CONCERTED CULTIVATION AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT: HOW INCOME, GENDER, AND PARENTAL INVOLEMENT INFLUENCE PARENTAL EXPECTATIONS FOR CHILD'S FUTURE EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

Previous research shows a strong correlation between socio-economic status and academic achievement. Annette Lareau (2003) proposes the parenting practice concerted cultivation gives profound advantages to the children who are raised under this framework. Lareau uses qualitative research to show how concerted cultivation gives children an upper hand in the educational system. Parents that raise their children under the guidelines of concerted cultivation appear to be in the middle and upper class. Using data from the Parent and Family Involvement survey portion of the National Household of Education Survey of 2012, the current study quantitatively tests Lareau's theory to see if parental expectations for student's achievement are affected by gender, parent involvement and social class. The results show that parental expectations are different among males and females. The more the parent is involved in the child's academic career, more is expected from the child. The higher the social class, the higher expectations the parents hold.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my gram, Catherine Beatrice Mosley Holmes (1936-2016). The one who convinced me to start my journey here at the University of Idaho way back when. The one who taught me what it means to help others!

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

It is no secret that there is a relationship between socioeconomic status and a student's academic achievement or educational attainment. In fact, socioeconomic status of a child's family is one of the strongest predictors of that child's academic achievement throughout their academic career. Race and social class have also often been widely used variables in education research, mainly to predict a students' academic achievement. Duncan and Magnuson (2011) were not the first to point out this trend, they highlight that the students at the lowest quintile of family socioeconomic status score more than a standard deviation below those in the top quintile on standardized math and reading tests entering kindergarten. These patterns are consistent throughout the students' academic career.

In 1966, the Coleman Report was the first publication to find and establish a link between family socioeconomic status and student's academic achievement (Coleman, 1966). Many researchers have followed in the same tradition, and have studies dedicated to see if such a correlation exists and to see the patterns (Bornstein & Bradley, 2003; Brooks-Gunn & Duncan, 1997; Coleman, 1988; Mcloyd, 1998). There is much disagreement and debate about the cause and mechanism of this complex and intricate relationship; researchers have varying data and theories that support their studies (Bowles & Gintis, 1976, 2002; Duncan, Brooks-Gunn & Klebanov, 1994; Hernstein, 1995; Hernstein & Murray, 1994; Lareau, 1989, 2003).

Between the income-achievement gap and the racial-achievement gap, the black-white achievement gap has garnered the most attention regarding research and policies (Jencks & Phillpis, 1998; Magnuson & Waldfogel, 2008). The patterns of income-achievement gap have not been given the same attention as far as research and policy. So there is a limited

scope on socioeconomic achievement gaps over an extended period of time because there are not that many longitudinal studies.

Lareau (2003) identifies a parenting practice called concerted cultivation, which she says the middle class utilizes regardless of what race they are. Working and lower class parents practice the accomplishment of natural growth. Lareau argues that concerted cultivation is culturally aligned with the education system, so middle class students have a distinct advantage over their working and lower class counterparts.

There are a multitude of studies that investigate the different parenting styles/practices and the impact these constructs have on a students' academic success; many of the studies define parenting practices and parent involvement differently (Hill & Taylor, 2004; Spera, 2005). There are many quantitative studies on student's academic achievement, but they focus on a limited set of behaviors that leave out important factors. For example, studies on cultural capital leave out certain parent involvement variables such as volunteering at the child's school or talking with them at home. The research pertaining to parent involvement usually does not look into what the effects are of extracurricular activities on a child's academic success. In the daily lives of families, these behaviors are indeed connected and not isolated like some of the studies would have you believe. These behaviors and experiences of the family are formed and shaped by their social structural location. Lareau (2003) her theory of concerted cultivation is unique in the fact that it encompasses all these pertinent variables.

As previously pointed out, there has been an ongoing debate on the impacts that social class has on academic achievement. Bowles and Gintis (2003) point out that social class continues to play an important role in determining the life chances of youth. Many believe that academic success is based merely off innate traits like intelligence; Bowles and Gintis

(2002) found that intelligence played a small role and that the parents' background had a more pertinent impact on the children. They found that the parent's race, income, and wealth were important variables to consider. Education is supposed to be one of the equalizing institutions when talking about inequalities, but even schools are impacted by social class. Morris (2005) found that the impacts of social class can be discretely observed in a classroom environment. Teachers have the ability to authorize the dress code of lower income youth, thus reinforcing middle class values. Diamond and Gomez (2004) found that parents' social class impacts the way that they interact with the schools. Ainsworth and Roscigno (2005) found that in some instances schools refer lower social class children to take more vocational classes to prepare them for lower level service occupations. Social class has been found to be one of the most significant predictors of academic success across all ethnicities (Blair & Madamba, 1999).

Schools have a system they use to track students in order to have the best academic outcomes for their students, but there are implications that social class plays a role in this tracking process. Schools funnel students; they direct some students towards classes that will potentially get them accepted to a good college and direct others towards classes that will teach them the necessary skills in order to get a job after graduating from high school. One would think that a student's intelligence and work ethic would determine if he or she is college bound or not. Ainsworth and Roscigno (2005) found that a student's social class does indeed have an effect on their track placement; lower class students were disproportionately placed in more vocational classes than the middle class students. Ainsworth and Roscigno (2005) state, "poor students are funneled into all types of vocational education classes, and this involvement…increases the likelihood that these students will drop out of high school…" These differences between middle class students and lower class students have roots that can

be found in early part of their academic career. Entwisle, Alexander and Olson (2005) found that for first graders, the higher social class students had better grades than the lower class students. Alexander, Entwisle and Olson (2007) found that these differences at such an early age can exhibit themselves later on in high school when students are assigned to a certain track.

Many researchers have taken note of the way that the schools implement their tracking systems and speculate that the schools are helping perpetuate some of these academic and education inequalities being discussed. Lucas (2001) claims that middle class parents have a distinct advantage over lower class parents, because they understand the significance of these track placements and the importance of being placed in a higher track. Lucas (2001) found that children from lower class backgrounds are less likely to take the more challenging course in high school. One must also look to the school officials and representatives and acknowledge the role that they play in the equality, more specifically forming early perceptions of students. Students from higher social classes were viewed as having superior skills by school officials compared to their lower class counterparts (Condron, 2007).

