children who were raised by mothers powerfully handling the "second shifts" and who thus experienced this new parenting paradigm of permissive parents. Ehrensaft (2001) states that an increasing number of dual-income families try to raise independent and self-sufficient children while they are at work. However, once they are at home, they struggle with the lack of time at home and guilt of leaving their young children behind and working for long hours, turning into indulgent, permissive parents. As noted above, studying the group of students in this generation and their children is crucial to understanding the relationships among parenting style, parental involvement and students' emotional and behavioral adjustment. During this time period, the shift in gender roles as a result of a higher degree of gender equality in housework and child rearing practices than the previous decade became the key to understanding why well-meant parental involvement may be hurting children in affluent families.

Changes in marital quality and family structure.

A number of families in the U.S. experienced significant changes in marital quality and family structure after the WWII due to the shifts in the economy and gender roles. The divorce rate started to rise considerably in the early 1960s and continued to increase between 1966 and 1976 (Amato & Booth, 2000; Cherlin1992; 2009). The rate became stable during the 1980s, but the level was still high. The divorce rates during this time period indicate that a half of married couples in the U.S. ended in divorce (Charlin, 1992; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 2001). Many

divorced mother and fathers experienced remarriage and other parents stayed single (Amato and Booth, 2000; Coontz, 1992). Moreover, a number of couples began to cohabitate and have children before marriage or to cohabitate instead of remarrying (Coontz, 1992). These family events and situations can be strong factors to measure developmental outcomes of children researchers cannot overlook.

Several researchers found the consequences of parental divorce for the social, psychological and educational development of their children. Parental marital disruption, not parental divorce, was negatively associated with the social integration of children such as the number of close friends and feelings of closeness to the community when they were young adults (Amato, 2000; Amato & Booth, 1991; Amato &Booth, 2000; Amato & Cheadle 2008; Furstenberg & Cherlin, 1991). Marital conflicts and divorce also negatively influence the psychological and behavioral well-being of children, adolescents, and young adults (Charlin, 1991; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 2001). Cherlin et al. (1991) found that pre-divorce conflicts between parents were positively associated with emotional and behavioral problems of boys. In their longitudinal study of children who experienced parental divorce for twenty years, Wallerstein and Blakeslee (1989, 2001) found that children of divorce had difficult experiences after parental divorce such as economic hardship, emotional insecurity, and an estranged relationship with parents. Even twenty years after the first interview with the authors, many of the children of divorce, now adults, had difficulty with the emotional wounds from the past – they were afraid that they would end up fighting with their partners, beating up wives and children, and getting divorced just like their parents did (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 2001). Moreover, parental divorce lowered educational attainment by six months on average, especially when children experienced the event when they were younger (Amato & Booth, 2000). A later

study by Amato and Cheadle (2008) also found that divorced parents reported higher levels of behavioral problems in their children, such as getting into trouble at school and truancy, than long-time married biological parents did. On contrary, the sample group in Amato and Booth's study (2000) reported better psychological well-being (psychological distress, self-esteem, happiness, and life satisfaction) when parental marital quality was high.

Not only does divorce negatively affect children's developmental outcomes, but marital conflicts and instability also result in psychological distress and behavioral maladjustment; long time marital dissolution can result in significantly higher levels of emotional and behavior problems in children than parental divorce (Amato & Booth, 2000; Amato & Cheadle, 2009; Hetherington et al. 2008). In Amato & Booth's study using Wave 1 and 2 of National Survey of Families conducted in 1987-88 and 1992-94 respectively, children whose parents underwent long term marital conflicts showed low levels of psychological well-being during their adolescence and experienced difficulties establishing intimate relationships as young adults.

Children from single-parent households and stepfamilies have relatively lower levels of parental involvement (Astone & McLanahan, 1991, 1994; Coleman, 1988), do worse in school (Downey, 1994; Manning & Lamb, 2003) and experience lower self-esteem than those from two-biological parent households (Brown, 2004; Coontz, 1992). Astone and McLanahan (1991) examined whether low educational attainment of students from single-parent households was associated with factors resulting from having only one parent at home. Their results showed that low income and a lack of parental involvement and supervision in single-parent households were negatively correlated with students' high school graduation. Moreover, in their later study, Astone and McLanahan (1994) found a causal relationship between residential mobility and lower educational attainment: marital instability was a strong factor of residential mobility, and

greater residential mobility results in lower educational attainment of students from single-parent and stepfamily households compared to two-biological-parent families.

By the 1980s, cohabitation of an increasing number of couples was also one of the factors that affected family style and the lives of many children. During this time period, many first-marriage couples started cohabiting before actually getting married; moreover, a majority of second-marriage couples, after their first divorce, tried out their relationships by living together before they moved forward to remarriage (Cherlin, 2009). The marriage rate of young adults dropped between 1980s and 1990s; however, this does not mean that they preferred not to have an intimate relationship: instead, they chose not to marry, but to cohabitate (Cherlin, 2009; Coontz, 1992, 1997). Some researchers examined how parental cohabitation and step-family affected developmental outcomes of children.

Brown (2004), for instance, examined how parental cohabitation was associated with children's psychological well-being and school engagement. Using the 1999 National Survey of America's Families, she found that cohabitation negatively affected the well-being of children aged 6 to 11 and adolescents aged 12 to 17. Fifty-six percent of her sample was from two-biological-parents married families, 11% from married step-families, 21% from single-mother families, 3% from single-father families, 1.5% from two biological-parents cohabitating families, and 4 % of the children who do not reside with either parent. When other individual variables such as race, family income and parental highest education level were controlled, married stepfamilies, single mother households and no-parent families were negatively associated with younger children's behavioral and emotional problems, while all of the family structure styles were significant negative factors for adolescents compared to two-biological-parents married families. Except for among two-biological cohabiting families, the negative effect of family

structure was also significant for adolescents' school engagement except for two-biological cohabiting families when compared to two-biological-parents married families (Brown, 2004). These results show that parental cohabitation as well as living in a single-parent household can lower children's behavioral, emotional, and educational outcomes.

Cohabitation of unmarried stepfamily members, compared to married and two-biological parents, is also strongly associated with negative educational outcomes, such as lower GPA and behavioral maladjustment of students. Manning and Lamb (2003) investigated whether cohabitation affected students' GPA, delinquency, and other behavioral problems, using samples of 7th through 12th grade students from the National Longitudinal Adolescent Study Add Health (Add Health) data. The authors found that living in a cohabiting unmarried stepfamily was the strongest factor among all family types to increase suspension, delinquency, and other behavioral problems and to lower GPA.

In this section, I presented brief backgrounds of historical shifts that significantly affected U.S. families between 1970 and 2000. Most U.S. families underwent a number of different life experiences and styles the previous generations did not face. First, a significant number of U.S. families suffered a recession during the 1980s and the early 1990s, and, consequently, women's educational attainment rose because of the demand for female workforce participation. Second, most working mothers struggled with handling their "second shift" – the two shifts they worked, first at work and second at home as a mother and wife. Especially among educated mothers, the "supermom" norm appeared. Mothers' desires to "do it right" for their children's education sometimes overwhelmed them. Third, an increasing number of married couples and families were subjected to painful cases of divorce. Children had to adjust to new types of family composition: having one parent at home or meeting new parents as their biological parents

remarried. Family structure also became more varied during this period, with a growing number of cohabitating unmarried parents and step-parents. These shifts in family lives must be considered when conducting analyses on parental involvement between 1980 and 2000.

Conclusion.

In sum, I discussed a body of literature associated with the effect of parental involvement in this chapter. Most previous research emphasized the involvement that is a practical form of cultural capital such as the quantity of educational materials, parental homework help, and hours of extra-curricular activities. Some studies also indicated the importance of involvement associated with social capital, such as discussions between parents and children and parental participation in school meetings and events. However, few studies investigated what types of parental involvement, cultural or social capital, is more helpful than the other to children's educational outcomes. As can be seen in the examples of lower-class and upper-middle-class students, the emotional connections between parents and children can be a key characteristic for lower-class students to graduate from high school and for upper-middle-class students to avoid problematic behaviors. One key perspective the literature on parental involvement lacks is the idea of parental involvement being a part of parenting practices. Psychological theories suggest that parenting practices possibly affect the levels of parental involvement. I, therefore, treat parental involvement in education as a part of the parenting practices at home. Lastly, the United States experienced drastic economic and social changes that have affected the families and children, parenting practices, and the way parents can be involved in children's education. This historical view needs to be included in the analysis since most literature in parental involvement has only focused on one time point, which does not consider the possible effects of changes in gender role,

family income, and women's highest education level. The current study approaches this challenging, yet important historical perspective by using three different datasets from 1980, 1990 and 2002.

Chapter 3

Methodology

This dissertation addresses whether parental practices as forms of cultural and social capital better describe the involvement students receive at home. Specifically, this research aims to identify (1) if social capital at home is the key characteristic of parental involvement in education, and (2) if the historical shifts between 1980 and 2002 affected the way in which parents are involved in their children's education. In this chapter I discuss data source, items used for the analyses, and statistical methods and models. Do the indicators differ across different social classes?

3.1 Data source

I used a series of large-scale datasets collected by the U.S. Department of Education: the *High School and Beyond* study of 1980 (HSB, 1980); the *National Education Longitudinal Study* of 1988 (NELS, 1988); and the *Education Longitudinal Study* of 2002 (ELS, 2002). The aim of this study is to investigate any possible relationships between parenting dimensions (parental involvement in education, autonomy support, structure, emotional support) and students' educational attainment, and emotional and behavioral adjustment, and their changes over time between 1980 and 2002. The use of all three datasets made it possible to examine the historical social changes in parenting, high school completion rate, and emotional and behavioral adjustment. The sample groups I used were 10th graders in 1980 (from HSB), 8th graders in 1988 (from NELS), 10th graders in 1990 (from NELS), and 10th graders in 2002 (from ELS).

The data used for this study were collected from students who were high school 10th graders in 1980, 1990, and 2002. The follow-up data for the 1990 and 2002 samples, collected immediately after high school in 1994 and 2006, were also used to evaluate high school completion and dropout status. HSB and ELS began data collection on 10th grade participants. NELS started its survey of 8th graders and followed them every 2 years throughout high school. ELS started on 10th graders and followed them every 2 years throughout high school. I used parenting variables in 10th and 12th grades as predictors of high school completion, and emotional and behavioral adjustment. Since 8th grade data are available in NELS, I also analyzed the effect of parenting style on the students who dropped out before they reached 10th grade between the years of 1988 and 1990.

In order to examine the effect of social class on parental involvement and parenting dimensions on educational and other developmental outcomes, I divided the sample into four different SES groups using a SES quartile variable in each dataset. The four groups included SES 1 (lower-class), SES 2 (working-class), SES 3 (middle-class), and SES 4 (upper-middle class). The sample size of the each SES group of three datasets is presented in Table 6. All of the unweighted sample size numbers have been rounded to the nearest ten based on the restricted data use policy of the Institute of Education Sciences from which all of the three datasets used in this dissertation were obtained.

Table 6 Sample size of each SES group of all the three datasets

	SES 1	**SES 2**	**SES 3**	**SES 4**
1980	790	1,100	1,230	1,520
1990	2,170	2,460	2,640	2,690
2002	1,540	1,850	2,150	2,880

3.2 Measures

In order to investigate the relationships among cultural and social capital within and outside of the family, a clear measurement of parenting dimensions (social capital within the family) is critical. This study used the parenting dimensions theorized by Grolnick (2003) based on the parenting style theory by Baumrind (1991) to determine their parenting style and the degree to which parents are educationally and emotionally involved in their children's lives. As briefly mentioned earlier, *autonomy support* is conceptualized as parental attitudes that support children's autonomy (such as autonomous decision making and behaviors). *Structure* is defined as providing children with age appropriate rules and demands that parents expect their children to follow. *Involvement* is defined as parental involvement in children's physical and cognitive development as well as the emotional attachment between the two. Grolnick notes that all levels of the dimensions should be moderately high to practice a well-balanced parenting style.

Table 7 Parenting dimensions in Grolnick (2002) and in this study

Study	**Dimensions of parenting practices**			
Grolnick (2002)	Involvement		Autonomy support	Structure
This study	Parental involvement in education	Emotional involvement	Autonomy support	Structure

A disadvantage of Grolnick's concept of parenting dimensions is that she included parental involvement in education and the relationship between parents and child as one dimension called *involvement*, which does not allow for examining the cases of students from

middle- and upper-middle-class families who received high levels of parental involvement in education and little emotional attention on the one hand, and those from lower- and working-class families who received little parental involvement in education but a lot of emotional support on the other hand, as mentioned in earlier examples. The current study, therefore, divided them into two different dimensions. I call them *parental involvement in education* and *emotional involvement*, respectively (see Table 7).

Within parental involvement in education, there are several types of involvement related to cultural capital that have been considered as strong indicators of parental involvement: the number of books, magazines, and a daily newspaper at home; students having their own room and a place to study; extracurricular activities; and parental homework checks and help. For this study, I would consider these types of involvement traditionally related to cultural capital, because they are products of the parents' cultural capital. On the other hand, I consider parental participation in school meetings and activities, parental expectations for future success, and having discussions about school work, to be parental involvement associated with social capital, in order to avoid the ambiguity between the two types of capital as parental involvement. This type of involvement requires certain levels of communication, that is, social capital, between parents and students. Participating in school events, such as PTA meetings and parent-teacher conferences, is one way for parents to cultivate social ties outside the family; consequently, this tie can transfer through the parents within the family to the child. Thus, I consider any parental activities that fall into this category as social capital-related involvement. When the child knows that there are parental expectations for his future, there must have been an interaction, warm or cold, conducted between the parent and child. Nevertheless, when children discuss school work

with their parents, even if it is about bad grades, this is a good indicator of parent-child interaction.

The three datasets I used allowed me to compare the cultural and social capital in question and their shifts between the years of 1980 and 2002; however, the survey variables were limited in HSB and ELS. Therefore, it was difficult to come up with the same number of variables for all of the measures across all three of the datasets. Thus, I strictly followed the definitions of parental involvement provided by several previous studies, and the definitions of autonomy support and structure by Grolnick (2002). For emotional involvement, I selected an aspect of relationships that previous studies had found to be missing in affluent children – a close relationship with parents cultivated by talking with them, sharing time together, and getting along with each other (Levine, 2006; Luthar, 2008; Thrall, 2008). The questionnaire items that were used for this study are listed in Tables 7, 8, and 9 (see Appendix). The definitions of the measures for this study are described below.

Parenting dimensions.

(1) Parental involvement in education – Cultural capital.

For this category, I focused on approaches that a large body of literature has used. I chose the means of parental involvement that are strictly associated with cultural capital: the number of books, magazines, and daily newspapers at home; students having their own room and a place to study at home; parental homework help and checks; and number of hours of extra-curricular activities.

The measures for parental involvement in education included the number of educational materials at home (books, magazines, and daily newspapers; all were yes or no questions),

students having their own room (Yes or No) and a place to study (Yes or No), frequency of parental homework help and checks (1-Never and 4-Often), and number of activities or hours spent by students on extra-curricular activities.

(2) Parental involvement in education – Social capital within the family.

For the parental involvement in education measures that were associated with social capital within the family, I strictly followed the social capital theory, which suggests that capital functions as an information channel that transmits cultural resources among agents, through parents to children. I chose parental participation in school meetings, events, and volunteering activities; parental expectations for education after high school; and having discussions with parents on things such as studies at school and current issues. The first two items seem to be parents' cultural capital – the cultural norms and resources that parents hold. However, these survey items were responded to by students, and they could have not done so if the information about parental participation and expectations was not transmitted to the students. Therefore, I associated both parental participation and expectations with social capital related parental involvement.

This category of social capital related involvement includes the frequency of parents' participation in school events and volunteering, including parent-teacher conferences (1-Never and 4-Often), the frequency of having discussions with parents about school-related topics (1-Never and 4-Often), and communicating parental expectations about education after high school (less than high school to Ph.D. or other professional degrees).

(3) Structure: social capital within the family.

Structure is a notion of the parental management of their children's behavior. Thus, providing age appropriate rules at home, such as the number of hours for TV and spending time with friends, are considered to be structure variables.

(4) Autonomy support: social capital within the family.

The core idea of autonomy support suggested by Grolnick (2002) is the degree to which parents allow their children to feel that their actions and circumstances originated from their own decisions (i.e., children initiate their own actions, not their parents). Therefore, I selected a variable for whether students decide which classes they take. The opposite of autonomy support is control (Grolnick 2002). Controlling parents do not allow their children to decide by themselves; therefore, children's actions are strictly controlled.

(5) Emotional involvement: social capital within the family.

In her book on affluent youth, Levine (2006) emphasizes the lack of emotional connection between the students and their parents, and the lack of time to just relax and talk, due to the busy schedule that students were experiencing. Thus, I focused on variables that explain time spent for talking rather than working on homework together and receiving trust from their parents, assuming that if children do not feel comfortable talking with their parents, they wouldn't spend many hours per week talking with them, and if parents do not communicate supportive attitudes, children wouldn't feel trusted by parents.

Students' positive attitudes toward school.

For this category, I chose the item that indicates how much students like or were interested in classes and school. The 1980 data had an item that asked whether students were interested in school (Yes or No). The 1990 data had items that asked how much students were interested in classes (1-Strongly disagree and 4-Strongly agree), and the 2002 data asked how much students liked school (1-Not at all and 3-A great deal).

Behavior problems.

For this category, I chose an item that indicates students' problematic behaviors that were shared by all of the datasets. For the 1980 data, I used how often students were late to school (1-Never and 7-More than 21 times) and I used how many times students cut or skipped classes (1-Never and 5-More than 10 times) for the 1990 and 2002 data.

Positive feelings about self and alcohol use.

The 1990 data had a variety of items associated with students' psychological states and drug and alcohol use. I added positive feelings about self and alcohol use in the analysis to see if they influenced high school graduation/dropout status, attitudes toward school, and behavioral problems. I used the items "I am a person of worth" (1-Strongly agree 4-Strongly disagree) and "How many times in life used alcohol" (1-Never and 7-More than 20 times) for the 1990 data.

Students' individual information.

Students' individual information was used as control variables and includes the sex and race of the students, the number of siblings they have, and the urbanicity of their residence (Rural, Urban, and Non-urban).

Family demographic information.

The family demographic information was used as control variables, and includes variables related to cultural capital, such as parental high education level, type of occupation, family income and SES level, number of children at home, and marital status.

3.3 School level variability

This study added school ID to control possible variability between schools. Previous studies pointed out that differences between schools, such as school size and school climate can impact students' engagement and educational achievement (Cotton, 1999; Fowler et al., 1991; Grayson & Alvarez, 2007; Jones et al., 2006). For example, students' attendance rate can be affected by school size. Jones et al. (2006) found an association between students' average daily attendance and school size; that is, smaller schools lead in higher attendance rates. In another instance, Grayson and Alvaretz (2007) confirmed that school climate can influence teachers' emotional exhaustion, which can directly or indirectly affect students' outcomes and experiences at school. Therefore, I added this school level control to the statistical model so family characteristics and parenting practices can be better estimated in the analyses. Since school variability in terms of

any specific components is not the main focus of this study, I just used school ID to control for the broad differences between schools.

3.4 Analytical strategy

First, ordinary least squared (OLS) multiple regression or logistic regression analyses with sampling weight were conducted to examine how parenting dimensions within the family affect the students' GPA or high school completion/dropout status. Furthermore, multiple OLS regression analyses were conducted to examine the parenting effects on students' positive attitudes toward school and behavioral outcomes. Using hierarchical linear modeling, I controlled for school variability at level two (Raudenbuch & Bryk, 2002). With the 1990 data, I conducted the same analyses on students' positive feelings about self and alcohol use. Although the datasets contained less than 5% of missing data for most of the variables, I deleted cases that missed responses if a case missed more than three variables associated with the critical concepts of this study: emotional involvement and social capital-related educational involvement. Approximately 300 to 500 cases were removed in each SES group from the datasets.

Research question 1: ***Parental involvement as forms of cultural capital and social capital on educational outcomes.***

In order to examine the relationships between the students' outcomes and cultural and social capital related involvement in education, multiple regression analyses were conducted. The dependent variables (students' outcomes) were (1) school GPA for the 1980 data, and high school completion/dropout status, which indicates whether students completed on time (never

dropped out until the end of 12th grade), for the 1990 and 2002 data; (2) students' positive attitudes toward school or classes; (3) behavioral problems, which was measured by the late arrival to school for the 1980 data and truancy for the 1990 and 2002 data.

In the 1990 dataset, additional dependent variables were available. I used students' positive attitudes about self and alcohol use for extra outcomes and predictors on high school completion/dropout status.

The independent variables were parent-student relationship, that is, social capital within the house, measured by the students' perception of parenting styles and the practices of their parents: (1) the number of books, magazines, and a daily newspaper at home; (2) students' own room and a place to study; (3) parental homework checks and help; (4) number of extra-curricular activities; (5) parent-child discussions on school work and other topics; (6) parental participation in school events; (7) parental expectations for children's educational attainment; (8) students' decisions on classes they take (i.e., autonomy support); (9) parental limits on TV time and time with friends (i.e., structure); and (10) talking with parents, getting along with parents, and letting parents know where they are going (i.e., emotional involvement).

The control variables include gender, race (Black, Hispanic, White, Native American, and Asian), family income, parental marital status, parental occupation, father's and mother's highest educational attainment, number of siblings, and residence urbanicity (rural, urban, or suburban). See Figure 1 in Appendix and (1) below for a conceptual model and an analytic model of this analysis.

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_{1i} + \beta_2 x_{2i} + \beta_3 x_{3i} + \beta_j x_{4i} + \beta_5 x_{5i} + \beta_6 x_{6i} + \beta_7 x_{7i} + \beta_8 x_{8i} + \beta_9 x_{9i} + \beta_{10} x_{10i} + \beta_{11} x_{11i} + \beta_{12} x_{12i} + \beta_{13} x_{13i} + \varepsilon_i. \quad (1)$$

Where : β_0 is constant;
x_1 is Sex;
x_2 is Race;
x_3 is Family income;
x_4 is Parental occupation;
x_5 is Father's education;
x_6 is Mother's education;
x_7 is Number of siblings;
x_8 is Parental involvement in education;
x_9 is Autonomy support;
x_{10} is Structure;
x_{11} is Emotional support;
x_{12} is Positive attitude toward school/classes;
x_{11} is Behavioral problems; and
ε is the error terms.

The control variables were added in Model 1. Model 2 contained cultural-capital related parental involvement in education, then social-capital related parental involvement was added in Model 3. Model 4 and 5 contained autonomy support and structure, respectively, and emotional involvement was added in Model 6. In this sequential modeling, I was able to quantify the contribution of each category of parenting practices to the outcomes variables.

Research question 2*: Social capital within the family and students' positive attitudes toward school and classes, and behavioral problems.*

The dependent variables for this analysis were the same as for research question 1: (1) high school completion/dropout status, which indicates whether students completed on time (never dropped out until the end of 12th grade); (2) positive attitudes toward school or classes; and (3) behavior problems, which were measured by late arrival to school or truancy.

The independent variables for this analysis were the pieces from the cultural and social capital within the family: (1) cultural capital related parental involvement in education; (2) autonomy support; (3) structure; and (4) emotional involvement. Furthermore, I added two more

variables, (5) positive attitudes toward school or classes and (6) behavior problems, to the analyses for educational outcome to investigate how positive attitudes toward school and behavioral problems affect GPA or dropout status along with social capital within the family. I also added interaction terms to examine if racial differences determined the levels of social capital variables within the family.

The control variables for this analysis are gender, race (Black, Hispanic, White, Native American, and Asian), family income, parental marital status, parental occupation, father's and mother's highest educational attainment, number of siblings, and residence urbanicity (rural, urban, or suburban). See Figure 9 for a conceptual model for this analysis.

In addition to the items in the Model 1 through to Model 6 for the research question 1, positive attitudes toward school and behavioral problems were added in Model 7 and 8.

In the following result chapters, I only present and discuss the results of lower-class (SES 1) and upper-middle class (SES 4), in order to compare the lowest and the highest SES quartiles, which characterize the earlier examples of students from low-income and affluent families in Chapter 2. The results of the rest of the SES groups can be found in the Appendix.

Chapter 4

Results: 1980

The recession in the 1970s began influencing the family lives in the U.S. in the 1980s as mentioned in the previous chapters. As salaries for male employees declined, those for female employees increased, which was an incentive for more women, especially mothers, to work in paid labor to support the quality of their middle- and upper-middle class lives. In 1980, this shift was not yet evident. The majority of mothers tended to stay at home raising their children in all SES classes. A number of biological parents were married, and most families tended to have a single income. It can be presumed that parents were more available in 1980 than in 2002 to spend quality time with their children.

Can parenting dimensions account for students' educational success, as measured by four outcome variables? To answer this question, I estimated four regression analyses for four outcomes: (1) high school GPA; (2) positive attitudes toward school or classes; and (3) behavior problems of each of the target groups: lower class (SES 1), working class (SES 2), middle class (SES 3), and upper-middle class (SES 4). In this chapter, I present the descriptive and analytic results of the 1980 sample and discuss the findings.

4.1 Descriptive results: Parenting dimensions

To what extent are affluent parents practicing parenting? To what extent do students from low and working-class families graduate or dropout? To what extent do affluent students experience emotional and behavioral maladjustment and high school dropout? Tables 8 through 18 (and 44

through 72 in Appendix) illustrate the descriptive statistics of parenting practices, students' positive and negative feelings, and behavioral maladjustment in 1980. All of the unweighted sample size numbers have been rounded to the nearest ten throughout the chapter based on the restricted data use policy of the Institute of Education Sciences.

The total number of the 1980 sample was 5,290 students: 790 in the lower-class quartile, 1,100 in working-class, 1,850 in middle-class, and 1,550 in upper-middle class. Variables including parents' highest education, family income, residential urbanicity, and GPA from the 1980 sample are discussed in the following sections[1].

[1] **Sex**: Approximately 54% of the lower-class students were female and 46% were male, and about 58% of the working-class

Racial composition: The majority of the minority population lives with a lower SES status, and this trend was observed in the 1980 sample (see Table 45). As the results show, the White population is larger in the upper-middle class as compared to the lower-class. That is, more minority individuals in this sample lived with a lower SES status in 1980. Siblings at home: The number of siblings that students have at home can also affect the quantity and possibly quality of parental involvement. For example, an only child might receive full attention from his or her parents, while students with five siblings might not receive as much attention from their parents. The 1980 dataset does not have a variable that indicates the number of siblings in the respondent's family, so I had to use the item that indicates whether or not the students had siblings. We tend to think that lower SES families have more children at home, in general, but the data somewhat showed that this was not the case. The item asked whether or not students had siblings living with them, so those lower-class and working-class students might have had siblings living somewhere else for financial reasons (see Table 46).

Urbanicity: After the suburbanization that has occurred since the 1950s, most affluent students have been expected to live in suburban areas, with the majority of lower-class students living in urban areas. Table 50 presents the urbanicity composition in the 1980 sample. The difference among the SES groups was clear, as the proportion of students living in suburban areas becomes larger as SES level becomes higher. The majority of the upper-middle-class students lived in suburban areas, while one third of the lower-class students did.

Yearly family income: Parental education level did not seem to differ among lower-class, working-class, and middle-class parents in 1980. My question here is what the key characteristic was that dvides individuals into differentthe SES level in 1980. Table 49 shows the distribution of family income by four SES groups in 1980. The SES differences across the four groups were evident in terms of family income. As the parents' highest education level showed, the levels of cultural capital that children receive in upper-middle-class families can be much higher than in lower-class families because of the financial resources that the parents can afford. Family income can be a reliable indicator of educational outcomes.

Emotional involvement.

Emotional involvement, measured by how frequently students talk with their parents, is the key characteristic for this study. As seen in the examples of lower-class and affluent students earlier in Chapter 2, a failing student from a low-income family did graduate because he had a strong emotional connection with his father and grandmother. Some affluent students experienced emotional distress and behavioral problems because they felt emotionally distant from their parents. The majority of the upper-middle-class students had more frequent conversations with their parents than the students of other SES groups did (see Table 8). It is noteworthy, however, that 25% of the upper-middle-class students in 1980 answered that they had never talked to their parents as compared to 42% of the lower-class students. The results showed the clear SES difference -- lower-class student received lower levels of emotional involvement than students in the other SES classes when measured by the frequency of conversation between parents and students.

Table 8 "How often I talk with my parents" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Rarely, Never	330	42	340	31	320	26	380	25
Less than once a week	170	22	270	25	290	24	350	23
1-2 times a week	160	20	260	24	340	28	410	27
Every day or almost	130	16	230	20	280	21	380	25
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Autonomy support.

When students feel they can make their own choices and decisions, they tend to be more responsible, which can influence their educational and behavioral outcomes. Between about 22% and 29% of the students in the 1980 data answered that they had decided which classes they had taken (see Table 68). The proportion of students who did not decide classes by themselves differed by only 7% between the lower-class and upper-middle-class students. It is likely that students in 1980 tended to seek help from someone, if not parents, when they decided which classes they would like to take. Most students in the 1980 sample experienced similar levels of parental autonomy support across all the SES groups.

Structure.

Showing parental authority by enforcing family rules can also motivate students to understand what the age-appropriate behaviors are, which can influence educational and behavioral outcomes. The results for the levels of structure that students received in 1980 showed that the students experienced similar levels of parental authority in 1980 across all of the SES groups (see Table 69). The difference between the lower-class and upper-middle-class parents who practiced structure was only 5%, and the rest of the SES groups were almost as similar. Similar to autonomy support, most students in the 1980 sample experienced similar levels of parental authority across all the SES groups.

4.2 Descriptive results: Parental involvement in Education: Social Capital

Parental involvement in education that is related to social capital that were used for this study included parental expectations, parental participation in school events and meeting, and students' having discussions with parents.

Parental expectations.

Parental expectations can also be advantageous for students to achieve better in school and pursue higher educational attainment. Overall, as the SES level was higher, mothers' expectations also became higher (see Tables 9) in 1980. That is, the upper-middle-class mothers expected their children to pursue higher educational degrees than the lower SES mothers. A great deal of literature indicates (Lareau 1989; 2000) that lower-class parents do not have high expectations for their children; however, almost half of the lower-class parents in the 1980 sample wished their high-school aged children would finish college. When the expectations for college of the lower-class mothers were compared to that of the upper-middle-class mothers, it was evident that more upper-middle-class mothers expected their children to at least graduate from college. A similar pattern of increase was seen in fathers' expectations for their children. Fathers' expectations were higher as their SES levels became higher (see Table 10).

Table 9 "How far in school mother wants me to go" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Graduate from HS	90	12	90	8	50	5	10	0.1
Less than 2yr vocational school	20	3	30	3	20	3	10	0.1
Attend 2-yr college	60	7	80	7	60	6	40	3
Less than 2-yr of college	10	1	10	0.1	20	2	10	0.1
2 or more year college	190	25	140	14	120	0.1	80	5
Graduate from college	50	6	320	30	420	36	550	37
Master's degree	130	17	90	8	120	11	240	16
PhD or MD	160	21	160	15	240	21	420	28
Other	60	8	180	15	180	16	160	11
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 10 "How far in school father wants me to go" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Graduate from HS	70	9	50	4	40	3	10	0.6
Less than 2yr vocational school	30	4	50	4	40	3	10	0.6
Attend 2-yr college	80	11	100	9	100	8	40	3
Less than 2-yr of college	10	2	30	2	10	1	10	0.6
2 or more year college	100	12	150	15	120	10	80	5
Graduate from college	230	28	380	35	470	38	610	40
Master's degree	60	8	110	10	160	13	320	21
PhD or MD	90	12	130	12	180	15	370	24
Other	120	14	100	9	110	9	70	5
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Parental participation in school meetings.

Parental participation in school meetings can imply how much parents care about their children and school. In 1980, the difference between the lower-class and upper-middle-class parents was evident in terms of parental participation in school meetings. Nearly 30% of upper-middle-class

parents participated while 18% of lower-class parents did. It is interesting that nearly 70% of the upper-middle-class parents never participated in school meetings, yet a great body of literature stresses that these affluent parents do participate in most meetings and events[2] at school (see Table 64 and 65). The majority of parents, even upper-middle-class parents, might have recognized that their participation in school meetings was unnecessary at high school level or that their participation was required because their children were failing.

Having discussions with parents about school programs/courses.

In the 1980 data, I used the item "I plan school programs with mother/ father" since planning school programs takes much discussion. The upper-middle-class students had more frequent discussions about school programs or courses than the lower-class students (see Tables 11 and 12), as compared to the students in the rest of the SES groups[3]. Moreover, the results show that the students of all SES groups had discussions with their mothers more frequently than with their fathers. Here again, the SES difference was evident and indicated the levels of social capital between parents and children. That is, upper-middle-class students had a way to receive more cultural norms and resources through the discussions with parents who held much higher levels of cultural capital than their lower-class counterparts.

[2] **Parental participation in school events:** Participating in school events, such as open house and sports games, can also indicate that parents care enough about their children that they visit the school to participate in events. This item was only in the 1980 and 1990 data. Similar to the previous item, the lower-class and upper-middle-class parents who never participated in any events differed by about 15%. When researchers think of upper-middle-class parents in terms of parental involvement in education, we tend to assume most of them are active participants of school meetings and events. However, the 1980 data showed that more than 50% of affluent parents actually never participated in either meetings or events (see Table 64 and 65).

[3] For example, 53% (with mother) and 42% (with father) of upper-middle class students had a great deal of discussion on planning programs, while 35% (with mother) and 15% (with father) of lower-class students did.

Table 11 "I plan school programs with mother" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
No at all	100	13	70	6	70	6	70	4
Somewhat	410	52	540	50	590	48	660	43
A great deal	280	35	490	44	570	46	790	53
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 12 "I plan school programs with father" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
No at all	300	38	240	22	190	16	150	10
Somewhat	370	47	630	56	680	56	730	48
A great deal	120	15	240	22	350	28	630	42
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

4.3 Descriptive results: Parental involvement in education: Cultural capital.

Parental involvement in education that is related to cultural capital for this study included (1) if the family has 50 books or more[4] and a daily newspaper[5]; (2) if students have a place to study and their own room[6]; (3) parental homework help and checks; and (4) if students participated in

[4] **Books at home**: Surprisingly, nearly 70% of the lower-class families owned 50 books or more at home (see Table 52). This contradicts a large body of research that has concluded that most students from low-income families lack educational resources at home, such as books (Bourdieu, 1980; Lareau, 2001). However, the survey did not indicate the types of books in the house.

[5] **Daily newspaper:** Having daily newspapers can be a resource for students to gain knowledge and also to help students improve their reading. Slightly more than 55% of the lower-class, 80% of the working-class, and 86% of the middle-class families, as compared to 98% of the upper-middle-class families, had a daily newspaper at home in 1980 (see Table 53).

[6] **Having own room and study place at home**: Students having their own rooms can be helpful in that students are able to spend some time alone and study without any distractions, or be harmful in that students can do whatever they desire without parental monitoring. The SES difference was clear in this item. The higher the SES level was, the more students had their own room at home (see Table 54). More students also had a place to study at home as the SES level becomes higher. However, even 50% of the middle-class and 65% of the upper-middle-class students had a place to study in 1980, and the percentages became lower in 1990 for both groups (see Table 85).

extra-curricular activities[7]. Results for the parental homework checks are only shown in this section. For the other cultural-capital related items, see Tables 52 through 61 in Appendix.

Parental homework/progress checks.

The 1980 data did not contain items measuring whether parents checked or helped homework, so I used the item for "mother/father checks the school progress." Parental checks can be beneficial, especially for students who are failing in high school (see tables 13 and 14). The percentages became almost the same across all of the SES groups when fathers' progress checks were observed. The SES difference in mothers' checks was evident. Nearly 80% of the upper-middle-class mothers checked homework, while the proportion of the lower-class mothers who checked was down to about half. The result showed a clear difference between lower- and upper-middle-class parents: upper-middle-class mothers were more educationally involved than lower-class mothers.

[7] **Extra-curricular activities:** Joining extra-curricular activities can also be a form of cultural capital. If parents understand the values of experiences in various activities, they usually allow their children to join one or more activities. The 1980 data did not have an item for hours of extra-curricular activities, so I used the items that measured whether students participated in sports, cheerleading, band or orchestra, and debating or drama. Tables 24 through 27 show the descriptive results of extra-curricular activities in 1980. Among the four different extra-curricular activities I have chosen, activities in sports had the largest proportion of students who participated in the activities: 48% for lower-class; 57% for working-class; 58% for middle-class; and 69% for upper-middle-class. For the other activities, see the results in Tables 25 and 26.[7] Cheerleading: 11% lower-class; 17% working-class; 17% middle-class; and 16% upper-middle-class students. Band or orchestra: 13% lower-class; 17% working-class; 20% middle-class; and 19% upper-middle-class students.

Table 13 "Mother checks school progress" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
FALSE	160	20	140	14	140	11	160	9
TRUE	630	80	970	86	1090	89	1360	91
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 14 "Father checks school progress" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
FALSE	370	47	270	24	250	20	310	20
TRUE	420	53	830	76	980	80	1210	80
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

4.4 Positive attitudes toward school and behavioral problems

Positive attitudes toward school.

Positive attitudes toward school may positively influence students' educational outcomes. If students like school, they tend go to school every day and not miss classes. Interestingly, the results showed little obvious differences across the SES groups. That is, approximately the same proportions of students were interested in school or classes and had positive attitudes toward school in 1980 (see Table 15).

Table 15 "I am interested in school" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
FALSE	120	15	160	15	180	15	200	13
TRUE	670	85	940	85	1050	85	1320	87
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Behavioral problems.

Behavioral problems, measured by the frequency of late arrivals to school for the 1980 data, may negatively influence students' educational outcomes. If students were late to a class, it is likely that they rarely had opportunities to make up what they had missed. In 1980, the results were somewhat similar across all of the SES groups (see Table 16). Approximately 30% of the students indicated that they were never late to school. The SES difference was evident between the working-class and upper-middle-class students who answered "1-2 days" a semester. More than 53% of the working-class students had been late to school, while 45% of the upper-middle class, 48% of the lower-class, and also 48% of the middle-class students had.

Table 16 "How many times I have been late to school" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	240	30	310	28	380	31	460	30
1-2 days	380	48	590	53	600	48	690	45
3-4 days	100	12	120	11	140	12	190	13
5-10 days	50	6	60	5	80	7	120	8
11-15days	20	2	10	1	20	1	30	2
16-20 days	10	1	10	1	10	0.5	10	0.5
21 or more days	10	1	10	1	10	0.5	20	1.5
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

4.5 Family and individual background

Parental highest education level.

Over the course of the social shifts that began in the 1970s, one of the observed changes has been women's highest education level. More young women started pursuing higher education after high school. The results in this section may portray the difference among women with different SES statuses. Table 17 illustrates mother's highest education level in the 1980 sample. Since the rate of highest education level for women increased during the 1980s and 1990s (see the following chapters), the mothers in this sample might not yet have been affected by the social shift. The SES difference in the mother's highest education was evident only in the upper-middle class in 1980; that is, the mothers in the rest of the SES groups had similar educational background. This result briefly describes that students in the lower-, working-, and middle-class

groups in 1980 might have received similar levels of parental involvement in education because the levels of maternal cultural capital were similar in 1980[8].

Mothers' highest education level did not seem to be evidently different among the lower-class, working-class, and middle-class groups in 1980. Given that there were more stay-at-home mothers in 1980, father's education level was the characteristic that distinguished middle-class and upper-middle-class families from their counterparts in the other SES groups. Table 14 reports father's highest education level in the 1980 sample. As can be seen in the results, only the difference between the upper-middle class and the rest of the SES groups was evident. About 10% of the middle-class fathers completed college, while nearly 30% of the upper-middle-class fathers had graduate degrees.

[8] When compared between lower-class, working-class, and middle-class mothers on parental homework check, the results were somewhat similar. Nearly 80% of the lower-class mothers checked their children's homework while 89% of the working- and the middle-class mothers did.

Table 17 Mother's highest education level in the 1980 sample

Mother's highest education	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Did not finish high school	380	49	240	22	110	9	10	1
Graduate from high school of GED	240	31	480	43	130	10	260	17
Graduate from 2 year-college	10	1	40	3	230	20	120	8
Some college	10	1	70	6	390	31	300	19
Graduated from college	10	1	40	4	120	10	430	27
Complete Master's degree	10	1	30	3	20	2	190	12
Complete PhD, MD, other	0	0	10	1	10	1	80	5
Don't know	130	16	190	18	220	17	170	11
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Together with the results of mothers' and fathers' highest education levels, it is noteworthy that the levels of cultural capital in the house that children received may have differed only between upper-middle class and the rest of the SES groups in 1980. If children lived in an upper-middle-class family, chances are that they might have received more educational and cultural resources from their parents, because their parents had the means and knowledge to provide them.

GPA.