Other studies show that teachers and other school representatives can perceive students as being good or bad by the way that they are dressed. Teachers would refer to good students as middle class to imply that they were a good student (Morris, 2005). Teachers would also use the student's style of dress as a cue to see what class the student was from (Morris, 2005). Carter (2003) found that the students who did not conform to the popular fashion and clothing style expectations were seen as being unintelligent by teachers.

Class has a significant impact on how the public schools are funded. Kozol and Perluss (1992) points out that money for schools is not evenly distributed and this is due to

property taxes. More wealthy neighborhoods have larger tax bases, so therefore their schools have more resources than their counterparts do in poor inner city communities. Some parents are aware of some of these subtle inequalities, further, parents who do have a choice in what school their child goes to will most likely send their child to the school that is better funded with more resources. Diamond and Gomez (2004) found that the middle class African-American process of choosing a school was different from the working class African-American families. Middle class African-American families spent more time choosing where their children would attend school than working class African-American families who would usually just send their children to the closest school for convenience. Lower class African-American families were not as concerned with the ideal schooling condition as are their middle-class counterparts. Education is one of the centerpieces in Lareau's (2003) study and shows that class is a very pertinent component to academic achievement. Lareau (2003) found that social class could be a stronger predictor of educational attainment than race because middle class African-American had more in common with middle class white families than they did with working and lower class African-American families. Middle class and lower class parent handle issues at school differently; middle class parent usually get together with other parents that are experiencing the same issue and then talk to school officials, lower class parents usually try to address school officials by themselves (Horvat, Weininger & Lareau, 2003).

Although class has a profound effect on academic achievement because of school funding, teachers' perception of the students, student tracking and parent interaction, it must be acknowledged that pivotal resources are attained at home (Coleman, 1987). Burkham, Ready, Lee and LoGerfo (2004) points that there is emerging research that looks at learning in

the summer when there is no school. Downey, Von Hippel and Broh (2004) reveal that the differences in learning increase dramatically during the summer months; higher SES students learn more during the summer than low SES students and school helps curb this effect (Alexander et al., 2007). Alexander et al. (2007) argue that one of the reasons that lower SES students are placed on a lower schooling track once they enter high school is due to the fact that these out of school learning discrepancies exist and that the years of lesser learning of lower SES students adds up.

The research dealing with the learning gap widening during the summer time is very pivotal in understanding how class shapes academic outcomes for students. The research points us in the direction of the home and what seems to be occurring or not occurring at home during the summer months. The literature seems to imply or suggest that middle class parents must be doing something at home different from lower class parents to be able to provide such advantages for their children. Lareau (2003) argues that parenting practices are affected by which economic class the parent is part of, which has an impact on children's academic achievement.

This current study attempts to test Lareau's hypothesis, that a specific parenting practice called concerted cultivation has an impact on a student's academic achievement. While Lareau's (2003) study was an ethnographic study, and this study attempts to define Lareau's (2003) theoretical concepts of concerted cultivation and quantitatively test them using the National Household Education Survey of 2012. Specifically, the current study asks three questions:

Does parental involvement in the school system impact parental expectations for student achievement?

Do social class differences have an impact on parental expectations for student achievement?

Does the child's gender affect parental expectations for child's education?

Along the same lines and traditions of Lareau, I argue that the parenting practice called concerted cultivation has a positive effect on academic achievement; although this study is using secondary data, there are selected questions that address Lareau's concepts. My study will add to growing body of literature on how parenting practices impacts a student's academic achievement by quantitatively defining her concepts and testing them by using a national data set; the sample is representative of the greater whole, the entire population. Concerted cultivation will be operationally defined using the most up to date research on four theoretical concepts from Lareau's work: cultural capital, habitus, parent involvement, and the organization of daily life.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Lareau (2003) argues that social class influences parenting practices, which in turn has direct correlation and impact on the academic achievement and educational outcomes of the children. The ethnographic study that she conducted into the lives of various families showed connections that a quantitative study would not have been able to do. She argues that parenting practices of middle and upper class parents utilize a parenting style she calls "Concerted Cultivation." As Lareau (2003) states:

> It is economic and social resources that are key in shaping child-rearing practices; as parents' own social class position shifts, so do their cultural beliefs and practices in child rearing" (p. 251).

Cultural capital, habitus, parent involvement, and the organization of daily life are the four subsets that make up concerted cultivation. Lareau (2003) states that concerted cultivation entails an emphasis on children's structured activities, language development and reasoning in the home, and active intervention in school. This parenting practice differs from these of the working class and lower class parents, which utilize a parenting style called accomplishment of natural growth. Life is a lot less structured in lower class households, where the parents allow the children to socialize more with their peers and friends. The main emphasis of this parenting practice is to provide a safe environment where the children can naturally grow into their own person. Parents who use concerted cultivation have a very active role in building their children's character, talents, skills and opinions. These parents are also engaged in their children's academic life; they are involved in many of the school activities like parent organizations or parent-teacher meetings. Parents using concerted

cultivation often volunteer and make an effort to be involved in many of these activities, so they can help better assist their children.

Parents who practice concerted cultivation often times enroll their children in multiple extra-curricular activities, like organized sports, music lessons, and other structured activities. Most of the children that are being brought up this way have very organized lives and stick to schedules for their daily routines. Rarely do these children have any time to themselves, let alone anytime to interact with their friends outside of any organized or structured activities.

When it comes to actual parenting, Lareau argues that upper and middle class parents tend to reason and negotiate with their children, whereas parents from working and lower class tend to operate differently in that capacity. With working and lower class parents there is no negotiating; they use directives and give orders. They have an expectation for the children to be obedient and follow the rules that are set in place by the parents and other authority figures. Many times in the concerted cultivation, parents view their child as a project that they need to develop. The same cannot be said about the lower and working class, their primary function is to ensure that their children have a safe environment to play and socialize with their friends as they naturally grow into their own. This lifestyle is far less organized and structured, so the children's lives are not scheduled out and do not revolve around organized activities or events.