In the 1980 data, there was no item that indicated students' dropout status; therefore, I used students' GPAs as an outcome variable. Table 18 shows the distribution of students in terms of their average GPAs in high school. Surprisingly, SES differences were small for students who had received mostly Cs and Ds, and mostly Ds. As expected, the number of upper-middle-class students who had received mostly As was the highest and that of lower-class students the lowest. Interestingly, the proportion of students who had received mostly Bs was somewhat close across

all of the SES groups[9]. The proportion of lower-class students who had received mostly Cs was almost twice as much as that of upper-middle-class students[10]. Here again, SES difference was evident between lower- and upper-middle-class students.

Table 18 GPA in the 1980 sample

GPA	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
A	50	6	70	6	80	6	170	11
A+B	120	15	260	23	230	18	37	24
B	210	27	300	27	350	29	450	30
B+C	220	27	300	27	340	29	330	22
C	150	19	170	17	190	15	160	11
C+D	40	6	0	0	40	3	30	2
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

In sum, most of the parental involvement variables did show clear SES differences. These descriptive results confirm the views that a large body of literature has concluded on parental involvement – the higher the SES, the higher the level of parental involvement, especially with homework help and emotional involvement. On the other hand, SES differences were not detected as much with autonomy support and structure in 1980. That is, high school students in 1980 received somewhat similar parental advice when deciding on classes and practiced family rules on television and time with friends at home. In the next section, I present the analytic results of the 1980 sample.

[9] About 27% for lower-class, 27% for working-class, 29% for middle class, and 30% for upper-middle-class students

[10] Approximately 19% for lower-class and 11% for upper-middle-class students.

4.6 Analytic results: 1980

The first set of analyses examined how much the predictor variables contributed to educational success, which was measured by high school GPAs. The analyses regressed the GPAs on the demographic information; parenting dimensions, including both cultural and social capital within the family; positive attitudes toward school or classes; and late arrival to school. The analyses included all of the available predictor variables. The second set of analyses examined how much the predictor variables contributed to students' positive attitudes toward school and behavioral problems. The analyses regressed the positive attitudes toward school and behavioral problems (being late to school) on the demographic information, parenting dimensions, and late arrival to school. These analyses also included all of the predictor variables, except for GPAs. The third analysis contained hierarchical linear analysis at individual and school levels.

Tables 134 through 141 show the result of the regression analyses for the three outcome variables: high school GPAs; positive attitudes toward school/classes; and behavioral problems. I also present the results from the HLM analyses with school level for GPAs.

SES-1:1980.

GPAs.

Among the parental involvement in education items, only homework help, was statistically significant predictors of higher GPA ($\beta = .424$, $p = .000$) in Model 6 before the items positive attitudes toward school and behavioral problems were added to the analysis. More parental help on their homework for lower-class students was associated with higher GPAs. This might also

the case that these students were already failing in school, so parental homework help substantially contributed to higher GPAs for lower-class students.

Models 7 and 8 show how much positive attitudes toward school/class and behavioral problem items were associated with achieving higher GPAs. A positive attitude toward school was the statistically strongest indicator of high GPAs (β =.425, p = .000). That is, lower-class students' interests in school were more associated with higher GPAs. Behavioral problems were statistically associated with lower GPAs (β = -.218, p = .000); that is, the students who were frequently late to school tended to receive lower GPAs.

Positive attitudes toward school and behavioral problem.

What aspects of the family life can be associated with the levels decreased behavior problems and increased levels of positive attitudes toward school? In order to answer to this question, I conducted another set of logistic and OLS regression analyses, with positive attitudes toward school and behavioral problems as outcomes. For positive attitudes toward school, no parenting dimension variables showed statistical significance although having discussion about school courses was near significance (odds ratio=1.555, p < .057).

Having positive attitudes toward school was statistically significant and an indicator that was associated with the lower levels of behavioral problems. That is, the more positive students' attitudes toward school, the fewer behavioral problems they experienced. As mentioned above, having discussion about school courses was almost significantly associated with the high levels of positive attitudes toward school. This indicates the importance of talking between parents and children at home for lower-class students.

Racial differences.

Interaction terms were added to the analysis to investigate any racial associations with the parental dimension variables. Table 164 shows the results of racial differences of parenting dimensions on GPA. For Black students, homework help ($\beta = .793$, $p < .011$) and checks ($\beta = .332$, $p < .011$) accounted for higher GPAs. As for parental expectations, mothers' expectations were positively associated with the GPA of Asian students ($\beta = 5.257$, $p = .000$).[11] For Hispanic students, father's expectations were a positive indicator ($\beta = .096$, $p < .018$). Interestingly, both of the structure variables, limits on television time and time with friends, were associated with higher GPAs only for Asian students; that is, Asian students tended to achieve higher GPAs when their lives were more restricted ($\beta = 62.913$, $p = .000$ and $\beta = 1.889$, $p = .000$, respectively).

In sum, the results of the lower-class sample in the 1980 data showed interesting findings. First of all, for the lower-class students' GPAs in 1980, having discussion with parents about school courses might be associated with higher degrees of students' positive attitudes toward school. Moreover, positive attitudes toward school had associations with the lower levels of behavioral problems, which was the strongest indicator of lower GPAs. Racial differences were somewhat mixed[12]. When lower-class students in 1980 experienced fewer behavioral problems and were more interested in school, they were more likely to achieve higher GPAs than their peers.

[11] However, fathers' expectations were not and $\beta = -7.922$, $p = .000$).

[12] Mothers' expectations for the future increased the likelihood of higher GPAs for Asian students, while the finding was consistent with fathers' expectations for Hispanic students. Family rules were effective only on Asian students' GPAs. Variability between schools did not play a role on the relationship between parenting dimensions and high school GPAs.

SES-4 1980.

Upper-middle-class students exhibited similarities and differences from the lower class counterparts while racial influence was again mixed. As we have seen in the lower-class sample, high school GPAs were mainly influenced by attitudes toward school that lower the likelihood of experiencing behavioral problems. The degree of positive attitudes toward school was again associated with emotional involvement. In this section, analytic results for upper-middle-class students in the 1980 sample are repsented.

GPAs.

Talking with parents affected upper-middle-class students' higher GPAs ($\beta = .116$, $p = .000$) in Model 6. Furthermore, the level of discussions with parents about school planning also showed statistical significance ($\beta = .150$, $p < .032$) in Model 6. Structure, represented by parental limits on time with friends, also showed statistical significance ($\beta = .061$, $p < .01$); that is, when parents limited time with friends, upper-middle-class students tended to receive higher GPAs. When fathers' expectations were high (0-high school graduation through 9-achieving Ph.D.), students tended to be associated with higher GPAs ($\beta = .088$, $p < .003$).

Models 7 and 8 show how much attitudes toward school and lowered behavioral problem items were associated with achieving higher GPAs. When upper-middle-class students in 1980 received more parental help on their homework, the likelihood of achieving higher GPAs increased, similar to the rest of the sample groups[13]. Positive attitudes toward school was the statistically strongest indicator of high GPAs ($\beta = .569$, $p = .000$). Similar to the other groups,

[13] Homework help and participation in debating and drama activities[13], among cultural capital related involvement variables, were statistically significant indicators of higher GPAs ($\beta = .279$, $p = .000$) in Model 6.

behavioral problems predicted a statistically significant negative effect on GPAs (β = -.116, *p* = .000).

Positive attitudes toward school and behavioral problems.

For positive attitudes toward school, the results from a logistic regression analysis showed that talking with parents (emotional involvement) was again a positive indicator of reduced behavioral problems (β = 1.339, *p* < .001). That is, when students experience higher levels of emotional involvement, the chances of receiving higher GPAs were at least 1.3 times higher than those who do not. Moreover, having discussions about school courses (odds ratio = 1.508, *p* < .009) and school activities (odds ratio = 1.474, *p* < .018) were a strong indicator of positive attitudes toward school. That is, the likelihood of students' having positive attitudes about school was about 1.5 times higher when students experienced more frequent talks and discussions with parents than students who did not (see Table 141). These results link emotional involvement and having discussions to the increased levels of positive attitude toward school in the 1980 upper-middle-class sample. That is, both of the characteristics that are forms of social capital between parents and children were substantial indicators of positive attitude toward school for both lower-class and upper-middle-class students.

Parental homework was associated with the decreased level of behavioral problems (β = -.206, *p* < .001)[14]. That is, receiving homework help was a positive indicator of the reduced level of late arrivals to classes for upper-middle-class students in 1980. Furthermore, parental participation in school meeting (β = -.152, *p* < .009), having discussion about school activities (β

[14] Fathers' homework checks, on the other hand, increased the level of behavioral problems among students in the upper-middle class (β = .107, *p* < .043).

= -.194, $p < .031$), and limited time for television also showed an association with lower levels of behavioral problems (β = -.188, $p < .023$).

***Racial differences*.**

The differences among racial groups were somewhat smaller in the upper-middle-class group in 1980 (see Table 167). For example, emotional involvement was associated with a higher GPA for White students (β = .094, $p < .006$)[15].

***GPA at school level*.**

The variability of students' individual characteristics, parental dimensions, positive attitudes toward school, and behavioral problems at school level accounted for 12.8% of the overall results ($p = .000$). This means that 12.8% of the variable in students' GPAs was caused by the differences between schools (see Table 176).

In sum, talking with parents (emotional involvement) was a strong indicator of higher GPAs for the upper-middle-class students in the 1980 sample. Moreover, having discussions with parents was highly associated with the levels of positive attitudes toward school, which was a strong indicator of lowered levels of behavioral problems. Emotional involvement (talking with parents) was also associated with lowered levels of behavioral problems. Again, for the upper-middle-class students, the level of behavioral problems was the key characteristic of higher or

[15] Structure showed somewhat mixed result. Providing structure by limiting time with friends was a predictor of a lower GPA for Hispanic upper-middle-class students (β = -.259, $p < .001$), although the opposite was true for White students (β = .066, $p < .005$). Students having their own room did not have a positive or negative association with GPA whatsoever for any racial groups. Owning more than 50 books at home was associated with a higher GPA only for Hispanic upper-middle-class students (β = 1.039, $p < .014$).

lower GPAs in 1980. Racial differences were again somewhat mixed[16]. For the upper-middle-class students, school variability was statistically significant and accounted for about 13% of the high school GPAs. That is, 13% of the upper-middle-class students' high school GPAs was accounted for by the differences between schools.

Overall, emotional involvement or having frequent discussion with parents was consistently associated with a high level of positive attitudes toward school, which was the strongest indicator of the low level of behavioral problems for both lower-class and upper-middle-class students. The low level of behavioral problems indicated students' higher GPAs in 1980. These results suggest that if students in 1980 experienced higher levels of emotional involvement and frequent discussions with parents, they were likely to be interested in school. When they were more interested in school, students tended to have fewer behavioral problems. Again, as we have seen in the lower-class student sample, these results of the upper-middle-class sample also suggest that emotional involvement or having discussions with parents may be able to compensate for a lack of parental involvement in education. The influence of the variability between schools was statistically evident only for the upper-middle-class students. That is, the dropout status of the lower-class students was not influenced by the difference between schools, which suggests that the lower-class students had higher likelihood of dropout no matter which schools they attended.

[16] For White students, talking with parents was effective. Higher levels of structure indicated the likelihood of lower GPAs for Hispanics. Having more than 50 books helped Hispanic students achieve higher GPAs.

Chapter 5

Results: 1990

As mentioned in Chapter 2, women's educational level continued to increase in the 1980s; consequently, the number of mothers working in paid labor dramatically increased. Busy mothers who had to handle a shift at work and another at home with children started to struggle with the traditional gender role as a mother and wife at about this time period. As married couples with children had conflicts, divorce rates also dramatically increased. That is, the number of children who experienced parental marital conflict and lived in a single-parent household increased. It is interesting to observe any possible differences associated with the changes in family lives between 1980 and 1990.

5.1 Descriptive statistics: Parental dimensions

In this section, Tables 19 through 38 (and 73 through 104 in Appendix) present the results from the descriptive statistics of the parental dimension items in order to understand the differences among the various types of parental involvement in terms of the four social class groups. All of the unweighted sample size numbers have been rounded to the nearest ten throughout the chapter based on the restricted data use policy of the Institute of Education Sciences.

Emotional involvement.

Again, emotional involvement is the key characteristic of this dissertation. For the 1990 data, I used the item "I get along with my parents" under the assumption that parents and children have a certain degree of conversations if they get along. The differences across the SES groups were somewhat less obvious than what we have seen with the other items. For example, the proportions of the students who indicated "true" for this item were 43% for the lower-class and 40% for the upper-middle-class students (see Table 19)[17]. Slightly more lower-class students indicated that they had good relationships with parents than their working- and middle-class counterparts. Overall, most students in the 1990 sample did get along with their parents; consequently, students might have receive similar levels of emotional involvement measured by whether students got along with their parents.

Table 19 "I get along with parents" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES1		SES2		SES3		SES4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
FALSE	90	4	110	4	100	4	70	3
Mostly false	100	4	100	4	100	4	80	3
More false than true	160	7	200	8	200	8	190	7
More true than false	360	16	430	18	440	17	400	15
Mostly true	580	26	680	28	780	30	860	32
TRUE	880	43	940	38	1020	37	1090	40
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

[17] The proportion of the same item was 38% for the working-class and 37% for the middle class.

Autonomy support.

The descriptive analysis showed the differences across the SES groups in the 1990 sample were more evident as compared to what we have seen in emotional involvement earlier (see Table 97). More than 55% of the lower-class students decided which classes they should take by themselves as compared to 49% of the working-class, 41% of the middle-class, and 27% of the upper-middle-class students. Overall, more upper-middle-class students received parental guidance in all three of the time points when they decided which classes they should take. In other words, students might not have fully exercised their autonomous decision making ability when they were to decide school courses. The level of emotional involvement, measured by the degree to which students got along with their parents, was somewhat similar in the 1990 sample; however, lower-class students tended to have more chances to make decisions on classes than their upper-middle-class counterparts

Structure.

Structure, as provided by age-appropriate family rules and measured by limits on television and time with friends, showed an interesting result. Parents limited time with friends more strictly than time for television at home. More parents enforced more limits as the SES level became higher. For example, 14% of the upper-middle-class parents often limited time for television while 8% of the lower-class parents did (see Tables 99 and 100). This suggests that upper-middle-class parents practiced tighter discipline on television at home in 1990.

To summarize, the results on parental dimensions presented a pronounced SES differences in autonomy support and structure in the 1990 sample. More lower-class students decided classes by themselves, and fewer lower-class parents enforced limits on time for

television. That is, lower-class families tended to practice imbalanced parenting dimensions: high autonomy, low structure. As seen in my reviews on Grolnick's studies, balanced parenting practices should hold high levels for all dimensions: involvement (both educational and emotional), autonomy support, and structure.

5.2 Parental involvement in Education: Social Capital

The descriptive results on the items for parental dimensions illustrated the clear evidence of how parental practices differ in terms of family SES and between 1980 and 1990. In this section, I present the results of parental involvement in education that is related to social capital.

Parental expectations.

Table 20 presents parental expectations in the 1990 sample. The SES difference was also evident here. About 50% of the lower-class mothers expected their children to graduate from college or attain graduate degrees whereas more than 80% of the upper-middle-class mothers expected.

The slight difference between 1980 and 1990 was also observed. In 1980, more than 80% of the upper-middle-class mothers, and in 1990, 85% of mothers in the same SES group expected their children to earn a college degree or higher. For another example, 43% of the lower-class mothers in 1980 expected college degree or higher, while 48% of the mothers in the same group in 1990 did. That is, students in 1990 received higher expectations for their future success from their mothers, which can be a source of psychological stress if the expectation is too great.

Table 20 "How far in school mother wants me to go" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Less than HS	50	2	10	0.6	0	0.1	0	0.1
Graduate from HS	160	7	120	4	70	2	20	0.6
Vocational school after HS	260	12	240	10	140	5	30	1
Attend 2-yr college	160	7	140	6	150	6	40	1
Attend 4-yr college	160	8	250	10	270	10	200	7
Graduate from college	730	34	1050	43	1330	50	1370	51
Post graduate education	300	14	340	14	490	19	920	34
Other	350	16	300	12	200	8	10	4
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 21 "How far in school father wants me to go" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Less than HS	40	2	10	0.6	0	0	0	0
Graduate from HS	170	8	130	5	60	2	10	0.5
Vocational school after HS	240	11	210	9	150	6	20	0.7
Attend 2-yr college	120	5	140	6	110	4	30	1
Attend 4-yr college	140	6	220	9	270	10	200	7
Graduate from college	650	30	950	39	1260	48	1300	48
Post graduate education	210	10	300	12	430	16	970	37
Other	600	28	500	20	360	14	150	6
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

A similar SES pattern of increase in expectation was seen in fathers' expectations for their children (see Table 21). Furthermore, fathers' expectations became higher between 1980 and 1990 for upper-middle-class students. More than 80% of the upper-middle-class fathers expected a college degree or higher in 1980, and about 86% in 1990. Together with the mothers' expectations, it is clear that upper-middle-class students received much higher parental

expectations from their parents in both 1980 and 1990. Again, parental expectations that are too high can be a harmful factor to students' psychological and behavioral outcomes.

Parental participation in school meetings.

The proportion of parents who never participated in school meetings dramatically diminished in 1990. More than 81% in 1980 dropped to 61% in 1990 for the lower-class, 77% to 54% for the working-class, 75% to 48% for the middle-class, and 69% to 28% for the upper-middle-class parents (see Table 92). These results suggest that the importance of parental participation in meetings might have communicated to more parents of all SES groups by 1990. The decreased levels of parental participation in school meetings may suggest that more mothers were in paid labor in 1990 than in 1980 and the majority of them were physically unavailable.

Parental participation in school events and school volunteering also showed SES like differences. A similar pattern of decrease between 1980 and 1990 was also observed[18].

Having discussions with parents about school programs/courses.

The 1990 sample showed a similar pattern to the 1980 sample regarding discussions with parents about school programs or courses. Table 22 shows that the majority of students had discussions either sometimes or often, yet a good portion of students never had discussions about school

[18] **Parental participation in school events.** This item was only in the 1980 and 1990 data. Similar to the previous item, differences across the SES groups and time points were evident (see Table 93). As much as 65% in 1980 and 57% in 1990 of lower-class parents did not participate in school events, while the difference was smaller for the working-class (57% in 1980 and 47% in 1990), middle-class (55% in 1980 and 39% in 1990), and upper-middle-class (50% in 1980 and 27% in 1990) parents. More parents participated in school events in 1990 than parents in 1980 did.

Parental participation in school volunteering. Interestingly, the proportions of lower-class and upper-middle-class parents who never participated as school volunteers in 1990 were somewhat similar, 56% and 63%, respectively (see Table 94). The working-class and middle-class groups also shared similar proportions of parents who never volunteered (79% and 75%, respectively).

courses with their parents (26% for the lower-class, 20% for the working-class, 15% for the middle-class, and 9% for the upper-middle-class groups). Nearly 26% of the upper-middle-class students answered "often" as compared to 13% of the lower-class students.

Table 22 "I discuss school courses with parents" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	570	26	500	20	400	15	240	9
Sometimes	1290	60	1520	62	1700	64	1730	64
Often	290	13	420	17	540	20	710	26
Missing	30	1	20	0.7	20	0.6	20	0.6
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Having discussions with parents on other topics.

Frequency of students' having discussions with parents may be based on the relationship between the two agents. If they do not exercise a positive, healthy relationship, there might not be any discussions between them. Furthermore, having discussions with parents was strongly associated with students' positive attitude toward school, which indicated fewer behavior problems in the 1980 sample. This item, therefore, is an important variable to show the degree of social capital at home. This variable was only available in the 1990 and 2002 data. A similar pattern to the previous discussion item, having discussions with parents on school programs/courses, was observed for this variable. The upper-middle-class students had more frequent discussions with their parents on school activities in 1990 than the students of the other SES groups. For example, about 17% of the lower-class students in 1990 had discussions with

their parents often, while 33% of the upper-middle-class students had similar levels of discussion.[19] However, the proportions of the students who answered "sometimes" were similar across all of the SES groups (see Table 23).

Table 23 "I discuss school activities with parents" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	630	29	590	24	420	16	280	11
Sometimes	1150	53	1340	55	1500	57	1500	55
Often	360	17	510	20	700	26	900	33
Missing	30	1	20	0.7	20	0.7	10	0.5
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

5.3 Parental involvement in education: Cultural capital

Similar to the 1980 descriptive analysis, parental involvement in education that is related to cultural capital for this study included (1) if the family had 50 books or more[20] and a daily newspaper;[21] (2) if students had their own room and a place to study;[22] (3) parental homework

[19] The proportion of the same item was 20% of the working-class students and 26% of the middle-class students.

[20] **Books at home:** Surprisingly, nearly 80% of the lower-class families owned more than 50 books at home (see Table 83). This contradicts a large body of research that has concluded that most students from low-income families lack educational resources at home, such as books (Lareau 2000).

[21] **Daily newspaper:** A proportional pattern similar to the 1980 sample was observed in the 1990 sample. However, fewer numbers of families had daily newspapers in 1990. Sixty percent of the lower-class, 71% of the working-class, 77% of the middle-class, and 86% of the upper-middle-class families had a daily newspaper in 1990. The lower-class and upper-middle-class differed by about 16% (see Table 84).

[22] **Having own room and study place at home:** As mentioned in the previous chapter, students having their own room can be helpful for them to focus on their homework without any distractions, or harmful because parents do not know what is going on in the room once the door is closed. In 1990, a little more than 72% of the lower-class students had their own room, and so did 78% of the working-class students, 83% of the middle-class students, and 91% of the upper-middle-class students (see Table 85). SES differences were clear between the lower-class and upper-middle-class students: nearly 90% of the affluent students had their own room, while only 72% of lower-class students did. Moreover, 34% of the lower-class, 36% of the working-class, 40% of the middle-class, and 50% of the upper-middle-class students had a place to study at home (see Table 86).

help and checks; and (4) if students participated in extra-curricular activities.[23] Here I only discuss parental homework checks and help.

Parental homework checks.

In my 1980 sample, parental progress check was a significant indicator of positive attitudes toward school, which was associated with high GPAs students received. That is, parental checks can make a difference in students' educational outcomes. The parents who never checked their children's homework were 22% for the lower-class and 15% for the upper-middle-class groups in 1990 (see Table 24). The results for the working-class and higher SES groups showed that an increased number of parents did not check homework as compared to the results of the 1980 sample. This might be due to the change in mothers' occupation status; that is, more mothers were engaged in paid labor in 1990 than in 1980, and they could not afford the time to check homework. Yet, the majority of parents across all of the SES groups still checked homework sometimes or often (50% for the lower-class and 60% for the upper-middle-class groups). The difference between lower-class and upper-middle-class groups was somewhat smaller than expected – 10%. This may imply that more lower-class parents became aware of the importance of homework help (i.e., parental involvement) in 1990.

[23] **Extra-curricular activities:** More students were involved in extra-curricular activities if they were from higher SES families. Nearly half of the lower-class students in 1990 were not engaged in any extra-curricular activities. Similarly, approximately 40% of the working-class and 33% of the middle-class students did not participate in activities. Slightly more than 20% of the upper-middle-class students were not engaged in activities (see Table 89).

Table 24 "How often parents check homework" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	470	22	500	20	420	16	400	15
Rarely	570	26	710	29	670	25	680	25
Sometimes	670	31	730	30	830	31	810	30
Often	440	20	510	20	710	27	790	29
Missing	30	1	20	0.8	10	0.4	10	0.4
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Parental homework help.

An interesting finding here is that more than 60% of the lower-class parents in 1990 never helped with their children's homework, as compared to 8% of the upper-middle-class parents (see Table 25).[24] On the other hand, parents who helped often were: 3% for the lower-class and 15% for the upper-middle-class parents.[25] This item clearly shows the SES difference in parental involvement. Most lower-class students do not receive homework help from their parents, even though they are checked to see if it is completed. This may suggest that lower-class parents were insecure about doing schoolwork although they could do the checks.

[24] The proportion of the same item was 8% of the working-class, 9% of the middle-class.

[25] About 23% for the working-class and 18% for the middle-class.

Table 25 "How often parents help homework" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	1300	60	200	8	230	9	200	7.5
Rarely	390	18	870	35	1060	40	1140	42
Sometimes	390	18	800	33	870	33	940	35
Often	60	3	570	23	470	18	400	15
Missing	30	1	20	1	10	0.5	10	0.5
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

5.4 Positive attitudes toward school and behavioral problems

Positive attitudes toward school/classes.

Interestingly, the results for the 1990 data showed little obvious differences across the SES groups for this item similar to what we have seen in the 1980 sample. That is, approximately the same proportions of students were interested in classes across all of the SES groups (see Table 26).

Table 26 "I am interested in classes" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Strongly disagree	190	9	180	7	230	4	270	10
Disagree	1330	61	1500	60	1600	62	1740	64
Agree	500	23	650	26	670	25	580	22
Strongly agree	100	5	130	5	110	4	80	3
Missing	50	2	0	0	30	1	20	0.6
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Behavioral problems.

For the 1990 and 2002 samples, I used the item "how many times I have cut/skipped classes." In 1990, close to 68% of the upper-middle-class students had never skipped or cut classes, while 61% of the lower-class students[26] (see Table 27). On the other hand, about 5% of the lower-class, had skipped or cut classes more than ten times, while only 2% of the upper-middle-class students had.[27]

Table 27 "How many times I have cut/skipped classes" in the 19990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	1320	61	140	64	1710	64	1820	68
1-2 times	480	22	550	22	540	21	580	21
3-6 times	190	9	210	8	190	7	180	7
7-9 times	60	2	50	2	70	3	40	2
> 10times	100	5	110	4	120	4	70	2
Missing	10	0.01	0	0	10	0.01	70	0.2
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

5.5 Family and individual background

The results of individual and family background information include sex,[28] racial composition,[29] parental marital status, family composition, number of siblings,[30] parents' highest education level,

[26] 62% of the working-class, and 65% of the middle-class students indicated the same.

[27] 4% of the working-class, and 2% of the middle-class students.

[28] **Sex**: In the 1990 sample, there were more female students in the lower-class group than male students (56%). On the other hand, the female-male composition was 50% in the upper-middle-class group (see Table 73).

[29] **Race:** As was seen earlier, the proportion of White and minority students was similar to that of the 1980 sample. Table 74 presents the racial composition of the 1990 sample. As the SES level becomes higher, there were fewer minority students. For

family income,[31] and the residential urbanicity[32] of each SES group. Here I only discuss key family factors in 1990 –family composition,[33] and parental highest education level.

Family composition.

Although the 1980 data do not contain either parental marital status or family composition items, family composition is substantially important to comprehend the social shift between the 1980s and 1990s. Table 76 illustrates family composition in the 1990 sample. The proportion of students who lived with their biological parents differed by SES; that is, more students lived with their parents as the SES becomes higher. Moreover, the proportion of students living in a single-mother household was high in the lower-class group as compared to the upper-middle-class group. That is, more students in lower-class than in upper-middle class in 1990 experienced living in single-mother households where mothers were most likely to be in paid labor. This can

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example, Black and Hispanic students consisted of 16% and 23% of the lower-class students, and 5% and 6% in the upper-middle-class.

[30] **Number of sibling:** Historically, a number of mothers began working in paid labor in the 1980s; that is, more mothers in 1990 might have chosen to have fewer children to raise than in the previous decade. Table 77 shows the number of siblings students had at home in the 1990 sample. The proportion of the number of siblings at home seems to be very similar across all of the SES groups. However, it can be assumed that siblings might have lived separately for financial reasons in some lower-class and working-class families.

[31] **Family income:** Family income might have changed drastically since the previous decade, since a number of mothers began their careers in paid labor. Table 78 presents the distribution of yearly family income in the 1990 sample. The difference between the lower-class and upper-middle-class families was clear: the majority of lower-class families earned approximately $35,000 or below, and the majority of the upper-middle-class families earned $50,000 or above.

[32] **Urbanicity:** Table 79 shows the urbanicity composition of the 1990 sample. The proportion of residential urbanicity did not change much between 1980 and 1990. The majority of students in the middle- and upper-middle-class groups lived in suburban area. Nearly 45% of lower-class and 40% of working-class students lived in rural area.

[33] **Parental marital status:** Parental marital status was available in the 1990 data. Table 75 shows the parental marital status composition in the 1990 sample. The result shows that as much as 84% of the upper-middle-class parents were married in 1990; on the other hand, fewer than 62% of the lower-class parents were married. The SES difference for divorced parents was also evident between lower-class and upper-middle-class groups. Nearly 15% of the lower-class parents were divorced, as compared to 6% of the upper-middle-class parents.

imply that more lower-class mothers were busy and might have not been available to their children for conversations or discussions about school.

Parental highest level of education.

As mentioned earlier, an increasing number of women sought higher levels of education during the 1980s and 1990s. It is interesting to observe the differences in mother's highest education level between the two time points. Table 28 illustrates mother's highest level of education in the 1990 sample. SES differences were clearly observed: most of the lower-class mothers still had not finished or graduated from high school, while the majority of the upper-middle-class mothers pursued college, graduate, and professional degrees in the 1990 sample. The evidence seen here reinforces the historical shifts of women's participation in professional paid labor that was described in Hochischild's study (1989). More upper-middle-class mothers with college and professional degrees shifted to pursue better, yet physically and psychologically demanding careers and experienced the "second shift" at home. The busier they became, the less available to their children they might have been.

Table 28 Mother's highest education level in the 1990 sample

Mother's highest education	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Did not finish high school	870	40	330	13	120	4	20	0.9
Graduate from high school of GED	670	30	1200	49	1010	40	280	10
Graduate from 2 year-college	80	4	330	13	460	17	240	9
Some college	50	2	170	7	340	13	280	10
Graduated from college	40	2	120	5	310	11	920	34
Complete Master's degree	10	1	20	0.7	90	3	590	22
Complete PhD, MD, other	10	1	20	0.7	30	1	150	6
Don't know	440	20	270	11	280	11	210	8
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Did father's education level also change over time between 1980 and 1990? The results show that more fathers of all of the SES groups had attained higher levels of education in 1990 (see Table 81) compared to the 1980 sample (see Table 48). SES differences were quite obvious in father's highest education level, especially between the upper-middle class and the rest of the populations.[34]

High school graduation/dropout.

Table 82 reports the percentage of students who graduated and dropped out. The results clearly show that more students dropped out in the lower-class and working-class groups than in their middle-class and upper-middle-class counterparts. SES differences were obvious here as well. In particular, the dropout rate of the lower-class and upper-middle class in 1990 differed by nearly 20%. However, it is interesting to see that even some middle-class and upper-middle-class

[34] Table 81 shows father's highest education level in the 1990 sample. About 45% of the upper-middle-class fathers completed graduate degrees, while approximately 5% of the middle-class fathers did.

students, who, according to previous studies, are supposed to receive high levels of parental involvement, still dropped out.

In sum, as seen in the 1980 results, SES differences in almost all of the variables, except for positive attitudes toward school, were noticeable. These results were consistent with the previous views toward parental involvement: students from families with a higher SES status receive higher levels of parental involvement than their lower SES counterparts. Now the question is how these SES difference in parenting dimensions and parental educational involvement play a role in terms of students' educational and behavioral outcomes. In the next section, I present the analytic results from the 1990 sample.

5.6 Analytic results: 1990

Since the 1990 data contained more variables regarding students' personal information, such as alcohol and drug use and feelings about themselves, I conducted extra analyses with those two items. I added "I am a person of worth" as positive feelings about self and "how many times respondent used alcohol in life" as alcohol use in the regression model (see Tables 103 and 104 for the descriptive statistics). In this section, I present the results from the regression analyses on high school dropout, positive attitudes toward school and behavioral problems, and the results of positive feelings and alcohol use for each SES group.

SES 1: 1990.

The results from the 1980 sample showed evident SES differences in parental practices and parental educational involvement. In this section, I present the analytic results of lower-class students (SES 1 group) in the 1990 sample. The same analytical models were used for all of the outcome variables as in the analyses for the 1980 sample.

High school dropout/graduation.

When the logistic regression analyses were conducted, the statistics showed the positive and negative associations of parental involvement in education on students' dropout/graduation status (see Table 142). Getting along with parents and having discussions with parents about school courses were firmly associated with the decreased likelihood of dropout (odds ratio = .803, p = .000 and odds ratio = .685, p = .012 respectively). Parental homework checks (odds ratio = .824, p = .045) once showed a similar association in Model 5; however, the significance disappeared when emotional involvement was added in Model 6.[35]

The variable positive attitudes toward school was added in Model 7; however, it was not statistically significant with respect to students' dropout/graduation status (odds ratio = .850, p > .112). Behavioral problem represented by truancy was added to the analysis in Model 8. Students' high levels of truancy, cut/skip classes, were significantly associated with the likelihood of dropout: that is, the likelihood was 1.4 times higher if students skipped or cut classes more frequently than those who did not (odds ratio = 1.358, p < .001).

[35] Having a daily newspaper in the family (odds ratio = .799, p = .000), and more hours of extra-curricular activities (odds ratio = .799, p = .000) were also associated with the lower likelihood of dropout.

Positive attitudes toward school and truancy.

What aspects within the family affect students' positive attitudes toward school and truancy levels? As I did with the 1980 data and sample groups, I conducted OLS regression analyses on positive attitudes toward school and behavioral problems (see Table 143). Emotional involvement represented by getting along with parents (β = .057, p = .000) and discussions with parents about school courses (β = .088, p < .001) [36] were significantly associated with the increased level of positive attitudes toward school.

Experiencing lower level of behavioral problems, or less frequent level of truancy, was associated with having frequent talk (β = -.098, p < .001) and with positive attitudes toward school (β = -.157, p < .001). The other variables did not show any statistical significance. That is, among those family-related factors, talking with parents is linked to lower levels of lower-class students' truancy. The low level of truancy, which is the strongest indicator of students' dropout, was associated with students' positive attitudes toward school.

Positive feelings about self. [37]

Among the parental dimension variables, only emotional involvement showed statistically significant association with the increased levels of students' positive feelings about themselves (β = -.074, p = .000); in other words, if students did not receive enough emotional involvement (i.e., talking to parents), they were more likely to experience low levels of positive feelings. I also added the positive attitudes toward school variable to the analysis. The result showed that

[36] Fathers' expectations (β = .031, p = .000) and hours of extra-curricular activities (β = .041, p < .002) were also statistically associated with the levels of positive attitudes toward school.

[37] The positive feelings variable was measured by the question "I am a person of worth" on a scale of 1 through 5, where 1 was strongly agree and 5 was strongly disagree.

students' positive attitudes toward school also were associated with high levels of positive feelings (β = -.148, p = .000) for lower-class students (see Tables 144 and 145).[38]

When added to the regression model on dropout, positive feelings about self did not show statistical significance. However, the association between emotional involvement and dropout became statistically significant when the positive feelings variable was added into the model (odds ratio = .829, p < .001). This may suggest that emotional involvement has a stronger link to dropout status when students have positive feelings about themselves. Having discussions about courses also showed statistical significance (odds ratio = .712 p < .043).

***Alcohol use*.**

Students tended to experience frequent alcohol use when they had behavioral problems (i.e., truancy). When added into the regression model on dropout, alcohol use did not show any statistical significance (see Tables 144 and 145). Students who were from a family with a mother and a male guardian tended to use alcohol more frequently than the other students[39].

***Racial differences*.**

In order to investigate the influences of racial differences on parental dimensions, interaction terms were added to the analyses. Emotional involvement was associated with the decreased

[38] Yet positive feelings about self did not predict lower levels of behavior problems.

[39] Also, female students were less likely to use alcohol compared to male students (β = -.131, p < .029). Living in rural areas was also a significant predictor of students' alcohol use for lower-class students (β = .325, p < .003).

likelihood of dropout for White lower-class students (odds ratio = .837, $p < .012$)[40]. The results of other racial groups did not show such statistically significant associations (see Table 168).

Dropout status at school level.

The variability of students' individual characteristics, parental dimensions, differences in parental involvement, and parenting practices within schools accounted for 4.2% of the graduation/dropout status ($p < .024$). This means that only 4.2% of the variance in dropout status was caused by the differences between schools (see Table 176).

In sum, emotional involvement in the form of getting along with parents and having discussions with parents had a significant role in decreasing the likelihood of dropout for the lower-class students in the 1990 sample. Similar to the 1980 results, emotional involvement was a key characteristic to the increased levels of positive attitudes toward school, which was the strongest indicator of lowered behavioral problems and students' high school completion. This is consistent with the idea that students have positive attitudes toward school if they receive adequate emotional involvement, which was substantially associated with the decreased likelihood of students' dropping out.

Getting along with parents and having positive attitudes toward school were important in order for students to feel positively about themselves. Racial differences in this finding were observed as well. Getting along with parents and parental participation in events were especially

[40] Parental participation in school events was a predictor of dropout for Hispanic students, although it was associated with the decreased likelihood of dropout for White students (odds ratio = 3.248, $p = .000$ and odds ratio = .516, $p = .000$, respectively). Having more than 50 books at home was associated with dropout for Hispanic lower-class students (odds ratio = 2.181, $p < .038$), but not for other groups. Homework help was a strong indicator of dropout for White and Asian lower-class students (odds ratio = 1.283, $p < .042$ and odds ratio = 315.042, $p = .000$, respectively). This is probably because students who were failing in school more likely sought and received homework help from their parents.

beneficial for White lower-class students.[41] Approximately 4% of graduation/dropout status was accounted for by the variability between schools for the lower-class students in 1990.

SES 4-1990.

High school dropout/graduation.

The upper-middle-class students in 1990 showed slightly different results from the other SES groups. In Models 7 and 8, the variables of positive attitudes toward school and behavioral problems were added. Positive attitudes toward school indicated near statistical significance (odds ratio = .854, $p > .055$). Again, behavioral problems was strongly associated with the increased likelihood of dropout (odds ratio = 1.482, $p < .001$). The other parental involvement in education parenting variables did not show any statistical significance.

Positive attitudes toward school and behavioral problems.

The results from the upper-middle-class sample showed that having discussions with parents was strongly associated with the decreased likelihood of dropout.[42] Positive attitudes toward school was statistically associated with fathers' expectations ($\beta = .068$, $p = .000$), having discussions about current issues at school with parents ($\beta = .121$, $p < .001$), and getting along with parents ($\beta = .109$, $p < .001$) were all statistically significant.[43] That is, receiving more social-capital related

[41] On the other hand, homework help was a strong indicator of dropout for White and Asian students. This might be because those students who received help were already failing, as we saw in the 1980 results.

[42] On the other hand, fathers' expectations did show an association with the higher likelihood of dropout, even after positive attitudes toward school and behavioral problems were taken into consideration (see Table 152).

[43] More hours of extra-curricular activities also indicated a statistical significance ($\beta = .031$, $p < .001$).

involvement and emotional involvement did show strong associations with students' positive attitudes toward school.

Similar to the lower-class group, the decreased level of students' truancy was associated with emotional involvement ($\beta = -.111$, $p < .001$) and parental participation in parent-teacher conferences ($\beta = -.025$, $p < .029$), and were more interested in school ($\beta = -.224$, $p < .001$)[44]. The other variables did not show any statistical significance. Positive attitudes towards school showed the strongest association with the decreased behavioral problems. That is, higher levels of positive attitudes may influence upper-middle-class students from engaging in truancy less frequently. Above mentioned social-capital related involvement and emotional involvement tend to play important roles for the degree of students' positive attitudes toward school.

Positive feelings about self.

Among the parental dimensions variables, only emotional involvement and limiting time with friends showed significant association with students' positive feelings about themselves ($\beta = -.089$, $p = .000$ and $\beta = -.074$, $p = .000$, respectively). In other words, there was a pattern of association where students were more likely to experience low levels of positive feelings (see Table 154 and 155) if they did not receive enough emotional involvement (i.e., talking to parents) and did not experience certain degrees of parental limit on time with friends. I also added the positive attitudes toward school variable to the analysis. The result showed that students' positive attitudes toward school also indicated high levels of positive feelings about self ($\beta = -.147$, $p = .000$) for upper-middle-class students. Positive feelings about self, however, did not predict lower levels of behavioral problems.

[44] Hours of extra-curricular activities also showed a statistical significance ($\beta = -.024$, $p < .037$).

Alcohol use.

Tables 154 and 155 show the regression analyses of alcohol use on dropout.[45] Emotional involvement was associated with lower levels of alcohol use (β = -.105, p = .032). Upper-middle-class students tended to experience frequent alcohol use when they had positive attitudes toward school. This result somewhat contradicts the finding for the decreased level of dropout. Although positive attitudes toward school decreased the likelihood of dropout, it increased the likelihood of upper-middle-class students' use of alcohol. When added into the regression model on dropout, alcohol use did not show any statistical significance. This may suggest that upper-middle-class students' alcohol use might not be habitual, but rather for socialization purposes.

Racial differences.