Lareau (2003) points out that there are positives and negatives of these parenting practices. She argues that concerted cultivation has significant advantages when it comes to the children's academic achievement. One of the reasons being "concertedly cultivated" is advantageous is that the education system that we have in place operate under some of the same principles and holds some of the same values. Parents from the middle class are more

adaptable when it comes to parenting and implementing the latest information pertaining to it. They stay current and up to date with all the emerging parenting literature; the same cannot be said about working and lower class parents, because they do not always have access to the same resources. Because of the differences in parenting practices, there are distinctions in the way that the parents interact with the teachers and officials that work for the schools. If there are any issues pertaining to school, middle and upper class parents they immediately get involved to get a solution for whatever problem that is present. They are also not afraid to criticize teachers or school officials because the parents see them as their equals. Lower and working class parents seem to be intimidated by teachers and school officials so they do not criticize them. They view them as superiors and believe that the teachers and school officials always have the best interest of their children in mind (Lareau, 2000).

Lareau's (2003) ethnographic study is an important contribution to the existing literature that deals with socioeconomic status, parenting practices and students' academic achievement. Her work focuses in how social class impacts how parents raise their children, while other studies have focused in on specific types of parental involvement and behaviors (e.g., Amato & Fowler, 2002; Bean, Bush, McKenry & Wilson, 2003; Domina, 2005; Lareau, 2003; Rhea & Otto, 2001). There are other studies that also contribute to the existing body of literature but they define concepts like parent involvement differently and leave out other parent behaviors that are pertinent. Lareau's (2003) study shows that the development and overall academic achievement of children/students is enhanced by the parents making them participate in organized activities and showing them how to navigate the education system, especially when it comes to interacting with teachers and other school representatives.

With "concerted cultivation," Lareau uses Bourdieu's (1977) theory of cultural capital as a framework in her research. Concerted cultivation consists of four different components: cultural capital, habitus, parental involvement and the organization of daily life. Cultural capital, which is a concept that was coined by Bourdieu, examines how middle class parents are transmitting the appropriate cultural skills to their children so that they are able to navigate the education system. These cultural skills that are passed on to the children allow them to negotiate with the institutions of education and higher education.

As mentioned before, middle and upper class parents have no issues with talking to any teacher or school official, and this mindset and skill transfers to their children who then have a sense of entitlement when it comes to their education. Working and lower class parents feel a sense of constraint when dealing with the education system and school officials. This means that their children may feel alienated when trying to navigate the education system and try to find solutions to any problems or issues that they may be having at the institution.

Concerted cultivation aligns with Kohn's (1969) study in regard to parents encouraging their children to take matters into their own hands when it comes to education which then translates to them being able to navigate other settings and systems. The natural growth parenting practices do not give the children the ability to be able to acquire the proper cultural skills to be able to navigate educational institutions and negotiate the institutional settings. This often leads them to feel boxed in because they are not able to bend the rules to their favor, making them feel tied down by the system. These findings also align with Kohn's (1969) findings that working class parents submit to institutional authority, and that this is inherited by the children.

Bourdieu (1977) coined cultural capital to describe the different tastes and habits of specific social classes, demonstrating how these characteristics reinforce power relationships between those who possess desirable cultural attributes and the institutions that reinforce them. Specifically, cultural capital is the possession and reproduction of cultural goods that is unique to specific social classes, which provides dispositions that are inherited from the family to the child (Bourdieu, 1973; 1986). Parents actively teach children to value specific cultural symbols, within the social class constructs. Bourdieu (1973) sees this as the way class reproduces itself.

Cultural Capital

Bourdieu's (1973; 1986) study of French social classes reveal that upper class had different tastes for art, music, and entertainment compared to their social class counterparts. Social class has a profound impact on families' taste and disposition, which subsequently influences how families raise their children and how these children do in school (Dumais, 2002). In the classroom, cultural capital gives students of higher classes an advantage over their lower class counterparts. When children attend school, the cultural capital that is transmitted to them at home helps students obtain academic credentials and it affects the way parents interact with teachers (Dumais, 2006; Lareau, 2000). Teachers, who subscribe to middle class values, tend to treat students treat students differently according to which class they come from (Carter, 2003; Condron, 2007). Morris (2005) referred to some students as "middle class" to show that the students' appearance and the way they were dressed were up to par with middle class values. In another study by Carter (2003), students who did not conform to the expectations of clothing and appearance were seen as unintelligent by the teachers.

In the tradition of Bourdieu's work, many studies have aligned cultural capital with the concept of "highbrow" participation in cultural activities like attending the opera, going to the museum, and participating in art classes (Dimaggio and Mohr, 1985; Dumais, 2002; Kaufman & Gabler, 2004). Bourdieu implies that cultural capital is transmitted from parent to children in their younger years, but Aschaffenburg and Maas (1997) found that there was great effect on academics with children from the ages 12 and 17 that were exposed to such cultural practices. In addition, Aschaffenburg and Maas (1997) revealed mixed results to how cultural capital was passed on to the children. What comes into play are what the authors call "cultural mobility" and "social reproduction." Cultural mobility in the context of cultural capital deals with the concept of whether children can accumulate cultural capital in school even though it may be absent at home. Social reproduction in the context of cultural capital examines whether cultural capital can be obtained at home through their parents. There is support for both models. The cultural mobility model had a more significant impact on academic success (Aschaffenburg and Maas, 1997), while cultural capital can be used for cultural mobility and not social reproduction (Dumais 2006).

In some cases, cultural capital may be transmitted later on in life in regards to the social reproduction model, which means cultural capital may not operate exactly how Bourdieu theorized it. Despite the possibility of acquiring cultural capital later on in life, other researchers have found cultural capital to be an important component when it comes to academic success (Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 1996; Kaufman & Gabler, 2004; Orr, 2003). Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell (1999) found that the benefits of cultural capital align more along with social class than it does race. Dumais (2002) found that the parents are the ones responsible for their children's cultural participation because they pay for the lessons and drop

off and pick them up from various events. Kalmijn and Kraaykamp (1996) found that cultural capital plays a pertinent role in the transmission of socioeconomic status across generations, referring to the intergenerational transmission of class.

Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell (1999) found that the racial differences that exist in cultural capital are, for the most part, explained by socioeconomic status. Black students were less likely to have access to educational resources and cultural capital compared to their counterparts, the white students; this also corresponded with their social class. Black and low SES students receive less educational and cultural resources for a multitude of reasons, but namely due to lack of tracking and institutional evaluations (Roscigno & Ainsworth-Darnell, 1999). Poor and inner city African-American youth struggled transitioning from "acting black" in casual social settings with their friends to trying to interact with middle class teachers in an academic setting (Carter, 2003). Carter (2003) found that there are two different forms of cultural capital, dominant and non-dominant. Students were aware of these obstacles because they acknowledged that they spoke to and interacted differently between their employer and their friends (Carter, 2003).

Habitus

The second theoretical concept of Lareau's (2003) concerted cultivation is habitus, a term Bourdieu (1977) uses to describe dispositions towards, "what is comfortable or what is natural" that a child inherits from the family's place in the social structure. Lareau uses the concept habitus to show the differences in parenting; upper and middle class parents pass on a sense of entitlement when it comes to the education system. Lower and working class parents tend to pass on a sense of constraint when dealing with the education system. Habitus plays a very important role in students' academic achievement (Dumais, 2002; 2006). Students who

are part of an environment that pushes for education, whose family members, family friends and neighbors who went on to attain a post-secondary education, internalize the belief that higher education is a cultural value and that striving to attain a post-secondary education is within their reach (Dumais, 2006). Dumais (2002) found a positive trend with student's habitus, which was measured by their academic success and their aspirations to have a well-recognized job with a prestigious title or position. Dumais (2002) also found that regardless of student gender the, when there were high expectations set in place, the students achieved higher grades. In a later study, Dumais (2006) looked at younger children in kindergarten and found that parent habitus, defined as the amount of education a parent expected the child to receive, has a significant impact on teacher evaluations of the students. Entwisle et al. (2005) found that parent expectations are a significant contributor to children's first grade achievement and overall academic achievement. Dauber, Alexander and Entwisle (1996) found that parent expectations had a significant effect on whether sixth graders enrolled in higher level math and English courses.

Indeed, Lareau leans heavily on the cultural capital theory to guide her own research, but she does not use all the traditional measures (e.g., museum attendance) of cultural capital. She does, in fact, emphasize that the cultural repertoire of parents has a significant impact on the later academic success for children, which is a pertinent component of cultural capital. The effects of cultural capital were seen in the different parenting styles that exist between lower and middle class families. In one of her earlier studies, Lareau (2000) found that parents from the middle class interacted with schools differently than their lower class counterparts. Lower class parents viewed school officials as superiors, so they were intimidated when they had to interact with them. Continuing her work, these findings line up

with her findings in *Unequal Childhoods*, where she observed that lower class parents have a sense of constraint and were very cautious around professionals, mainly school officials. She observed that middle class parents knew how to operate and get around institutional barriers to get whatever it is that they want especially when it comes to the education system (Lareau, 2003). Some of the issues that inner city African-American youth faced when they interacted with middle class teacher, the students felt that they were discriminated against at some level because they did not fit in because of the way they were dressed (Carter, 2003). Condron (2007) discovered that teachers' evaluations of students' academic skills were influenced by the students' social class.

Cultural capital brings to the forefront some of the hidden barriers that exist with student's academic achievement. These barriers often translate into cultural cues of how individuals are supposed to act around certain superiors and other authority figures. This leads to individuals having certain expectations for the future, these dispositions are transmitted from generation to generation creating a revolving door of social class.

Parental Involvement

Parents being involved and active in their children's school activities benefits children's academic success and their social competence. Parental involvement is defined as parents being active in the education process of their children; and includes behaviors such as the parent volunteering at school, attending parent teacher conferences, going to various school functions, or helping their children with schoolwork at home. According to Borgonovi and Montt (2012), parent involvement is being actively committed to spending time with their children in order to assist in their academic and general development. This type of

involvement has been linked to promoting positive children's educational and developmental outcomes (Emerson, Fear, Fox & Sanders, 2012).

Parents are vital agents of their child's early academic success when they are in elementary school. This is even more the case in middle school when children often become less focused on school and run the risk of disengaging, and when parent involvement decreases (D'Angelo, Rich & Kohm. 2012). However, it is not just parents that can have a meaningful impact on a student's academic success; other family members and supportive adults like mentors promote student growth. A meta-analysis conducted by Jeynes (2012) shows that there are numerous positive outcomes when discussing parent involvement and their child's academic success between pre-kindergarten and 12th grade. Parent involvement initiatives, which include parents and their children reading together, parents checking their children's homework, parents and teachers communicating with one another, and partnering with one another, have a noteworthy relationship with academic outcomes (Jeynes, 2012). Not only do voluntary parental involvement programs have positive outcomes for student achievement and success, but also school-initiated programs do as well. Parental involvement is much more likely to promote adolescent school success when it occurs in the context of an authoritative home environment (Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch & Darling, 1992). It comes full circle when the parents are active agents in their children's education and school; everyone benefits in this situation.

It is advantageous to have both parents if possible be involved in their children's education. In a study conducted by McBride, Schoppe-Sullivan and Moonho (2005) found that it was as important for the father of the child to be as involved as the mother. Children who had both parents involved had higher academic achievement than the other students

whose mothers were just involved. Parent involvement has long term positive effects, especially when the involvement starts in elementary school and the involvement is maintained through the years. Barnard (2004) found that parents who stayed involved with their children had higher rates of completing high school. In the elementary school years if parents stayed involved in their children's education for a minimum of three years, their children stayed in school longer.

When parents stay committed to being involved with their children's school and maintain a consistent presence at the school, it pays dividends in their children's education. Parents who have are constantly at their children's school participating in various school functions, their children were able to read better than the students whose parent did not participate on a regular basis (Dearing, Kreider, Simpkins & Weiss 2006). The more the parents participated in the school events and activities, the better their children were able to read.

Researchers have consistently shown that parental involvement is a significant predictor of academic performance; students who have more actively engaged parents do better in school (Hill and Taylor, 2004; Hoover-Dempsey, Battiato, Walker, Reed, Dejong & Jones 2001; Spera, 2005). Parent Involvement is also correlated to socioeconomic status. Desimone (1999) found that middle class parents are more likely to volunteer at their child's school. Diamond and Gomez (2004) found middle class parents to be more assertive in seeking out ideal conditions. Horvat et al. (2003) found middle class parents to be more proactive in seeking solutions for problems that might arise.

In Lareau's (2003) study, parents who practiced concerted cultivation had a hand in every part of their children's lives. The parents were trying to pass on qualities to their

children that would be useful in their academic achievement. Spera (2003) found that researchers have defined parenting practices differently. One of the ways that parenting practices was defined was parent involvement, which consists of but is not limited to, participating in school events like parent-teacher meetings and other various volunteer opportunities. Parent practices were also defined as parent monitoring which includes adult supervision; consisting of making sure their children's homework is done and correct. The third type of parenting practice that was identified by Spera (2005) was the expectations and goals that the parents set for their children, especially when it comes to education and if the children were expected to strive for post-secondary education. Sui-chu and Willms (1996) have noted that there are several other types of parent involvement. Hill and Taylor (2004) found that parents from different social classes utilize different parenting practices; parents from lower socioeconomic backgrounds were far less likely to be involved in schooling than parents of higher socioeconomic status. Parents' expectations of how far they want their children to go in school will be different according to the family's social class; parent involvement is linked to academic achievement (Hill and Taylor, 2004; Spera, 2005).

The meta-analysis that Fan and Chen (2001) conducted on parent involvement studies revealed that parent involvement has positive impact on a child's academic achievement. Of all the parent involvement variables, parent's expectations had the greatest impact on grades, whereas parent supervision had the least significance on grades (Fan & Chen 2001). Sui-Chu and Willms (1996) found that of the several types of parent involvement home supervision had the least significant impact on academic success. Sui-Chu and Willms (1996) stated that parent involvement was affected by the size of the family. When there are more children in the family, there is more parental supervision in the home. There are differences among

family structure; single parent families had less interactions with the school while two parent families, set more household rules and participated in school functions and events more (Sui-Chu and Willms, 1996).

Coleman (1988) conceived of this parent involvement as a sort of social capital, which is defined as the social bonds that are established between people and the neighborhood that produce social norms and expectations that lead to having certain obligations toward the community as a whole. Coleman believes that parent involvement has a positive impact on a child's academic success because it is expected that they attain good grades in school; it instills trust, reciprocity and other cultural values that contribute to a cohesive community. This notion is backed by their parents and other community members who set this as the norm. He supported his findings by using social capital as a means to explain the lower dropout rates in Catholic schools. Coleman (1987) says, social capital outside the family was the greatest value for children without extensive social capital at home. Benefits can be reaped by those who are disadvantaged, because of the relationships built outside of the home can help elevate their disadvantaged status.

Many researchers have followed in the tradition of Coleman conducted; for example, Pong et al., (2005) through measuring different parenting styles across various ethnicities and generations, found that expectations and trust were the most pertinent components in a student's academic performance. Establishing bonds inside and outside the home environment is pivotal for not only students, but also for parents. Carbonaro (1998) found that there is a positive correlation between parents networking with other parents and students not dropping out of school. Parents who talked to their children about their academics had a positive impact on those students believing they could attain their academic goals (Rhea &

Otto, 2001). There have been mixed results when it comes to parent involvement and the impact that it has had on students' academic success. McNeal (1999) found that parent involvement is basically a medium for social control rather than it being a means to better academic success. Domina (2005) found that parent involvement was negatively correlated with academic performance, but parent involvement has a positive impact on a child's emotional health. Still the majority of research supports the notion that actively engaged parents and community members enhance academic success (Hill and Taylor, 2004; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2001; Spera, 2005).

Parent social class plays a significant role, in which they involve themselves in their child's education (Bourdieu, 1973; Lareau, 2003). A longitudinal study conducted by Entwisle et al. (2005) showed that SES was strongly correlated with a student's academic achievement and how far they go in school. Social class has a significant impact on how parents' interact with the education system.

Organization of Daily Life

A middle-class family's schedule is dictated by all of the children's extracurricular activities. Lareau (2003) refers to this as the "organization of everyday life" because the way that the middle class home is structured is based around their extracurricular activities. These activities show children how to perform under pressure especially when the spotlight is on them. Through these extracurricular activities, cultural values are learned that will be useful (e.g., making eye contact with others or working well with others in a group atmosphere). Working class and lower class families' schedules are not dictated by such extracurricular activities like sports, music or dance; these children are free to play with their friends and naturally come into their own.

There are a lot of studies that show a positive link between children being involved in extracurricular activities and better emotional, social and educational health for those children (Broh, 2002; Covay & Carbonaro 2010; Gerber, 1996). Hofferth and Sandberg (2001) found that children spend about 20 percent of their time in structured activities, and these activities were linked to both cognitive and emotional development. The research shows that there is a positive correlation between better academic achievement for students who are involved in a wide array of extracurricular activities, such as student clubs (Broh, 2002), volunteering (Eccles et al., 2003), performing arts (Kaufman & Gabler, 2004), and sports (McNeal, 1995). Being involved with sports has shown to have a significant effect on standardized test scores (Hofferth & Sandberg, 2001). Hansen, Larson and Dworkin (2003) found that there were a number of benefits for children who participated in extracurricular activities, like learning how to interact with others in a group setting, developing leadership, and overcoming their fears/anxieties. Regardless of race, students who participate in extracurricular activities reap the benefits (Mahoney, Harris, & Eccles, 2006). According to Fredricks, Alfeld-Liro, Hruda, Eccles, Patrick and Ryan (2002) there were a variety of reasons why children participated in extra-curricular activities: to please their parents and family, to understand their weaknesses and strengths better, and it gave them something to do with their free time.