Racial differences were again somewhat mixed in 1990 (see Table 171). For example, parental participation in school events and having discussions with parents about school courses were associated with dropout for Hispanic students (odds ratio = 7,322, p < .013 and odds ratio = 13.833, p < .032, respectively). Interestingly, limiting time for television once again was associated with the reduced likelihood of dropout for Asian middle-class students; however, it appeared to be a negative indicator for Asian upper-middle-class students, increasing the likelihood of dropout (odds ratio = 2.624, p < .004).[46] This association may suggest that those upper-middle-class students who experienced parental limit for television time might have been

[45] Female students were less likely to use alcohol compared to male students (β = -.131, p < .029).

[46] Owning more than 50 books at home was associated with dropout for Hispanic upper-middle-class students (odds ratio = 260750.100, p = .000). Having a daily newspaper for White students showed an association with the reduced likelihood of dropout (odds ratio = .502, p < .036). Students having their own room dramatically was associated with the increased likelihood of dropout for White (odds ratio = 1.849, p < .042), Hispanic (odds ratio = 299000000.000, p = .000), and Asian students (odds ratio = 71967.970, p = .000).

already failing in school, thus parental limit and dropout status might have been strongly associated in the analysis.

Dropout status at school level.

The variability of students' individual characteristics, parental dimensions, positive attitudes toward school, and behavioral problems at school level accounted for 3.1% of the overall results ($p < .001$). This means that 3.1% of the results were caused by the differences between schools.

Conclusion.

To summarize, the level of behavioral problems was significantly associated with students' dropout status. However, emotional involvement, again, showed the strongest association with students' positive attitudes toward school, which was the one of two indicators of lowered levels of behavioral problems. That is, as we have observed in the lower-class sample, getting along with parents and having discussions with parents may positively influence the levels of positive attitudes toward school, which may lower the level of behavioral problems. When students experience fewer behavioral problems, they were more likely to graduate from high school. Here again, these findings suggest the importance of emotional involvement for upper-middle-class students in the 1990 sample. When students in 1990 received adequate levels of emotional involvement, they tended to feel positively about themselves and experienced less alcohol use. Here again, emotional involvement was a key parenting characteristic of academic, emotional, and behavioral outcomes of high school students from both lower- and upper-middle-class families.

As mentioned above, the findings for racial differences were mixed.[47] School variability showed small effect on dropout status.

In this chapter, I presented the results and findings from the descriptive and analytical analyses of the 1990 sample. The descriptive results showed clear SES differences in most of the parenting dimensions and parental involvement variables. As we have seen in the 1980 results, these 1990 results also are mainly consistent with a body of literature that argues upper-middle-class students received higher level of parental involvement than their lower-class counterparts. The results also showed the shifts between 1980 and 1990 as well. The number of married biological parents decreased, and the number of single-mother households slightly increased in 1990 as compared to 1980. As women's education level increased, family income also increased in 1990. The level of parental homework help also increased in 1990. Parental expectations for students' future also amplified, especially for lower-class students. These results suggest that students in the 1990 sample, most of whom had more educated mothers as compared to the 1980 sample, might have received much greater levels of parental involvement in education, such as homework help, educational materials, and parental expectations for future success.

The analytic results mainly showed the importance of receiving high levels of emotional involvement from parents. The finding was consistent for both lower-class and upper-middle-class students – their positive attitudes toward school tended to be higher when they got along with their parents. Having positive attitudes toward school was the strongest indicator of high school completion for both lower-class and upper-middle-class students in 1990. The 1990

[47] Students' having their own room was a strong indicator of dropout for White, Hispanic, and Asian students in the upper-middle-class group. Having more than 50 books, parental participation, and having discussions about school courses increased the likelihood of dropout for Hispanic students. Limits on TV time increased the likelihood for Asians students.

results as well as the 1980 results have shown the importance of emotional involvement and discussions with parents for better outcomes of high school students.

The descriptive results showed that more lower-class students responded that they never talked with their parents as compared to their upper-middle-class counterparts. Since the emotional involvement was associated with positive attitudes toward school and positive attitudes was associated with the lower level high school dropout status, it may be assumed that the majority of lower-class students may graduate from high school if they receive adequate levels of emotional involvement. In other words, emotional involvement may be able to compensate for a significant lack of parental involvement in education within lower-class families.

In the next chapter, I discuss the descriptive and analytic results of the 2002 sample groups.

Chapter 6

Results: 2002

As described in Chapter 2, women's education levels continued to increase as did the number of mothers in paid labor throughout the 1980s and 1990s. The proportion of single-parent households in my samples increased slightly between 1990 and 2002, as did the proportion of families with one of the biological parents and another guardian, which implies an increase in the number of step families and marriage-like cohabitating families. This suggests that high school students who spent their childhoods in the 1990s might have experienced a great deal of parental marital conflict and even divorce. They might have experienced financial and psychological hardships from living in a single-parent household. Some researchers emphasize the correlation between parental divorce, educational outcomes and the psychological well-being of students (Amato & Booth, 2000).

In this chapter, I present the descriptive and analytic results of the 2002 sample. Tables 29 through 39 (and 105 and 133 in Appendix) show the descriptive statistics of the 2002 sample. All of the unweighted sample size numbers have been rounded to the nearest ten throughout the chapter based on the restricted data use policy of the Institute of Education Sciences.

6.1 Descriptive statistics: parental dimension items

In this section, I report the results from the descriptive statistics of the parental dimension items in order to understand the differences among various types of parental involvement in terms of the four social class groups.

Emotional involvement.

The 1980 and 2002 data shared similar items for how often students talk with their parents. The majority of the upper-middle-class students had more frequent conversations with their parents in both years than the students of other SES groups did (see Table 29). It is noteworthy, however, that 25% of the upper-middle-class students in 1980 and 16% in 2002 indicated that they never had talks or discussions with their parents. The proportions of the students who indicated "never" in both years were the greatest for the lower-class students (42% in both 1980 and 2002).[48] The SES difference was obvious in terms of the levels of emotional involvement. Lower-class students talked with parents less often, while upper-middle-class students talked more in 2002. As we have seen that the levels of emotional involvement is associated with students' positive attitudes towards school from the 1980 and 1999 results, which are the strong indicators of fewer behavioral problems, upper-middle-class students in 2002 should show much lower levels of behavioral problems than lower-class students if the association is similar in the 2002 sample.

Table 29 "How often discuss current events with parents" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	660	42	620	34	570	27	470	16
Sometimes	610	40	840	45	1080	50	1460	51
Often	270	18	390	21	500	23	950	33
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

[48] Followed by the working-class (31% in 1980 and 34% in 2002) and middle-class (26% in 1980 and 27% in 1990) students.

Autonomy support.

In the 2002 sample, the levels of autonomy support differed among the SES groups. For example, 21% of the lower-class students decided on classes by themselves, while 16% of the upper-middle-class students did. Interestingly, the difference was smaller in 2002 than in 1990 (see Tables 128 and 97). Slightly more than 20% of the lower-class students decided on classes by themselves, as did 27% of the working-class, 21% of the middle-class, and 16% of the upper-middle-class students. Over all, more upper-middle-class students received parental guidance in all of the three time points when they decided which classes they should take. This suggests that parental autonomy support might have been lower in the upper-middle-class families than families in the rest of the SES groups.

Structure.

I used two types of family rules to measure the levels of structure: limits on TV time and time with friends. Tables 129 and 130 show the levels of structure in the 2002 sample. The limits on TV time differed greatly across the SES groups. Slightly more than 10% of the lower-class students experienced more frequent limits, while 18% of the upper-middle-class students did. As seen in the 1980 and 1990 samples, upper-middle parents exercise more parental control than lower-class parents in 2002.

More upper-middle-class parents enforced limits on television time in 2002 as compared to their 1990 counterparts: the proportions of students who answered "parents never limit TV time" were 31% in 1990 and 23 % in 2002. In other words, upper-middle-class parents practices higher levels of parental authority with their children at home. Together with their low levels of autonomy support, this result may briefly illustrate the Levine's (2006) examples of upper-

middle-class mothers who desired to be involved in children's educational achievement. The levels of limits on time with friends were somewhat similar across all of the SES groups in 2002. For example, 38% of the upper-middle-class students experienced frequent limits, as did 25% to 30% of the lower-class, working-class, and middle-class students.

6.2 Parental involvement in Education: Social capital

Parental expectations.

Mothers' expectations also increased between 1980 and 1990, and their expectations continued to stay high in 2002 (see Table 30). Nearly 70% of the lower-class mothers expected their children to earn a college degree or higher in 2002, as compared to 43% in 1980.[49] More than 95% of the upper-middle-class mothers expected a college degree or higher, as compared to 80% in 1980. That is, students in the 2002 sample received higher educational expectations from their mothers across all of the SES groups than those in 1980 did. Especially, the lower-class students in 2002 received considerably high parental expectations as compared to the students in the 1980 sample.

[49] Approximately 80% of the working-class mothers expected a college degree or higher in 2002, compared to 51% in 1980. Nearly 90% of the middle-class mothers expected the same levels of education in 2002, compared to 64% in 1980.

Table 30 "How far in school mother wants me to go" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Less than HS	120	8	30	2	20	0.8	0	0
Graduate from HS or GED	160	11	150	8	80	4	20	0.9
Attend 2-yr college	100	6	130	7	70	3	30	1
Attend 4-yr college	60	4	80	4	80	4	50	1.5
Graduate from college	590	39	810	44	1920	47	1310	45
Master's degree	200	13	290	16	420	19	740	26
Ph.D. MD. Or other degrees	300	19	350	19	470	22	730	25
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Similar patterns to mothers' expectations were observed in fathers' expectations in 2002 (see Table 31). Nearly 75% of the lower-class fathers expected their children to earn a college degree or higher in 2002, as compared to 48% in 1980[50]. More than 95% of the upper-middle-class fathers expected a college degree or higher, as compared to 85% in 1980. That is, students in 2002 received higher educational expectations from their fathers as well as their mothers across all of the SES groups than those in 1980 did. These results clearly show a sign of the historical shift in parental involvement in education, and general expectations regarding attainment levels.

[50] Approximately 78% of the working-class fathers expected a college degree or higher in 2002, compared to 55% in 1980. Nearly 90% of the middle-class fathers expected the same levels of education in 2002, compared to 67% in 1980.

Table 31 "How far in school father wants me to go" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Less than HS	130	9	50	3	20	0.9	10	0.2
Graduate from HS or GED	190	12	190	9	100	4	20	0.7
Attend 2-yr college	100	6	110	6	80	4	40	1
Attend 4-yr college	60	4	80	4	70	3	50	2
Graduate from college	580	38	830	45	980	46	1200	42
Master's degree	200	13	270	15	430	20	760	26
Ph.D. MD. Or other degrees	280	18	340	18	470	22	800	28
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Parental participation in school meetings and volunteering.

Differences across the SES groups for parental participation in school meetings were evident. In the 2002 data, I used the item "parents belong to parent-teacher organization," since there was no item that was equivalent to participation in school meetings in the 2002 dataset. More than 90% of the lower-class parents did not belong to such organizations as compared to 60% of the upper-middle-class parents (see Table 123).[51] Surprisingly, 60% of the upper-middle-class parents in 2002 did not belong to parent-teacher organizations, regardless of their increased levels of educational attainment. A similar pattern across the SES groups in 2002 was evident for parental participation in school volunteering (see Table 124).[52] These results were consistent in 1980 and 1990 as well. The majority of parents did not participate in meetings or volunteering. Among those who participate, upper-middle-class parents most actively involved in those school activities.

[51] About 85% of the working-class and 76% of the middle-class parents did not belong to any organizations.

[52] More than 87% of the lower-class parents never participated in school volunteering, as compared to 78% of the working-class, 70% of the middle-class, and 58% of the upper-middle-class parents.

Having discussions with parents about school programs/courses.

A similar pattern was seen in the 1990 and 2002 samples as well for students having frequent discussions with their parents about school programs or courses (see Table 32). More 2002 students answered "often" across all of the SES groups, when compared to the 1990 sample. For example, 24% of the lower-class students often had discussions in 2002, while 13% did in 1990. Moreover, 38% of the upper-middle-class students often had discussions in 2002, while 26% did in 1990. Interestingly, the proportions of students who answered "somewhat" or "sometimes" were similar across all of the SES groups among all of the three time periods. Overall, more students, both lower-class and upper-middle-class students, had discussions in 2002 as compared to 1990. As we have seen in the results from the 1980 and 1990 samples, having discussions with parents can be a key characteristic in the 2002 sample which is associated with higher levels of positive attitudes towards school.

Table 32 "I discuss school courses with parents" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	380	25	360	20	320	15	290	10
Sometimes	800	51	1020	55	1160	54	1490	52
Often	360	24	470	25	670	31	1100	38
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Having discussions with parents on other topics.

The variable, "I discuss school activities with parents," was only available in the 1990 and 2002 data. A similar pattern to the previous discussion item, having discussions with parents about school programs/courses, was observed for this item (see Table 33). Upper-middle-class students had more frequent discussions with their parents on school activities in 1990 and 2002 than students of the other SES groups did. For example, about 28% of the lower-class students in 2002 had discussions with their parents often, and 49% of the upper-middle-class students had a similar level of discussion[53]. Moreover, the proportions of the students who answered "sometimes" were again similar across all of the SES groups.

Table 33 "I discuss school activities with parents" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	390	25	330	18	270	13	270	9
Sometimes	710	47	900	49	1020	47	1220	42
Often	440	28	620	33	860	40	1390	49
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 34 reports how often students had discussions with their parents about things they studied in school. The variable "I discuss things studied in school with parents" was only available in the 2002 data. The lower-class students showed the highest proportion who answered "Never" (23% for the lower-class and 10% for the upper-middle-class students). Moreover, the upper-middle-class group reported the highest proportion of students who

[53] About 33% of the working-class students and 40% of the middle-class students had frequent discussions with parents.

indicated “often” (36% for the upper-middle class and 23% for the lower-class students). These results indicate the SES difference in frequency of discussions student had. In the 2002 sample, the upper-middle-class students had more frequent conversations, while their lower-class counterparts experienced less frequent conversations. This SES difference is somewhat consistent among all of the three time frames: upper-middle-class students had substantially more frequent conversations and discussions with their parents than lower-class students did.

Table 34 “I discuss things studied in school with parents” in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	360	23	350	19	320	15	300	10
Sometimes	820	53	1050	56	1220	57	1550	54
Often	350	23	450	24	610	28	1030	36
Missing	10	0.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

6.3 Parental involvement in education: Cultural capital

As in the last two chapters, parental involvement in education that is related to cultural capital for this study included (1) if the family has 50 books or more[54] and a daily newspaper;[55] (2) if

[54] **Books at home:** The result of the 2002 sample did not differ much from that of 1980 and 1990. Nearly 70% of the lower-class students owned 50 books or more at home (see Table 114). Again, this contradicts a large body of research that has concluded that most students from low-income families lack educational resources at home, such as books (Anguiano, 2004; Lareau, 2000).

[55] **Daily newspaper:** Slightly more than 76% of the upper-middle-class families had a daily newspaper, as compared to 98% of the upper-middle-class families in 1980 (see Table 53). The same pattern was true for the 1990 and 2002 samples (see Tables 84 and 115). As compared to the 1980 and 1990 samples, the proportion of families that had a daily newspaper at home became

students have a place to study and their own room;[56] (3) parental homework help and checks; and (4) if students participated in extra-curricular activities.[57] Here I discuss only the results of homework help and checks in 2002.

Parental homework checks.

Parental homework checks in 2002 showed interesting results. More parents checked their high school children's homework in 2002 compared to 1990 (see Tables 35 and 87, respectively). For example, about 20% of lower-class parents and 29% of upper-middle class parents checked their children's homework in 1990. The numbers increased to 33% and 39% in 2002, respectively. The similar increase was also seen in the working-class and middle-class samples. This suggests that more parents were involved in their children's education in 2002, possibly due to the increased levels of mothers' educational attainment. The results also suggest that the students in 2002 experienced much higher levels of parental educational involvement in term of homework checks.

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smaller in 2002 across all of the racial groups. For example, 86% of the middle-class families had a newspaper in 1980, while 68% did in 2002. This might be due to the advancement of technology – more upper-middle and middle-class families probably began to read news on the Internet.

[56] **Having own room:** More students had their own rooms in 1990 and 2002 than in 1980 (see Table 81). Having their own room can be beneficial for students, in that they can have their own time and study without distractions. Since the dropout rate in the 2002 sample decreased across all of the SES groups compared to the 1980 sample, having their own room might have effectively influenced students. The 2002 data did not contain the item for having a place to study.

[57] **Extra-curricular activities:** Similar proportions of students who were engaged in extra-curricular activities were observed in the 1990 and 2002 samples. More students were involved in extra-curricular activities if they were from higher SES families in 2002 (see Table 120).

Table 35 "How often parents check homework" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	260	17	290	15	270	13	370	13
Rarely	330	21	400	21	460	22	590	21
Sometimes	460	29	550	30	650	30	790	27
Often	490	33	610	33	770	35	1130	39
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Homework help.

Only did 9% of the lower-class parents sometimes help with homework in 1990, but the percentage increased to 35% in 2002 (see Table 36). A similar pattern was observed in the other SES groups who answered "Sometimes." This is a drastic change within a decade. Another interesting finding is that the answer "Never" decreased in the lower-class group but increased in the other SES groups. Approximately 60% of the lower-class parents in 1990 never helped with their children's homework, and this percentage dropped to 24% in 2002. About 8% of the working-class, middle-class, and upper-middle-class parents never helped in 1990, and the proportion somewhat widened to 19%, 15%, and 12%, respectively. That is, more lower-class parents started helping with their children's homework, as compared to parents in the other SES groups in 2002. Together with the parental expectation level, it is evident that the lower-class students in the sample must have received higher degrees of parental involvement in 2002 than in 1980 or 1990.

Table 36 "How often parents help homework" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	370	24	350	19	320	15	350	12
Rarely	450	29	560	30	620	30	900	32
Sometimes	530	35	690	37	930	42	1270	44
Often	190	12	250	14	280	13	360	12
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

6.4 Positive attitudes toward school and behavioral problems

Positive attitudes toward school.

The results for all 1980, 1990, and 2002 data showed little obvious difference in parental school attitudes across the SES groups. That is, approximately the same proportions of students were interested in school or classes and liked school (see Tables 37). Approximately 26% of lower-class, 24% of working-class, 22% of middle-class, and 24% of upper-middle-class students liked school in 2002. Again, this item is a key characteristic for this study as well as emotional involvement because the results of 1980 and 1990 data showed positive attitudes toward school had positive association with students' high school graduation.

Table 37 "I like school" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Not at all	170	11	220	12	220	10	280	10
Somewhat	920	60	1140	62	1390	65	1840	64
A great deal	400	26	450	24	480	22	700	24
Missing	50	3	40	2	60	3	60	2
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Behavioral problems.

A similar pattern to the 1980 and 1990 samples was observed in the 2002 data (see Table 38). Nearly 80% of the upper-middle-class students indicated that they never skipped or cut classes, as compared to 65% of the lower-class students. Moreover, 21% of the lower-class students indicated "1-2 times," while 13% of the upper-middle-class students did. Five percent of the lower-class students had skipped or cut classes more than 10 times, while only 2% of the upper-middle-class students had. Here again, the results showed clear SES differences that are consistent with previous studies.

Table 38 "How many times I have cut/skipped classes" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	1000	65	1310	72	1560	73	2300	80
1-2 times	330	21	300	16	380	17	380	13
3-6 times	100	6	120	6	120	5	120	4
7-9 times	30	2	30	1	40	2	20	0.6
> 10times	80	5	70	4	50	2	50	2
Missing	10	0.5	10	0.7	20	0.8	20	0.6
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

6.5 Family and individual background

The results of individual and family background information include sex,[58] racial composition,[59] family income,[60] number of siblings,[61] parents' highest education, residential urbanicity,[62] and the graduation/dropout status of each SES group. Here I only discuss family composition and parental highest education level.

[58] **Sex:** Table 105 report the sex composition of the 2002 sample. There were more female students in lower SES groups than male students. The female-male composition was almost 50% in the upper-middle-class groups.

[59] **Racial composition:** The proportion of racial composition in the 2002 sample was similar to that of 1980 and 1990. Table 106 reports the racial composition of the 2002 sample.

[60] **Yearly family income:** During the decade between 1990 and 2002, the trend of women pursuing higher education and professional careers became stronger. That is, more families were two-income households. This trend could have increased family income in 2002 (see Table 107). As compared to the 1990 sample, the majority of upper-middle-class families earned more than $75,000 ($50,000 in the 1990 sample). Moreover, the majority of lower-class parents earned $50,000 or below ($35,000 in the 1990 sample).

[61] **Number of siblings:** Since more mothers were working in paid labor, the number of siblings at home might have decreased even more in 2002, due to the possible negative consequences of "second shift" (Hochschild, 1989). The results show that the SES differences in number of siblings became more distinct in 2002 than in 1990, where we saw smaller differences among the SES groups (see Table 111).

[62] **Urbanicity:** Urbanicity composition in 2002 showed somewhat interesting results (see Table 112). As compared to the 1990 sample, more lower-class students lived in suburban areas in 2002. Moreover, the proportion of students who lived in urban areas increased across all of the SES groups, including upper-middle class.

Family composition.

How did the trend of increasing numbers of women beginning their careers outside of the home affect family composition in 2002? Table 108 presents the family composition of the 2002 sample. The interesting point to mention here is the proportions of students who lived with both their biological mother and father decreased in 2002 by about 5-10%. That is, more students in 2002 than 1990 tended to live in single-parent or step-family households. These results briefly imply those increasing number of students who lived in alternative forms of family might have financial and psychological hardships as they had to adapt themselves to new family environment as Wallerstein et al. (2000; 2004) described.

Parental highest level of education.

Mothers in the 2002 sample came approximately twenty years after those did in my first sample in 1980. That is, the trend of increases in women's education level might have become even higher (see Table 39). These results show that the level of cultural capital significantly differs across social class. More middle-class and upper-middle-class mothers completed college in 2002 (12% in 1990 and 18% in 2002 for middle-class, and 34% in 1990 and 44% in 2002 for upper-middle-class mothers). The rest of the SES groups did not show notable changes in college graduation in 2002. These results clearly show the growing SES differences in mothers' education level and the increase in the expectation level students, especially upper-middle-class students received from their parents.

Table 39 Mother's highest education level in the 2002 sample

Mother's highest ed	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Did not finish high school	610	40	150	8	30	1.5	0	0
Graduate high school or GED	710	45	850	45	520	24	110	4
Some 2-year college	100	7	310	17	400	18	190	7
Graduate from 2 year-college	60	4	240	13	360	17	240	8
Some college	50	3	200	11	380	18	280	10
Graduated from college	10	1	90	5	390	18	1270	44
Complete Master's degree	0	0	10	0.5	60	3	620	21
Complete PhD, MD, other	0	0	0	0	10	0.5	170	6
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Overall between 1980 and 2002, mother's highest education level increased mostly among those who belonged to upper-middle-class families. For the mothers in other SES groups, the education level gradually increased in the two decades this study examined, but the increase was not as prominent as that of upper-middle-class mothers.

The education level of fathers in 2002 did not differ much from that in 1990. Unlike the increase in the proportion of upper-middle-class mothers who graduated from college in 2002, no such change was observed in fathers' education level. Overall, the SES difference seen in mothers' education level was also present in fathers' education level in the 2002 sample (see Table 110).

High school graduation and dropout.

Table 113 reports the high school graduation/dropout rate of the 2002 sample. The proportion of students who graduated from high school in the 2002 sample was larger than in the 1990 sample across all of the SES groups, yet the SES difference in dropout rate was evident. More than 20%

of the lower-class students dropped out in 2002, while only 3% of the upper-middle-class students did.

In sum, I discussed the descriptive statistics of the individual and family background and parental dimension variables of the 2002 sample. Some of the items, such as mothers' highest education level, family income, family composition, and parental expectations for students' futures changed substantially between the 1990 and the 2002 samples. Parental involvement items, such as parental homework help and expectations, in particular, dramatically increased between 1990 and 2002 for lower-class students. These results can be good indicators of societal shifts in gender roles, marital status, and increased levels of parental involvement in the 2000s. These variables might be able to present different findings. In the next section, I present the analytical results on graduation/dropout status and other outcome variables.

6.6 Analysis results: 2002

In this section, I present the analytical results of the 2002 data. As in the previous two chapters, I only present the results of the lower-class (SES 1) and upper-middle class (SES 4) samples. Parental homework help and limit for television time greatly increased among lower-class families in 2002 as compared to the 1980 and 1990 samples. Mothers' education level increased substantially in 2002 for upper-middle-class families. How do these changes in trends influence students' educational and developmental outcomes in 2002? To answer this, the same models and methods were used for the analysis for the 2002 sample.

SES-1 2002.

High school dropout/graduation.

When logistic regression analysis was conducted on the dropout/graduation status of lower-class students, having discussions with parents on school activities (odds ratio = .478, $p < .001$) and parental participation in school events (odds ratio = .447, $p < .044$) were significantly associated with the decreased level of dropout in Model 6[63]. Coming from a household with two guardians (where there is no biological parent present) was significantly associated with lower-class students' dropout status (odds ratio = 10.36, $p = .000$). Living in a single-father household was also associated with dropout status (odds ratio = 2.621, $p < .045$).

The variable, behavioral problems represented by truancy, was added to the analysis in Model 7. When students experience truancy, their likelihood of dropout was approximately 1.4 times higher than those who did not (odds ratio = 1.448, $p = .000$). On the other hand, having discussions with parents and parental participation in school meetings were associated with the decreased likelihood of dropout for the same group of students. These results are consistent with the results from the 1980 and 1990 samples. Frequent discussions with parents may be helpful for lower-class students. The association between parental participation in school meeting and the lowered likelihood of dropout might have been because students were already failing and increased parental participation appeared greatly significant statistically (see Table 156).

[63] Hours of extra-curricular activities also showed statistical significance (odds ratio = .937, $p < .013$). On the other hand, students' having their own room had a negative association (odds ratio = 2.041, $p < .048$) among the parental involvement in education and parenting variables in Model 6 (see Table 121). Having more sibling was also slightly associated with the higher likelihood of dropout (odds ratio = 1.12, $p < .048$).

Positive attitudes toward school and behavioral problems.

What parenting aspects affect students' positive attitudes toward school and behavioral problems within the family in 2002? As I did with the 1980 and 1990 data and sample groups, I conducted OLS regression analyses on positive attitudes toward school and behavioral problems. Table 157 shows the result on positive attitudes toward school. Again, emotional involvement, represented by the frequency of talking with parents ($\beta = .071$, $p < .015$) and having frequent discussions with parents on things learned at school ($\beta = .093$, $p < .001$) were associated with the level of positive attitudes toward school.[64] These associations of emotional involvement and having frequent discussions with positive attitudes toward school were almost completely consistent across all of the time frames. The higher the levels of emotional involvement and discussion with parents, the higher the chances of students' interests in school were.

The decreased levels of behavioral problems, in other words, experiencing frequent levels of truancy, was associated with lower-class students' positive attitudes toward school ($\beta = -.379$, $p = .000$). The other variables did not show any statistical significance. These results suggest that talking and having discussions with parents may be strongly associated with the level of positive attitudes toward school and classes, which may significantly decrease behavioral problems contributing as the strongest indicator of higher likelihood of dropout. This finding, again, was consistent across all of the time frames.

Racial differences.

In order to investigate the racial effects on the parental dimension variables, interaction terms were added to the model (see Table 172). Emotional involvement was also associated with the

[64] Hours of extra-curricular activities ($\beta = .012$, $p < .001$) also increased the level of positive attitudes toward school.

lower likelihood of dropout for White students (odds ratio = .601, $p < .050$). Frequent discussions about school courses was associated with the lowered likelihood of dropout for Asian students (odds ratio = .183, $p < .024$). Similarly, having discussions on school activities was associated with the reduced likelihood of dropout for White lower-income students (odds ratio = .498, $p < .029$). Parental participation in school volunteering was also associated with the decreased likelihood for White students (odds ratio = .197, $p < .038$).[65]

In sum, having frequent discussions and parental volunteering seem to have helped the lower-class students graduate in 2002. Moreover, increased levels of positive attitudes toward school may decrease their likelihood of truancy, which was the strongest predictor of dropout, and positive attitudes may be associated with having frequent talks with their parents (i.e., emotional involvement), discussions, and parental participation. The increased level of positive attitudes toward school was significantly associated with the reduced likelihood of dropout. That is, emotional involvement may provide lower-class students with benefits through increasing the levels of positive attitudes toward school although emotional involvement might not affect the likelihood of dropout. This association was also consistently seen in the 1980 and 1990 samples.

As the descriptive results showed earlier, the levels of positive attitudes toward school was somewhat similar across all of the SES groups. Yet emotional involvement was much lower in the lower-class group than in the upper-middle-class group. The students living in a household with two guardians were at most risk of dropout. Together with the analytic results, it can be suggested that if lower-class students receive substantial emotional involvement from their

[65] Having more than 50 books at home was associated with dropout for Asian lower-income students in 2002 (odds ratio = 3.098, $p < .021$).

parents, their positive attitudes toward school may become stronger, and their dropout rate may be lowered in the end.

In the next section, I present the result from the 2002 upper-middle-class sample. Do we see the same consistency in the role of emotional involvement and having discussion with parents on students' educational and behavioral outcomes in this sample? The descriptive results have shown the evidence of lower autonomy support and lower structure in this group than the other SES groups. How do these parenting factors influence the outcomes?

SES-4 2002.

***High school dropout/graduation*.**

The same statistical methods were conducted for the 2002 upper-middle-class sample. Among all of the parental involvement and parenting variables, only emotional involvement (i.e., talking with parents) showed a significantly positive association with the decreased likelihood of dropout in Model 6 (odds ratio = .459, $p < .025$).[66] As seen in the lower-class group, the family composition was statistically significant for the upper-middle-class students' dropout status. Coming from a father only (odds ratio = 5.412, $p < .005$) and male guardian only household (odds ratio = 68.929, $p = .000$) showed statistical significance even when the rest of the variables were added to the analysis in Model 8 (see Table 162). More precisely, coming from a male-parent/guardian household was associated with the higher likelihood of student's dropout status as also seen in the lower-class sample. However, the sample size of this particular group was small (approximately 2% of the SES 4 group in 2002).

[66] On the other hand, parental homework help showed a negative association (odds ratio = 1.464, $p < .045$) in Model 6, meaning that the more frequently upper-middle-class students received homework help, the higher the likelihood of dropout was. This might be because students who received homework help from their parents were already doing poorly in school.

The behavioral problems variable was added to the analysis in Model 8. When upper-middle-class students experienced truancy, their likelihood of dropout was approximately 2.2 times higher than those who did not (odds ratio = 2.265, $p < .001$). Here again, the level of truancy was one of the strongest indicator of dropout. This was consistent across all of the SES groups and all of the three time frames.

Positive attitudes toward school and behavioral problems.

For positive attitudes toward school, an OLS regression analysis showed that having frequent discussions with parents on school activities ($\beta = .141$, $p = .000$) and things learned at school ($\beta = .128$, $p = .000$), hours of extra-curricular activities ($\beta = .004$, $p < .045$), and mothers' expectations ($\beta = .034$, $p < .041$) were significantly associated with the level of upper-middle-class students' positive attitudes toward school (see Table 163). Here again, this statistical evidence suggests discussions with parents contribute to students' positive attitudes toward school. This finding was consistent across all of the three time frames.

The decreased level of behavioral problems was, again, associated with students' positive attitudes toward school for the upper-middle-class students in 2002 ($\beta = -.154$, $p = .000$).[67] On the other hand, coming from a family with father only was significantly associated with the increased likelihood of behavioral problems ($\beta = .246$, $p = .000$).

Racial differences.

Again, for the 2002 sample, racial differences were somewhat mixed (see Table 175). Emotional involvement showed a positive association with the reduced likelihood of dropout for White and

[67] Moreover, having more than 50 books also was associated with students' positive attitudes ($\beta = -.281$, $p = .000$).

Hispanic students (odds ratio = .417, $p < .010$ and odds ratio = .098, $p < .046$, respectively). Providing structure by limiting time for television was associated with the lower likelihood of dropout for Hispanic students (odds ratio =.127, $p < .002$).[68] Contrary to Black middle-class students, fathers' expectations was associated with the lower likelihood of dropout for Black upper-middle-class students (odds ratio = .014, $p = .000$).[69] Receiving homework help showed significantly strong association with the likelihood of dropout for upper-middle-class White (odds ratio = 2.302, $p < .002$), Black (odds ratio = 381.932, $p = .000$), and Hispanic (odds ratio = 12.754, $p < .031$) students. This might indicate that those students were already failing in school, so the levels of homework help was simply associated with their dropout status.

In sum, talking with parents (emotional involvement) was again the indicator of the lower likelihood of dropout in 2002.[70] Especially for White students, emotional involvement was highly associated with the reduced likelihood of dropout. Moreover, increased levels of positive attitudes toward school may possibly lower their likelihood of truancy, as seen in the results of the lower-class group in 2002 and the rest of the other SES groups, which was the strongest predictor of dropout. Positive attitudes toward school may be increased by having frequent discussions with parents, receiving mothers' high expectations, and more hours of extra-

[68] However, limiting TV time was highly associated with the dropout of Black students (odds ratio = 21300000.000, $p = .000$). Furthermore, autonomy support was similarly associated with dropout for Black students (odds ratio = 151000.000, $p = .000$). Students having their own room was strongly associated with dropout for Black upper-middle-class students (odds ratio = 156000.000 $p = .000$).

[69] On the other hand, mothers' expectations were strongly associated with dropout for the same group of students (odds ratio = 4020.486, $p = .000$). That is, Black upper-middle-class students were more likely to dropout when their mother's expectations for them were high. Father's expectations increased the likelihood of dropout for Hispanic students (odds ratio = 12.764, $p < .019$). Furthermore, parental participation in school meetings was associated with a higher likelihood of dropout for Black students (odds ratio = 627000000.000, $p = .000$), and participation in school events was associated with a higher likelihood of dropout for Hispanic students (odds ratio = 569.034, $p = .000$). More hours of extra-curricular activities was associated with dropout for Black students (odds ratio = 2.032, $p = .000$), and the opposite was true for Hispanic students (odds ratio = .766, $p < .043$).

[70] Having a daily newspaper also reduced the likelihood of dropout for the upper-middle-class students in the 2002 sample.

curricular activities. Again in 2002, emotional involvement and discussions with parents were key characteristics at home that appear to contribute to better educational and behavioral outcomes of students of any SES. These associations among emotional involvement and discussions with parents, positive attitudes toward school, and behavioral problems were noticeably consistent across all of the time frames: 1980, 1990 and 2002.

Moreover, the 2002 sample also showed that the level of emotional involvement was lowest in the lower-class groups as compared to the upper-middle-class counterparts. The dropout status was greater in the lower-class groups too. That is, as we have seen with both 1980 and 1990 samples, if lower-class students receive adequate levels of emotional involvement, it may compensate for a significant lack of parental involvement in education within the lower-class families and contribute to students' high school graduation.

Chapter 7

Discussion

The current study examines the effect of parental involvement, as a form of both cultural and social capital, on educational and other developmental outcomes of high school students in 1980, 1990 and 2002. A large body of literature has emphasized that parental involvement in education is one of the most significant contributing factors to students' academic outcomes. The level of parental involvement in education can differ across social classes: parents with higher social status generally seem to know better what to do and how to be involved in their children's education than those with lower social status. Most parents are aware that their educational involvement is important, but why do we find an increasing number of children experiencing emotional distress and behavioral maladjustment? Why do we see upper-middle-class children dropping out, despite their supposedly receiving a higher level of parental involvement in their education than lower-class students? These questions point to the possibility of other factors within the family affecting children's educational and other developmental outcomes. Until recently, little was known how cultural and social capital interact with each other as indicators of students' developmental outcomes. A number of previous studies overlooked the importance of parental emotional involvement for educational outcomes. Furthermore, previous studies lacked historical perspective on how parents have been involved in education and other parenting practices over time. This study, therefore, considered cultural-capital related and social-capital related involvement as a part of parenting practices including emotional involvement within the family and how these practices interact with each other.

Parental involvement in education helps children to achieve better GPAs and higher educational attainment; however, most research has focused on parental involvement as a form of cultural capital, not as a part of parenting practices. When cultural-capital related parental involvement, such as having books at home and checking and helping with homework, was taken into account, along with family characteristics, these variables achieve statistical significance as strong indicators of educational outcomes: GPAs and graduation/dropout rate. Researchers, however, must realize that involvement in education is not all parents can provide their children with at home. As a part of parenting practice, parents can offer their children a greater amount of time to discuss problems, offer emotional support, and communicate their expectations for successful future, and discipline, all of which require social ties between parents and children. In other words, features of family life concerning social capital. Those parenting practice factors that include both cultural and social capital have been ignored in the field of educational research on parental involvement, which is probably why it is difficult to understand, for example, the cases of high school dropouts who were raised in families where parents have the financial and cultural resources to offer a great deal of involvement in education. The current study, therefore, considered four types of parenting dimensions: emotional involvement, parental involvement in education, autonomy support, and structure.

There has been a lack of historical evidence comparing the effect of parental involvement in education on student's educational outcomes across different periods. Most previous studies have focused on one period. It is, however, natural to think that methods of parenting must have changed over the course of years, along with other financial, social, and cultural factors. That is, the findings from the studies in the 1970s may not be entirely consistent with findings from the 2000s. As discussed in previous chapters, families in the U.S. underwent drastic changes in

family composition, parental education level, mothers' occupation status, and gender roles, all of which changed the quantity and quality of family life for young children and adolescents and influenced the educational and developmental outcomes. The current study, therefore, compared these different time points to observe any similarities and differences in 1980, 1990, and 2002.

As mentioned above, the parenting dimensions, encompassing emotional involvement, both cultural-capital and social-capital related parental involvement in education, autonomy support, and structure were used to examine the possible associations with educational and developmental outcomes of students for this dissertation. Three different datasets were used, from 1980, 1990, and 2002, to attempt to comprehend the changes over this 20-year period. Socio-economic status was divided into four groups: lower class, working class, middle class, and upper-middle class. In this chapter the overall findings and possible implications for policymakers are discussed.

7.1 Emotional involvement

Emotional involvement, represented by the closeness of parents and students, was a strong indicator of higher GPAs and a lower likelihood of dropout, as well as students' positive attitude toward school, which was the most significant indicator of their receiving low GPAs (1980) and dropping out (1990 and 2002). In this study, emotional involvement showed an interesting and possibly important association with increased positive attitude toward school/classes, which was linked to dramatically decreased incidence and seriousness of students' behavioral problems. This association between emotional involvement and positive attitudes toward school was consistent for most of the SES groups and across all of the time periods. That is, talking and getting along with parents were consistently associated with an increased level of positive

attitudes toward school, which may be a form of parental cultural norms about education (cultural capital). Through the close relationships between parents and children where the two agents interact with each other, the parental cultural norms get successfully delivered to their children, which result in "activated" forms of cultural capital: positive attitudes toward school and fewer behavioral problems. Coleman (1988) mentioned if relationships between the parents and children are not strong, cultural capital can be transferred in a negative manner or will not be transferred at all, even when there is high levels of cultural capital in the family (see my review in Chapter 2). The association found in this study was empirically consistent with Coleman's point on the importance of social capital across all the social classes over a 20-year period.

Figure 1 shows the proportion of students who often and never talked with their parents. It is clear that lower-class students had significantly low frequency of conversation with their parents in both 1980 and 2002. Nearly 42% in both 1980 and 2002 of the lower-class students never had such conversations. The frequency of conversation with parents for upper-middle-class students increased between 1980 and 2002 by nearly 30%. Even so, however, still approximately 15% of upper-middle-class students in 2002 never had conversations with their parents. Interestingly, about a half of upper-middle-class students who dropped out from high school experienced rare conversations with their parents in the 2002 sample.

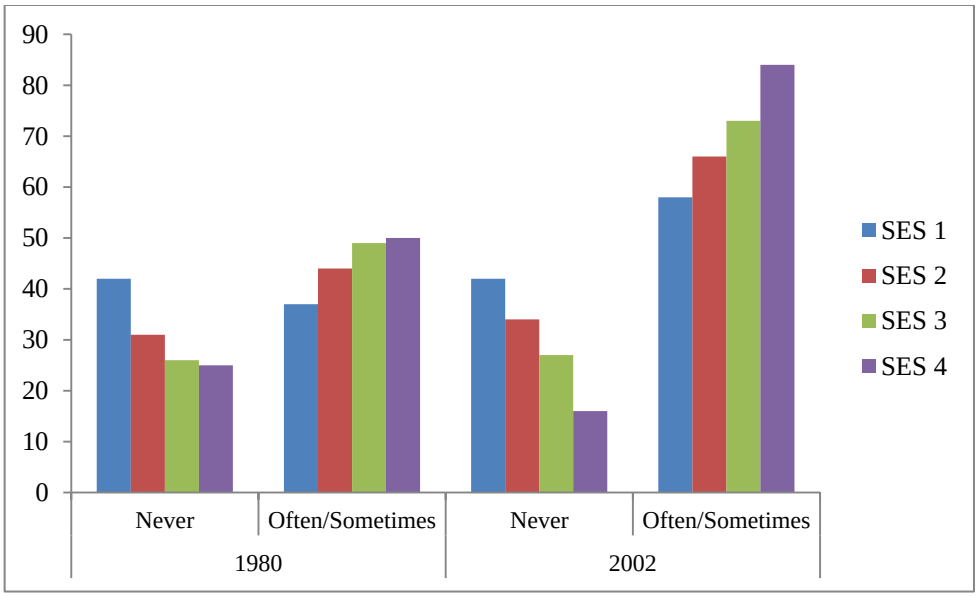


Figure 1 Frequency of conversation with parents in 1980 and 2002 (%).