McNeal (1995) investigated what kinds of extracurricular activities had the most effect on whether a student stayed in school or dropped out. Being involved in some sort of athletic team for one's school (interscholastic), decreased the chances of student dropping out. He also found that "fine arts activities" had a smaller but still had a significant impact on students staying in school. Broh (2002) found that being involved with music and a school's sports team had the most significant impact, when looking at which type of extracurricular activity

had the most effect on educational attainment. Additionally, being involved in intramural sports had a negative effect on grades (Broh 2002). So there is a difference between types of school related activities and how they impact academic achievement. Students that participated in school council had a positive effect with students improving grades but being involved with school council did not necessarily have an impact on improving their test scores (Broh 2002). Kaufman and Gabler (2004) found that students who played for one of their interscholastic teams were more likely to attend college, but this only holds true to the interscholastic involvement, the same cannot be said about intramural sports.

Mahoney et al. (2006) found that participating in extracurricular activities increased academic outcomes and reduced problematic behavior for both black and white students. Black males and white males are usually involved in different extracurricular activities, the blacks seemed to gravitate towards basketball and football, while their white counterparts would play baseball, do track and field, or swim (Eitle & Eitle 2002). The researchers explained this difference as there being a lack of cultural capital, saying black males participate in basketball if they do not have cultural advantages that will help them succeed scholastically (Eitle and Eitle, 2002). Furthermore, regardless of race, students who lacked cultural capital are more likely to play football.

Lareau (2003) hypothesized that the benefits of these daily organized activities would help children navigate various system and institutions with ease while gaining and utilizing valuable skills (i.e., working well in group settings, making eye contact, and performing well in the spotlight or under pressure) needed in their future careers. Heckman and Rubinstein (2001) point out that there is emerging research that has that investigates the benefits and impacts of softer skills that are not associated with intelligence. Some of these softer skills

are very beneficial to students because it can help them be placed in more advanced and challenging reading groups (Condron, 2007).

Parental Expectations

There is a positive relationship between parental expectations and children's academic achievement that holds across the races (Jeynes, 2005, 2007). Grossman, Kuhn-McKearin & Strein (2011) points out that indeed parental expectations have a profound effect on the academic outcomes of children. The researchers also show that the notion of expectation influences achievement is not so cut and dry, and it is much more complicated than some may think. It is imperative that parents have a well round approach when articulating their expectations to their children. Having too high or unrealistic expectations can very detrimental to a child, they feel like they cannot reach the standards and goals that have been set before them. Indeed, these expectations can play a role in actually lowering their achievement. There are a multitude of studies that show parental involvement positively associated with children's academic achievement (Jeynes, 2005, 2007; Kim & Rohner, 2002; Gonzalez-Pienda, Nunez & Gonzalez-Pumariega 2002). Students whose parents have higher expectations earn better grades in their class and score higher on standardized test (Davis-Kean 2005; Pearce 2006; Vartanian, Karen, Buck & Cadge, 2007). There is a positive correlation between parents having high expectations and their child being motivated to achieve higher grades in school, being resilient socially and scholastically and aspiring to attain a post-secondary education (Hossler & Stage 1992; Peng & Wright 1994; Reynolds 1998).

Gill and Reynolds (2000) found that parent expectations are usually examined by assessing for ability, short term expectations for grades, and long-term expectations for

educational achievement. When children know that their parents hold their academic endeavors in high regards and expectations are known, these children perform better and have higher academic achievement. It is important that the parents continue to communicate their high expectations to their children; when students see that their parents emphasize on academic success, the students have better academic outcome (Marchant, Paulson & Rothlisberg 2001).

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CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The data for this study comes from the 2012 National Household Education Survey Program (NHES 2012). The NHES:2012 is comprised of two topical surveys: The Early Childhood Program Participation (ECPP) Survey and the Parent and Family Involvement in Education (PFI) Survey. The data that I focused on for this study comes from the PFI Survey, which was last fielded in 2012. The PFI Survey's target population is children and youth who are 20 years old or younger, who are enrolled in kindergarten through 12th grade in a public school, private school, or who are being home schooled for the same grades.

The NHES:2012 questionnaire was a two phase survey conducted primarily by mail. The first phase of the survey was the administration of a short household screener questionnaire used to identify households with children under age 20. A total of 159,994 households were selected, and the response rate was 73.5 percent. The second phase of the survey was the collection of topic survey data from households with eligible children. The topic response rate was 78.4 percent; the overall response rates (the product of the screener response rate and the topical response rate was 57.6 percent).

The original sample consisted of 17,563 children age 20 or younger in kindergarten through 12th grade, and parents or guardians completed the PFI survey. The 17,166 of students whose parents filled out the survey, completed the PFI-Enrolled questionnaire for students enrolled in public or private school and 397 students whose parents completed the PFI questionnaire for homeschooled students. For data purposes, I have removed the 397 cases of data that dealt with homeschooled children from the sample, because they could not be used in the parental involvement scale that dealt with parent attending various school events, leaving the sample population at 17,166 cases.

It is worthwhile to point out the PFI Survey over-sampled black and Hispanic households using consensus and sampling frame data. This over-sampling is necessary to produce more reliable estimates for subdomains defined by race and ethnicity. Over sampling provides improvement in the precision of estimates by race/ethnicity and protects against unknown factors that may impact the estimates for key subgroups, especially differential response rates.

Measures

Independent Variables.

Parent Education. The question that measured the parental education variable was: What is the highest grade or level of school that this parent or guardian completed? Both parents were assessed and this study to examine data from the first parent. The scale that was utilized was coded, 1=8th grade or less, 2=High school, but no diploma, 3=High school diploma or equivalent (GED), 4=Vocational diploma after high school, 5=Some college, but no degree, 6=Associate's degree (AA, AS), 7=Bachelor's degree (BA, BS), 8=Some graduate or professional education, but no degree, 9=Master's degree (MA, MS), 10=Doctorate degree (PhD, EdD), 11=Professional degree beyond bachelor's degree (MD, DDS, JD, LLB).