These findings show how important talking and getting along with parents are for the educational outcomes of students. As mentioned earlier, it is valuable to think that emotional involvement delivers parental cultural capital to children, which activates cultural norms and resources in children for better educational outcomes. As Ream and Palardy (2008) mentioned, parent-child interaction transmit parental cultural norms and resources; that is, social capital between parents and children delivers parental cultural capital so as to deliver and activate it. The current study has shown that there exists an association between availability, delivery, and activation over a 20-year period.

7.2 Parental involvement in education: Social capital

Social-capital related parental involvement in education includes discussion between parents and students, parental expectations, and parental participation in school events and meetings for this study. As seen in the last chapter, the main finding in this category was that having discussions

between parents and students was associated with the lower likelihood of dropout and behavior problems. Having discussions showed a substantial association with increased positive attitudes toward school in all three time frames. In other words, if students had less frequent discussion with parents at home, they tended to have attitudes that were not so positive toward school, attain lower GPAs, or drop out from high school. This finding was largely consistent across all the SES groups and time frames.

The results for social-capital related parental involvement in education show consistency with some of the findings of previous studies on the effects of parental expectation (Lopez, 2001; Teachman & Paasch, 1998) and parent-student discussion (Lareau, 2003; Aunguiano, 2004; Ream & Palalrdy, 2008). However, the significant finding of this study which should be emphasized is that social capital between parents and children tends to encourage students' positive attitudes toward school and classes, which may possibly decrease the levels of problematic behavior. The levels of problematic behavior had the strongest link to negative educational outcomes, rather than to directly decrease the likelihood of receiving a high GPA or dropping out. These findings were consistent with this idea across all of the SES groups and all of the three time frames.

7.3 Parental involvement in education: Cultural capital

Cultural-capital related parental involvement in education for this study includes owning more than 50 books at home; receiving a daily newspaper; providing the student with her/his own room (a place to study); parental assistance with and checking of homework; and help with extra-curricular activities. As can be seen in the previous section, homework help supported the likelihood of higher GPAs and high-school completion in the lower SES groups. However, when

the variable, positive attitude toward school, was added to the analysis, the statistical significance of those cultural-capital items disappeared. That is, positive attitudes toward school had a stronger association with educational outcomes in these samples. Although a large body of literature (Lareau, 2003; Dika & Singh, 2002; Epstein, 2007) has emphasized the importance of cultural capital for students' better educational outcomes, the results of this study showed consistency in suggesting that cultural-capital related parental involvement might not be as directly significant as has been believed, at least at high school level, without students' positive attitudes toward school. The latter can be influenced through well-functioning social capital between parents and children, as I explained in the previous sections and as Coleman (1988) theorized.

7.4 Other parenting dimensions

In this study, structure was represented by a limitation of television watching by parents and a limitation of time with friends. The magnitude of the structure had positive association with educational outcomes as the variables, emotional involvement, positive attitudes toward school and behavioral problem, were added in the statistical model. The more limited the time for television, the higher the GPAs that the working-class (in 1980 and 2002) and upper-middle-class students (in 1980) attained. This possibly suggests that especially working-class students might need firmer restrictions within the family to achieve better educational outcomes.

Autonomy support in this study is characterized by whether students selected their school classes by themselves or parents decided for their children. Some previous research has concluded that parental autonomy support provides children with a sense of independence, which can also cultivate a sense of responsibility (Levine, 2006; Grolnick, 2002). This variable,

however, did not show much statistical significance in most of the sample groups at any time point. This possibly suggests that students' deciding on school courses with or without parental help does not affect their likelihood of attaining higher GPAs or completing high school. In order to investigate the effect of autonomy support, it could be examined whether other variables, such as parents allowing their children to go on a trip with their friends, might predict educational outcomes more strongly than the variable used for this study.

7.5 Positive attitudes toward school

As previous research has concluded (Ekstrom et al, 1986; Hallinan, 2008; Marks, 2010; Marcus & Sanders-Reio, 2001), the level of positive attitudes toward school achieves statistical significance when regressed on high school completion/dropout status. This study presents a possible link between positive attitudes toward school and lower incidence of behavioral problems which is the strongest indicator of high school completion in this study. That is, if students' attitudes toward school are negative, they may experience more incidences of behavioral problems, which may dramatically increase the likelihood of low GPAs and dropout. This is another potentially important finding.

Furthermore, the results show that the level of students' positive attitudes toward school may have become stronger when they received a high level of emotional involvement, including frequent discussion, from parents. None of the other parental involvement in education, autonomy support, or structure showed similar results. This finding was consistently seen in the results across the SES groups and time periods. Parents' cultivating a positive relationship with their children and spending more time with them, for instance, may be much effective in terms of

improving students' educational outcomes than providing them with more educational materials and homework help.

These results on GPAs and high school graduation/dropout status suggest that positive attitudes toward school, a product of cultural norms seen in individuals who have a high level of cultural capital, may have to be transmitted from parents to children through close relationships, a form of social capital within the family. Positive attitudes that have been successfully transmitted to students through social capital between parents and their children, may display links between fewer behavioral problems and better educational outcomes. That is, parental cultural norms have been successfully delivered to children through their close relationships to activate the outcomes.

Cultural-capital related parental involvement, in contrast, seemed to have relatively weak associations with educational outcomes when emotional involvement and positive attitudes toward school were taken into account in this study. This may mean that long-held beliefs concerning the benefits of parental involvement in education are not as relevant to students' outcomes as have been previously thought when there is an absence of well-functioning social capital (i.e. parent-child relationship) within the family. When well-functioning social capital is present in the family, parental involvement in education, a form of parental cultural capital, may be properly transmitted to the children through the social capital within the family to activate the capital for better outcomes. This may indicate what Lareau and Hovart (1999) call the "activation of cultural capital."

Furthermore, Ream and Palardy (2008) mentioned that availability of cultural capital (parents' positive attitudes toward school here) does not get actualized in children unless there is a process of distribution from parents to children. That is, emotional involvement delivers

parental positive attitudes toward school, a form of cultural capital, to children, and the delivered positive attitudes are activated in children so as to influence educational and behavioral outcomes. These findings suggest that even students from low-income families at risk of low GPAs and dropout may achieve and attain better outcomes if emotional involvement delivers parental positive attitudes toward school to the students.

Lamont and Lareau (1998) expressed "social inclusion" and "social exclusion" as the contexts in which the capitals of agents (in this study, parents and students) are activated. When students have more frequent conversations with parents, they are socially included, and the capitals between the two agents are transmitted so as to be activated. However, when students do not experience frequent levels of conversations and discussions, which essentially means that the chances of social exclusion within the family are high, the weak relationship between parents and students distracts cultural capital from being delivered to students.

7.6 Behavioral problems

As mentioned above, the low levels of behavioral problems, measured by frequency of late attendance (1980) and truancy (1990 and 2002), was associated with the emotional involvement students received from parents along with frequent discussions. Students who received a great deal of emotional involvement and had frequent discussions with parents showed more positive attitudes toward school and classes than students who did not. Students who had a more positive attitude toward school were less likely to suffer behavioral problems. Students who experienced low levels of behavioral problems tended to achieve higher GPAs and complete high school. These findings may give a strong indication of the importance of parenting practices to policymakers.

The findings in this study may indicate the importance of parental emotional involvement and discussion between parents and students, both of which are forms of social capital; few of the cultural-capital related parental involvement items were indicators of a positive attitude toward school or low behavioral problems in this study. Again, parental cultural resources and educational materials may not directly influence children's educational outcomes without established social capital between parents and children. These findings were consistent across all of the three time frames.

The findings also suggest high levels of emotional involvement may compensate for a lack of parental educational involvement. Receiving emotional involvement is linked to positive attitudes towards school, which is linked to lower likelihood of dropout.

7.7 Positive feelings about self and alcohol use

These two outcome variables were only available in the 1990 data. As seen in the previous chapter, emotional involvement and students' positive attitude toward school were only two indicators for higher levels of positive feelings about self and lower levels of alcohol use across all the SES groups. Especially for upper-middle-class students, emotional involvement and positive attitudes toward school were associated with the level of positive feelings about self. Together with emotional involvement and positive attitudes toward school, positive feelings about self was linked to a lower likelihood of dropout. Students reported lower levels of alcohol use when they received greater parental emotional involvement; contrastingly, higher levels of reported alcohol use showed a statistical association with higher levels of behavioral problems. Here again, it may be key to have established social capital between parents and students.

In the view of some busy, professional parents, providing emotional involvement—in other words, spending more time talking with their high-school-aged children—might seem to be almost impossible or potentially exhausting. This might be why some upper-middle-class families spend less time together, as seen in Levine's (2002) examples of troubled affluent students. It is be, however, important to stop affluent students, who can financially afford cigarettes and alcoholic beverages in abundance, from engaging in problematic behaviors. The consistent results from the current study show how important it may be for students to receive emotional attention from their parents and subsequently to develop positive attitudes toward school. Children of affluent families may need parental involvement in order to possibly prevent poor educational outcomes and nurture psychological well-being, and reduce behavioral problems. What works best for students may be simply spending time and talking with their parents.

The links among emotional involvement, positive attitudes toward school, and students' feelings about self and subsequent alcohol use were observed consistently for the other SES groups in 1990. Again, students who received higher levels of emotional involvement tended to have positive attitudes toward school. Students who had more positive attitudes toward school experienced fewer behavioral problems. The likelihood of alcohol use increased when students suffered more behavioral problems; that is, if students experienced few behavioral issues, alcohol use was more likely to be low. Again, the level of positive attitudes toward school, nurtured by emotional involvement, was a key characteristic.

Table 40 Summary of results

	Higher GPA (1980)	HS Graduation	Positive attitudes	Fewer Behavioral problems	Positive feelings about self	Fewer Alcohol use
Emotional involvement	H	N, E	H, N, E,	N	N	N
Structure	H		H, N	H, E	N	N
Autonomy support						
Having discussion	H	N, E	H, N, E	H		
Mother's expectation			E			
Father's expectation			N			
Participation in events		E				
Participation in meetings		E				
Participation in PTA						
Positive attitudes toward school	H	N		H, N, E	N	
Behavioral problems						
Homework help	H			H		
Homework check		N				
Having newspaper at home						
Having magazine at home						
Having own room						
Having a study room						
Extra-curricular activities	H		E			
Participation in events						
Participation in meetings						
Participation in PTA						
Positive feeling about self (1990)						
Alcohol use (1990)						

Note: This table shows the associations among outcomes variables and independent variables that were statistically significant. H=1980 data, N=1990 data, and E=2002 data.

7.8 Race and socio-economic status

In this section, the observed differential associations of parental dimensions in terms of four different racial groups are discussed. In 1980, parental homework help was positively associated with the lower-class black students' attaining higher GPAs.[71] The levels of homework help greatly increased between 1990 and 2002 in all SES groups, especially for lower-class students (see Figure 2). However, the descriptive results show the lower-class students still received the lowest levels of help in 2002 despite the dramatic increase between 1990 and 2002. On the other hand, the upper-middle-class students in the sample received the highest levels of homework help from their parents. The frequency of homework help students received increased between 1980 and 2002 for upper-middle-class students.

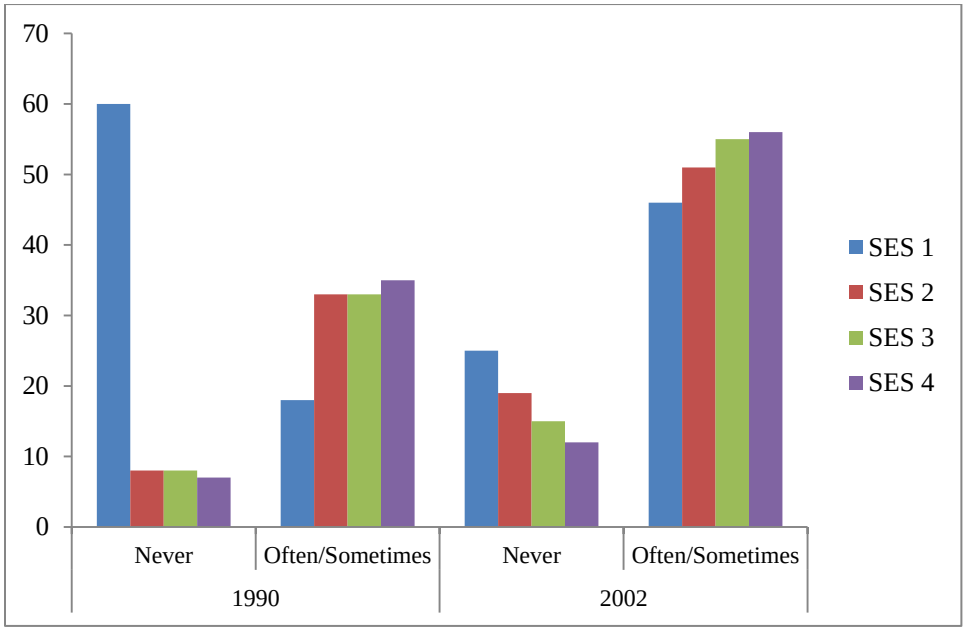


Figure 2 Frequency of homework help in 1990 and 2002 (%).

[71] However, homework help was a significant predictor of lower GPAs for the lower-class Asian students. This may be because Asian parents tend not to provide high school students with homework help (Yamamoto & Brinton; 2010); that is, receiving parental help with homework may mean that students are less successful at school.

Having limits on time spent watching television and time with friends was positively associated with high GPAs for lower-class Asian students and working-class White students in 1980. Regular discussion between parents and students was a statistically significant predictor of higher GPAs for White students.

Parental homework help was associated with students' dropout status for lower-class White and Asian students. Those lower-class students may have needed parental help as they were doing poorly at school, not that parental homework contributed to their likelihood of dropout. In terms of the relationship between homework help and dropout, 76 middle-class White students dropped out while receiving significant homework help (either sometimes or often), and they were from families with annual income of between $25,000 and $100,000 in 1990. There were only seven mothers who were stay-at-home moms; that is, the rest of the mothers were in paid labor. Nearly 30% of them were in clerical positions and 11% were in service. Interestingly, the level of autonomy support was high for those students who dropped out. The majority of the students (nearly 75%) had decided which classes they would take by themselves or with some parental help. However, structure was relatively low compared to autonomy support level. For example, only 24% of parents limited television time for their children often or sometimes. Similarly, around 30% of parents limited time with friends for their children often or sometimes. That is, these students received high autonomy and low structure. Emotional involvement level (getting along with parents) was relatively high, as more than 70% of students thought they got along well with their parents. These results may describe the middle- and upper-middle-class families in the 1980s that were described in Hochschild (1989), where mothers were extremely busy and caught between home and work, and subsequently provided a great deal of autonomy, rather than discipline, which required more time and energy.

Parental participation in school meetings showed an association with students' dropout status for upper-middle class Hispanic groups. Again, this may be because those students were already doing poorly at school. However, it is noteworthy that parental participation in school meetings, which has also been emphasized as a good indicator of how educationally successful students will be, did not present patterns of association with students' dropout status in this study. Talking with parents was positively associated with the lowered level of dropout for lower-class White students. That is, in the 1990 study, White students were less likely to drop out when they had frequent conversations with parents.

In the 2002 sample, parental homework help was positively associated with dropout status of upper-middle class White, Black, and Hispanic students. Again, this may be because those students were already doing poorly at school. As homework help may influence upper-middle-class students' dropout status, it is important to consider that parental help may not always be good for high school students. The upper-middle-class White (a total of 55), Black (a total of 8) and Hispanic (a total of 10) students who dropped out in 2002 were from families with annual incomes of more than $75,000. More than 45% of the families had an annual income of more than $100,000. Nearly 80% of the mothers were in paid labor (see Figure 3). The occupations of upper-middle-class mothers were mostly professional positions (40%), managerial positions (16%), teaching (12%) or clerical positions (12%) for White students; sales (50%) and services (25%) for Black students; and professional (40%) and clerical positions (30%) for Hispanic students. Among those students, 51% of White, 50% of Black, and 33% of Hispanic students received parental homework help often or sometimes (see Figure 3).

What is noteworthy here is that parents provided their children with a low level of autonomy support and structure. More than 95% of parents provided advice on which classes

students should take. This might not mean that parents decided classes, but it is interesting that almost all upper-middle-class dropouts sought or received parental advice. Limits on television time were extremely low, while limits on time with friends were high for all of the groups. Most importantly, more than 50% of these dropout students never discussed current events in their lives with their parents; that is, parental emotional involvement was low (see Figure 4). This is an interesting observation, as nearly 85% of all of the upper-middle-class students had discussions often or sometimes (see Table 96). These results may suggest that the parents of those upper-middle-class dropouts practiced imbalanced parenting dimensions (high level of homework help; low autonomy support; low structure on television time; high structure on time with friends; and low emotional support). These results might correspond to the examples of emotionally distressed high school students in Levine (2006).

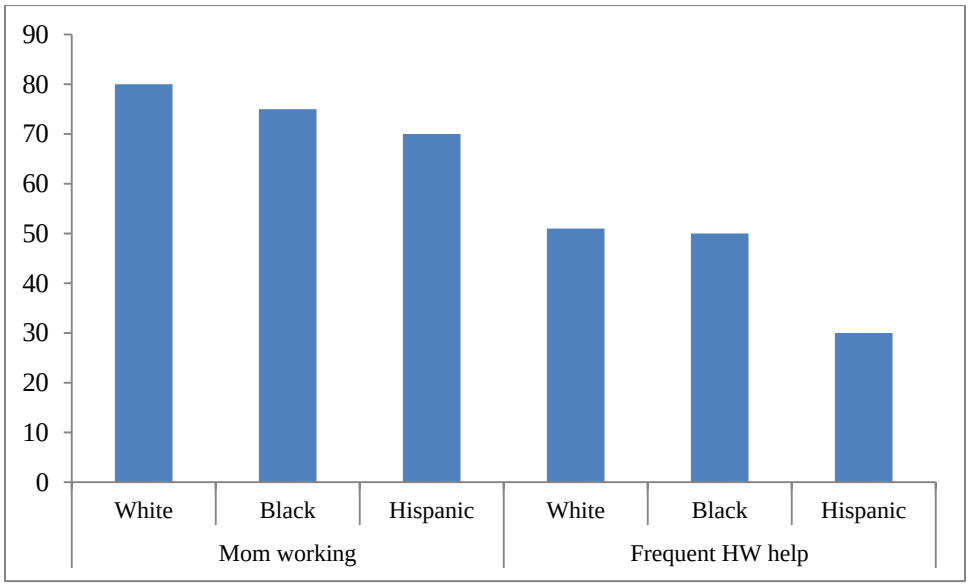


Figure 3 Maternal employment and homework help for dropouts in 2002 (%).

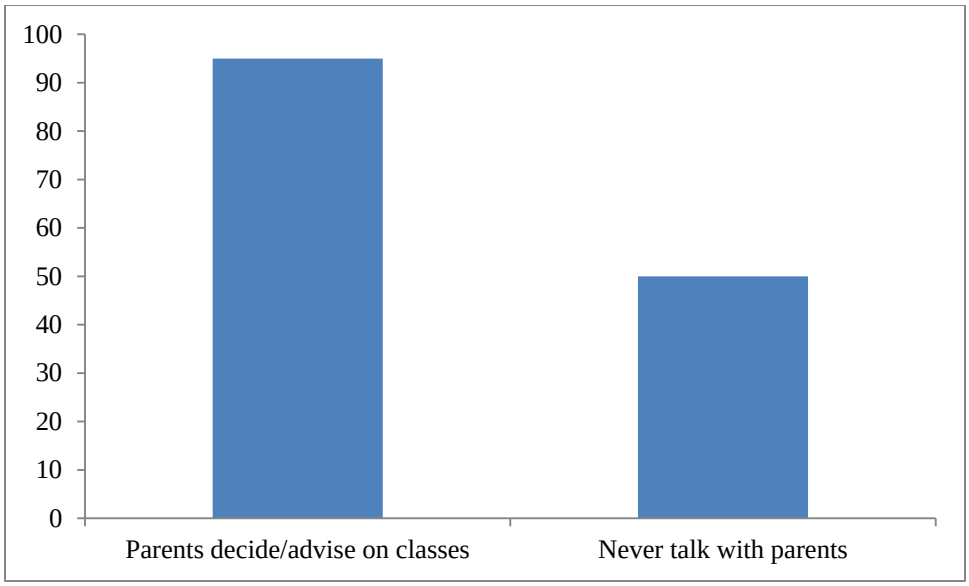


Figure 4 Levels of autonomy and emotional involvement for dropouts in 2002 (%).

The well-educated mothers in affluent families shifted toward choosing to work in paid professional positions, and those physically and psychologically demanding positions tended to require long hours of work, even at home. An increasing number of mothers with children under 17 have participated in paid labor since the 1970s (see Figure 5). According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics the number of U.S. mothers with children between 6 and 17 who were in paid labor increased by approximately 18% between 1980 and 2002. That is, more mothers in 2002 than in 1980 might have been caught between the two shifts at work and home and, therefore, did not have time to provide emotional involvement with their children, while emphasizing the importance of educational success. Talking with parents showed a positive association with educational and behavioral outcomes for lower-class White and upper-middle-class White and Hispanic students.

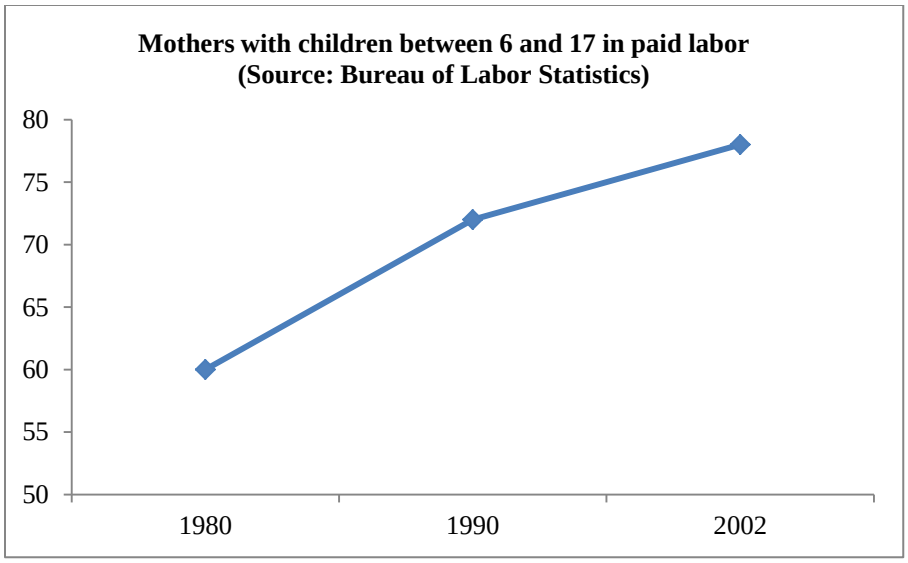


Figure 5 Mothers with children between 6 and 17 in paid labor (%).

The societal expectations of those mothers who did it all grew in the 1980s and 1990s (Hochischild, 1998). More mothers were in physically and psychologically demanding professional positions, as well as did child rearing and housework. This historical change tended to result in less time with children, less disciplinary parenting practices, and more marital conflicts within the house in a number of families in the U.S. In the next section, I discuss the historical shift in terms of family characteristics including family composition.

7.9 Historical shifts: Family characteristics

The current study was able to use three different datasets from three time points: 1980, 1990, and 2002. Although these datasets do not always share the same items, it was attempted to use similar items that characterized the parenting dimensions. Analytical comparison between the three time frames was not possible; however, any noticeable differences were noted.

Fewer families with both mother and father present were observed in 2002 than in 1990. As discussed in Chapter 2, families with both biological mother and father present decreased by nearly 7% for lower-class, 9% for working-class, 7% for middle-class, and 5% for upper-middle-class families in 2002 (see Figure 6). However, single-mother households slightly increased in number in the upper-middle class (1.5%) in 2002. The results from the 2002 sample showed students from father/male guardian only families were associated with higher levels of dropout and lower positive attitudes toward school[72]. This may suggest that more families experienced psychological and financial distress as parents separated or divorced in 2002, which may link to the fact that some upper-middle-class dropouts never held discussions with their parents.

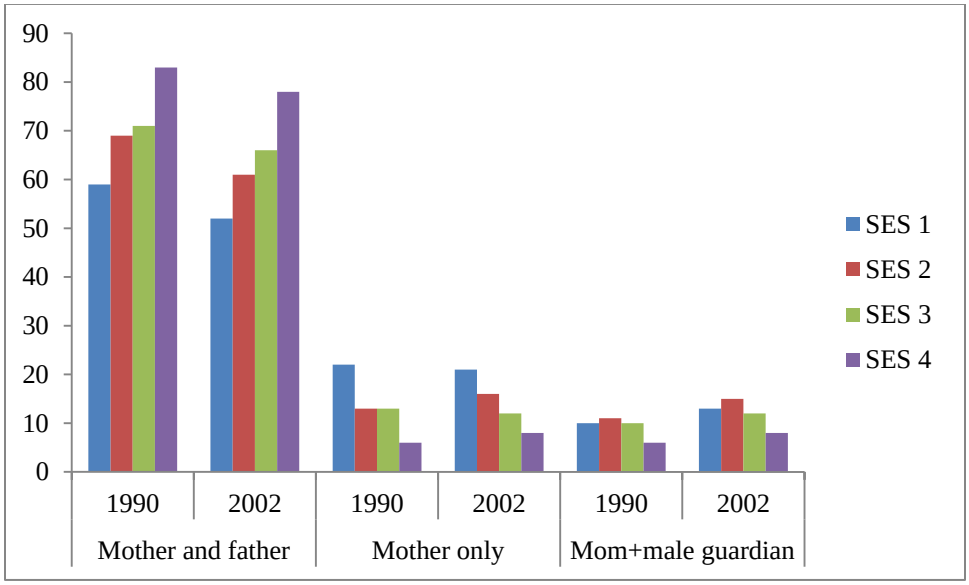


Figure 6 Brief family composition in 1990 and 2002 (%).

[72] Although the analytical results showed statistical significance on dropout and positive attitude toward school, the percentage of father only and male guardian only families did not significantly change between 1990 and 2002.

Women's education level, especially for upper-middle-class mothers, and maternal employment also increased between 1980 and 2002, as discussed in Chapter 2, and the phenomenon was also observed in the datasets. The number of upper-middle-class mothers who had college degrees dramatically increased in 2002 as compared to 1980. Furthermore, the upper-middle-class mothers who completed graduate degrees increased between 1980 and 1990 by about 10%. This may also imply the dramatically increased mothers with children under 17 participated in paid labor and the increase in income for upper-middle-class families (see Figures 7 and 8).

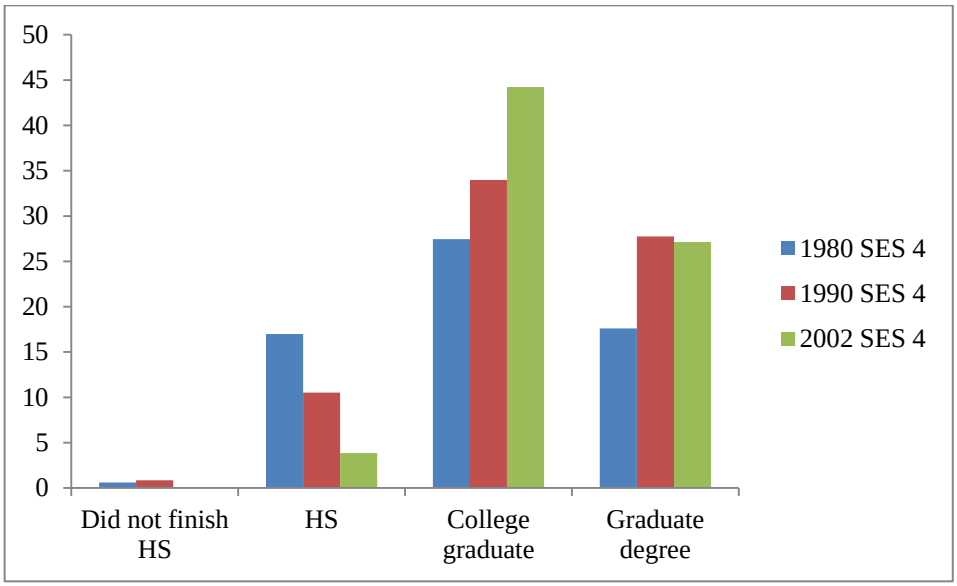


Figure 7 Upper-middle-class mother's education level (%)

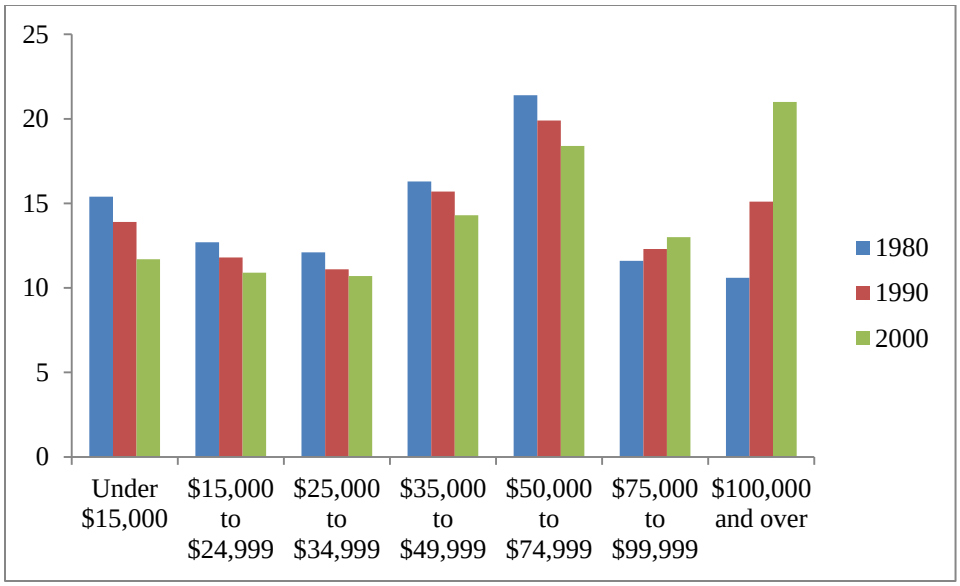


Figure 8 Median family income in the United States between 1980 and 2000. Source: U.S. Census (%).

As mentioned earlier, more upper-middle-class mothers might have experienced Hochschild's (1989) two shifts between long hours of physically and psychologically demanding work and home in 2002, from which we can posit situations where parents were too busy to talk with their high-school-aged children. For example, nearly 18% of the upper-middle-class mothers in 1990 either never worked or were homemakers, while only 3% of mothers in the same SES group in 2002 stayed at home without paid labor. This possible lack of time for conversation with children might be the reason why we see some upper-middle-class students, who were theoretically receiving high levels of cultural-capital related educational involvement from parents, dropping out from high school, in which there was a lack of talking and having discussions for proper delivery of parental cultural capital. Among upper-middle-class dropouts in 2002, nearly 45% indicated that they never discussed current events in their lives with parents.

7.10 Research questions

This section discusses the findings in relation to the research questions. Research question 1 asked which form of parental involvement in education as a form of cultural and social capital most helps high school students' educational outcomes. The findings of the current study suggest that social-capital related parental involvement in education, especially discussion and close relationships between parents and students, had a link to a strong association with students' attitudes toward school, which may significantly decrease the levels of problematic behavior, the strongest indicator of lower GPAs and high school dropout. These findings also answered research question 2: Does social capital within the family influence students' attitudes toward school and their behavioral problems?

In this study, the cultural-capital related parental involvement in education did not show significant associations with the lowered level of problematic behavior. Since positive attitudes toward school constitute a cultural norm that can be transmitted within the family, close relationships between parents and students may act as the information channel through which positive attitudes can be delivered from parents to children. That is, cultural norms and resources that parents can offer within the family are not delivered to children without well-functioning relationships and frequent conversations between the two agents. Furthermore, this finding suggests that social capital between parents and students may compensate for a lack of parental involvement in education in low-income families as much as positive attitudes toward school are delivered from parents to their children through talking and activated in the children. Together with these findings, it is concluded that social capital may be the primary element in supporting cultural resources, reducing the incidences of behavioral problems, and finally enhancing the educational outcomes of high school students, measured by GPAs and dropout status, which are

consistent with Coleman (1989)'s view of social capital. Social capital plays an important role of *delivery* of cultural resources and norms from parents to their children, which enables parental cultural capital to be activated.

7.11 Limitations of the current study and recommendations for future studies

Although the current study demonstrates various helpful findings for future studies, it also has a few limitations. Firstly, although historical comparisons were conducted, this is not a longitudinal, historical study. That is, this study can suggest differences and similarities between certain time points, but not cause-and-effect relationships over time. Secondly, the study uses three different datasets that do not necessarily share the same items. It was necessary to find other items that could work as alternatives. This may have skewed the results slightly. For future studies, it could be interesting to use longitudinal data that cover the same variables over a certain period of time. It would be helpful to use a longitudinal data sets that have followed the same samples over time to investigate the associations and consistency across the three time frames observed in this study. Thirdly, the current study investigates the associations of parenting dimensions with the outcomes of high school students. For younger students, at elementary- and middle-school levels, the results might change. Using datasets on younger students, such as Early Childhood Longitudinal Study-Kindergarten (ECLS-K), which followed the same children for nearly 10 years, might be helpful. It would be beneficial to parents and policymakers to conduct similar analyses of younger students to investigate the influence of the historical shifts in parenting dimensions between 1980 and 2000, since it was young children who must have experienced the most changes within the family during those decades.

Furthermore, datasets that contain more parenting dimension variables will be important for the sociology of education, especially as parenting practices have changed over the past several decades. We do not know how the changes in parenting and new styles of parenting practices have influenced children over the course of time. It is also significant to consider the influences of teachers and peers on high school students. The current study examines just one feature, family, in the *microsystem* of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory.[73] The microsystem includes family, peers, teachers, school, and neighborhoods. The social relationships between all the environmental factors of the microsystem can be as significant as the effect of family. For example, teachers might be able to provide an alternative form of parenting dimensions that compensates for a lack of emotional involvement at home, especially for the students of low-income families, who may never have significant conversations with parents. Evaluating such teacher effects and value-added qualities will be an important task in relation to the low-income minority student populations, whose parents might not be familiar with how to involve themselves in their children's education and cannot spend time to provide emotional involvement owing to the economic and physical hardships in their lives. Racial effect was not clearly observed in this study. HLM analysis with race as the second level may solve the ambiguity of racial differences seen in this study.

7.12 Policy implications

As noted above, educational policies at district and school levels concerning parental educational involvement have mostly emphasized the importance of the quantity of educational materials, homework help, hours of extra-curricular activity, and other factors that are related to cultural

[73] See p.46 for a description of Ecological Systems Theory.

capital within the family (Epstein, 2001; *Los Angeles Unified School District Bulletin*, 2006). Epstein and Sanders (2000) suggested the importance of partnerships between families and schools. In their framework, parenting is one of six categories and is designed to educate parents regarding child and adolescent development and how to establish a better home environment. Although having parenting in the framework is an important way in which to promote sound parenting practices for students' educational outcomes, it does not emphasize sufficiently the importance of emotional involvement and discussion between parents and students.

In the view of some, parental involvement policy is useful simply to improve students' academic achievement. However, as this study has shown, parental involvement has a multi-dimensional influence on aspects such as positive attitudes toward school and behavioral problems. The primary influence of parental involvement seems to be based on the relationships between parents and students at home in this study. Policymakers and school administrators may want to place stronger emphases on cultivating supportive relationships with children: that is, establishing strong social capital within the family. "Talking with children" may sound too reductionist; however, this simple act may be able to possibly change the whole educational and behavioral outcomes of students of all SES groups, especially outcomes of students from low-income families where a lack of cultural resources is evident. This non-economic solution may be especially beneficial and possibly be less costly with few financial materials both at school and home (Ream & Palardy; 2008). The results of this study of high school students have shown the possible associations of the having good relationships and talking at home with students' educational and behavioral outcomes over a 20-year time period.

Furthermore, the current study, as well as some previous studies (Ekstrom et al, 1986; Hallinan, 2008; Marks, 2010; Marcus & Sanders-Reio, 2001), has concluded that positive

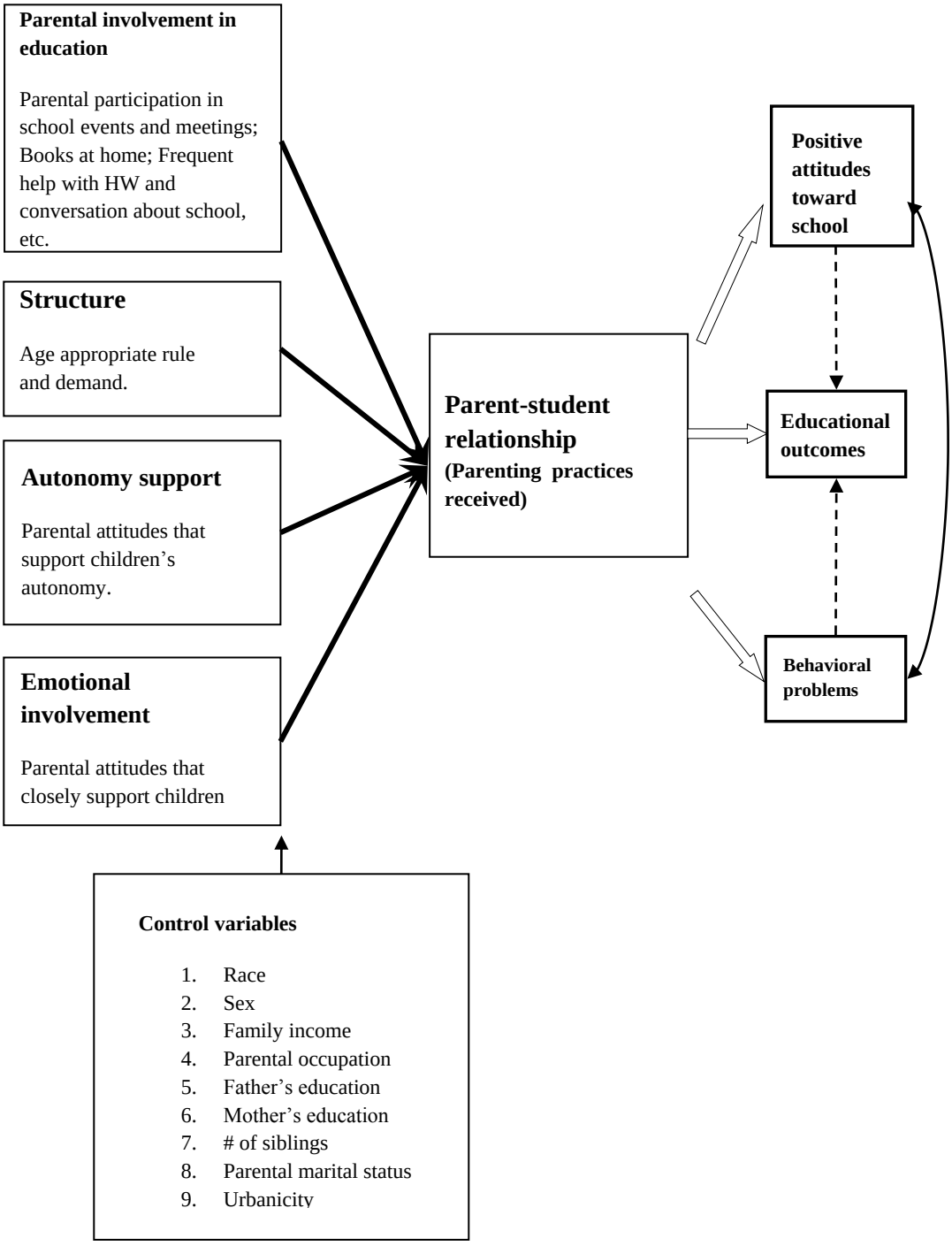
attitudes toward school may make a significant difference to students' educational outcomes. Parental involvement policies, as well as other educational policies, should promote not only parental support, but also positive attitudes toward school, classes, and, most importantly, learning. In order to do this, policymakers should also consider the *mesosystem* of the Ecological Systems Theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), which incorporates family experiences into other settings in the microsystem, such as teachers, peers, schools and neighborhoods. Children do not live just in the family, nor do they live just in school. Children have relationships with peers and teachers, which create multiple levels of social capital outside of the family. Exploring research and policies regarding such processes of social development of children and adolescents will be more important than ever in this time of social networking and technological advances.