Annual Income. The question that measured the annual income variable was: Which category best fits the total income of all persons in your household over the past 12 months? The scale that was utilized consisted of the following categories, 1=$0 to $10,000, 2=$10,001 to $20,000, 3=$20,001 to $30,000, 4=$30,001 to $40,000, 5=$40,001 to $50,000, 6=$50,001 to $60,000, 7=$60,001 to $75,000, 8=$75,001 to $100,000, 9=$100,001 to $150,000, 10=$150,001 or more.

Parent's Occupation. The question that measured the occupation variable was: Which of the following best describes this employment status? We examined data from the first parent. The scale that they used was coded, 1=Employed for pay or income, 2=Self-employed, 3=Unemployed or out of work, 4=Full-time student, 5=Stay at home parent, 6=Retired, 7=Disabled or unable to work. Data was examined from the first parent.

Parental Involvement. This variable was measured by a categorical scale that the parents could either answer yes or no on. The question that measured the parent involvement was: Since the beginning of this school year, has any adult in this child's household done any of the following things at this child's school? The subset of questions that the parents answered yes or no to were: A=Attended a school or class event, such as a play, dance, sports event, or science fair, B= Served as a volunteer in this child's classroom or elsewhere in the school, C=Attended a general school meeting, for example, an open house, or a back-to school night, D=Attended a meeting of the parent-teacher organization or association, E=Gone to a regularly scheduled parent-teacher conference with this child's teacher, F=Participated in fundraising for the school, G=Served on a school committee, H=Met with a guidance counselor in person. To create the parental involvement scale, all yes answers were coded "1" and all no answers were coded "0". The yes responses were then summed for each participant to create a parental involvement scale with a range of zero to eight.

Gender. Gender is a sociological aspect that plays a role in what parents expect from their children academically. Historically, girls were not allowed into many fields of education so they did not have the same opportunities as their male counterparts; their education was more geared towards being a teacher, nurse or secretary (Madigan, 2009). High expectations that were placed upon their shoulders and however, things have changed, and women have

more rights now and are afforded the same opportunities as their male counterparts. Stereotypes have an impact on academic achievement especially because boys are considered inferior in many academic facets and that girls are generally perceived as academically superior in performance, ability, motivation and self-regulation (Hartley and Sutton 2013). Wood, Kaplan and McLoyd (2007) found that females read more than their male counterparts and Jacob (2002) discovered that girls get higher grades and finish high school at a higher rate than boys. Looking at the standardized achievement test, show that females scored better on the spelling, literacy and writing sections of the test than boys (National Center for Education Statistics, 2003). The question that measured gender was: what is the child's sex? To create the gender scale all the male children where coded "1" and all the female children were coded "2".

Dependent Variable.

Expectation of Child's Future Education. There are a few different approaches to how researchers measure parent expectations. This variable was measured using a 6-point rating scale with one being the lowest point on the scale. For this study the parent expectation variable was measured by one question: How far do you expect this child to go in his/her education? The scale that was utilized was coded, 1=Complete less than a high school diploma, 2=Graduate from high school, 3=Attend a vocational or technical school after high school, 4=Attend two or more years of college, 5= Earn a bachelor's degree, 6= Earn a graduate degree or professional degree beyond a bachelor's degree.

Table 1

Sample Demographics	n	Percentage
Child's Race		
American Indian	578	3.4 %
Asian	1275	7.4 %
Black	2671	15.6 %
Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	191	1.1 %
White	12624	73.5 %
Total	17166	100%
Child's origin		
Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino		
Yes	3799	22.1%
No	13367	77.9%
Total	17166	100%
Child gender		
Male	8913	51.9 %
Female	8253	48.1 %
Total	17166	100 %

Table 1 presents the demographic information of the 17,166 subjects included in the study. The child's race was broken down into five categories: American Indian (n = 578, 3.4%), Asian (n = 1275, 7.4%), Black (n = 2671, 15.6%), Hawaiian/Pacific Islander (n = 191, 1.1%), and White (n = 12624, 73.5%). The child's origin of being from Spanish, Hispanic or Latino descent was delineated by a yes or no response: Yes (n = 3799, 22.1 %) and No (n = 13367, 77.9%). The gender of the children was almost evenly distributed; there were 8,913 male accounting for 51.9 percent of the sample and there were 8,253 females representing for 48.1 percent of the sample. There are roughly the same amount of males and females. Although practically three-fourths of the sample is white, a few other ethnicities are represented, including blacks at 15.6%, which is higher than the percentage of the total population. There was also an alternative question that was given for the recruitment of Hispanic participants; which detailed if they were from Spanish, Hispanic or Latino descent, the fastest growing group in the United States

Data Analysis

I used the Statistical Package for the Social Science, version 24 (SPSS 24) to run all of the statistical analyses. For this study, a multivariate logistic regression analysis which allows one to form a multiple regression relation between a categorical dependent variable and several categorical independent variables, was employed (Price, bprice@uidaho.edu, 2016). Because a secondary data set was used, we were limited in the types of analysis that could be implemented based on the how the research/survey questions were developed. Multivariate logistic regression analysis is appropriate when there is a categorical variable with more than two categories.