Above all, parenting practices including emotional involvement and parent-student discussion, *may* matter in terms of students' GPAs, high school completion, positive attitudes toward school, and behavioral adjustment. For parental involvement policies to be more efficient and reasonable, these key characteristics of parenting practices must be accounted for. In addition, parental involvement policies should be associated with school discipline policies in the way that they promote discussion between parents and students when students are experiencing behavioral problems.

Appendix

Conceptual model

Figure 1. Conceptual model for Research Question 1 and 2.



List of survey items

Table 41 List of variables for the 1980 data

HSB:80	**Variables**	Descriptions
High school dropout	DOQFLAG	High school dropout status.
GPA	HSGRADES	High school GPA
Positive attitude	YB016C	Respondent doesn't have homework done.
Behavioral problems	BB017	I have been late to school.
	BB059D	I have been suspended or on probation in school.
PI_materials	BB104A	Family has a place to study.
	BB104B	Family has daily newspaper.
	BB104G	Family has more than 50 books.
PI_homework	FY57B	Mother keeps track of progress in school.
	FY57C	Father keeps track of progress in school.
PI_extra-curricular activity	BB032B	Participated in sports club.
	BB032C	Participated in cheer leading.
	BB032D	Participated in Debating or Drama.
	BB032E	Participated in Band or orchestra.
PI_expectation	FY81	How far in school parents want you to go.
	BB066	Schooling mother wants you to get.
PI_discussion	YB049B	Respondent talked to father about school programs.
	YB049C	Respondent talked to mother about school programs.
	FY60F	How much time talking with parents.
PI_school participation	FY58A	How often parents attended PTA meeting.
	FY58B	Parents attend parent-teacher conference.
	FY58C	How often parents visited classes.
	FY58F	Parents volunteered for school projects.
Structure	FY57C	Parents know where I am, what I do.
	FY61	Hours a day on weekdays allowed for watching TV.
Autonomy support	FY3E	Chose program by myself.
Emotional involvement	BB047G	Talking with parents.
	FY60F	How much time talking with parents.
Sex	BYSEX	Sex of the respondents.
Race	BYSEX	Racial group of the respondents.
Family income	BYFAMINC	Family income.
Mother's highest Ed	BB038	Mother's highest education.
Father's highest Ed	BB041	Mother's highest education.
SES status	F1SES	SES status of family.
Family composition	FAMCOMP	Family composition
Number of siblings	BB036H	Number of brothers and sisters living together.
Urbanicity	SCHURB	Urbanicity of residence
School ID	FSCHID	School ID.
School	YB019A	Students not attending school is a problem at school.

Table 42 List of variable for the 1990 data

NELS:88	Variables	Descriptions
High school dropout	F3DOSTAT	High school dropout status.
Positive attitude	F2S50A	Respondent does not like school (reverse).
Positive feelings	F1S62D	Respondent feels s/he is a person of worth
Behavioral problems	F1S10B	How many times did respondent cut/skip classes.
PI_materials	BY35A	Respondent's family has specific place to study.
	BY35B	Respondent's family has daily newspaper.
	BY35C	Respondent's family has regularly received magazine.
	BY35D	Respondent's family has an encyclopedia.
	BY35F	Respondent's family has a dictionary.
	BY35M	Respondent's family has more than 50 books.
PI_homework	F1S100A	How often parents check respondent's homework.
	F1S100B	How often parents help respondents' homework.
PI_extra-curricular activity	F1S42A	Time spend for extra-curricular activities.
PI_expectation	F1S48A	How far in school mother wants respondent to go.
	F1S48B	How far in school father wants respondent to go.
PI_discussion	F1S105A	Respondent discussed school courses with parents
	F1S105B	Respondent discussed school activities with parents
	F1S105C	Respondent discussed what s/he studies in class with parents.
PI_school participation	F1S106A	How often parents attended school events.
	F1S106C	How often parents attended school meetings.
	F1S106D	How often parents acted as volunteer at Respondent's school.
Structure	F1S100E	Parents limit TV watching or video games.
	F1S100F	Parents limit time with friends.
Autonomy support	F1S104A	Who decides which classes respondent take.
Emotional involvement	F1S63I	Respondent gets along well with parents.
Sex	F1SEX	Sex of the respondents.
Race	F1RACE	Racial group of the respondents.
Family income	F1FAMINC	Family income.
Mother's highest Ed	BYS34B	Mother's highest education.
Father's highest Ed	BYS34A	Father's highest education.
SES status	F1SESQ	SES status of family.
Family composition	FAMCOMP	Family composition
Number of siblings	F1S93A, F1S93B	Number of brothers and sisters living together.
Urbanicity	G10URBAN	Urbanicity of residence
School ID	F1SCH_ID	School ID.

Table 43 List of variables for the 2002 data

ELS:2002	Variables	Descriptions
High school dropout	F2DRSTAT	High school dropout status.
Positive attitude	BYS28	How much respondent like school.
Behavioral problems	BYS24B	How many times did respondent cut/skip classes.
PI_material	BYS35A	Respondent's family has daily newspaper.
	BYS35B	Respondent's family has regularly received magazine.
	BYS35C	Respondent's family has computer.
	BYS35M	Respondent's family has more than 50 books.
PI_homework	BYS85A	How often parents check respondent's homework.
	BYS85B	How often parents help respondents' homework.
PI_extra-curricular activity	BYS42	Hours per week spend on extra curricular activities.
PI_expectation	BYS65A	How far in school mother wants respondent to go.
	BYS65B	How far in school father wants respondent to go.
PI_discussion	BYS86A	How often discussed school courses with parents.
	BYS86B	How often discussed school activities with parents.
	BYS86C	How often discussed school grades with parents.
	BYS86G	How often discussed college with parents.
PI_school participation	BYS54A	Parents belong to parent-teacher organization.
	BYS54B	Parents attend to parent-teacher organization meetings.
	BYS54C	Parents take part in parent-teacher organization activities.
	BYS54D	Parents act as a volunteer at the school.
	BYS54E	Parents belong to other organization with parents from school.
Structure	BYS85G	Parents limit watching TV or playing video games.
	BYS85F	Parents limit time with friends.
Autonomy support	BYS28	Students decide classes by themselves.
Emotional involvement	BYS86H	How often respondent discussed current events with parents.
Sex	BYSEX	Sex of the respondents.
Race	BYRACE	Racial group of the respondents.
Family income	BYFAMINC	Family income.
Mother's highest Ed	BYMOTHERED	Mother's highest education.
Father's highest Ed	BYFATHERED	Father's highest education.
SES status	BYSES	SES status of family.
Family composition	FAMCOMP	Family composition
Number of siblings	BYS93A, BYS93B	Number of brothers and sisters living together.
Urbanicity	G10URBAN	Urbanicity of residence
School ID	BYSCH_ID	School ID.

Descriptive statistics: 1980

Table 44 Sex composition in the 1980 sample

Sex	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Male	370	46	460	42	590	48	740	49
Female	430	54	640	58	640	52	780	51
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 45 Racial composition in the 1980 sample

Race	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
White	370	47	760	69	830	68	1180	78
Black	130	16	120	11	140	11	110	7
Hispanic	250	32	180	16	140	11	160	10
Asian	20	3	20	2	100	8	60	4
Native American	20	2	20	2	20	1	10	1
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 46 Whether students had siblings in the 1980 sample

Sibling	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Do not have	130	17	180	16	200	16	200	13
Have	660	83	930	84	1030	84	1320	87
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 47 Mother's highest education level in the 1980 sample

Mother's highest ed	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Did not finish high school	380	49	240	22	60	5	10	0.6
Graduate from high school of GED	250	31	480	44	600	48	250	17
Graduate from 2 year-college	10	1	40	3	140	11	120	8
Some college	10	1	70	6	220	18	300	19
Graduated from college	10	1	40	4	70	6	420	27
Complete Master's degree	0	0	30	3	10	1	180	12
Complete PhD, MD, other	0	0	10	1	10	1	70	5
Don’t know	130	17	190	17	120	10	170	11
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 48 Father's highest education level in the 1980 sample

Father's highest ed	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Did not finish high school	360	45	240	22	70	6	10	0.5
Graduate from high school of GED	130	17	480	44	400	32	80	5
Some 2-year college	20	2	100	9	70	6	130	8
Graduate from 2 year-college	10	1	40	4	100	8	0	0
Some college	10	1	30	3	250	20	160	13
Graduated from college	0	0	10	1	100	8	450	29
Complete Master's degree	0	0	0	0	10	1	270	17
Complete PhD, MD, other	0	0	0	0	0	0	230	15
Don't know	250	34	200	17	230	19	190	12
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 49 Family income in the 1980 sample

Family income	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
$38000 or more	0	0	10	1	70	6	500	33
$25000-$37999	10	1	60	6	220	18	450	30
$20000-$24999	60	8	230	20	320	26	280	18
$16000-$19999	140	18	320	29	320	26	190	13
$12000-$15999	220	28	290	26	240	19	80	5
$7000-$11999	230	29	160	14	50	4	10	0.9
$7000 or less	130	16	30	2	10	0.6	0	0
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

7

Table 50 Residential urbabicity composition in the 1980 sample

Urbanicity	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Urban	230	29	230	21	340	28	220	14
Suburban	300	38	520	48	660	53	1020	68
Rural	260	33	350	31	230	19	280	18
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 51 GPA in the 1980 sample

GPA	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
A	50	6	70	6	70	6	170	11
A+B	120	15	260	24	220	18	370	24
B	210	27	300	27	380	30	460	30
B+C	220	28	300	27	350	28	330	22
C	150	19	170	16	180	15	160	11
C+D	40	5	0	0	30	3	30	2
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 52 "Family owns 50 books or more" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
No	240	30	130	12	70	6	30	2
Yes	550	70	970	88	1160	94	1490	98
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 53 "Family has daily newspaper" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
No	330	42	220	20	170	13	80	2
Yes	460	58	880	80	1060	86	1440	98
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 54 "Student has own room" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
No	350	44	330	30	260	21	190	12
Yes	440	56	770	70	970	79	1330	88
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 55 "Student has a place to study" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
No	520	65	630	57	610	49	530	35
Yes	270	35	470	43	620	50	990	65
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 56 "Mother checks school progress" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
FALSE	160	21	150	14	170	14	120	8
TRUE	630	79	950	86	1060	86	1400	92
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 57 "Father checks school progress" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
FALSE	370	47	230	21	250	20	310	20
TRUE	420	53	870	79	980	80	1210	80
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 58 "Extra-curricular activities in sports" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
FALSE	410	52	470	43	520	42	470	31
TRUE	380	48	630	57	710	58	1050	69
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 59 "Extra-curricular activities in cheer leading" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 1	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
FALSE	690	88	890	81	1000	81	1250	82
TRUE	90	11	190	17	200	17	240	16
Missing	10	1	20	2	30	2	30	2
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 60 "Extra-curricular activities in band or orchestra" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
FALSE	680	85	890	83	950	77	1190	78
TRUE	100	13	190	17	250	20	290	19
Missing	10	1	20	2	30	2	40	3
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 61 "Extra-curricular activities in debating or drama" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
FALSE	710	90	990	90	1060	86	1200	80
TRUE	70	9	90	8	150	12	280	18
Missing	10	1	20	2	20	2	40	2
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 62 "How far in school mother wants me to go" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Graduate from HS	100	12	90	8	50	4	10	0.9
Less than 2yr vocational school	20	3	30	3	20	1.9	10	0.7
Attend 2-yr college	60	7	80	7	60	4.9	40	2.4
Less than 2-yr of college	10	1	10	1	20	1.5	10	0.6
2 or more year college	200	26	130	12	120	9.5	80	5.3
Graduate from college	50	6	320	29	420	34.1	550	36.1
Master's degree	130	17	90	8	120	10.1	240	15.6
PhD or MD	160	20	160	15	240	19.1	430	27.9
Other	60	8	190	17	180	15	160	10.5
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 63 "How far in school father wants me to go" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Graduate from HS	70	8	50	5	40	3	10	0.8
Less than 2yr vocational school	30	3	50	4	40	3	10	0.5
Attend 2-yr college	80	11	100	9	100	8	40	3
Less than 2-yr of college	10	2	20	2	0	0	0	0
2 or more year college	100	12	140	13	120	10	90	6
Graduate from college	230	29	370	34	470	39	600	40
Master's degree	60	8	100	9	160	13	320	21
PhD or MD	90	12	130	12	180	15	370	24
Other	120	15	140	12	120	9	80	5
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 64 "How often parents attend PTA meetings" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	640	81	850	77	920	75	1040	69
Once or twice	120	15	180	16	230	18	340	22
More than Twice	20	3	60	6	70	6	130	8
Missing	10	1	10	1	10	1	10	1
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 65 "How often parents attend school meetings" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SE53		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	530	66	630	57	680	55	760	50
Once or twice	210	27	350	32	420	34	550	36
More than Twice	50	7	110	10	120	10	200	13
Missing			10	1	10	0.7	10	0.8
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 66 "I plan school programs with mother" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
No at all	100	12	70	6	70	6	70	4
Somewhat	400	51	550	50	590	48	650	43
A great deal	280	36	480	44	570	46	790	52
Missing	10	0.9					10	0.5
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 67 "I plan school programs with father" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
No at all	300	38	240	22	190	16	150	10
Somewhat	360	46	610	55	680	55	730	48
A great deal	110	14	240	22	350	28	630	41
Missing	20	2	10	0.9	10	0.8	10	0.5
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 68 "I decide which classes I will take" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
No	560	71	800	70	910	74	1180	78
Yes	230	29	300	30	320	26	340	22
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 69 "Parents know where I am, what I do" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
False	190	24	210	19	260	21	290	19
True	600	76	890	81	970	79	1230	81
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 70 "How often I talk with my parents" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Rarely, Never	330	42	340	31	320	26	380	25
Less than once a week	170	21	270	25	290	24	350	23
1-2 times a week	160	20	260	23	340	28	410	27
Every day or almost	130	17	230	21	280	21	380	25
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 71 "How many times I have been late to school" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	240	31	310	28	380	31	460	30
1-2 days	370	47	600	54	580	47	680	45
3-4 days	90	12	120	11	150	12	200	13
5-10 days	50	6	50	5	80	8	120	8
11-15days	20	2	10	1	20	1	30	2
16-20 days	10	0.9	10	0.5	10	0.6	10	0.8
21 or more days	10	0.6	10	0.5	10	0.7	20	1
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

Table 72 "I am interested in school" in the 1980 sample

1980	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
FALSE	120	15	160	15	180	15	200	13
TRUE	670	85	930	84	1040	84	1310	86
Missing			10	1	10	0.5	10	0.8
Total	790	100	1100	100	1230	100	1520	100

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Descriptive statistics: 1990

Table 73 Sex composition in the 1990 sample

Sex	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Male	960	44	1110	45	1270	48	1350	50
Female	1210	56	1350	55	1370	52	1340	50
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 74 Racial composition in the 1990 sample

Race	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
White	1190	55	1800	73	2170	82	2120	79
Black	350	16	240	10	170	6.5	140	5
Hispanic	490	23	270	11	180	7	190	6
Asian	110	5	120	5	90	3.5	290	10
Native American	30	1	30	1	30	1	10	0.2
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 75 Parental marital status in the 1990 sample

Parental marital status	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Divorced	320	15	270	11	280	10	160	6
Widowed	100	4	50	2	50	2	40	1
Separated	120	5	70	3	60	2	30	1
Never Married	110	5	40	2	30	1	10	0.3
Marriage-like relationship	50	2	40	1	30	1	20	0.5
Married	1470	69	1990	81	2190	83	2430	90
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 76 Family composition in the 1990 sample

Family composition	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Mother and father	1300	60	1700	70	1870	71	2230	83
Mother and male guardian	210	10	270	11	280	11	160	6
Father and female guardian	20	1	60	2	60	2	40	1
Mother only	490	22	330	13	330	12	180	7
Father only	50	2	50	2	60	2.5	60	2
Relatives	100	5	50	2	40	1.5	20	0.8
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 77 Number of sibling in the 1990 sample

Sibling	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
0	460	21	510	21	570	21	540	20
1	650	30	890	36	1020	39	1210	45
2	520	24	650	26	680	26	650	24
3	300	14	260	10	240	9	190	7
4	140	6	90	4	70	3	60	2
5	60	3	30	1	30	1	20	0.8
6	20	1	20	0.6	20	0.6	10	0.3
7	20	0.6	10	0.3	10	0.2	10	0.2
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 78 Family income in the 1990 sample

Family income	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
$200,0001 or more	0	0	0	0	20	0.6	130	5
$100,001 - $200,000	0	0	10	0.3	20	0.7	340	13
$75,001 - $100,000	0	0	10	0.3	50	2	330	12
$50,001- $75,000	20	0.7	140	5	400	15	900	34
$35,000 -$50,000	110	5	490	20	910	34	650	24
$25,001- $35,000	300	14	700	29	720	27	250	9
$20,001 - $25,000	260	12	420	17	290	11	60	2
$15,001 - $20,000	280	13	280	11	140	5	20	0.7
$10,001- $15,000	430	20	250	10	70	3	10	0.3
$7501-$10,000	220	10	80	3	10	0.5	0	0
$5001- $7500	220	10	50	2	10	0.2	0	0
$3001 - $5000	130	6	20	0.9	0	0	0	0
$1,001 - $3,000	110	5	10	0.4	0	0	0	0
$1,000 or less	70	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
None	20	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 79 Residential urbanicity composition in the 1990 sample

Urbanicity	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Urban	500	23	500	21	600	23	790	29
Suburban	700	32	990	40	1230	47	1400	53
Rural	970	45	970	49	810	30	500	18
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 80 Mother's highest education level in the 1990 sample

Mother's highest ed	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Did not finish high school	870	40	330	13	100	4	20	0.8
Graduate from high school of GED	670	31	1200	49	1060	40	270	10
Graduate from 2 year-college	80	4	330	13	450	17	240	9
Some college	50	2	170	7	340	13	270	10
Graduated from college	40	2	120	5	290	11	910	34
Complete Master's degree	10	0.7	20	0.7	80	3	590	22
Complete PhD, MD, other	10	0.3	20	0.7	30	1	160	6
Don't know	440	20	270	11	290	11	220	8
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 81 Father's highest education level in the 1990 sample

Father's highest ed	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Did not finish high school	880	41	370	15	120	4	30	1
Graduate from high school of GED	820	37	1110	45	840	32	160	6
Graduate from 2 year-college	90	4	290	12	480	18	140	5
Some college	40	2	170	7	320	12	180	7
Graduated from college	20	1	140	6	370	14	860	32
Complete Master's degree	10	0.3	0	0	110	4	640	24
Complete PhD, MD, other	10	0.3	10	0.6	30	1	480	18
Don't know	300	14	370	14	370	14	200	7
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 82 High school graduation/dropout rate in the 1990 sample

Dropout	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Not dropout	1710	79	2130	87	2390	90	2610	97
Dropped out	460	21	330	13	250	10	80	3
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 83 "Family owns 50 books or more" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
No	480	22	240	10	160	5.9	40	2.7
Yes	1670	77	2200	90	2470	94	2640	98
Missing	20	0.9	20	0.7	10	0.1	10	0.3
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 84 "Family has daily newspaper" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
No	850	39	710	28.6	600	22.4	370	13
Yes	1310	60	1740	71	2030	77	2310	86
Missing	10	0.6	10	0.4	10	0.6	10	0.3
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 85 "Student has own room" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
No	590	27	520	21	440	16.5	250	8.9
Yes	1570	72	1930	78	2190	83	2430	91
Missing	10	0.7	10	0.4	10	0.5	10	0.1
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 86 "Student has a place to study" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
No	1430	66	1560	64	1600	60	1360	50
Yes	740	34	900	36	1040	40	1330	50
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 87 "How often parents check homework" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	470	22	500	20	420	16	400	15
Rarely	570	26	700	29	660	25	680	25
Sometimes	660	31	730	30	830	31	810	30
Often	440	20	510	20	720	27	790	29
Missing	30	1	20	0.8	10	0.4	10	0.4
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 88 "How often parents help homework" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	1300	60	200	8	230	9	200	7.5
Rarely	390	18	870	35	1060	40	1140	42
Sometimes	390	18	800	33	870	33	940	35
Often	60	3	570	23	470	18	400	15
Missing	30	1	20	1	10	0.5	10	0.5
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 89 Hours of extra-curricular activities in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
None	1030	48	990	40	870	33	620	23
< 1hour/wk	350	16	410	16	450	17	480	18
1-4hours/wk	400	18	500	20	540	21	670	25
5-9hours/wk	200	9	250	10	350	13	430	16
10-19hours/wk	140	6	250	10	360	14	400	15
> 20hours	30	1.5	40	1	50	1	70	3
Missing	20	1	20	0.7	20	0.9	20	0.7
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 90 "How far in school mother wants me to go" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Less than HS	50	2	10	0.6	0	0	0	0
Graduate from HS	160	7	120	5	60	2	10	0.6
Vocational school after HS	260	12	240	10	140	5	30	1
Attend 2-yr college	160	7	140	6	150	5	40	1
Attend 4-yr college	160	8	250	10	270	10	200	7
Graduate from college	740	34	1060	43	1330	51	1380	51
Post graduate education	290	13	340	14	490	19	920	34
Other	350	16	300	12	200	8	110	4
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 91 "How far in school father wants me to go" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Less than HS	40	2	10	0.6	0	0	0	0
Graduate from HS	170	8	130	5.5	60	2	10	0.5
Vocational school after HS	240	11	210	9	150	6	20	0.8
Attend 2-yr college	120	6	140	6	110	4	30	1
Attend 4-yr college	140	6	220	9	270	10	200	7
Graduate from college	650	30	950	38	1260	48	1310	48
Post graduate education	210	10	300	12	430	16	970	36
Other	600	29	500	19	360	14	150	6
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 92 "How often parents attend PTA meetings" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	1330	61	1350	54	1250	48	800	28
Once or twice	640	29	840	35	980	37	1270	49
More than Twice	170	8	240	10	380	14	600	22
Missing	30	2	30	1	30	1	20	0.7
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 93 "Parents belong to school events" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	1230	57	1160	47	1040	39	760	27
Once or twice	440	20	500	20	550	21	610	23
More than Twice	470	21	780	32	1030	39	1290	49
Missing	40	2	20	1	20	1	30	1
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 94 "How often parents acted as volunteer at school" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	1820	57	1940	79	1950	75	1660	63
Once or twice	220	20	370	15	450	17	650	24
More than Twice	90	21	120	5	200	7	340	12
Missing	40	2	30	1	40	1	40	1
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 95 "I discuss school courses with parents" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	570	26	500	20	400	15	240	9
Sometimes	1300	60	1520	62	1680	64	1740	64
Often	280	13	420	17	540	20	710	26
Missing	20	1	20	0.7	20	0.6	20	0.6
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 96 "I discuss school activities with parents" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	630	29	590	24	420	16	280	11
Sometimes	1150	52	1340	55	1500	57	1500	55
Often	360	17	510	20	700	26	900	33
Missing	30	2	20	0.7	20	0.7	10	0.5
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 97 "Who decides which classes I will take" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Parents decide	60	3	50	2	50	2	80	3
Parents discuss with me	110	5	140	5	130	5	160	6
Decided together	320	15	460	19	550	20	750	28
I decide with parents	390	18	600	24	810	31	950	35
I decide by myself	1260	57	1190	49	1080	41	740	27
Missing	30	2	20	1	20	0.7	10	0.5
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 98 "I get along with parents" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES1		SES2		SES3		SES4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
FALSE	90	4	110	4	100	4	70	3
Mostly false	100	4	100	4	100	4	80	3
More false than true	160	7	200	8	200	8	190	7
More true than false	350	16	430	18	440	16	400	15
Mostly true	550	26	680	28	780	30	860	32
TRUE	920	43	940	38	1020	38	1090	40
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 99 "Parents limit TV time" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	1020	47	1150	46	1070	41	860	32
Rarely	560	26	650	27	720	27	770	29
Sometimes	380	17	470	19	580	22	660	25
Often	170	8	150	6	240	9	380	13.5
Missing	40	2	40	2	30	0.7	20	0.6
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 100 "Parents limit time with friends" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	360	17	370	15	320	12	320	12
Rarely	440	20	460	19	480	18	460	17
Sometimes	660	30	860	34	920	35	940	35
Often	670	31	730	30	900	34	950	35
Missing	40	2	40	2	20	0.8	20	0.6
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 101 "How many times I have cut/skipped classes" in the 19990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	1330	61	1540	63	1710	65	1830	68
1-2 times	480	22	550	23	540	21	560	21
3-6 times	190	9	210	8	190	7	180	7
7-9 times	60	3	50	2	70	3	40	1
> 10times	100	5	110	4	120	4	70	0.2
Missing	10	0.4			10	0.003	10	0.003
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 102 "I am interested in classes" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Strongly disagree	190	9	180	7	230	9	270	10
Disagree	1330	61	1500	62	1600	61	1740	65
Agree	500	23	650	26	670	25	580	22
Strongly agree	100	5	130	5	110	4	80	3
Missing	50	2			30	1	20	0.6
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 103 I am a person of worth in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Strongly agree	700	32	770	31	860	33	1020	38
Agree	1240	57	1460	59	1550	59	1510	56
Disagree	150	7	180	7	180	7	130	5
Strongly disagree	40	2	40	1	30	1	20	1
Missing	40	2	20	0.7	20	0.7	10	0.6
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Table 104 "In life time, how many times have you had alcoholic drinks" in the 1990 sample

1990	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
0	450	16	360	15	420	16	450	17
1-2 times	510	23	570	23	610	23	620	23
3-19 times	660	33	870	35	880	33	980	36
More than 20 times	440	24	580	24	630	24	560	21
Missing	110	4	80	3	100	4	80	3
Total	2170	100	2460	100	2640	100	2690	100

Descriptive statistics: 2002

Table 105 Sex composition in the 2002 sample

Sex	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Male	690	45	890	48	1070	50	1420	49
Female	850	55	960	52	1080	50	1460	51
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 106 Racial composition in the 2002 sample

Race	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
White	660	43	1180	64	1460	68	2120	75
Black	210	14	210	11	190	9	140	5
Hispanic	370	24	210	11	210	10	190	6
Asian	210	14	140	8	160	7	290	10
Native American	20	1	20	0.9	10	0.4	10	0.2
Other	70	4	90	5	120	5	130	4
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 107 Family income in the 2002 sample

Family income	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
$200,0001 or more	0	0	0	0	30	1	320	11
$100,001-$200,000	0	0	30	2	200	9	940	33
$75,001-$100,000	30	2	160	8	430	20	730	25
$50,001-$75,000	120	8	480	26	740	36	570	20
$35,000-$50,000	310	21	570	31	460	21	230	8
$25,001-$35,000	300	19	300	16	170	8	70	2
$20,001-$25,000	180	12	140	8	60	3	10	0.4
$15,001-$20,000	190	12	80	4	30	1	10	0.3
$10,001-$15,000	170	11	60	3	20	0.7	0	0
$5,001-$10,000	90	6	10	0.4	0	0	0	0
$1,001-%5,000	80	5	20	1	10	0.3	0	0
$1,000or less	50	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
None	20	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 108 Family composition in the 2002 sample

Family composition	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Mother and father	800	51	1130	60	1450	68	2260	79
Mother and male guardian	200	14	270	14	250	11	210	7
Father and female guardian	60	4	60	3	90	4	60	2
Two guardians	40	3	20	1	20	1	30	0.9
Mother only	320	21	290	15	260	12	240	8
Father only	50	3	40	2	50	2	60	2
Female guardian only	30	2	20	1	10	0.5	10	0.2
Male guardian only	10	0.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	30	2	20	1	20	0.8	10	0.3
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 109 Mother's highest education level in the 2002 sample

Mother's highest ed	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Did not finish high school	620	40	150	8	30	1	0	0
Graduate high school or GED	700	45	850	45	520	25	110	4
Some 2-year college	100	7	310	17	400	18	190	7
Graduate from 2 year-college	60	4	240	13	360	17	240	8
Some college	50	3	200	11	380	17	280	10
Graduated from college	10	0.8	90	5	390	18	1270	44
Complete Master's degree	0	0	10	0.5	60	3	620	21
Complete PhD, MD, other	0	0	0	0	10	0.5	170	6
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 110 Father's highest education level in the 2002 sample

Father's highest ed	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Did not finish high school	620	40	170	9	50	2	0	0
Graduated high school or GED	700	46	950	51	540	26	60	2
Some 2-year college	80	5	230	12	360	17	110	4
Graduate from 2 year-college	50	3	200	11	300	14	140	5
Some college	60	4	160	9	370	17	230	8
Graduated from college	30	2	110	6	440	20	1120	39
Complete Master's degree	0	0	20	1	70	3	700	24
Completed PhD, MD, other	0	0	10	0.5	20	1	520	18
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 111 Number of siblings in the 2002 sample

Sibling	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
0	0	0	0	0	100	6	210	7
1	60	5	80	6	620	34	1070	37
2	270	23	430	30	530	29	880	30
3	290	25	430	29	310	17	360	13
4	230	20	240	16	130	7	120	4
5	120	10	130	9	50	3	60	2
6 or more	70	7	70	5	80	4	60	2
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 112 Residential urbanicity composition in the 2002 sample

Urbanicity	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Urban	490	32	510	27	610	28	1030	36
Suburban	720	47	890	49	1140	53	1480	51
Rural	330	21	450	24	400	19	370	13
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 113 High school graduation/dropout rate in the 2002 sample

Dropout	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Not dropout	1290	79	1660	90	2020	94	2790	97
Dropped out	250	21	180	10	130	6	90	3
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 114 "Family owns 50 books or more" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
No	460	30	350	19	240	11	130	45
Yes	1070	69	1490	80	1890	88	2740	94.5
Missing	10	0.9	10	0.6	20	0.8	10	0.5
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 115 "Family has daily newspaper" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
No	690	45	700	38	670	31	660	23
Yes	840	54	1140	62	1470	68	2210	76
Missing	10	0.8	10	0.4	10	0.4	10	0.3
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 116 "Students have own room" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
No	280	18	230	12	200	9	190	7
Yes	1250	81	1610	87	1940	90	2680	92
Missing	10	0.5	10	0.5	10	0.4	10	1
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 117 "How often parents check homework" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	260	17	290	15	270	13	370	13
Rarely	330	21	400	21	460	22	590	21
Sometimes	460	29	550	30	650	30	790	27
Often	490	33	600	33	760	35	1120	39
Missing			10	0.4	10	0.3	10	0.3
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 118 "How often parents help homework" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	370	24	350	19	320	15	350	12
Rarely	440	29	560	30	640	30	900	31
Sometimes	540	35	690	37	900	42	1260	44
Often	190	12	250	14	280	13	360	12
Missing					10	0.5	10	0.4
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 119 "How often parents help homework" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	370	24	350	19	320	15	350	12
Rarely	440	28	560	30	640	30	900	31
Sometimes	540	34	690	37	900	42	1260	44
Often	190	12	250	14	280	13	360	12
Missing					10	0.5	10	0.4
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 120 Hours of extra-curricular activities in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
None	740	49	730	40	670	31	610	21
1hour/wk	140	9	160	9	160	7	250	9
2-4hours/wk	230	15	300	16	340	16	480	17
5-9hours/wk	160	10	210	11	300	14	500	17
10-19hours/wk	230	15	390	21	600	28	930	32
>20hours	40	2	60	3	80	4	110	4
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 121 "How far in school mother wants me to go" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Less than HS	120	8	30	2	20	0.8	0	0
Graduate from HS or GED	160	11	150	8	80	4	20	0.9
Attend 2-yr college	100	6	130	7	70	3	30	1
Attend 4-yr college	60	4	80	4	80	4	50	2
Graduate from college	600	39	820	44	1020	47	1310	45
Master's degree	200	13	290	16	410	19	740	26
Ph.D. MD. Or other degrees	300	19	350	19	470	22	730	25
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 122 "How far in school father wants me to go" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Less than HS	130	9	50	3	20	0.9	10	0.2
Graduate from HS or GED	190	12	190	9	100	4	20	0.7
Attend 2-yr college	100	6	110	6	80	4	40	1
Attend 4-yr college	60	4	80	4	70	3	50	2
Graduate from college	580	38	820	45	980	46	1200	42
Master's degree	200	13	270	15	430	20	760	26
Ph.D. MD. Or other degrees	280	18	330	18	470	22	800	28
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 123 "Parents belong to parent-teacher organization" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
No	1430	92	1580	85	1630	76	1730	60
Yes	110	7	270	15	520	24	1150	40
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 124 "Parents acted as a volunteer at school" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
No	1350	87	1450	78	1510	70	1670	58
Yes	190	12	400	22	640	30	1210	42
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 125 "I discuss school courses with parents" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	380	25	370	20	320	15	290	10
Sometimes	800	51	1020	55	1160	54	1490	52
Often	360	24	460	25	670	31	1100	38
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 126 "I discuss school activities with parents" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	390	25	330	18	270	13	280	10
Sometimes	700	46	890	48	1020	47	1220	42
Often	440	28	620	33	860	40	1380	48
Missing	10	0.4	10	0.4			10	0.2
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 127 "I discuss things studied in school with parents" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	360	23	350	19	320	15	300	10
Sometimes	820	53	1060	57	1220	57	1550	54
Often	350	23	440	24	610	28	1030	36
Missing	10	0.7						
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 128 "Parents provide advice about selecting courses or programs" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Often	610	40	700	38	960	45	1360	48
Sometimes	610	39	640	35	740	34	1050	36
Never	320	21	510	27	450	21	470	16
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 129 "Parents limit TV time" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	680	45	740	40	700	33	670	23
Rarely	350	23	490	27	580	27	780	27
Sometimes	310	20	410	22	570	26	890	31
Often	160	10	190	10	270	13	520	18
Missing	40	2	20	1	30	1	20	0.6
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 130 "Parents limit time with friends" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	280	18	280	15	280	13	330	12
Rarely	330	21	350	19	420	20	560	20
Sometimes	480	31	660	35	780	36	1060	37
Often	450	29	550	30	650	30	910	31
Missing			10	0.5	20	1	20	0.7
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 131 "How often discuss current events with parents" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	660	42	620	34	570	27	470	16
Sometimes	610	40	840	45	1080	50	1460	51
Often	270	18	390	21	500	23	950	33
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 132 "How many times I have cut/skipped classes" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Never	1010	65	1320	72	1550	73	2300	80
1-2 times	310	21	300	16	370	17	370	13
3-6 times	90	6	120	6	120	5	120	4
7-9 times	30	2	30	1	40	2	20	0.6
> 10times	70	5	70	4	50	2	50	2
Missing	10	0.5	10	0.7	20	0.8	20	0.6
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 133 "I like school" in the 2002 sample

2002	SES 1		SES 2		SES 3		SES 4	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Not at all	170	11	220	12	220	10	280	10
Somewhat	920	60	1140	62	1390	64	1840	64
A great deal	400	26	450	24	480	22	700	24
Missing	50	3	40	2	60	3	60	2
Total	1540	100	1850	100	2150	100	2880	100

Table 134 Results on GPA for SES 1 in 1980 Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5			Model 6			Model 7			Model 8		
GPA	Coef	SE	p	Coef	SE	p	Coef	SE	p	Coef	SE	p	Coef	SE	p	Coef	SE	p	Coef	SE	p	Coef	SE	p
Sex																								
Female	0.351	0.100	***	0.188	0.109	*	0.251	0.114	*	0.246	0.115	*	0.242	0.115	*	0.231	0.114	*	0.177	0.111		0.176	0.109	
Race																								
Black	0.019	0.148		-0.067	0.148		-0.043	0.159		-0.033	0.158		0.018	0.164		0.037	0.164		0.024	0.163		0.183	0.165	
Hispanic	-0.089	0.106		-0.205	0.108		-0.215	0.109	*	-0.212	0.110		-0.197	0.111		-0.187	0.111		-0.234	0.110	*	-0.165	0.110	
Asian	0.707	0.288	*	0.511	0.282		0.487	0.284		0.486	0.283		0.482	0.285		0.499	0.286		0.458	0.283		0.464	0.282	
N. American	-0.037	0.384		-0.101	0.430		-0.062	0.395		-0.072	0.387		-0.049	0.381		-0.025	0.370		-0.047	0.360		0.018	0.369	
Urbanicity																								
Suburban	0.286	0.121	*	0.201	0.119	0.093	0.159	0.124		0.160	0.124		0.152	0.124		0.150	0.124		0.127	0.122		0.119	0.118	
Rural	0.394	0.126	**	0.298	0.126	*	0.271	0.133	*	0.268	0.133	*	0.275	0.133	*	0.275	0.133		0.263	0.130	*	0.183	0.131	
Dad's education	-0.026	0.017		-0.022	0.016		-0.027	0.017		-0.027	0.017		-0.028	0.017		-0.026	0.017		-0.024	0.017		-0.022	0.016	
Mom's education	-0.029	0.018		-0.036	0.017	*	-0.037	0.018	*	-0.037	0.018	*	-0.035	0.018		-0.034	0.018		-0.033	0.017		-0.037	0.017	*
Family income	0.034	0.045		0.026	0.044		0.010	0.046		0.008	0.046		0.013	0.046		0.016	0.046		0.027	0.046		0.018	0.045	
Sibling	-0.185	0.133		-0.235	0.136		-0.168	0.137		-0.174	0.137		-0.177	0.140		-0.181	0.139		-0.154	0.140		-0.094	0.138	
PI in education																								
Study room				-0.122	0.107		-0.091	0.112		-0.094	0.112		-0.085	0.112		-0.085	0.112		-0.129	0.111		-0.157	0.109	
Books				0.078	0.110		0.007	0.109		0.005	0.109		0.000	0.109		-0.013	0.109		-0.019	0.108		-0.007	0.105	
Newspaper				-0.351	0.101	***	-0.417	0.101	***	-0.420	0.101	***	-0.406	0.101	***	-0.411	0.101	***	-0.391	0.101	***	-0.355	0.098	***
Own room				-0.240	0.106	*	-0.243	0.108	*	-0.249	0.109	*	-0.235	0.108	*	-0.237	0.108	*	-0.242	0.107	*	-0.235	0.105	*
Homework help				0.464	0.077	***	0.441	0.079	***	0.440	0.079	***	0.435	0.080	***	0.435	0.080	***	0.424	0.080	***	0.369	0.081	***
Mom HW check				0.085	0.095		0.098	0.102		0.100	0.102		0.069	0.101		0.062	0.101		0.063	0.101		0.066	0.100	
Dad HW check				-0.032	0.052		-0.033	0.053		-0.034	0.053		-0.028	0.054		-0.035	0.053		-0.030	0.053		-0.044	0.051	
EA sports				-0.062	0.101		-0.062	0.103		-0.058	0.102		-0.059	0.102		-0.061	0.102		-0.063	0.102		-0.063	0.100	
EA cheer-L				-0.090	0.174		-0.055	0.185		-0.065	0.185		-0.058	0.184		-0.037	0.183		-0.013	0.176		-0.023	0.175	
EA Orchestra				0.051	0.167		-0.045	0.171		-0.035	0.172		-0.046	0.173		-0.044	0.174		-0.049	0.170		-0.047	0.162	
Ea Debate				0.180	0.132		0.167	0.138		0.165	0.139		0.144	0.140		0.131	0.140		0.130	0.140		0.162	0.137	
Dad expectation							0.034	0.023		0.034	0.023		0.034	0.023		0.035	0.023		0.029	0.023		0.024	0.023	
Mom expectation							0.034	0.019		0.033	0.019		0.032	0.019		0.033	0.019		0.030	0.019		0.034	0.019	
Participation in meeting							-0.010	0.116		-0.011	0.117		-0.014	0.116		-0.018	0.113		-0.012	0.112		-0.013	0.105	
Participation in events							0.187	0.100		0.186	0.100		0.177	0.099		0.172	0.098		0.169	0.096		0.165	0.096	
Discussion course							0.108	0.088		0.107	0.088		0.101	0.089		0.089	0.090		0.062	0.090		0.034	0.089	
Discussion activities							-0.048	0.087		-0.038	0.088		-0.041	0.088		-0.078	0.089		-0.080	0.089		-0.091	0.087	
Autonomy																								
Decide classes										0.109	0.109		0.101	0.109		0.109	0.108		0.094	0.108		0.082	0.107	
Structure																								
TV time													0.097	0.084		0.095	0.083		0.074	0.084		0.058	0.083	
Time with friends													0.054	0.032		0.052	0.032		0.056	0.032		0.052	0.031	
EI																								
Talking with P																0.064	0.048		0.060	0.048		0.061	0.046	
Positive attitudes																			0.425	0.136	***	0.364	0.133	***
Behavior																								
Late to class																						-0.218	0.043	***
Constant	4.322	0.215	***	3.503	0.330	***	2.902	0.424	***	2.875	0.429	***	2.620	0.443	***	2.599	0.439	***	2.395	0.442	***	3.094	0.459	***
R^2	0.5580			0.1418			0.1717			0.1733			0.1791			0.1817			0.1993			0.2292		

Table 135 Results on Positive attitudes toward school and behavioral problems for SES 1 in 1980
Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

	Positive attitudes t/ school			Behavioral Problems		
	OR	SE	p	Coef	SE	p
Sex						
Female	1.858	0.552	*	-0.005	0.096	
Race						
Black	2.347	1.139		0.731	0.148	***
Hispanic	1.887	0.572	*	0.316	0.101	***
Asian	2.061	1.635		0.028	0.204	
N. American	1.428	1.118		0.301	0.318	
Urbanicity						
Suburban	1.442	0.480		-0.035	0.117	
Rural	1.176	0.436		-0.368	0.112	***
Dad's education	0.930	0.040		0.008	0.018	
Mom's education	0.993	0.049		-0.019	0.016	
Family income	0.931	0.107		-0.038	0.037	
Sibling	0.900	0.332		0.278	0.096	*
PI in education						
Study room	1.456	0.431		-0.126	0.084	
Books	1.008	0.296		0.055	0.094	
Newspaper	0.594	0.160		0.169	0.082	*
Own room	1.025	0.268		0.031	0.090	
Homework help	1.165	0.240		-0.256	0.083	
Mom HW check	0.982	0.229		0.014	0.082	
Dad HW check	1.015	0.143		-0.065	0.046	
EA sports	0.895	0.237		0.001	0.089	
EA cheer-L	0.593	0.247		-0.045	0.127	
EA Orchestra	2.929	1.708		0.008	0.137	
Ea Debate	1.640	0.681		0.145	0.127	
Dad expectation	1.107	0.061		-0.023	0.019	
Mom expectation	1.060	0.053		0.017	0.015	
Participation in meeting	0.888	0.240		-0.006	0.098	
Participation in events	0.938	0.227		-0.021	0.075	
Discussion course	1.555	0.360		-0.131	0.069	
Discussion activities	1.417	0.311		-0.048	0.077	
Autonomy						
Decide classes	1.250	0.352		-0.056	0.091	
Structure						
TV time	1.239	0.293		-0.070	0.078	
Time with friends	0.914	0.078		-0.020	0.028	
EI						
Talking with P	1.016	0.134		0.005	0.039	
Positive attitudes				-0.280	0.142	*
Behavior						
Late to class	0.778	0.089	*			
Constant				3.213	0.479	***
R^2	0.1563				0.1386	

Table 136 Results on GPA for SES 2 in 1980 Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5			Model 6			Model 7			Model 8		
GPA	Coef.	SE	p	Coef.	SE	p	Coef.	SE	p	Coef.	SE	p	Coef.	SE	p	Coef.	SE	p	Coef.	SE	p	Coef.	SE	p
Sex																								
Female	0.399	0.075	***	0.277	0.081	***	0.269	0.084	***	0.265	0.084	**	0.260	0.084	**	0.244	0.083	**	0.235	0.084	**	0.232	0.083	**
Race																								
Black	-0.096	0.126		-0.157	0.137		-0.209	0.141		-0.209	0.142		-0.169	0.143		-0.159	0.143		-0.205	0.142		-0.176	0.142	
Hispanic	-0.170	0.098		-0.161	0.101		-0.203	0.104		-0.203	0.104		-0.198	0.104		-0.203	0.105		-0.228	0.106	*	-0.199	0.108	
Asian	0.668	0.190	***	0.634	0.222	**	0.617	0.241	*	0.617	0.243	*	0.639	0.242		0.658	0.241	**	0.668	0.242	**	0.677	0.247	**
N. American	-0.147	0.221		-0.292	0.245		-0.359	0.233		-0.364	0.231		-0.347	0.236		-0.365	0.238		-0.373	0.250		-0.347	0.248	
Urbanicity																								
Suburban	0.127	0.099		0.124	0.098		0.141	0.099		0.139	0.098		0.134	0.098		0.135	0.098		0.104	0.098		0.115	0.098	
Rural	0.392	0.108	***	0.364	0.106	***	0.438	0.106	***	0.434	0.106	***	0.430	0.106	***	0.425	0.106	***	0.398	0.107	***	0.406	0.107	***
Dad education	-0.013	0.013		-0.015	0.014		-0.021	0.014		-0.020	0.014		-0.020	0.014		-0.021	0.014		-0.021	0.014		-0.020	0.014	
Mom education	-0.015	0.015		-0.007	0.015		-0.013	0.016		-0.013	0.016		-0.012	0.016		-0.011	0.016		-0.013	0.016		-0.013	0.016	
Family income	0.000	0.032		-0.004	0.031		0.008	0.032		0.006	0.032		0.009	0.032		0.008	0.032		0.008	0.032		0.012	0.032	
Sibling	0.157	0.107		0.074	0.108		0.058	0.110		0.056	0.110		0.040	0.110		0.049	0.110		0.033	0.110		0.044	0.111	
PI in education																								
Study room				0.022	0.117		-0.022	0.122		-0.028	0.122		-0.035	0.122		-0.045	0.123		-0.081	0.121		-0.086	0.121	
Books				0.020	0.099		0.047	0.099		0.050	0.099		0.045	0.100		0.047	0.100		0.033	0.100		0.043	0.100	
Newspaper				-0.191	0.083	*	-0.180	0.084	*	-0.182	0.084	*	-0.182	0.084	*	-0.187	0.084	*	-0.181	0.084	*	-0.182	0.084	*
Own room				0.286	0.056	***	0.273	0.058	***	0.272	0.058	***	0.256	0.059	***	0.248	0.059	***	0.240	0.060	***	0.231	0.059	***
HW help				-0.103	0.079		-0.119	0.081		-0.117	0.081		-0.133	0.081		-0.133	0.081		-0.140	0.080		-0.164	0.080	*
Mom HW check				0.055	0.055		0.053	0.057		0.057	0.057		0.045	0.057		0.044	0.056		0.041	0.056		0.049	0.056	
Dad HW check				0.151	0.078		0.101	0.079		0.101	0.079		0.096	0.078		0.097	0.078		0.078	0.079		0.083	0.079	
EA sports				0.187	0.105		0.140	0.106		0.144	0.106		0.141	0.105		0.143	0.105		0.146	0.105		0.143	0.105	
EA cheer-L				0.257	0.135		0.220	0.133		0.217	0.133		0.195	0.133		0.199	0.134		0.204	0.134		0.210	0.135	
EA Orchestra				0.260	0.103	*	0.202	0.106		0.206	0.106		0.214	0.106	*	0.204	0.106		0.183	0.105		0.185	0.105	
Ea Debate							0.063	0.019	***	0.063	0.019	***	0.059	0.019	**	0.057	0.019	**	0.057	0.019	**	0.056	0.019	**
Dad expectation							0.017	0.016		0.017	0.016		0.017	0.016		0.018	0.016		0.015	0.016		0.015	0.016	
Mom expectation							-0.060	0.070		-0.059	0.070		-0.066	0.070		-0.061	0.070		-0.054	0.069		-0.063	0.069	
Participation in meeting							0.122	0.061	*	0.126	0.061	*	0.118	0.061		0.112	0.060		0.106	0.060		0.105	0.060	
Participation in events							-0.005	0.065		-0.004	0.065		-0.003	0.064		-0.014	0.064		-0.031	0.064		-0.039	0.064	
Discussion course							0.059	0.072		0.062	0.072		0.054	0.071		0.024	0.075		0.013	0.076		0.020	0.075	
Discussion activities																								
										0.070	0.085		0.071	0.086		0.063	0.085		0.057	0.085		0.065	0.085	
Autonomy																								
Decide classes													0.176	0.075	*	0.174	0.075	*	0.197	0.072	**	0.205	0.073	**
Structure													0.037	0.023		0.037	0.023		0.034	0.023		0.034	0.023	
TV time																								
Time with friends																0.061	0.035		0.054	0.035		0.052	0.035	
EI																			0.304	0.113	**	0.297	0.113	**
Talking with P																								
Positive attitudes																						-0.049	0.040	
Behavior																								
	4.396	0.192	***	3.694	0.299	***	3.030	0.358	***	3.009	0.359	***	2.862	0.372	***	2.868	0.372	***	2.840	0.375	***	2.941	0.380	***
Constant	0.0561			0.1181			0.1356			0.1363			0.1429			0.1458			0.1587			0.1622		
R^2																								

Table 137 Positive attitudes toward school and behavioral problems for SES 2 in 1980

Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

	Positive attitudes t/ school			Behavioral problems		
	OR	SE	p	Coef.	SE	p
Sex						
Female	1.562	0.380		0.075	0.078	
Race						
Black	6.816	4.719	***	0.489	0.140	***
Hispanic	1.700	0.543		0.519	0.110	***
Asian	0.885	0.510		-0.010	0.218	
N. American	1.368	1.185		0.506	0.227	*
				1.138	0.191	*
Urbanicity						
Suburban	1.254	0.325		0.041	0.085	
Rural	1.128	0.332		-0.073	0.093	
Dad's education	1.010	0.040		0.033	0.014	*
Mom's education	1.003	0.042		-0.010	0.016	
Family income	1.017	0.092		0.004	0.028	
Sibling	1.397	0.368		0.023	0.100	
PI in education						
Study room	1.095	0.241		0.111	0.068	
Books	1.370	0.377		0.042	0.115	
Newspaper	1.388	0.369		-0.033	0.081	
Own room	0.697	0.172		0.005	0.071	
Homework help	1.319	0.208		-0.152	0.054	
Mom HW check	1.139	0.279		-0.021	0.086	
Dad HW check	0.983	0.159		-0.008	0.060	
EA sports	1.612	0.349	*	0.062	0.068	
EA cheer-L	0.690	0.212		-0.082	0.086	
EA Orchestra	1.749	0.867		0.111	0.120	
Ea Debate	1.840	0.586		0.003	0.090	
Dad expectation	1.069	0.057		-0.008	0.018	
Mom expectation	1.061	0.049		0.003	0.014	
Participation in meeting	0.728	0.153		-0.194	0.051	***
Participation in events	1.199	0.216		0.007	0.048	
Discussion course	1.449	0.285		-0.118	0.054	*
Discussion activities	1.471	0.300		-0.020	0.065	
Autonomy						
Decide classes	1.183	0.284		0.080	0.076	
Structure						
TV time	0.963	0.196		-0.026	0.085	
Time with friends	1.016	0.069		0.023	0.022	
EI						
Talking with P	1.224	0.127		-0.073	0.032	*
Positive attitudes				-0.327	0.118	
Behavior						
Late to class	0.727	0.066	***			
Constant				2.762	0.361	***
R^2	0.1301			0.1027		

Table 138 Results on GPA for SES 3 in 1980 Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5			Model 6			Model 7			Model 8		
GPA	Coef.	SE	p	Coef.	SE	p	Coef.	SE	p	Coef.	SE	p	Coef.	SE	p	Coef.	SE	p	Coef.	SE	p	Coef.	SE	p
Sex																								
Female	0.315	0.073	***	0.182	0.080		0.137	0.081		0.137	0.081		0.146	0.081		0.104	0.083		0.110	0.082		0.099	0.081	
Race																								
Black	-0.503	0.130	***	-0.562	0.131	***	-0.661	0.137	***	-0.661	0.137	***	-0.605	0.138	***	-0.589	0.138	***	-0.608	0.138	***	-0.573	0.137	***
Hispanic	-0.145	0.102		-0.138	0.105		-0.194	0.106		-0.194	0.106		-0.186	0.105		-0.185	0.105		-0.206	0.102	*	-0.183	0.102	
Asian	0.459	0.268		0.345	0.281		0.329	0.287		0.336	0.287		0.335	0.282		0.338	0.283		0.334	0.265		0.354	0.256	
N. American	-0.986	0.293	***	-0.848	0.353	*	-0.941	0.328	**	-0.954	0.331	**	-0.964	0.333	**	-0.937	0.334	**	-0.871	0.338	**	-0.870	0.325	**
Urbanicity																								
Suburban	-0.089	0.105		-0.079	0.106		-0.067	0.107		-0.065	0.107		-0.073	0.107		-0.058	0.106		-0.053	0.105		-0.061	0.105	
Rural	0.222	0.117		0.166	0.120		0.185	0.120		0.182	0.120		0.200	0.120		0.210	0.119		0.221	0.117		0.192	0.117	
Dad education	-0.014	0.013		-0.010	0.013		-0.015	0.014		-0.015	0.014		-0.015	0.014		-0.014	0.014		-0.016	0.014		-0.017	0.014	
Mom education	-0.011	0.015		-0.012	0.015		-0.013	0.015		-0.013	0.015		-0.010	0.015		-0.009	0.015		-0.007	0.015		-0.007	0.015	
Family income	-0.042	0.029		-0.053	0.030		-0.051	0.029		-0.052	0.029		-0.050	0.029		-0.047	0.029		-0.048	0.029		-0.043	0.029	
Sibling	-0.151	0.096		-0.108	0.100		-0.111	0.101		-0.115	0.101		-0.112	0.102		-0.104	0.102		-0.114	0.101		-0.101	0.101	
PI in education																								
Study room				-0.093	0.076		-0.121	0.075		-0.121	0.075		-0.125	0.075		-0.122	0.075		-0.147	0.074	*	-0.149	0.073	*
Books				0.154	0.147		0.204	0.147		0.205	0.147		0.193	0.147		0.198	0.148		0.159	0.147		0.154	0.144	
Newspaper				-0.185	0.108		-0.206	0.110		-0.204	0.110		-0.196	0.110		-0.184	0.110		-0.192	0.106		-0.216	0.106	*
Own room				-0.110	0.092		-0.096	0.090		-0.100	0.090		-0.097	0.090		-0.087	0.090		-0.063	0.088		-0.059	0.088	
HW help				0.379	0.054	***	0.332	0.054	***	0.333	0.053	***	0.331	0.054	***	0.332	0.054	***	0.298	0.054	***	0.282	0.055	***
Mom HW check				-0.126	0.084		-0.110	0.085		-0.110	0.085		-0.105	0.086		-0.116	0.085		-0.097	0.083		-0.094	0.083	
Dad HW check				0.109	0.050	*	0.073	0.051		0.075	0.051		0.077	0.051		0.072	0.051		0.069	0.050		0.080	0.051	
EA sports				-0.093	0.074		-0.149	0.075	*	-0.148	0.075	*	-0.135	0.076		-0.137	0.076		-0.134	0.075		-0.135	0.074	
EA cheer-L				-0.010	0.103		-0.032	0.102		-0.025	0.102		-0.033	0.103		-0.028	0.102		-0.043	0.100		-0.039	0.100	
EA Orchestra				0.141	0.115		0.099	0.116		0.098	0.116		0.087	0.115		0.074	0.113		0.086	0.111		0.108	0.111	
Ea Debate				0.310	0.092	***	0.260	0.092	**	0.259	0.092	**	0.251	0.092	**	0.246	0.091	**	0.217	0.090	*	0.201	0.091	*
Dad expectation							0.068	0.021	***	0.069	0.021	***	0.067	0.021	**	0.068	0.021	**	0.060	0.021	**	0.059	0.021	**
Mom expectation							0.056	0.021	**	0.055	0.021	*	0.056	0.021	**	0.057	0.022	**	0.050	0.021	*	0.052	0.021	*
Participation in meeting							0.069	-0.640		0.069	-0.600		-0.042	0.069		-0.044	0.068		-0.053	0.068		-0.070	0.069	
Participation in events							0.097	0.060		0.099	0.060		0.101	0.060		0.099	0.059		0.080	0.060		0.081	0.059	
Discussion course							0.031	0.062		0.035	0.062		0.031	0.062		0.018	0.061		0.007	0.062		-0.005	0.061	
Discussion activities							0.128	0.067		0.128	0.067		0.130	0.068		0.088	0.070		0.033	0.072		0.034	0.071	
Autonomy										0.070	0.088		0.062	0.089		0.068	0.089		0.060	0.088		0.069	0.088	
Decide classes																								
Structure													0.006	0.076		0.003	0.076		-0.011	0.073		-0.029	0.073	
TV time													0.056	0.023	*	0.054	0.023	*	0.052	0.023	*	0.052	0.023	*
Time with friends																								
EI																0.083	0.036	*	0.074	0.036	*	0.078	0.036	*
Talking with P																			0.621	0.107	***	0.602	0.107	***
Positive attitudes																								
Behavior																						-0.109	0.033	***
Constant	4.959	0.216	***	4.059	0.350	***	2.964	0.401	***	2.935	0.401	***	2.667	0.410	***	2.562	0.411	***	2.519	0.407	***	2.815	0.421	***
R^2	0.050			0.108			0.132			0.133			0.137			0.142			0.175			0.184		

Table 139 Positive attitudes toward school and behavioral problems for SES 3 in 1980

Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (****p* <.001, ** *p*<.01, **p*<.05).

	Positive attitudes t/school			Behavioral problems		
	OR	SE	p	Coef	SE	p
Sex						
Female	0.992	0.231		-0.099	0.080	
Race						
Black	1.514	0.632		0.327	0.131	*
Hispanic	1.482	0.451		0.211	0.098	*
Asian	1.179	0.980		0.188	0.243	
N. American	0.654	0.676		0.004	0.475	
Urbanicity						
Suburban	0.815	0.238		-0.076	0.111	
Rural	0.711	0.230		-0.273	0.115	*
Dad's education	1.009	0.038		-0.005	0.013	
Mom's education	1.000	0.040		0.003	0.013	
Family income	1.050	0.089		0.042	0.029	
Sibling	0.980	0.272		0.115	0.088	
PI in education						
Study room	1.346	0.263		-0.014	0.072	
Books	1.584	0.562		-0.040	0.153	
Newspaper	1.130	0.305		-0.227	0.114	*
Own room	0.750	0.187		0.043	0.093	
Homework help	1.551	0.219	**	-0.151	0.055	**
Mom HW check	0.793	0.150		0.029	0.106	
Dad HW check	1.099	0.170		0.106	0.067	
EA sports	1.050	0.209		-0.007	0.073	
EA cheer-L	1.265	0.390		0.041	0.096	
EA Orchestra	1.358	0.497		0.209	0.133	
Ea Debate	1.308	0.369		-0.146	0.085	
Dad expectation	1.085	0.055		-0.012	0.020	
Mom expectation	1.065	0.053		0.017	0.020	
Participation in meeting	1.172	0.248		-0.153	0.060	*
Participation in events	1.582	0.295	*	0.010	0.058	
Discussion course	1.198	0.215		-0.111	0.066	
Discussion activities	1.985	0.388	***	0.016	0.074	
Autonomy						
Decide classes	1.068	0.233		0.087	0.084	
Structure						
TV time	1.086	0.229		-0.170	0.073	*
Time with friends	1.088	0.066		0.000	0.020	
EI						
Talking with P	1.108	0.113		0.035	0.034	
Positive attitudes				0.517	0.071	***
Behavior						
Late to class	0.856	0.067	*			
Constant				2.727	0.415	***
R^2	.1187			.1569		

Table 140 Results on GPA for SES 4 in 1980 Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5			Model 6			Model 7			Model 8		
GPA	Coef.	SE	p	Coef.	SE	p	Coef.	SE	p	Coef.	SE	p	Coef.	SE	p	Coef.	SE	p	Coef.	SE	p	Coef.	SE	p
Sex																								
Female	0.419	0.066	***	0.302	0.072	***	0.313	0.072	***	0.321	0.072	***	0.308	0.071	***	0.261	0.072	***	0.260	0.071	***	0.263	0.071	***
Race																								
Black	-0.409	0.130	**	-0.437	0.137	***	-0.445	0.144	**	-0.441	0.145	**	-0.359	0.148	*	-0.354	0.148	*	-0.364	0.149	*	-0.348	0.147	*
Hispanic	-0.288	0.112	*	-0.282	0.114	*	-0.302	0.119	*	-0.295	0.120	*	-0.278	0.122	*	-0.268	0.122	*	-0.290	0.121	*	-0.281	0.118	*
Asian	0.798	0.151	***	0.759	0.154	***	0.704	0.154	***	0.700	0.154	***	0.712	0.150	***	0.718	0.146	***	0.649	0.146	***	0.613	0.145	***
N. American	-0.851	0.318	**	-0.692	0.315	*	-0.798	0.337	*	-0.854	0.337	*	-0.880	0.352	*	-0.891	0.343	**	-0.864	0.347	*	-0.784	0.374	*
Urbanicity																								
Suburban	0.029	0.093		0.110	0.092		0.085	0.094		0.085	0.094		0.070	0.094		0.084	0.093		0.096	0.092		0.119	0.092	
Rural	0.228	0.111	*	0.283	0.112	*	0.293	0.114	*	0.287	0.114	*	0.275	0.114	*	0.274	0.112	*	0.281	0.112	*	0.260	0.112	*
Dad education	0.011	0.015		0.011	0.015		0.008	0.015		0.008	0.015		0.008	0.015		0.008	0.015		0.010	0.015		0.009	0.015	
Mom education	0.013	0.013		0.011	0.013		0.006	0.013		0.006	0.013		0.004	0.013		0.004	0.013		0.005	0.013		0.007	0.013	
Family income	-0.014	0.026		-0.005	0.027		-0.023	0.027		-0.022	0.027		-0.025	0.027		-0.026	0.027		-0.021	0.026		-0.020	0.026	
Sibling	-0.004	0.091		-0.020	0.090		0.005	0.090		0.006	0.090		0.000	0.091		0.001	0.090		-0.005	0.090		-0.005	0.090	
PI in education																								
Study room				-0.226	0.070	***	-0.238	0.069	***	-0.233	0.069	***	-0.244	0.069	***	-0.249	0.068	***	-0.262	0.067	***	-0.254	0.067	***
Books				0.304	0.287		0.270	0.265		0.245	0.265		0.172	0.266		0.123	0.256		0.201	0.251		0.213	0.250	
Newspaper				0.040	0.143		0.108	0.140		0.108	0.139		0.125	0.136		0.137	0.137		0.115	0.138		0.108	0.138	
Own room				0.068	0.105		0.085	0.106		0.082	0.107		0.079	0.107		0.071	0.105		0.061	0.102		0.046	0.101	
HW help				0.344	0.054	***	0.298	0.054	***	0.303	0.054	***	0.283	0.055	***	0.281	0.054	***	0.272	0.053	***	0.248	0.053	***
Mom HW check				0.082	0.093		0.071	0.092		0.072	0.092		0.053	0.094		0.047	0.093		0.029	0.090		0.019	0.089	
Dad HW check				0.047	0.066		0.018	0.067		0.016	0.066		0.021	0.067		0.015	0.068		0.009	0.066		0.012	0.066	
EA sports				-0.039	0.072		-0.079	0.073		-0.071	0.073		-0.071	0.073		-0.069	0.072		-0.085	0.071		-0.081	0.071	
EA cheer-L				0.046	0.094		0.025	0.093		0.017	0.093		0.025	0.093		0.021	0.091		-0.004	0.091		0.021	0.090	
EA Orchestra				0.327	0.080	***	0.262	0.080	***	0.265	0.080	***	0.239	0.081	**	0.228	0.080	**	0.231	0.079	**	0.246	0.080	**
Ea Debate				0.173	0.084	*	0.162	0.083		0.154	0.083		0.145	0.083		0.163	0.082	*	0.142	0.081		0.150	0.081	
Dad expectation							0.095	0.028	***	0.095	0.028	***	0.090	0.028	***	0.088	0.028	**	0.097	0.027	***	0.100	0.027	***
Mom expectation							0.044	0.025		0.041	0.025		0.042	0.025		0.040	0.025		0.028	0.024		0.030	0.024	
Participation in meeting							-0.068	0.057		-0.063	0.057		-0.068	0.056		-0.063	0.057		-0.055	0.056		-0.073	0.056	
Participation in events							0.074	0.049		0.076	0.049		0.066	0.049		0.064	0.049		0.056	0.048		0.057	0.048	
Discussion course							0.071	0.067		0.081	0.067		0.071	0.067		0.036	0.067		0.014	0.066		0.013	0.066	
Discussion activities							0.184	0.074	*	0.181	0.074	*	0.190	0.073	*	0.150	0.074	*	0.121	0.073		0.099	0.073	
Autonomy										0.143	0.080		0.153	0.080		0.152	0.080		0.135	0.079		0.130	0.079	
Decide classes																								
Structure													0.093	0.069		0.083	0.070		0.077	0.069		0.055	0.067	
TV time													0.064	0.021	**	0.061	0.021	**	0.051	0.021	*	0.055	0.021	**
Time with friends																								
EI																0.116	0.031	***	0.094	0.031	**	0.088	0.031	**
Talking with P																			0.583	0.095	***	0.569	0.095	***
Positive attitudes																								
Behavior																						-0.116	0.027	***
Constant	4.646	0.237	***	3.156	0.460	***	1.785	0.476	***	1.739	0.477	***	1.615	0.476	***	1.639	0.469	***	1.379	0.460	***	1.715	0.466	***
R^2	0.050			0.105			0.135			0.137			0.145			0.154			0.179			0.191		

Table 141 Results on Positive attitudes toward school and Behavioral problems for SES 4 in 1980

Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

	Positive attitudes t/school			Behavioral problems		
	OR	SE	p	Coef.	SE	p
Sex						
Female	1.095	0.228		0.020	0.083	
Race						
Black	2.089	1.000		0.137	0.132	
Hispanic	1.871	0.657		0.076	0.109	
Asian	9.010	8.960	*	-0.310	0.153	*
N. American	0.786	0.660		0.697	0.519	
Urbanicity						
Suburban	0.835	0.229		0.201	0.095	*
Rural	0.908	0.299		-0.180	0.106	
Dad's education	0.968	0.039		-0.007	0.016	
Mom's education	0.982	0.036		0.025	0.014	
Family income	0.870	0.067		0.009	0.030	
Sibling	1.117	0.295		-0.001	0.096	
PI in education						
Study room	1.211	0.217		0.071	0.073	
Books	0.211	0.212		0.105	0.229	
Newspaper	1.439	0.605		-0.059	0.148	
Own room	1.179	0.313		-0.134	0.118	
Homework help	1.035	0.144		-0.206	0.058	***
Mom HW check	1.283	0.270		-0.092	0.088	
Dad HW check	1.077	0.169		0.023	0.059	
EA sports	1.242	0.239		0.035	0.077	
EA cheer-L	1.660	0.516		0.221	0.103	*
EA Orchestra	1.025	0.256		0.127	0.089	
Ea Debate	1.604	0.412		0.074	0.092	
Dad expectation	0.903	0.072		0.024	0.027	
Mom expectation	1.214	0.077	**	0.015	0.026	
Participation in meeting	0.813	0.136		-0.152	0.054	**
Participation in events	1.159	0.156		0.011	0.050	
Discussion course	1.508	0.237	**	-0.006	0.073	
Discussion activities	1.474	0.242	*	-0.194	0.080	*
Autonomy						
Decide classes	1.213	0.262		-0.047	0.084	
Structure						
TV time	1.153	0.223		-0.188	0.082	*
Time with friends	1.147	0.061	*	0.037	0.022	
EI						
Talking with P	1.339	0.122	***	-0.051	0.033	
Positive attitudes				-0.123	0.112	
Behavior						
Late to class	0.911	0.062				
Constant				2.901	0.498	***
R^2	.1096			0.0759		

Table 142 Table 101 Results on dropout for SES 1 in 1990 Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5			Model 6			Model 7			Model 8		
Dropout	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p
SEX																								
Female	0.939	0.119		0.891	0.118		0.889	0.126		0.894	0.128		0.905	0.132		0.845	0.126		0.836	0.125		0.850	0.129	
RACE																								
Black	1.082	0.189		1.228	0.233		1.303	0.270		1.300	0.272		1.306	0.273		1.428	0.302		1.433	0.306		1.476	0.320	
Hispanic	0.881	0.144		0.918	0.168		0.859	0.171		0.869	0.173		0.865	0.175		0.941	0.192		0.950	0.196		0.875	0.186	
Asian	0.531	0.186		0.552	0.201		0.625	0.245		0.638	0.251		0.650	0.261		0.707	0.289		0.702	0.288		0.690	0.290	
N. American	2.635	1.168		2.354	1.131		2.154	1.204		2.098	1.171		2.047	1.135		2.302	1.262		2.429	1.303		2.342	1.244	
Urbanicity																								
Suburban	0.918	0.160		0.934	0.176		0.800	0.161		0.789	0.160		0.780	0.160		0.798	0.165		0.816	0.171		0.883	0.192	
Rural	0.728	0.125		0.744	0.141		0.687	0.139		0.690	0.140		0.694	0.142		0.704	0.145		0.728	0.151		0.839	0.183	
F. Composition																								
Mom & dad	1.986	0.387	***	1.976	0.408	***	2.034	0.439	***	2.035	0.440	***	2.076	0.451	***	1.989	0.447	**	1.923	0.442	**	1.759	0.416	*
Mom & male gudn	3.690	1.614	**	3.168	1.624	*	2.568	1.439		2.605	1.465		2.589	1.476		2.441	1.405		2.505	1.399		2.496	1.506	
Dad & female gdn	1.455	0.254	*	1.390	0.255		1.419	0.288		1.413	0.288		1.438	0.294		1.423	0.294		1.415	0.295		1.376	0.291	
Mom only	3.001	1.045	**	3.030	1.121	**	3.500	1.420	**	3.645	1.510	**	3.635	1.506	**	3.601	1.513	**	3.608	1.519	**	3.366	1.417	**
Dad only	2.029	0.597	*	1.887	0.592	*	1.762	0.568		1.823	0.593		1.809	0.590		1.907	0.651		1.897	0.645		1.797	0.633	
With relatives only	1.739	0.479		1.568	0.471		1.896	0.556		1.873	0.581	*	1.846	0.576	*	1.911	0.605	*	1.821	0.588		1.825	0.589	
Dad education	0.943	0.029		0.957	0.031		0.934	0.033		0.931	0.033	*	0.932	0.033	*	0.937	0.033		0.937	0.033		0.939	0.034	
Mom education	1.007	0.036		0.995	0.038		0.979	0.040		0.979	0.040		0.978	0.041		0.967	0.040		0.968	0.040		0.968	0.041	
Familyincome	0.950	0.029		0.958	0.031		0.970	0.033		0.966	0.033		0.966	0.033		0.966	0.034		0.958	0.034		0.954	0.034	
Sibling	0.957	0.042		0.952	0.046		0.948	0.047		0.945	0.048		0.947	0.048		0.952	0.048		0.955	0.049		0.945	0.050	
PI in education																								
Books				0.911	0.149		0.971	0.167		0.968	0.167		0.947	0.164		1.000	0.175		0.987	0.173		0.964	0.173	
Ownroom				1.231	0.205		1.291	0.225		1.290	0.227		1.295	0.230		1.359	0.244		1.335	0.240		1.306	0.238	
Newspaper				0.834	0.114		0.923	0.136		0.907	0.134		0.903	0.134		0.914	0.137		0.921	0.139		0.936	0.144	
Study room				1.008	0.143		1.032	0.160		1.026	0.160		1.049	0.166		0.979	0.159		1.004	0.163		1.038	0.172	
Hw check				0.715	0.055	***	0.814	0.068	*	0.810	0.068	*	0.824	0.069	*	0.863	0.072		0.875	0.074		0.884	0.075	
HW help				1.093	0.094		1.199	0.113		1.198	0.114		1.206	0.115	*	1.281	0.126	*	1.293	0.128	**	1.277	0.128	*
Hours of EA				0.696	0.042	***	0.851	0.058	*	0.851	0.058	*	0.854	0.059	*	0.833	0.060	*	0.842	0.061	*	0.854	0.061	*
Mom expectation							0.923	0.033	*	0.921	0.033	*	0.923	0.033	*	0.925	0.034	*	0.926	0.034	*	0.937	0.035	
Dad expectation							0.935	0.034		0.940	0.035		0.941	0.035		0.953	0.037		0.954	0.037		0.950	0.037	
Participation in meeting							0.982	0.118		0.980	0.118		0.996	0.120		0.974	0.118		0.973	0.119		0.972	0.120	
Participation in events							0.558	0.060	***	0.555	0.061	***	0.548	0.060	***	0.572	0.064	***	0.578	0.065	***	0.572	0.065	***
Participation in volunteering							1.388	0.169	**	1.375	0.168	**	1.373	0.168	*	1.373	0.171	*	1.359	0.171	*	1.343	0.171	*
Discuss courses							0.682	0.103	*	0.687	0.105	*	0.689	0.105	*	0.685	0.105	*	0.711	0.110	*	0.722	0.110	*
Discuss activities							0.940	0.130		0.934	0.129		0.938	0.129		0.961	0.135		0.956	0.135		0.974	0.138	
Discuss issues							0.998	0.136		1.001	0.137		1.005	0.138		1.070	0.150		1.065	0.150		1.074	0.153	
Autonomy																								
Deciding courses										0.951	0.066		0.946	0.066		0.937	0.064		0.942	0.066		0.928	0.065	
Structure																								
Limit on TV													0.950	0.085		0.935	0.084		0.933	0.084		0.934	0.086	
Limit on friends													1.051	0.074		1.064	0.076		1.065	0.076		1.053	0.076	
Emotional invlvmnt																								
Get along with parents																0.803	0.045	***	0.807	0.046	***	0.831	0.048	***
Positive attitudes																			0.850	0.087		0.894	0.094	
Behavior																								
Cut/skip classes																						1.358	0.093	***
Adjusted R^2	0.0305			0.0806			0.1269			0.1275			0.1288			0.1378			0.1379			0.1519		

Table 143 Results on Positive attitudes toward school and Behavioral problems for SES 1 in 1990

Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

	Positive attitudes t/school			Behavioral problems		
	Coef	SE	p	Coef	SE	p
SEX						
Female	0.045	0.037		0.009	0.026	
RACE						
Black	0.191	0.114		-0.298	0.073	***
Hispanic	0.141	0.118		-0.162	0.075	*
Asian	0.032	0.091		-0.289	0.057	***
N. American	0.291	0.219		0.021	0.141	
Other	0.184	0.292		-0.176	0.187	
Urbanicity						
Suburban	-0.033	0.053		-0.001	0.034	
Rural	0.025	0.058	**	0.039	0.037	
F. Composition						
Mom & male gudn	-0.015	0.067		0.061	0.043	
Dad & female gdn	0.108	0.134		-0.007	0.086	
Mom only	-0.098	0.072	**	-0.071	0.046	
Dad only	0.052	0.146		-0.033	0.093	
With relatives only	-0.005	0.181		0.135	0.116	
Dad education	0.003	0.011		0.009	0.007	
Mom education	-0.005	0.011		-0.006	0.007	
Familyincome	0.093	0.016	*	-0.006	0.011	
Sibling	0.018	0.016		-0.021	0.011	*
PI in education						
Books	-0.001	0.088		0.058	0.056	
Ownroom	0.025	0.058		-0.104	0.037	**
Newspaper	0.026	0.051		-0.006	0.032	
Study room	0.034	0.042	*	-0.049	0.027	
Hw check	-0.003	0.025		-0.001	0.016	
HW help	0.028	0.029		0.036	0.019	
Hours of EA	-0.011	0.016	*	0.028	0.011	**
Mom expectation	0.011	0.016		0.008	0.011	
Dad expectation	-0.001	0.018		0.018	0.012	
Participation in meeting	0.011	0.031	*	0.026	0.021	
Participation in events	-0.001	0.029		0.039	0.018	*
Participation in volunteering	-0.011	0.033		-0.004	0.021	
Discuss courses	0.088	0.044	**	0.087	0.028	**
Discuss activities	-0.011	0.042		0.008	0.027	
Discuss issues	0.049	0.041		0.133	0.026	***
Autonomy						
Deciding courses	-0.001	0.022		-0.003	0.014	
Structure						
Limit on TV	0.019	0.023		-0.021	0.014	
Limit on friends	0.001	0.022		0.011	0.014	
Emotional invlvmnt						
Get along with parents	0.057	0.017	***	-0.098	0.011	***
Positive attitudes	-	-	-	0-.157	.045	***
Behavior	-.069	0.020	***	-	-	-
Cut/skip classes	-0.245	0.033	***			
Constant	2.031	0.171	***	2.188	0.206	***
R^2	0.1392			0.1417		

Table 144 Results on positive feelings about self and alcohol use for SES 1 in 1990 Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

	Positive feelings				Alcohol use		
	Coef.	SE	p		Coef.	SE	p
SEX				**SEX**			
Female	0.002	0.044		Female	-0.255	0.087	**
RACE				**RACE**			
Black	-0.067	0.080		Black	-0.211	0.136	
Hispanic	0.002	0.069		Hispanic	-0.064	0.107	
Asian	-0.029	0.116		Asian	-0.187	0.222	
N. American	-0.184	0.155		N. American	-0.605	0.198	**
Urbanicity				Urbanicity			
Suburban	-0.108	0.072		Suburban	0.204	0.108	
Rural	-0.060	0.077		Rural	0.326	0.109	**
F. Composition				**F. Composition**			
Mom & male gudn	0.086	0.087		Mom & male gudn	0.469	0.163	**
Dad & female gdn	-0.096	0.153		Dad & female gdn	0.160	0.186	
Mom only	-0.119	0.060	*	Mom only	0.182	0.110	
Dad only	-0.029	0.102		Dad only	-0.036	0.190	
With relatives only	-0.123	0.102		With relatives only	-0.082	0.191	
Dad education	0.011	0.011		Dad education	0.011	0.018	
Mom education	-0.005	0.011		Mom education	-0.015	0.022	
Familyincome	-0.008	0.012		Familyincome	0.044	0.019	*
Sibling	-0.002	0.016		Sibling	-0.068	0.031	*
PI in education				**PI in education**			
Books	-0.071	0.058		Books	0.144	0.091	
Ownroom	-0.035	0.053		Ownroom	0.106	0.098	
Newspaper	0.087	0.042	*	Newspaper	0.067	0.079	
Study room	-0.011	0.050		Study room	-0.061	0.093	
Hw check	-0.056	0.024	*	Hw check	-0.026	0.043	
HW help	0.019	0.030		HW help	-0.038	0.052	
Hours of EA	-0.039	0.019	*	Hours of EA	-0.001	0.035	
Mom expectation	-0.008	0.013		Mom expectation	0.002	0.019	
Dad expectation	-0.006	0.014		Dad expectation	-0.006	0.021	
Participation in meeting	-0.007	0.032		Participation in meeting	0.079	0.070	
Participation in events	0.044	0.029		Participation in events	-0.049	0.056	
Participation in volunteering	0.044	0.038		Participation in volunteering	-0.055	0.070	
Discuss courses	0.061	0.043		Discuss courses	0.056	0.088	
Discuss activities	-0.050	0.038		Discuss activities	0.064	0.075	
Discuss issues	-0.017	0.045		Discuss issues	-0.064	0.074	
Autonomy				**Autonomy**			
Deciding courses	-0.032	0.021		Deciding courses	-0.008	0.049	
Structure				**Structure**			
Limit on TV	0.044	0.026		Limit on TV	-0.074	0.045	
Limit on friends	0.010	0.022		Limit on friends	-0.038	0.038	
Emotional invlvmnt				**Emotional invlvmnt**			
Get along with parents	-0.074	0.017	***	Get along with parents	-0.036	0.035	
Positive attitudes	-0.148	0.040	***	**Positive attitudes**	-0.088	0.070	
				Behavior			
				Cut/skip classes	0.286	0.039	***
				Positive feelings	0.071	0.073	
Constant	2.960	0.260	***	Constant	1.716	0.508	***
R^2	0.065			R^2	0.095		

Table 145 Results on Dropout with positive feelings and alcohol use for SES 1 in 1990

Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

Dropout	OR	SE	p
SEX			
Female	0.130	1.020	
RACE			
Black	1.481	0.322	
Hispanic	0.878	0.186	
Asian	0.683	0.289	
N. American	2.366	1.260	
Urbanicity			
Suburban	0.873	0.190	
Rural	0.828	0.182	
F. Composition			
Mom & male gudn	1.738	0.409	*
Dad & female gdn	2.476	1.482	
Mom only	1.360	0.289	
Dad only	3.364	1.414	**
With relatives only	1.791	.632	*
Dad education	0.940	0.034	
Mom education	0.968	0.041	
Familyincome	0.952	0.034	
Sibling	0.948	0.050	
PI in education			
Books	0.956	0.172	
Ownroom	0.237	1.450	
Newspaper	0.935	0.143	
Study room	1.041	0.173	
Hw check	0.883	0.075	
HW help	1.279	0.128	
Hours of EA	0.853	0.061	
Mom expectation	0.936	0.035	
Dad expectation	0.950	0.037	
Participation in meeting	0.971	0.120	
Participation in events	0.573	0.065	
Participation in volunteering	1.347	0.171	
Discuss courses	0.721	0.110	*
Discuss activities	0.971	0.138	
Discuss issues	1.074	0.152	
Autonomy			
Deciding courses	0.927	0.065	
Structure			
Limit on TV	0.936	0.086	
Limit on friends	1.054	0.076	
Emotional invlvmnt			
Get along with parents	0.829	0.048	***
Positive attitudes	0.888	0.095	
Behavior			
Cut/skip classes	1.348	0.093	***
Positive feeling	0.960	0.081	
Alcohol use	1.027	0.045	
Adjusted R^2	0.152		

Table 146 Results on Dropout for SES 2 in 1990 Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5			Model 6			Model 7			Model 8		
Dropout	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p
SEX																								
Female	1.025	0.144		1.075	0.161		1.138	0.179		1.146	0.182		1.165	0.187		1.082	0.175		1.093	0.180		1.089	0.184	
RACE																								
Black	1.143	0.258		1.203	0.294		1.308	0.356		1.299	0.357		1.360	0.380		1.358	0.380		1.508	0.426		1.593	0.459	
Hispanic	1.354	0.278		1.473	0.305		1.563	0.339	*	1.549	0.337	*	1.579	0.345	*	1.658	0.364	*	1.751	0.386	*	1.488	0.346	
Asian	0.716	0.266		0.637	0.261		0.790	0.319		0.787	0.320		0.881	0.362		0.939	0.389		1.032	0.422		1.073	0.449	
N. American	1.839	0.915		1.421	0.737		1.372	0.772		1.380	0.774		1.464	0.855		1.504	0.866		1.845	1.071		1.661	0.973	
Urbanicity																								
Suburban	1.318	0.261		1.214	0.254		1.220	0.270		1.249	0.279		1.294	0.290		1.324	0.303		1.322	0.304		1.468	0.347	
Rural	1.093	0.220		1.123	0.237		1.057	0.240		1.091	0.250		1.104	0.253		1.143	0.268		1.169	0.277		1.296	0.315	
F. Composition																								
Mom & dad	1.339	0.278		1.181	0.259		1.304	0.294		1.281	0.291		1.304	0.300		1.344	0.308		1.343	0.308		1.274	0.304	
Mom & male gudn	2.496	0.938	*	2.127	0.832		1.554	0.690		1.558	0.709		1.555	0.715		1.617	0.759		1.479	0.743		1.548	0.755	
Dad & female gdn	1.575	0.348	*	1.411	0.328		1.437	0.364		1.450	0.375		1.429	0.372		1.490	0.394		1.503	0.398		1.187	0.332	
Mom only	4.227	1.522	***	3.516	1.319	***	3.825	1.500	***	3.601	1.444	***	3.659	1.445	***	3.464	1.431	**	3.751	1.617	**	3.275	1.500	*
Dad only	1.391	0.758		1.141	0.630		1.004	0.575		1.008	0.591		1.002	0.595		1.003	0.592		1.069	0.601		0.937	0.504	
With relatives only	1.54	0.714		1.29	0.93		1.416	0.688		1.429	0.695		1.437	0.702		1.467	0.717		1.418	0.724		1.429	0.695	
Dad education	0.999	0.040		1.005	0.040		0.991	0.041		0.985	0.041		0.989	0.041		0.976	0.041		0.976	0.041		0.980	0.042	
Mom education	0.954	0.045		0.953	0.044		0.952	0.044		0.957	0.044		0.959	0.044		0.973	0.045		0.976	0.045		0.976	0.046	
Familyincome	0.902	0.040	*	0.914	0.042		0.926	0.045		0.930	0.046		0.925	0.046		0.930	0.047		0.930	0.047		0.930	0.048	
Sibling	0.963	0.062		0.951	0.071		0.942	0.073		0.951	0.073		0.945	0.076		0.934	0.077		0.925	0.078		0.940	0.081	
PI in education																								
Books				0.811	0.193		0.946	0.242		0.915	0.236		0.880	0.227		0.896	0.236		0.923	0.243		0.891	0.246	
Ownroom				1.206	0.252		1.193	0.258		1.201	0.261		1.168	0.258		1.154	0.257		1.109	0.251		1.156	0.267	
Newspaper				0.832	0.128		0.866	0.137		0.857	0.138		0.848	0.137		0.825	0.135		0.832	0.138		0.839	0.144	
Study room				1.031	0.158		1.114	0.179		1.153	0.187		1.168	0.191		1.205	0.197		1.202	0.198		1.274	0.215	
Hw check				0.892	0.076		0.990	0.090		0.998	0.091		1.051	0.095		1.053	0.097		1.053	0.096		1.066	0.099	
HW help				0.950	0.098		0.993	0.108		1.003	0.111		1.008	0.111		1.043	0.118		1.049	0.118		1.098	0.125	
Hours of EA				0.622	0.040	***	0.701	0.051	***	0.694	0.050	***	0.690	0.051	***	0.691	0.052	***	0.709	0.053	***	0.753	0.056	***
Mom expectation							0.898	0.037	**	0.906	0.037	**	0.908	0.037	*	0.900	0.037	*	0.909	0.037	*	0.911	0.039	*
Dad expectation							0.877	0.038	**	0.870	0.037	***	0.866	0.037	***	0.875	0.038	**	0.875	0.038	**	0.870	0.040	**
Participation in meeting							1.114	0.134		1.133	0.135		1.142	0.137		1.148	0.141		1.170	0.146		1.160	0.146	
Participation in events							0.867	0.098		0.853	0.097		0.864	0.100		0.879	0.102		0.880	0.103		0.892	0.108	
Participation in volunteering							0.845	0.129		0.859	0.132		0.876	0.134		0.844	0.133		0.843	0.132		0.831	0.140	
Discuss courses							1.043	0.162		1.081	0.172		1.088	0.174		1.100	0.179		1.121	0.184		1.162	0.191	
Discuss activities							0.907	0.137		0.935	0.142		0.930	0.143		0.943	0.149		0.948	0.150		1.008	0.166	
Discuss issues							0.839	0.121		0.834	0.121		0.813	0.117		0.851	0.123		0.910	0.133		0.969	0.149	
Autonomy																								
Deciding courses										1.122	0.093		1.115	0.094		1.138	0.098		1.138	0.097		1.138	0.101	
Structure																								
Limit on TV													0.861	0.083		0.855	0.083		0.886	0.087		0.874	0.087	
Limit on friends													0.982	0.074		0.990	0.076		0.981	0.075		0.978	0.077	
Emotional invlvmnt																								
Get along with parents																0.898	0.051		0.920	0.053		0.923	0.054	
Positive attitudes																			0.685	0.080	***	0.820	0.097	
Behavior																								
Cut/skip classes																						1.626	0.102	***
Adjusted R^2	0.0288			0.0833			0.1281			0.1301			0.1358			0.1392			0.1466			0.1861		

Table 147 Results on Positive attitudes toward school and Behavioral problems for SES 2 in 1990

Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

	Positive attitudes t/school			Behavioral problems		
	Coef.	SE	p	Coef.	SE	p
SEX						
Female	-0.020	0.031		-0.008	0.047	
RACE						
Black	0.155	0.056	**	-0.053	0.089	
Hispanic	0.159	0.043	***	0.253	0.078	***
Asian	0.220	0.071	**	0.013	0.106	
N. American	0.372	0.115	***	0.159	0.228	
Urbanicity						
Suburban	-0.053	0.043		-0.180	0.073	*
Rural	0.013	0.042		-0.211	0.071	**
F. Composition						
Mom & male gudn	0.020	0.050		0.116	0.076	
Dad & female gdn	0.108	0.094		-0.086	0.112	
Mom only	0.063	0.056		0.333	0.101	***
Dad only	0.222	0.125		0.278	0.175	
With relatives only	0.021	0.142		0.118	0.228	
Dad education	-0.005	0.008		-0.013	0.014	
Mom education	0.001	0.009		-0.009	0.014	
Familyincome	-0.013	0.013		-0.027	0.020	
Sibling	0.074	0.056		0.000	0.087	
PI in education						
Books	-0.011	0.039		-0.059	0.066	
Ownroom	0.011	0.033		0.021	0.051	
Newspaper	-0.015	0.032		-0.037	0.048	
Study room	-0.008	0.019		-0.008	0.028	
Hw check	0.006	0.022		-0.023	0.033	
HW help	0.042	0.012	***	-0.072	0.017	***
Hours of EA	0.026	0.009	**	-0.004	0.013	
Mom expectation	0.013	0.010		-0.016	0.016	
Dad expectation	0.018	0.023		0.024	0.034	
Participation in meeting	0.006	0.021		-0.013	0.031	
Participation in events	0.033	0.024		-0.002	0.037	
Participation in volunteering	0.062	0.033		-0.063	0.048	
Discuss courses	-0.017	0.031		-0.088	0.045	*
Discuss activities	0.111	0.030	***	-0.082	0.044	
Discuss issues						
Autonomy						
Deciding courses	0.003	0.016		0.007	0.026	
Structure						
Limit on TV	0.070	0.018	***	-0.016	0.027	
Limit on friends	0.001	0.016		-0.018	0.025	
Emotional invlvmnt						
Get along with parents	0.056	0.013	***	-0.028	0.020	
Positive attitudes				-0.302	0.041	***
Behavior						
Cut/skip classes	-0.126	0.017	***			
Constant	1.719	0.173	***	2.641	0.274	***
R^2	.1921			.1462		

Table 148 Results on positive feelings and alcohol use for SES 2 in 1990 Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

	Positive feelings				Alcohol use		
	Coef.	SE	p		Coef.	SE	p
SEX				**SEX**			
Female	0.085	0.036	*	Female	-0.077	0.064	
RACE				**RACE**			
Black	-0.240	0.061	***	Black	-0.572	0.133	***
Hispanic	0.006	0.058		Hispanic	-0.063	0.107	
Asian	-0.022	0.063		Asian	-0.163	0.180	
N. American	0.148	0.285		N. American	-0.338	0.194	
Urbanicity				Urbanicity			
Suburban	0.036	0.053		Suburban	0.108	0.094	
Rural	0.036	0.051		Rural	0.072	0.094	
F. Composition				**F. Composition**			
Mom & male gudn	-0.119	0.051	*	Mom & male gudn	0.106	0.102	
Dad & female gdn	-0.185	0.098		Dad & female gdn	-0.161	0.127	
Mom only	-0.030	0.072		Mom only	0.066	0.119	
Dad only	-0.002	0.095		Dad only	0.636	0.271	*
With relatives only	-0.010	0.136		With relatives only	0.267	0.305	
Dad education	0.001	0.010		**Dad education**	0.003	0.016	
Mom education	0.008	0.012		**Mom education**	-0.026	0.018	
Familyincome	0.019	0.013		**Familyincome**	0.002	0.021	
Sibling	-0.001	0.016		**Sibling**	-0.059	0.026	*
PI in education				**PI in education**			
Books	0.033	0.064		Books	0.141	0.112	
Ownroom	-0.018	0.055		Ownroom	-0.048	0.090	
Newspaper	0.029	0.035		Newspaper	0.110	0.066	
Study room	-0.003	0.038		Study room	0.112	0.069	
Hw check	0.014	0.019		Hw check	0.049	0.041	
HW help	-0.004	0.026		HW help	-0.006	0.045	
Hours of EA	-0.011	0.013		Hours of EA	-0.029	0.026	
Mom expectation	-0.006	0.011		Mom expectation	-0.023	0.017	
Dad expectation	-0.004	0.011		Dad expectation	0.006	0.020	
Participation in meeting	-0.024	0.028		Participation in meeting	-0.018	0.049	
Participation in events	-0.021	0.023		Participation in events	-0.008	0.049	
Participation in volunteering	0.020	0.027		Participation in volunteering	0.065	0.061	
Discuss courses	-0.065	0.040		Discuss courses	-0.128	0.066	
Discuss activities	-0.025	0.046		Discuss activities	0.023	0.064	
Discuss issues	-0.038	0.036		Discuss issues	0.067	0.066	
Autonomy				**Autonomy**			
Deciding courses	0.001	0.018		Deciding courses	0.078	0.032	*
Structure				**Structure**			
Limit on TV	0.036	0.019		Limit on TV	-0.116	0.036	**
Limit on friends	0.030	0.020		Limit on friends	0.060	0.033	
Emotional invlvmnt				**Emotional invlvmnt**			
Get along with parents	-0.044	0.015	**	Get along with parents	-0.028	0.024	
Positive attitudes	-0.139	0.029	***	**Positive attitudes**	-0.089	0.053	
				Behavior	0.291	0.034	***
				Cut/skip classes	-0.023	0.040	
Constant	2.316	0.225	***	Constant	1.930	0.403	***
R^2	.0646			R^2	.0945		

Table 149 Results on Dropout for SES 3 in 1990 Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5			Model 6			Model 7			Model 8		
Dropout	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p
SEX																								
Female	0.771	0.116		0.763	0.120		0.834	0.139		0.835	0.140		0.805	0.137		0.697	0.123	*	0.692	0.122	*	0.725	0.134	
RACE																								
Black	1.172	0.331		1.307	0.361		1.477	0.448		1.498	0.456		1.518	0.464		1.530	0.477		1.636	0.521		1.608	0.540	
Hispanic	1.589	0.400		1.534	0.401		1.415	0.410		1.462	0.423		1.474	0.432		1.489	0.472		1.481	0.470		1.490	0.483	
Asian	0.811	0.278		0.675	0.247		0.655	0.240		0.664	0.245		0.690	0.256		0.780	0.289		0.881	0.325		0.729	0.292	
N. American	1.958	1.016		1.550	0.838		0.980	0.636		1.129	0.719		1.112	0.715		1.244	0.840		1.359	0.917		1.213	0.937	
Urbanicity																								
Suburban	0.678	0.131	*	0.658	0.132	*	0.674	0.143		0.674	0.144		0.660	0.142		0.673	0.148		0.681	0.151		0.760	0.182	
Rural	0.826	0.169		0.889	0.189		0.925	0.213		0.946	0.220		0.944	0.220		0.941	0.224		0.960	0.229		1.131	0.288	
F. Composition																								
Mom & dad	2.665	0.545	***	2.688	0.576	***	2.723	0.628	***	2.774	0.645	***	2.707	0.637	***	2.656	0.639	***	2.817	0.681	***	2.930	0.744	***
Mom & male gudn	2.324	0.919	*	2.230	0.893	*	1.766	0.811		1.776	0.815		1.721	0.802		1.585	0.766		1.557	0.773		1.247	0.694	
Dad & female gdn	1.506	0.379		1.402	0.359		1.241	0.356		1.254	0.359		1.158	0.337		1.165	0.351		1.208	0.368		1.033	0.324	
Mom only	1.786	0.839		1.524	0.735		1.187	0.719		1.229	0.746		1.209	0.745		1.217	0.796		1.226	0.815		1.150	0.746	
Dad only	6.080	2.771	***	4.956	2.359	***	3.560	1.811	*	3.496	1.781	*	3.536	1.850	*	3.109	1.570	*	3.465	1.715	*	3.632	1.905	*
With relatives only	4.46	1.86	***	4.21	1.86	***	3.879	1.941	**	3.799	1.902	**	3.748	1.899	**	3.261	1.699	*	3.525	1.898	*	3.652	1.961	*
Dad education	0.911	0.041	*	0.900	0.041	*	0.898	0.042	**	0.906	0.042	*	0.909	0.043	*	0.907	0.045		0.910	0.045		0.923	0.046	
Mom education	1.014	0.046		1.036	0.047		1.037	0.048		1.039	0.048		1.036	0.049		1.030	0.051		1.023	0.050		1.037	0.052	
Familyincome	0.965	0.052		0.978	0.057		1.001	0.063		1.005	0.063		1.006	0.064		1.005	0.065		1.010	0.067		1.002	0.069	
Sibling	1.077	0.061		1.032	0.066		1.017	0.063		1.024	0.064		1.042	0.066		1.051	0.070		1.045	0.069		1.004	0.067	
PI in education																								
Books				1.232	0.391		1.429	0.483		1.364	0.461		1.385	0.471		1.380	0.482		1.442	0.517		1.321	0.499	
Ownroom				0.642	0.138	*	0.628	0.141	*	0.668	0.151		0.653	0.149		0.638	0.148		0.605	0.141	*	0.539	0.129	*
Newspaper				0.810	0.149		0.837	0.164		0.832	0.163		0.825	0.163		0.801	0.160		0.805	0.163		0.778	0.167	
Study room				1.301	0.212		1.398	0.242		1.377	0.239		1.376	0.240		1.347	0.242		1.342	0.243		1.416	0.264	
Hw check				0.906	0.085		1.034	0.105		1.034	0.103		1.072	0.109		1.098	0.115		1.104	0.116		1.147	0.123	
HW help				1.049	0.123		1.195	0.156		1.235	0.162		1.262	0.168		1.402	0.191	*	1.427	0.193	**	1.358	0.186	*
Hours of EA				0.639	0.045	***	0.783	0.063	**	0.765	0.061	***	0.771	0.062	***	0.769	0.063	***	0.780	0.063	**	0.802	0.066	**
Mom expectation							0.956	0.044		0.958	0.044		0.960	0.045		0.968	0.047		0.970	0.047		0.978	0.049	
Dad expectation							0.888	0.049	*	0.892	0.049		0.885	0.049	*	0.878	0.050	*	0.881	0.050	*	0.875	0.051	*
Participation in meeting							1.119	0.151		1.115	0.151		1.132	0.155		1.150	0.160		1.168	0.163		1.102	0.154	
Participation in events							0.565	0.077	***	0.568	0.078	***	0.557	0.077	***	0.543	0.076	***	0.551	0.077	***	0.539	0.076	***
Participation in volunteering							1.033	0.174		1.061	0.177		1.078	0.181		1.126	0.190		1.126	0.188		1.169	0.202	
Discuss courses							0.683	0.123	*	0.725	0.134		0.737	0.136		0.774	0.147		0.803	0.153		0.823	0.156	
Discuss activities							0.985	0.159		0.991	0.160		0.986	0.161		1.039	0.179		1.016	0.176		1.133	0.197	
Discuss issues							0.800	0.146		0.796	0.147		0.801	0.150		0.861	0.166		0.892	0.175		0.908	0.181	
Autonomy																								
Deciding courses										1.165	0.117		1.164	0.118		1.183	0.118		1.163	0.115		1.153	0.116	
Structure																								
Limit on TV													0.856	0.086		0.862	0.088		0.872	0.089		0.970	0.102	
Limit on friends													0.999	0.087		1.010	0.088		1.015	0.088		1.000	0.092	
Emotional invlvmnt																								
Get along with parents																0.770	0.055	***	0.788	0.058	***	0.840	0.062	*
Positive attitudes																			0.730	0.096	*	0.821	0.116	
Behavior																								
Cut/skip classes																						1.742	0.118	***
Adjusted R^2	0.0383			0.0918			0.1434			0.1475			0.1527			0.1714			0.1766			0.231		

Table 150 Results on Positive attitudes toward school and Behavioral problems for SES 3 in 1990
Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

	Positive attitudes t/school			Behavioral problems		
	Coef	SE	p	Coef	SE	p
SEX						
Female	-0.081	0.041		0.009	0.026	
RACE						
Black	-0.057	0.114		-0.298	0.073	***
Hispanic	-0.085	0.118		-0.162	0.075	*
Asian	-0.155	0.091		-0.289	0.057	***
N. American	0.004	0.219		0.021	0.141	
Other	0.184	0.292		-0.176	0.187	
Urbanicity						
Suburban	-0.086	0.053		-0.001	0.034	
Rural	-0.176	0.058	***	0.039	0.037	
F. Composition						
Mom & male gudn	0.086	0.067		0.061	0.043	
Dad & female gdn	0.251	0.134		-0.007	0.086	
Mom only	0.261	0.072	***	-0.071	0.046	
Dad only	0.264	0.146		-0.033	0.093	
With relatives only	0.041	0.181		0.135	0.116	
Dad education	-0.021	0.011		0.009	0.007	
Mom education	-0.017	0.011		-0.006	0.007	
Familyincome	0.013	0.016	*	-0.006	0.011	
Sibling	0.039	0.016		-0.021	0.011	*
PI in education						
Books	0.162	0.088		0.058	0.056	
Ownroom	0.074	0.058		-0.104	0.037	**
Newspaper	0.011	0.051		-0.006	0.032	
Study room	-0.014	0.042		-0.049	0.027	
Hw check	-0.004	0.025		-0.001	0.016	
HW help	0.051	0.029		0.036	0.019	
Hours of EA	-0.034	0.016	*	0.028	0.011	**
Mom expectation	-0.028	0.016		0.008	0.011	
Dad expectation	0.003	0.018		0.018	0.012	
Participation in meeting	0.062	0.031	*	0.026	0.021	
Participation in events	-0.028	0.029		0.039	0.018	*
Participation in volunteering	-0.021	0.033		-0.004	0.021	
Discuss courses	-0.048	0.044		0.087	0.028	**
Discuss activities	-0.112	0.042	**	0.008	0.027	
Discussissues	-0.016	0.041		0.133	0.026	***
Autonomy						
Deciding courses	0.023	0.022		-0.003	0.014	
Structure						
Limit on TV	0.095	0.023	***	-0.021	0.014	
Limit on friends	0.033	0.022		0.011	0.014	
Emotional invlvmnt						
Get along with parents	-0.097	0.017	***	-.0.109	0.011	***
Positive attitudes				-0.225	.037	***
Behavior						
Cut/skip classes	-0.245	0.033	***			
Constant	2.207	0.331	***	2.188	0.206	***
R^2	.1797			.1587		

Table 151 Results on Positive feelings about self and Alcohol use for SES 3 in 1990

Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

	Positive feelings				Alcohol use		
	Coef.	SE	p		Coef.	SE	p
SEX				**SEX**			
Female	0.023	0.030		Female	-0.105	0.066	
RACE				**RACE**			
Black	-0.216	0.054	***	Black	-0.544	0.116	***
Hispanic	-0.026	0.051		Hispanic	0.060	0.120	
Asian	-0.093	0.055		Asian	-0.385	0.141	**
N. American	-0.033	0.240		N. American	0.137	0.287	
Urbanicity				Urbanicity			
Suburban	0.035	0.037		Suburban	0.098	0.079	
Rural	0.043	0.038		Rural	0.037	0.082	
F. Composition				**F. Composition**			
Mom & male gudn	0.004	0.054		Mom & male gudn	0.301	0.108	**
Dad & female gdn	0.089	0.096		Dad & female gdn	0.300	0.208	
Mom only	0.023	0.050		Mom only	0.027	0.102	
Dad only	-0.036	0.068		Dad only	0.190	0.186	
With relatives only	-0.008	0.155		With relatives only	0.441	0.329	
Dad education	0.004	0.008		**Dad education**	-0.018	0.018	
Mom education	0.003	0.008		**Mom education**	0.008	0.018	
Familyincome	0.005	0.011		**Familyincome**	0.060	0.026	*
Sibling	0.001	0.016		**Sibling**	-0.034	0.036	
PI in education				**PI in education**			
Books	-0.028	0.060		Books	0.139	0.131	
Ownroom	-0.024	0.045		Ownroom	0.154	0.089	
Newspaper	0.001	0.035		Newspaper	0.063	0.085	
Study room	-0.022	0.029		Study room	0.096	0.069	
Hw check	-0.004	0.016		Hw check	-0.031	0.036	
HW help	0.009	0.020		HW help	-0.015	0.049	
Hours of EA	-0.021	0.013		Hours of EA	-0.021	0.025	
Mom expectation	-0.019	0.012		Mom expectation	-0.025	0.022	
Dad expectation	-0.002	0.013		Dad expectation	0.009	0.026	
Participation in meeting	-0.029	0.021		Participation in meeting	-0.042	0.048	
Participation in events	-0.004	0.025		Participation in events	0.036	0.046	
Participation in volunteering	0.014	0.023		Participation in volunteering	0.015	0.052	
Discuss courses	-0.032	0.032		Discuss courses	-0.053	0.073	
Discuss activities	-0.029	0.031		Discuss activities	-0.116	0.066	
Discuss issues	-0.032	0.031		Discuss issues	0.039	0.066	
Autonomy				**Autonomy**			
Deciding courses	-0.008	0.015		Deciding courses	0.018	0.037	
Structure				**Structure**			
Limit on TV	0.023	0.016		Limit on TV	-0.076	0.036	*
Limit on friends	0.003	0.017		Limit on friends	-0.012	0.033	
Emotional invlvmnt				**Emotional invlvmnt**			
Get along with parents	-0.045	0.013	***	Get along with parents	-0.043	0.027	
Positive attitudes	-0.149	0.039	***	**Positive attitudes**	-0.062	0.057	
				Behavior			
				Cut/skip classes	0.321	0.034	***
				Positive feelings	0.017	0.049	
Constant	2.590	0.202	***	Constant	1.756	0.466	***
R^2	.0691			R^2	.0101		

Table 152 Results on dropout for SES 4 in 1990 Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5			Model 6			Model 7			Model 8		
Dropout	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p
SEX																								
Female	0.886	0.211		0.987	0.242		1.001	0.254		0.929	0.238		0.857	0.223		0.827	0.216		0.859	0.228		0.854	0.228	
RACE																								
Black	0.574	0.352		0.491	0.280		0.469	0.283		0.483	0.303		0.505	0.329		0.510	0.325		0.626	0.396		0.730	0.439	
Hispanic	1.655	0.663		1.489	0.617		1.421	0.666		1.546	0.736		1.637	0.758		1.665	0.762		1.692	0.783		1.337	0.649	
Asian	0.498	0.269		0.395	0.222		0.334	0.197		0.328	0.196		0.366	0.212		0.370	0.214		0.408	0.235		0.435	0.245	
N. American	-	-		-	-		-	-		-	-		-	-		-	-		-	-		-	-	
Urbanicity																								
Suburban	0.663	0.187		0.622	0.175		0.567	0.166		0.555	0.163	*	0.564	0.166		0.547	0.162	*	0.557	0.164	*	0.582	0.173	
Rural	0.752	0.273		0.864	0.321		0.835	0.321		0.845	0.328		0.761	0.303		0.776	0.313		0.784	0.313		0.748	0.311	
F. composition																								
Mom & dad	2.888	1.073	**	2.812	1.090	**	2.419	1.026	*	2.270	0.986		2.317	1.009		2.340	1.014	*	2.427	1.068	*	2.513	1.105	*
Mom & Male gudn	6.473	3.557	***	5.865	3.469	**	4.268	2.438	*	2.874	1.679		2.849	1.667		2.582	1.634		2.543	1.725		2.780	2.020	
Dad & Female gdn	2.522	1.079	*	2.051	0.910		1.689	0.779		1.666	0.784		1.784	0.842		1.911	0.890		1.893	0.880		1.786	0.874	
Mom only	6.587	3.105	***	5.194	2.386	***	4.426	2.524	**	3.968	2.330	*	4.093	2.478	*	3.803	2.402	*	3.741	2.245	*	3.083	1.860	
Dad only	2.630	2.728		2.645	2.628		3.079	2.810		3.300	3.594		3.536	3.760		3.725	4.022		3.682	3.863		3.930	4.350	
With relatives only	2.019	2.13		1.711	1.91		2.195	2.414		2.194	2.423		2.393	2.621		2.488	2.711		2.978	3.245		2.999	3.268	
Dad education	0.799	0.069	*	0.804	0.069	*	0.811	0.073	*	0.820	0.074	*	0.816	0.075	*	0.817	0.078	*	0.814	0.077	*	0.794	0.077	*
Mom education	0.936	0.086		0.965	0.087		0.938	0.082		0.927	0.079		0.946	0.083		0.941	0.084		0.942	0.085		0.963	0.090	
Family income	0.973	0.091		0.994	0.095		1.040	0.098		1.043	0.101		1.056	0.103		1.078	0.107		1.074	0.109		1.064	0.111	
Sibling	1.063	0.119		1.117	0.129		1.097	0.135		1.123	0.137		1.130	0.142		1.149	0.145		1.151	0.148		1.112	0.143	
PI in education																								
Books				1.680	1.585		2.473	2.817		2.486	2.996		2.059	2.428		2.122	2.589		1.860	2.222		1.880	2.235	
Ownroom				1.220	0.591		1.350	0.673		1.368	0.698		1.726	0.938		1.683	0.905		1.740	0.923		1.552	0.825	
Newspaper				0.512	0.149	*	0.527	0.153	*	0.506	0.146	*	0.516	0.153	*	0.497	0.147	*	0.484	0.143	*	0.505	0.153	*
Study room				1.513	0.383		1.602	0.413		1.585	0.418		1.651	0.449		1.632	0.447		1.610	0.445		1.663	0.468	
HW check				0.898	0.120		0.947	0.134		0.946	0.137		0.954	0.142		0.977	0.149		0.956	0.146		0.981	0.152	
HW help				0.696	0.125	*	0.805	0.148		0.792	0.151		0.786	0.151		0.846	0.171		0.876	0.173		0.860	0.170	
Hours of EA				0.674	0.071	***	0.777	0.088	*	0.771	0.088	*	0.764	0.089	*	0.764	0.091	*	0.789	0.092	*	0.813	0.091	
Mom expectation							0.968	0.095		0.966	0.095		0.958	0.095		0.954	0.095		0.959	0.101		0.940	0.102	
Dad expectation							0.862	0.095		0.861	0.096		0.864	0.096		0.859	0.095		0.877	0.102		0.893	0.105	
Participation in meeting							0.751	0.150		0.778	0.159		0.746	0.153		0.735	0.151		0.760	0.155		0.729	0.156	
Participation in events							0.667	0.136	*	0.668	0.138		0.680	0.144		0.700	0.147		0.692	0.144		0.690	0.144	
Participation in volunteering							1.529	0.340		1.529	0.351		1.463	0.352		1.469	0.366		1.484	0.369		1.518	0.381	
Discuss courses							0.485	0.132	**	0.540	0.157	*	0.598	0.171		0.613	0.177		0.602	0.175		0.606	0.181	
Discuss activities							0.927	0.220		0.907	0.219		0.879	0.214		0.901	0.222		0.941	0.224		0.955	0.226	
Discuss issues							1.198	0.311		1.187	0.312		1.189	0.318		1.278	0.340		1.318	0.337		1.371	0.354	
Autonomy																								
Deciding courses										1.284	0.226		1.278	0.221		1.296	0.223		1.304	0.213		1.283	0.212	
Structure																								
Limit on TV													0.876	0.151		0.855	0.148		0.863	0.149		0.878	0.152	
Limit on friends													0.780	0.111		0.806	0.117		0.815	0.121		0.808	0.123	
Emotional invlvmnt																								
Get along with parents																0.837	0.098		0.890	0.112		0.946	0.113	
Positive attitudes																			0.623	0.147	*	0.711	0.166	
Behavior																								
Cut/skip classes																						1.482	0.157	***
Adjusted R^2	0.0716			0.1326			0.1714			0.1792			0.1865			0.1912			0.1999			0.2184		

Table 153 Results on School liking and Behavior for SES 4 in 1990

Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

	Positive attitudes t/school			Behavioral problems		
	Coef	Std. Err	p	Coef	Std. Err	p
SEX						
Female	0.021	0.025		-0/008	0.035	
RACE						
Black	0.086	0.067		-0.153	0.093	***
Hispanic	0.091	0.071		0.373	0.098	
Asian	0.097	0.041	*	-0.018	0.055	
N. American	0.363	0.355		-0.271	0.0491	
Other	0.002	0.251		0.526	0.347	
Urbanicity						
Suburban	0.027	0.029		0.034	0.041	
Rural	-0.019	0.038		-0.023	0.052	
F. Composition						
Mom & male gudn	-0.026	0.053		-0.020	0.074	
Dad & female gdn	0.011	0.101		-0.115	0.141	
Mom only	-0.007	0.054		0.214	0.075	**
Dad only	-0.008	0.086		0.367	0.119	**
With relatives only	0.113	0.148		0.055	0.205	
Dad education	-0.001	0.009		-0.002	0.012	
Mom education	-0.006	0.008		-0.002	0.016	
Familyincome	0.006	0.009		0.030	0.012	
Sibling	0.005	0.012		0.021	0.016	*
PI in education						
Books	-0.107	0.099		-0.191	0.137	
Ownroom	0.033	0.046		0.124	0.064	
Newspaper	-0.005	0.036		-0.004	0.051	
Study room	0.008	0.026		-0.001	0.036	
Hw check	-0.015	0.014		-0.002	0.019	
HW help	-0.009	0.018		0.006	0.025	
Hours of EA	0.028	0.009	***	-0.028	0.013	*
Mom expectation	0.011	0.017		0.032	0.023	
Dad expectation	0.036	0.017	***	-0.042	0.024	
Participation in meeting	0.019	0.019		-0.012	0.026	
Participation in events	0.008	0.017		-0.020	0.024	*
Participation in volunteering	0.010	0.018		0.008	0.025	
Discuss courses	0.029	0.28		-0.001	0.038	
Discuss activities	0.042	0.026		-0.067	0.037	
Discuss issues	0.117	0.026	***	-0.026	0.036	
Autonomy						
Deciding courses	0.050	0.013		0.046	0.018	***
Structure						
Limit on TV	0.016	0.013		-0.035	0.019	
Limit on friends	0.025	0.013	*	-0.019	0.019	
Emotional invlvmnt						
Get along with parents	0.099	0.011	***	-0.121	0.016	***
Positive attitudes	-	-	-	-0.224	-0.028	***
Behavior	-0.121	0.019	***	-	-	-
Cut/skip classes	1.508	0.101	***			
Constant	1.241	0.204	***	1.361	0.284	***
R^2	0.1588			0.1285		

Table 154 Results on Positive feelings and Alcohol use for SES 4 in 1990

Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

	Positive feelings				Alcohol use		
	Coef.	SE	p		Coef.	Std.	p
SEX				**SEX**			
Female	0.053	0.029		Female	-0.130	0.060	*
RACE				**RACE**			
Black	-0.168	0.094		Black	-0.553	0.128	**
Hispanic	0.070	0.061		Hispanic	-0.015	0.150	0.923
Asian	-0.073	0.041		Asian	-0.426	0.077	***
N. American	-0.322	0.238		N. American	-0.802	0.427	
Urbanicity				Urbanicity			
Suburban	-0.062	0.036		Suburban	0.053	0.072	
Rural	-0.011	0.046		Rural	0.025	0.089	
F. Composition				**F. Composition**			
Mom & male gudn	0.022	0.053		Mom & male gudn	0.412	0.139	**
Dad & female gdn	-0.117	0.099		Dad & female gdn	0.064	0.336	
Mom only	-0.079	0.054		Mom only	0.195	0.108	
Dad only	-0.042	0.076		Dad only	0.280	0.205	
With relatives only	-0.053	0.105		With relatives only	-0.008	0.255	
	0.007	0.011			-0.051	0.022	*
Dad education	-0.007	0.010		**Dad education**	-0.020	0.021	
Mom education	-0.006	0.011		**Mom education**	0.076	0.024	**
Familyincome	0.022	0.015		**Familyincome**	-0.067	0.031	*
Sibling	-0.014	0.119		**Sibling**	0.165	0.170	
PI in education				**PI in education**			
Books	0.037	0.063		Books	0.207	0.122	
Ownroom	0.029	0.048		Ownroom	0.083	0.093	
Newspaper	0.048	0.029		Newspaper	0.026	0.063	
Study room	0.011	0.016		Study room	-0.029	0.035	
Hw check	0.010	0.021		Hw check	-0.022	0.043	
HW help	-0.015	0.012		HW help	-0.008	0.026	
Hours of EA	0.011	0.013		Hours of EA	-0.018	0.022	
Mom expectation	-0.019	0.017		Mom expectation	0.019	0.028	
Dad expectation	-0.032	0.022		Dad expectation	0.020	0.047	
Participation in meeting	0.036	0.021		Participation in meeting	0.046	0.042	
Participation in events	-0.030	0.019		Participation in events	0.007	0.044	
Participation in volunteering	-0.057	0.032		Participation in volunteering	-0.094	0.065	
Discuss courses	-0.021	0.031		Discuss courses	-0.113	0.064	
Discuss activities	-0.064	0.033		Discuss activities	-0.021	0.059	
Discuss issues	-0.023	0.016		Discuss issues	0.006	0.037	
Autonomy				**Autonomy**			
Deciding courses	-0.007	0.015		Deciding courses	-0.045	0.034	
Structure	-0.003	0.016		**Structure**	-0.013	0.034	
Limit on TV				Limit on TV			
Limit on friends	-0.074	0.015	***	Limit on friends	-0.072	0.031	*
Emotional invlvmnt				**Emotional invlvmnt**	-0.105	0.050	*
Get along with parents	-0.089	0.025	***	Get along with parents			
Positive attitudes	-0.116	0.029	***	**Positive attitudes**	0.227	0.030	***
				Behavior	0.049	0.043	
				Cut/skip classes			
Constant	2.758	0.240	***	Constant	2.106	0.429	***
R^2	.0675			R^2	.0921		

Table 155 Results on Dropout with positive feeling and alcohol use for SES 4 in 1990

Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (****p* <.001, ** *p*<.01, **p*<.05).

Dropout	OR	SE	p
SEX			
Female	0.909	0.262	
RACE			
Black	0.847	0.505	
Hispanic	1.277	0.641	
Asian	0.469	0.264	
N. American	(empty)		
Urbanicity			
Suburban	0.571	0.169	
Rural	0.715	0.297	
F. Composition			
Mom & male gudn	2.441	1.082	*
Dad & female gdn	2.722	1.976	
Mom only	1.785	0.890	
Dad only	3.055	1.816	
With relatives only	3.986	4.514	
Dad education	0.793	0.079	*
Mom education	0.977	0.091	
Familyincome	1.060	0.110	
Sibling	1.122	0.147	
PI in education			
Books	1.858	2.240	
Ownroom	1.463	0.788	
Newspaper	0.484	0.148	*
Study room	1.613	0.453	
Hw check	0.989	0.159	
HW help	0.854	0.171	
Hours of EA	0.824	0.094	
Mom expectation	0.934	0.100	
Dad expectation	0.897	0.103	
Participation in meeting	0.720	0.149	
Participation in events	0.680	0.144	
Participation in volunteering	1.542	0.388	
Discuss courses	0.601	0.179	
Discuss activities	0.966	0.227	
Discuss issues	1.409	0.376	
Autonomy			
Deciding courses	1.291	0.208	
Structure			
Limit on TV	0.877	0.155	
Limit on friends	0.799	0.122	
Emotional invlvmnt			
Get along with parents	0.964	0.117	
Positive attitudes	0.732	0.174	
Behavior			
Cut/skip classes	1.475	0.155	***
Positive feeling	0.861	0.081	*
Alcohol use	1.088	0.109	
Adjusted R^2	0.2222		

Table 156 Results on dropout for SES 1 in 2002 Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5			Model 6			Model 7			Model 8		
Dropout	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p
SEX																								
Female	0.676	0.133	*	0.639	0.133	*	0.724	0.156		0.717	0.154		0.713	0.157		0.701	0.154		0.737	0.170		0.727	0.169	
RACE																								
Black	1.031	0.320		1.025	0.318		1.241	0.411		1.304	0.431		1.234	0.413		1.226	0.411		1.219	0.416		1.233	0.435	
Hispanic	1.597	0.371		1.489	0.369		1.611	0.418		1.577	0.414		1.570	0.414		1.562	0.413		1.652	0.447		1.372	0.386	
Asian	0.728	0.270		0.774	0.298		0.660	0.274		0.712	0.303		0.719	0.312		0.711	0.310		0.698	0.320		0.729	0.349	
N. Amreican	1.648	1.365		1.771	1.407		1.868	1.558		1.814	1.519		2.201	1.792		2.142	1.736		2.093	1.800		2.074	1.762	
Other	1.237	0.551		1.259	0.580		1.423	0.628		1.237	0.554		1.273	0.569		1.281	0.579		1.171	0.563		1.051	0.483	
Urbanicity																								
Suburban	1.064	0.267		1.052	0.270		1.030	0.276		1.070	0.290		1.017	0.277		1.028	0.280		1.093	0.302		1.183	0.338	
Rural	0.804	0.249		0.842	0.261		0.851	0.279		0.896	0.297		0.861	0.289		0.875	0.293		0.912	0.315		1.100	0.390	
F. composition																								
Mom & male gdn	1.733	0.526		1.602	0.496		1.478	0.486		1.475	0.487		1.461	0.491		1.478	0.497		1.528	0.519		1.450	0.487	
Dad & female gdn	2.514	1.210		2.513	1.282		2.317	1.212		2.247	1.174		2.198	1.187		2.173	1.156		1.798	1.036		1.532	0.952	
Two guardians	7.387	3.325	***	8.183	3.902	***	9.591	4.427	***	9.603	4.455	***	10.21	4.815	***	10.36	4.840	***	10.85	5.169	***	9.748	4.819	***
Mom only	1.838	0.472	*	1.678	0.449		1.516	0.422		1.508	0.422		1.535	0.433		1.535	0.434		1.521	0.439		1.595	0.471	
Dad only	2.830	1.269	*	2.738	1.321	8	2.621	1.288	*	2.791	1.384	*	2.723	1.305	*	2.621	1.238	*	2.517	1.269		2.477	1.272	
Female gdn only	4.404	2.670	*	3.295	2.018		3.663	2.216	*	3.622	2.181	*	3.413	2.107	*	3.389	2.088	*	3.616	2.242	*	3.467	2.408	
Male gdn only																								
Other	2.800	2.155		2.798	2.299		3.541	2.880		3.656	3.023		3.102	2.534		3.231	2.681		3.388	2.863		3.450	3.096	
Mom education	1.016	0.089		1.060	0.094		1.165	0.114		1.159	0.114		1.149	0.115		1.144	0.113		1.120	0.113		1.139	0.115	
Dad education	0.856	0.097		0.883	0.095		0.881	0.090		0.882	0.092		0.877	0.088		0.879	0.088		0.890	0.093		0.887	0.089	
Family income	0.980	0.042		0.976	0.044		0.990	0.048		0.988	0.048		0.994	0.048		0.999	0.049		1.000	0.050		1.014	0.053	
Sibling	1.145	0.065	*	1.143	0.068	*	1.135	0.070	*	1.139	0.070	*	1.150	0.071	*	1.150	0.071	*	1.177	0.075	*	1.183	0.077	*
Pi in education																								
Books				0.740	0.165		0.824	0.186		0.811	0.184		0.843	0.194		0.867	0.201		0.949	0.225		0.852	0.204	
Own room				1.455	0.447		1.509	0.463		1.507	0.466		1.496	0.466		1.497	0.463		1.415	0.435		1.367	0.422	
Newspaper				1.255	0.257		1.473	0.319		1.468	0.320		1.454	0.327		1.454	0.326		1.399	0.319		1.340	0.309	
HW check				0.773	0.077	**	0.835	0.090		0.838	0.091		0.897	0.102		0.902	0.103		0.919	0.108		0.916	0.110	
HW help				1.161	0.134		1.287	0.166		1.290	0.169		1.280	0.169		1.271	0.167		1.267	0.170		1.302	0.175	
Hours of EA				0.885	0.033	***	0.930	0.031	*	0.929	0.031		0.934	0.031	*	0.934	0.032	*	0.935	0.034		0.935	0.035	
Discussion courses							1.105	0.217		1.076	0.211		1.070	0.212		1.102	0.218		1.056	0.210		1.094	0.221	
Discussion activity							0.466	0.093	***	0.462	0.093	***	0.464	0.094	***	0.478	0.099	***	0.502	0.104	***	0.487	0.102	***
Discussion things studied							0.833	0.164		0.857	0.169		0.892	0.178		0.952	0.192		1.048	0.216		1.072	0.218	
Mom expectation							0.960	0.077		0.951	0.077		0.960	0.082		0.962	0.081		0.982	0.088		0.958	0.090	
Dad expectation							1.050	0.080		1.057	0.081		1.047	0.083		1.049	0.082		1.029	0.084		1.041	0.088	
Participation in meetings							0.365	0.168	*	0.360	0.167	*	0.349	0.167	*	0.347	0.162	*	0.380	0.179	*	0.379	0.184	
Participation in events							0.436	0.144	*	0.424	0.140	**	0.450	0.150	*	0.447	0.149	*	0.490	0.167	*	0.492	0.181	
Autonomy																								
Deciding courses										1.097	0.171		1.079	0.169		1.080	0.168		1.076	0.171		1.065	0.165	
Structure																								
Limits on TV													0.947	0.110		0.953	0.112		0.974	0.118		1.001	0.121	
Limits on friends													0.831	0.086		0.826	0.086		0.820	0.087		0.823	0.091	
Emotional ivlvmt																								
s																0.813	0.133		0.785	0.131		0.793	0.135	
Positive attitudes																			0.714	0.142		0.839	0.173	
Behavior																								
Cut/skip classes																						1.448	0.134	***
Adjusted R^2	0.0636			0.1142			0.1676			0.1695			0.1746			0.1765			0.1769			0.1995		

Table 157 Results on Positive attitudes toward school and Behavioral problems for SES 1 in 2002
Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

	Positive attitudes t/school			Behavioral problems		
	Coef	SE	p	Coef	SE	p
SEX						
Female	0.113	0.037	**	0.036	0.064	
RACE						
Black	0.159	0.193		-0.295	0.332	
Hispanic	0.091	0.191		-0.177	0.326	
Asian	0.115	0.191		0.314	0.325	
N. Amreican	0.142	0.191		0.108	0.327	
Other	0.023	0.203		0.051	0.349	
Urbanicity						
Suburban	-0.008	0.044		-0.108	0.077	
Rural	-0.029	0.055		-0.306	0.095	***
F. composition						
Mom & male gdn	0.024	0.056		-0.046	0.097	
Dad & female gdn	0.204	0.095	*	0.196	0.164	
Two guardians	0.128	0.109		0.286	0.187	
Mom only	0.028	0.051		0.011	0.087	
Dad only	0.246	0.104	*	0.074	0.179	
Female gdn only	-0.035	0.159		0.191	0.273	
Male gdn only	0.765	0.584		-0.403	1.003	
Other	0.017	0.157		0.371	0.269	
Mom education	-0.015	0.017		0.006	0.031	
Dad education	-0.013	0.016		0.004	0.028	
Family income	-0.014	0.008		-0.027	0.014	
Sibling	0.013	0.11		0.028	0.019	
Pi in education						
Books	-0.054	0.41		0.056	0.071	
Own room	-0.002	0.48		0.079	0.083	
Newspaper	-0.017	0.37		0.084	0.063	
HW check	-0.003	0.021		-0.035	0.036	
HW help	0.036	0.023		-0.002	0.041	
Hours of EA	0.012	0.003	***	-0.002	0.006	
Discussion courses	-0.001	0.035		-0.087	0.061	
Discussion activity	0.041	0.034		0.002	0.058	
Discussion things studied	0.093	0.036	*	0.096	0.063	
Mom expectation	0.106	0.063		-0.003	0.109	
Dad expectation	0.044	0.052		-0.014	0.091	
Participation in meetings	0.027	0.016		-0.004	0.027	
Participation in events	-0.003	0.015		0.021	0.026	
Autonomy						
Deciding courses	-0.017	0.025		-0.011	0.043	
Structure						
Limits on TV	0.037	0.021		-0.061	0.034	
Limits on friends	0.001	0.018		-0.029	0.032	
Emotional ivlvmt						
Talking with parents	0.071	0.028	*	-0.066	0.049	
Positive attitudes	-	-	-	-0.379	0.054	***
Behavior						
Cut/skip classes	-0.133	0.213	***	-	-	-
Constant	1.777	0.165	***	2.717	0.305	***
R^2	0.1101			0.1001		

Table 158 Results on dropout for SES 2 in 2002 Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5			Model 6			Model 7			Model 8		
Dropout	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p
SEX																								
Female	0.578	0.121	**	0.568	0.124	*	0.678	0.158		0.675	0.157		0.652	0.156		0.647	0.156		0.689	0.168		0.632	0.164	
RACE																								
Black	2.249	0.676	**	2.260	0.719	*	2.399	0.806	**	2.409	0.806	**	2.565	0.868	**	2.612	0.881	**	2.835	1.035	**	2.708	1.052	*
Hispanic	2.394	0.640	***	2.284	0.629	**	2.057	0.605	*	2.006	0.594	*	2.231	0.685	**	2.180	0.668	*	2.274	0.739	*	1.747	0.604	
Asian	0.423	0.282		0.368	0.247		0.333	0.230		0.331	0.232		0.456	0.326		0.451	0.322		0.536	0.372		0.519	0.354	
N. Amreican	2.636	2.285		2.458	2.061		2.095	1.754		2.100	1.734		2.119	1.952		2.026	1.925		2.791	2.777		2.675	2.652	
Other	3.338	1.165	***	3.691	1.309	***	3.540	1.289	***	3.604	1.325	***	3.831	1.444	***	3.998	1.519	***	3.357	1.337	**	3.356	1.377	**
Urbanicity																								
Suburban	1.027	0.259		0.960	0.249		0.906	0.248		0.874	0.240		0.800	0.223		0.805	0.225		0.840	0.244		0.910	0.279	
Rural	1.497	0.424		1.532	0.450		1.493	0.461		1.429	0.442		1.443	0.450		1.476	0.461		1.459	0.476		1.620	0.560	
F. composition																								
Mom & male gdn	2.754	0.753	***	2.566	0.730	***	2.605	0.758	***	2.680	0.781	***	2.831	0.851	***	2.864	0.861	***	3.152	0.974	***	3.134	1.026	***
Dad & female gdn	3.033	1.479	*	2.862	1.514	*	2.909	1.625		2.988	1.673		3.135	1.839		3.214	1.909	*	3.679	2.251	*	3.435	2.141	*
Two guardians	3.421	2.884		2.988	2.417		3.403	2.880		3.385	2.886		2.973	2.460		3.000	2.569		4.005	3.296		4.032	3.174	
Mom only	1.656	0.469		1.463	0.447		1.514	0.487		1.481	0.481		1.507	0.497		1.536	0.503		1.655	0.561		1.483	0.551	
Dad only	3.006	1.548	*	2.323	1.225		2.240	1.222		2.202	1.194		2.006	1.073		2.036	1.088		2.325	1.384		2.473	1.603	
Female gdn only	2.027	1.897		2.015	1.907		1.960	1.652		2.332	1.948		2.474	2.196		2.403	2.204		(empty)			(empty)		
Male gdn only	6.503	6.455		4.376	4.373		5.923	6.089		5.957	6.157		4.723	5.162		4.643	5.094		(empty)			(empty)		
Other	3.473	2.874		3.496	2.983		3.459	2.864		3.445	2.856		2.951	2.327		3.178	2.535		2.964	2.586		3.337	2.902	
Mom education	0.843	0.077		0.850	0.079		0.845	0.084		0.836	0.084		0.825	0.087		0.827	0.087		0.811	0.088		0.807	0.086	*
Dad education	0.922	0.078		0.954	0.081		0.983	0.084		0.985	0.084		0.979	0.086		0.983	0.086		1.027	0.091		1.011	0.087	
Family income	0.903	0.059		0.937	0.062		0.934	0.066		0.926	0.066		0.897	0.061		0.897	0.061		0.890	0.061		0.911	0.066	
Sibling	1.087	0.071		1.096	0.076		1.081	0.080		1.073	0.079		1.093	0.082		1.093	0.083		1.100	0.087		1.092	0.094	
Pi in education																								
Books				0.998	0.254		1.206	0.322		1.211	0.324		1.380	0.374		1.412	0.387		1.352	0.386		1.322	0.398	
Own room				0.883	0.276		0.903	0.294		0.906	0.297		0.850	0.288		0.842	0.287		0.813	0.286		0.826	0.303	
Newspaper				1.062	0.235		1.209	0.286		1.187	0.281		1.230	0.304		1.240	0.308		1.212	0.302		1.157	0.303	
HW check				0.955	0.127		1.075	0.147		1.084	0.149		1.224	0.160		1.240	0.161		1.209	0.160		1.230	0.169	
HW help				0.943	0.136		1.059	0.154		1.061	0.154		1.039	0.141		1.030	0.140		1.001	0.140		1.035	0.148	
Hours of EA				0.877	0.034	***	0.904	0.035	*	0.904	0.036	*	0.910	0.035	*	0.909	0.035	*	0.922	0.035	*	0.924	0.035	*
Discussion courses							0.802	0.162		0.794	0.161		0.761	0.156		0.796	0.166		0.901	0.198		0.837	0.188	
Discussion activity							0.711	0.132		0.708	0.132		0.719	0.138		0.750	0.148		0.771	0.160		0.806	0.175	
Discussion things studies							0.691	0.129	*	0.679	0.128	*	0.723	0.136		0.763	0.152		0.770	0.156		0.810	0.172	
Mom expectation							0.969	0.098		0.971	0.098		0.976	0.100		0.979	0.100		0.975	0.100		0.963	0.086	
Dad expectation							0.884	0.085		0.884	0.084		0.895	0.084		0.896	0.085		0.891	0.087		0.908	0.076	
Participation in meetings							0.674	0.222		0.662	0.218		0.652	0.221		0.662	0.227		0.673	0.253		0.722	0.265	
Participation in events							0.734	0.220		0.729	0.219		0.760	0.231		0.759	0.231		0.734	0.234		0.807	0.260	
Autonomy																								
Deciding courses										1.046	0.170		1.042	0.178		1.042	0.179		1.125	0.198		1.203	0.214	
Structure																								
Limits on TV													0.628	0.084	***	0.635	0.086	***	0.638	0.091	**	0.634	0.092	**
Limits on friends													1.053	0.109		1.047	0.109		1.091	0.116		1.111	0.123	
Emotional ivlvmt																								
Talking with parents																0.792	0.142		0.833	0.156		0.806	0.158	
Positive attitudes																			0.519	0.108	**	0.662	0.137	*
Behavior																								
Cut/skip classes																						1.683	0.175	***
Adjusted R^2	0.0744			0.1191			0.1532			0.1577			0.1597			0.1783			0.1952			0.2266		

Table 159 Results on Positive attitudes toward school and Behavioral problems for SES 2 in 2002
Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

	Positive attitudes t/school			Behavioral problems		
	Coef	SE	p	Coef	SE	p
SEX						
Female	0.071	0.048		0.109	0.031	***
RACE						
Black	0.139	0.094		0.135	0.059	**
Hispanic	0.405	0.102	***	0.179	0.044	***
Asian	-0.035	0.102		0.040	0.069	
N. Amreican	-0.019	0.159		0.246	0.137	
Other	0.176	0.132		-0.076	0.074	
Urbanicity						
Suburban	-0.049	0.063		0.042	0.038	
Rural	-0.110	0.068		0.036	0.045	
F. composition						
Mom & male gdn	0.056	0.069		0.062	0.047	
Dad & female gdn	0.181	0.155		0.078	0.088	
Two guardians	0.026	0.179	*	0.277	0.151	*
Mom only	0.109	0.077		-0.016	0.048	
Dad only	-0.020	0.193		-0.162	0.101	
Female gdn only	-0.243	0.126		-0.162	0.189	
Male gdn only	-0.463	0.201		0.399	0.397	
Other	-0.103	0.251		-0.231	0.157	
Mom education	-0.007	0.019		-0.024	0.011	
Dad education	0.024	0.020		-0.009	0.011	
Family income	-0.034	0.017	*	-0.026	0.011	*
Sibling	-0.008	0.016		0.008	0.011	
Pi in education						
Books	-0.0078	0.065		0.028	0.041	
Own room	0.024	0.071		0.008	0.048	
Newspaper	-0.034	0.049		0.020	0.031	
HW check	-0.008	0.028		0.016	0.018	
HW help	-0.010	0.034		-0.012	0.021	
Hours of EA	-0.001	0.004	**	0.009	0.002	**
Discussion courses	0.003	0.004	*	0.032	0.031	*
Discussion activity	-0.031	0.052		0.033	0.029	
Discussion things studies	-0.086	0.047	**	0.101	0.041	**
Mom expectation	0.001	0.048		0.005	0.036	
Dad expectation	-0.025	0.034		0.005	0.015	
Participation in meetings	-0.015	0.033		-0.004	0.154	
Participation in events	-0.068	0.055		-0.012	0.014	
Autonomy						
Deciding courses	-0.091	0.048		-0.030	0.023	
Structure						
Limits on TV	0.003	0.038		0.018	0.017	
Limits on friends	-0.013	0.024		0.014	0.016	
Emotional ivlvmt						
Talking with parents	0.028	0.024		0.096	0.024	**
Positive attitudes			-	-0.128	.019	***
Behavior						
Cut/skip classes	-0.286	0.034	***	-	-	-
Constant	2.938	0.293	***	1.831	0.180	***
R^2	0.1793			0.1037		

Table 160 Results on dropout for SES 3 in 2002 Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5			Model 6			Model 7			Model 8		
Dropout	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p
SEX																								
Female	0.746	0.170		0.799	0.190		0.893	0.218		0.889	0.215		0.874	0.213		0.825	0.205		0.828	0.206		0.841	0.215	
RACE																								
Black	0.856	0.395		0.706	0.358		0.633	0.349		0.628	0.349		0.499	0.306		0.342	0.242		0.341	0.243		0.394	0.278	
Hispanic	1.111	0.399		0.923	0.348		0.978	0.380		0.964	0.379		0.984	0.387		0.899	0.379		0.894	0.380		1.180	0.486	
Asian	1.893	0.747		1.784	0.703		2.150	0.900		2.132	0.895		2.187	0.921		2.047	0.913		2.007	0.908		2.234	1.078	
N. Amreican	2.439	4.391		2.494	4.415		2.074	4.086		1.909	3.839		1.886	3.780		2.007	3.796		2.021	3.824		2.862	5.714	
Other	1.330	0.556		1.458	0.615		1.898	0.822		1.867	0.811		1.990	0.853		2.172	0.967		2.143	0.959		2.357	1.026	*
Urbanicity																								
Suburban	0.982	0.287		0.963	0.289		0.962	0.288		0.941	0.281		0.956	0.288		0.902	0.276		0.898	0.275		0.952	0.310	
Rural	1.284	0.446		1.271	0.459		1.318	0.477		1.308	0.474		1.321	0.483		1.277	0.471		1.286	0.474		1.442	0.556	
F. composition																								
Mom & male gdn	1.735	0.564		1.667	0.554		1.624	0.543		1.588	0.524		1.591	0.527		1.659	0.545		1.694	0.560		1.858	0.643	
Dad & female gdn	3.675	1.542	***	3.016	1.308	*	2.596	1.132	*	2.450	1.079	*	2.488	1.099	*	2.454	1.100	*	2.510	1.127	*	3.226	1.472	*
Two guardians	3.278	2.395		2.659	1.982		2.099	1.562		2.056	1.491		2.025	1.467		1.460	1.190		1.401	1.089		1.619	1.255	
Mom only	1.243	0.487		1.094	0.482		1.041	0.449		1.043	0.449		1.053	0.455		1.079	0.475		1.056	0.469		1.196	0.521	
Dad only	2.399	1.318		1.777	1.122		1.612	1.037		1.636	1.051		1.635	1.052		1.489	0.990		1.459	0.977		1.225	0.974	
Female gdn only	0.961	1.131		1.064	1.299		1.184	1.457		1.110	1.378		1.111	1.396										
Male gdn only																								
Other	7.803	6.060	**	6.187	5.205	*	4.735	4.325		4.559	4.274		4.597	4.346		5.293	5.036		5.583	5.310		5.818	5.314	
Mom education	0.797	0.065	**	0.770	0.063	***	0.772	0.065	**	0.774	0.065	**	0.779	0.066	**	0.772	0.066	**	0.770	0.066	**	0.779	0.068	**
Dad education	0.817	0.063	**	0.850	0.066	8	0.852	0.066	*	0.853	0.066	*	0.855	0.067	*	0.864	0.069		0.864	0.069		0.838	0.070	*
Family income	0.776	0.060	***	0.785	0.062	**	0.830	0.069	*	0.835	0.069	*	0.836	0.070	*	0.821	0.069	*	0.818	0.068	*	0.842	0.072	*
Sibling	1.093	0.085		1.092	0.092		1.091	0.101		1.097	0.102		1.101	0.104		1.107	0.106		1.102	0.105		1.031	0.102	
Pi in education																								
Books				0.550	0.178		0.600	0.196		0.622	0.206		0.659	0.224		0.738	0.255		0.725	0.253		0.737	0.272	
Own room				1.094	0.423		1.072	0.423		1.067	0.420		1.058	0.415		1.058	0.426		1.059	0.430		1.200	0.523	
Newspaper				1.043	0.271		1.130	0.298		1.116	0.295		1.107	0.292		1.151	0.312		1.146	0.311		1.120	0.305	
HW check				0.906	0.113		0.972	0.118		0.979	0.117		0.975	0.117		1.018	0.124		1.016	0.123		0.987	0.124	
HW help				1.214	0.171		1.285	0.190		1.290	0.194		1.299	0.195		1.331	0.207		1.333	0.206		1.344	0.222	
Hours of EA				0.925	0.025	**	0.930	0.025	**	0.933	0.025	**	0.934	0.025	*	0.928	0.025	**	0.928	0.025	**	0.928	0.027	*
PI_d							0.566	0.145	*	0.563	0.144	*	0.549	0.142	*	0.564	0.147	*	0.543	0.143	*	0.570	0.158	*
Discussion activity							0.911	0.192		0.925	0.194		0.924	0.195		0.917	0.196		0.900	0.193		0.858	0.199	
Discussion things studies							1.095	0.259		1.092	0.259		1.084	0.258		1.181	0.285		1.118	0.285		1.204	0.310	
Mom expectation							0.922	0.128		0.920	0.127		0.925	0.130		0.904	0.123		0.899	0.122		0.971	0.137	
Dad expectation							0.852	0.106		0.855	0.107		0.856	0.109		0.852	0.108		0.848	0.107		0.817	0.102	
Participation in meetings										1.040	0.314		1.039	0.320		1.020	0.318		1.021	0.319		1.125	0.361	
Participation in events										0.711	0.211		0.710	0.212		0.687	0.212		0.691	0.212		0.764	0.238	
Autonomy																								
Deciding courses													1.012	0.206		1.041	0.214		1.038	0.213		1.026	0.216	
Structure																								
Limits on TV																0.818	0.116		0.810	0.114		0.869	0.128	
Limits on friends																0.892	0.124		0.893	0.125		0.882	0.129	
Emotional ivlvmt																								
Talking with parents																			1.213	0.248		1.188	0.244	
Positive attitudes																						0.640	0.150	*
Behavior																								
Cut/skip classe																						1.683	0.175	***
Adjusted R^2	0.0688			0.0954			0.1282			0.1503			0.1508			0.1728			0.1943			0.2266		

Table 161 Results on Positive attitudes toward school and Behavioral problems for SES 3 in 2002

Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

	Positive attitudes t/school			Behavioral problems		
	Coef	SE	p	Coef	SE	p
SEX						
Female	0.112	0.028	***	0.027	0.041	
RACE						
Black	0.079	0.055		0.135	0.083	
Hispanic	0.129	0.051	*	0.143	0.065	*
Asian	0.102	0.061		0.192	0.101	
N. Amreican	0.572	0.335		1.079	0.723	
Other	0.071	0.064		0.027	0.119	*
Urbanicity						
Suburban	-0.027	0.034		0.009	0.049	
Rural	-0.025	0.043		-0.037	0.059	
F. composition						
Mom & male gdn	0.023	0.044		0.058	0.068	
Dad & female gdn	0.074	0.078		0.031	0.097	
Two guardians	-0.030	0.152		-0.044	0.207	
Mom only	-0.041	0.046		-0.038	0.065	
Dad only	0.099	0.103		0.282	0.193	
Female gdn only	0.094	0.322		-0.307	0.096	***
Male gdn only	0.854	0.258	*	1.136	0.327	***
Other	-0.018	0.134		0.755	0.424	
Mom education	-0.025	0.010	**	-0.001	0.013	
Dad education	0.002	0.009		-0.006	0.013	
Family income	-0.018	0.011		-0.011	0.015	
Sibling	0.007	0.011		0.023	0.017	
Pi in education						
Books	-0.029	0.049		-0.052	0.079	
Own room	0.001	0.054		0.127	0.063	*
Newspaper	0.042	0.032		0.031	0.043	
HW check	0.004	0.016		0.006	0.024	
HW help	0.013	0.019		0.011	0.038	
Hours of EA	0.006	0.002	*	-0.003	0.003	
PI_d	0.021	0.029		-0.056	0.042	
Discussion activity	0.066	0.029	*	-0.593	0.043	
Discussion things studies	0.066	0.030	*	-0.041	0.043	
Mom expectation	0.039	0.015	*	0.019	0.030	
Dad expectation	-0.022	0.014		-0.009	0.027	
Participation in meetings	-0.008	0.033		0.022	0.043	
Participation in events	0.065	0.031		-0.059	0.040	
Autonomy						
Deciding courses	-0.028	0.023		0.019	0.032	
Structure						
Limits on TV	0.021	0.016		-0.036	0.023	
Limits on friends	0.012	0.015		0.036	0.022	
Emotional ivlvmt						
Talking with parents	0.065	0.022	**	0.039	0.032	
Positive attitudes	-	-	-	-0.228	0.041	***
Behavior						
Cut/skip classes	-0.109	0.019	***	-	-	-
Constant	1.791	0.183	***	1.939	0.251	***
R^2	0.1277			0.0772		

Table 162 Results on dropout for SES 4 in 2002 Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (***p <.001, ** p<.01, *p<.05).

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5			Model 6			Model 7			Model 8		
Dropout	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p	OR	SE	p
SEX																								
Female	0.618	0.179		0.589	0.174		0.727	0.231		0.746	0.239		0.743	0.238		0.720	0.229		0.741	0.248		0.623	0.224	
RACE																								
Black	1.620	0.781		1.268	0.684		1.249	0.771		1.206	0.757		1.220	0.776		1.137	0.736		1.260	0.824		1.629	1.153	
Hispanic	2.034	0.870		1.968	0.843		2.134	0.954		2.046	0.927		2.065	0.935		2.094	1.000		2.775	1.378	*	2.921	1.525	*
Asian	1.478	0.709		1.316	0.671		1.485	0.816		1.483	0.824		1.518	0.861		1.583	0.880		2.019	1.106		2.449	1.367	
N. Amreican																								
Other	1.246	0.777		1.164	0.740		0.998	0.713		0.958	0.695		0.984	0.715		1.045	0.788		1.213	0.904		1.226	0.976	
Urbanicity																								
Suburban	1.360	0.424		1.267	0.413		1.120	0.386		1.112	0.382		1.109	0.382		1.098	0.382		1.168	0.405		1.397	0.523	
Rural	1.364	0.603		1.281	0.578		1.195	0.556		1.200	0.557		1.206	0.565		1.283	0.603		1.314	0.654		1.830	0.956	
F. composition																								
Mom & male gdn	2.431	1.134		2.284	1.076		2.343	1.210		2.356	1.230		2.321	1.201		2.162	1.139		2.057	1.114		1.601	0.966	
Dad & female gdn	4.605	2.916	*	2.329	1.679		1.974	1.649		1.986	1.692		1.858	1.614		1.755	1.574		1.730	1.812		2.708	2.628	
Two guardians																								
Mom only	2.964	1.337	*	2.714	1.282	*	2.630	1.324		2.617	1.329		2.537	1.310		2.712	1.441		2.884	1.586		2.582	1.477	
Dad only	3.116	2.202		3.315	2.426		3.372	2.583		3.616	2.803		3.885	3.047		4.277	3.258		5.625	4.673		5.412	3.492	**
Female gdn only																								
Male gdn only	42.811	44.308	***	44.509	53.945	**	31.821	41.756	**	34.735	47.699	*	34.798	48.915	*	35.346	44.194	*	57.931	69.005	*	68.929	86.580	***
Other	0.823	0.082	*	0.849	0.085		0.897	0.091		0.895	0.090		0.903	0.090		0.896	0.092		0.849	0.087		0.820	0.088	
Mom education	0.878	0.072		0.888	0.075		0.926	0.093		0.933	0.093		0.935	0.094		0.971	0.103		0.943	0.111		0.964	0.123	
Dad education	0.945	0.115		0.962	0.124		0.965	0.127		0.958	0.129		0.967	0.130		0.997	0.134		0.949	0.134		0.977	0.140	
Family income	0.886	0.114		0.895	0.110		0.896	0.114		0.905	0.117		0.913	0.119		0.917	0.121		0.961	0.137		0.925	0.138	
Sibling																								
Pi in education				0.317	0.158	*	0.322	0.193		0.328	0.200		0.327	0.200		0.363	0.223		0.337	0.216		0.393	0.259	
Books				15.814	16.896	*	16.433	18.615	*	16.056	18.491	*	16.811	19.620	*	15.234	17.731	*	17.060	21.597	*	13.090	15.195	*
Own room				0.581	0.183		0.590	0.191		0.609	0.204		0.609	0.207		0.610	0.211		0.565	0.204		0.500	0.190	
Newspaper				0.831	0.114		0.960	0.149		0.957	0.146		0.958	0.157		0.960	0.162		0.940	0.160		1.035	0.192	
HW check				1.260	0.246		1.594	0.326	*	1.585	0.327	*	1.597	0.329	*	1.635	0.338	*	1.744	0.382	*	1.861	0.416	**
HW help				0.947	0.026	*	0.962	0.030		0.963	0.030		0.964	0.030		0.957	0.030		0.942	0.031		0.948	0.033	
Hours of EA							0.599	0.186		0.576	0.184		0.570	0.180		0.655	0.205		0.633	0.206		0.597	0.198	
PI_d							0.931	0.302		0.939	0.307		0.927	0.303		1.017	0.339		1.366	0.450		1.454	0.485	
Discussion activity							0.470	0.131	**	0.459	0.129	**	0.475	0.132	*	0.606	0.168		0.721	0.214		0.623	0.188	
Discussion things studies							0.762	0.122		0.763	0.122		0.767	0.125		0.768	0.133		0.805	0.137		0.746	0.117	
Mom expectation							0.933	0.172		0.934	0.170		0.930	0.173		0.936	0.179		0.896	0.168		1.090	0.213	
Dad expectation							0.964	0.316		0.943	0.307		0.923	0.304		0.955	0.322		0.976	0.330		1.159	0.417	
Participation in meetings							1.024	0.336		1.001	0.330		1.007	0.340		1.044	0.361		1.224	0.430		1.297	0.502	
Participation in events																								
Autonomy										1.299	0.277		1.285	0.274		1.318	0.280		1.448	0.348		1.490	0.390	
Deciding courses																								
Structure													0.884	0.150		0.889	0.153		0.896	0.157		0.909	0.164	
Limits on TV													1.141	0.165		1.140	0.166		1.191	0.189		1.150	0.196	
Limits on friends																								
Emotional ivlvmt																0.481	0.142	*	0.459	0.137	**	0.464	0.130	**
Talking with parents																			0.457	0.169	*	0.582	0.206	
Positive attitudes																						0.582	0.206	
Behavior																						2.265	0.309	***
Cut/skip classes																								
Adjusted R^2	0.0698			0.1042			0.1571			0.1605			0.1626			0.1785			0.2099			0.2892		

Table 163 Results on Positive attitudes toward school and Behavioral problems for SES 4 in 2002
Note: All estimates based on unstandardized scores (****p* <.001, ** *p*<.01, **p*<.05).

	Positive attitudes t/school			Behavioral problems		
	Coef	SE	p	Coef	SE	p
SEX	0.077	0.022	***	0.020	0.028	
Female						
RACE						
Black	-0.031	0.221		0.115	0.291	
Hispanic	-0.001	0.225		0.067	0.285	
Asian	0.158	0.232		0.272	0.293	
N. Amreican	0.118	0.224		0.186	0.284	
Other	-0.043	0.225		0.181	0.285	
Urbanicity						
Suburban	-0.001	0.024		-0.022	0.031	
Rural	-0.033	0.036		-0.715	0.046	
F. composition						
Dad & female gdn	-0.046	0.044		0.076	0.056	
Two guardians	-0.077	0.083		0.051	0.107	
Mom only	0.123	0.131		0.011	0.166	
Dad only	-0.049	0.045		0.217	0.057	**
Female gdn only	0.059	0.084		-0.011	0.108	
Male gdn only	0.281	0.269		0.531	0.341	
Other	0.438	0.218	*	0.329	0.277	
Mom education	-0.001	0.008		0.004	0.011	
Dad education	-0.015	0.008		0.001	0.011	
Family income	-0.017	0.009		-0.009	0.011	
Sibling	0.024	0.009	**	0.012	0.011	
Pi in education						
Books	-0.072	0.059		-0.264	0.076	**
Own room	-0.029	0.048		-0.002	0.062	
Newspaper	-0.067	0.027	*	0.032	0.035	
HW check	-0.013	0.012		-0.021	0.016	
HW help	0.008	0.015		-0.018	0.019	
Hours of EA	0.005	0.002	**	-0.001	0.002	
PI_d	0.021	0.022		-0.037	0.028	
Discussion activity	0.148	0.023	***	0.005	0.029	
Discussion things studies	0.128	0.022	***	0.006	0.092	
Mom expectation	0.009	0.023		-0.029	0.029	
Dad expectation	0.009	0.023		-0.035	0.031	
Participation in meetings	0.016	0.017		-0.021	0.022	
Participation in events	0.034	0.017	*	-0.005	0.021	
Autonomy						
Deciding courses	0.011	0.018		0.006	0.023	
Structure						
Limits on TV	0.016	0.012		-0.031	0.016	*
Limits on friends	0.002	0.012		0.019	0.016	
Emotional ivlvmt						
Talking with parents	0.021	0.019		-0.059	0.024	
Positive attitudes				-0.159	0.026	***
Behavior						
Cut/skip classes	-0.102	0.018	***			
Constant	1.510	0.176	***	2.391	0.236	***
R^2	0.1492			0.0676		

Table 164 Results of racial differences of parenting dimensions on GPA– SES 1 in 1980
Note: Only statistically significant results that are discussed in the text are shown here.

1980 SES1	Race	Coef,	SE	p
Homework help	Black	0.793	0.262	*
Homework checks	Black	0.332	0.126	*
Mom's expectation	Asian	5.257	1.260	***
Dad's expecation	Hispanic	0.096	0.041	*
Limit on TV time	Asian	62.913	14.578	***
Limit on time with friends	Asian	1.889	0.494	***

Table 165 Results of racial differences of parenting dimensions on GPA -- SES 2 1980
Note: Only statistically significant results are shown here.

1980 SES2	Race	Coef.	SE	p
Having discussion about school event	Asian	3.466	0.954	***
Having discussion about school courses	Asian	-4.267	1.007	***
Participation in volunteering	Asian	10.838	1.094	***
Participation in school meetings	Asian	-4.885	0.414	***
Homework help	Asian	-5.686	0.944	***
	White	0.024	0.07	***
Homework check by mom	Asian	6.795	1.48	***
	Hispanic	0.457	0.2	***
	White	-0.179	0.093	*
Dad's expectation	Asian	-0.843	0.108	***
Mom's expectation	Asian	-0.543	0.202	***
	White	0,055	0,021	**
Autonomy support	Asian	1.031	0.517	*
	White	0.301	0.279	*
Limiting TV time	White	0,253	0.087	*
Having own room	Asian	-5.378	1.003	***
	White	-0.288	0.098	*

Table 166 Results of racial differences of parenting dimensions on GPA -- SES 3 1980
Note: Only statistically significant results are shown here.

1980 SES3	Race	Coef.	SE	p
Emotional involvement	White	0.088	0.041	*
Participation in volunteering	Asian	1.296	0,317	***
Homework help	Asian	-1.001	0.365	**
	White	0.294	0.006	***
Homework check by dad	Asian	-1.463	0.44	***
	White	0.053	0.023	*
Homework check by mom	Asian	3.667	0.658	***
	White	0.065	0.023	**
Dad's expectation	Asian	0.976	0.281	***
Mom's expectation	Black	-0.183	0.085	*
	Hispanic	-0.125	0.064	*
Autonomy support	Asian	1.383	0,398	***
50 books at home	Asian	2.526	1.146	*
Having daily newspaper	Asian	-1.499	0.432	***
	Hispanic	0.684	0.261	**
	White	-0.027	0.125	*
Having a study room	Black	0.988	0.279	***
	Hispanic	-0.528	0.234	*
	White	-0.175	0.083	*
Having own room	Asian	0.461	0.206	*
	Hispanic	0.461	0.206	*

Table 167 Results of racial differences of parenting dimensions on GPA--SES 4 in 1980
Note: Only statistically significant results that are discussed in the text are shown here.

1980 SES4	Race	Coef,	SE	p
Emotional involvement	White	0.094	0.034	**
50 books at home	Hispanic	1.039	0.422	*
Limit time with friends	Hispanic	-0.259	0.071	***
	White	0.066	0.023	**

Table 168 Results of racial differences of parenting dimensions on dropout-- SES1 in 1990
Note: Only statistically significant results that are discussed in the text are shown here.

1990 SES1	Race	Odds ratio	SE	p
Emotional involvement	White	0.837	0.061	***
Participation in school events	Hispanic	3.248	1.038	***
	White	0.516	0.074	***
50 books at home	Hispanic	2.181	0.819	*
Homework help	White	1.283	0.157	*
	Asian	315.042	135.316	***

Table 169 Results of racial differences of parenting dimensions on dropout -- SES2 in 1990
Note: Only statistically significant results are shown here.

1990 SES2	Race	Odds ratio	SE	p
Emotional involvement	Hispanic	0.562	0.032	**
	Asian	2.745	2.321	*
Dad's expectation	White	0.861	0.321	*
Homework check	Hispanic	1.931	0.891	*
50 books at home	Asian	10600000	902100	**
	Hispanic	0.191	0.009	*
Having own room	Asian	15308.4	8920.1	**

Table 170 Results of racial differences of parenting dimensions on dropout -- SES3 in 1990
Note: Only statistically significant results are shown here.

1990 SES3	Race	Odds ratio	SE	p
Emotional involvement	White	0.841	0.069	*
	Asian	0.117	0.127	**
Participation in school meeting	Hispanic	3.58	1.945	0.019
Limiting time with friends	Asian	0.175	0.108	**
Having daily newspaper	Asian	14.361	11.994	***
Having a study room	Asian	0.046	0.053	0.008
Having ownroom	Asian	14.361	11.994	***
	Black	14.452	13.637	**

Table 171 Results of racial differences of parenting dimensions -- SES4 in 1990
Note: Only statistically significant results that are discussed in the text are shown here.

1990 SES4	Race	Odds ratio	SE
Participation in school events	Hispanic	7.322	5.839
Discussion about school courses	Hispanic	13.833	16.994
	White	0.510	0.165
Limiting TV t ime	Asian	2.624	0.882
50 books at home	Hispanic	260750.1	12000
Having daily newspaper	White	0.502	0.165
Having own room	White	1.849	0.559
	Hispanic	299000000	14000000
	Asian	71967.97	72681.0

Table 172 Results of racial differences of parenting dimensions -- SES 1 in 2002
Note: Only statistically significant results that are discussed in the text are shown here.

2002 SES1	Race	Odds ratio	SE	p
Emotional involvement	White	0.601	0.156	*
Discussion about school courses	Asian	0.183	0.138	*
Discussion about school activities	White	0.498	0.159	*
Participation in volunteering	White	0.197	0.154	*
50 books at home	Asian	3.098	1.592	*

Table 173 Results of racial differences of parenting dimensions on dropout -- SES 2 in 2002
Note: Only statistically significant results are shown here.

2002 SES2	Race	Odds ratio	SE	p
Emotional involvement	White	0.841	0.069	*
	Asian	3.482	1.212	***
Having discussion about school courses	Black	0.128	0.093	**
Having discussion about school events	Asian	114283	206808	***
Mom's expectation	Asian	48600000	35500000	***
Dad's expectation	Asian	2011300	110200	***
Limiting TV time	White	0.561	0.105	**
	Asian	3476833	414900	***
Limiting time with friends	Asian	581900	432000	
Having daily newspaper	Black	0.171	0.132	*
Having ownroom	Asian	40300000	8650000	***
	Black	14.452	13.637	**

Table 174 Results of racial differences of parenting dimensions on dropout --SES 3 in 2002
Note: Only statistically significant results are shown here.

2002 SES3	Race	Odds ratio	SE	p
Dad's expectation	White	0.771	0.1	*
50 books at home	Black	0.305	0.185	*
Having own room	Black	45011000	2342000	***
Having daily newspaper	Black	40281.79	69014.15	***
Homework help	Black	0.011	0.008	***
Dad's expectation	Black	35.309	19.83	***
Mom's expecation	Black	0.003	0.001	***
Participation in school meeting	Black	4532000	3521000	***
	Hispanic	13.322	10.658	***
Having discussion about school courses	Black	26273.76	30863.15	***
Limiting TV time	Black	0.057	0.041	***
Limiting time with friends	Black	5585.344	3162.917	***
	Asian	15.282	17.092	***
Autonomy	Black	729.43	999.062	***

Table 175 Results of racial differences of parenting dimensions on dropout -- SES 4 in 2002
Note: Only statistically significant results that are discussed in the text are shown here.

2002 SES4	Race	Odds ratio	SE	p
Emotional involvement	White	0.417	0.142	*
	Hispanic	0.098	0.083	*
Participation in school meeting	Black	627000000	145000000	***
Participation in school events	Hispanic	569.034	95.726	***
Limiting TV time	Black	21300000	2650000	***
	Hispanic	0.127	0.083	**
Dad's expectation	Black	0.014	0.009	***
Mom's expectation	Black	4020.485	2389.853	***
Autonomy support	Black	151000	22100	***
Having own room	Black	156000	58400	***
Hours of extra-curricular activities	Black	2.032	0.184	***
	Hispanic	0.766	0.101	*

Table 176 Results of school variability on parenting dimensions
Note: Only statistically significant results that are discussed in the text are shown here.

	School variability	p
1980 - SES 4	12.80%	p=.000
1990 - SES 1	4.20%	p<.024
1990 - SES 4	3.10%	p<.001

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