I chose to use income as the variable to represent social class because it worked better and had stronger correlation than parent education or employment status. I worked to capture the effects of the independent variable without making the analysis too complicated to interpret. I also had to recode the variables to make the groups smaller and easier to interpret. The three variables that we had to recode were expectations for child's future education, total household income and parent involvement. The expectations for child's future education and total household income variables were condensed into three different categories. For the parental expectations variable complete less than high school and graduate high school were combined together to make up category 1, attend a vocational/technical school or attend two or more years of college were combined together to configure category 2, earn a bachelor's degree or earn a graduate or professional degree were combined together to form category 3. The rationale is that this conceptual model aligns with the various levels of parent expectation (i.e., differences in parent expectations). For the total household

income, $0 to $10,000 - $30,001 to $40,000 were grouped together, $40,001 to $50,000 - $60,001 to $75,000 were grouped together and lastly $75,001 to $100,000 - $ 150,001 or more were grouped together. Condensing these categories allow, this conceptual model to align the appropriate levels of income to represent lower class, middle class and upper class. Consultation with a statistician resulted in the recommendation to divide our groups in this manner (Price, bprice@uidaho.edu, 2016). I also condensed the parent involvement variable using a median split; the different groups were low parental involvement (4 or less) and high parental involvement (5-8). Many Americans see higher education as minimal to life success; however, certain skilled trades are also significant careers.

Table 2
Expectations for child's future education

	n	Percentage
Earn a high school diploma or less	1,332	7.8%
Attend a vocational/technical school or two years of college after high school	3,609	21%
Earn a bachelor's degree, graduate degree or professional degree	12,225	71.2%
Total	17166	100%

Table 2 presents how far the parents expect their child to progress in their academic career. The parent expectation variable was broken down into three categories: Earn a high school diploma or less (n = 1,332, 7.8%), Attend two or more years of college (n = 3,609, 21%), Earn a bachelor's degree or more (n = 12,225, 71.2%).

Table 3
Total Income

	n	Percentage
$0 to $40,000	6,103	35.5%
$40,001 to $75,000	4,248	24.7%
$75,001 to +$150,001	6,815	39.7%
Total	17,166	100%

Table 3 presents the total household income. The income variable was broken into three categories: Lower class income range $0 - $40,000 (n = 6,103, 35.5%), Middle class income range $40,001 - $75,000 (n = 4,248, 24.7%), Upper class income range $75,000 and up (n = 6,815, 39.7%).

Table 4
Parental involvement
Different types of parental participation .

Types of Participation	Attended	Did not Attend	Total
Attend a school event	13009	4157	17166
Serve as a volunteer	6903	10263	17166
Attend a school meeting	14230	2936	17166
Attend a PTO meeting	7552	9614	17166
Attend a parent-teacher conference	12427	4739	17166
Participate in fundraising	10150	7016	17166
Serve on school committee	2204	14962	17166
Meet with guidance counselor	6117	11049	17166

Table 4 presents the various types of parent involvement and how many parents participated. There were eight different types of parental participation categories: Attend a school event (n = 13009, 75.7%), Serve as a volunteer (n = 6903, 40.2%), Attend a school meeting (n = 14230, 82.8%), Attend a PTO meeting (n = 7552, 43.9%), Attend a parent-teacher conference (n = 12427, 72.3%), Participate in fundraising (n = 10150, 59%), Serve on school committee (n = 2204, 12.8%), Meet with guidance counselor (n = 6117, 35.6%). The parent involvement variable using a median split produced two different groups: low parental

involvement and high parental involvement. If parents were active in four or less of the participation opportunities, they were considered to be part of the low parental involvement group. If parents were active in five or more of the participation opportunities, they were considered to be part of the high parental involvement group.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

In the interest of parsimony, I restricted the analysis to three independent variables: income, parental involvement, and gender. I decided to use income as a proxy for social class because it worked better than education or employment status. Parental income is the strongest predictor of parental expectations for child's education in this study.

The current study examines whether parental involvement in the school system impact parental expectations for student achievement? Out of the three independent variables, parent involvement had the second strongest impact on parent expectations (X^2 (2) = 261.55, p = 0.0001). Parents who were part of high parental involvement group had higher academic expectations for their child than the parents that were in the low parental involvement. The more involved the parent was at their child's school, the higher their expectations for their child. This finding is consistent with previous research (Grossman et al. 2011; Hossler & Stage 1992; Jeynes 2005, 2007; Peng & Wright 1994; Reynolds 1998).

Do social class differences have an impact on parental expectations for student achievement? The study also shows that class differences, as measured through total household income, (a proxy for social class), do have an impact on parental expectations for student achievement. Parents of middle class and upper class have higher academic aspirations for their children than their counterparts in lower social classes (X^2(4) = 1051.19, p = 0.0001). Social class had the most profound effect on parental expectations out of all three of the independent variables when it comes to academic achievement, which means this study's findings are reproducing the social class differences that Lareau (2003) suggested are observed within our social constructs.

Does the child's gender affect parental expectations for child's education? The current study supports the findings of previous studies that child's gender does indeed have an impact on parental expectations. Of all three independent variables gender had the weakest affect (X^2 (2) = 108.42, p = 0.0001), but nonetheless still significant enough to have an effect on parent expectations for the child's education. In general, females are expected to achieve more and go further in their academic careers than males, historically this was not always the case. But with policies that have attempted to level the playing field when it comes to gender these changes have afforded some females equal opportunity in academia and other realms where they have exceled and flourished. This study contributes to the rising literature that woman, are expected to have better academic outcomes than their male counterparts. Historically, it was not until the late 1980s, this pattern changed (Cho, 2006); male high school graduates were more likely to enroll in college than females before the late 1980s, now the ratios have changed and more female high school graduates enroll in college.

The results of the multivariate logistic regression model are presented in Tables 5 and 6. It is important to note that the reference category is 3 and has been left out of the table because it is being used as the baseline to compare the other variables. Because the variables are categorical and not continuous a standard regression model could not be used. Parents who are in the lowest income bracket are more likely to have lower expectations of their child's future education. Parents who exhibit lower levels of parent involvement are more likely to have lower expectations of their child's future education. Parents of males are more likely to have lower expectations of their child's future education. Therefore, as we move away from the reference category, the odds of having higher expectations diminish.

Table 5

Likelihood Ratio Tests

Effect	Model Fitting Criteria: -2 Log Likelihood of Reduced Model	Likelihood Ratio Tests: Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept	183.052[a]	.000	0	.
thincome	1234.244	1051.192	4	.000
involvedp	444.599	261.547	2	.000
CSEX	291.468	108.416	2	.000

Table 6

Parameter Estimates

pexp[a]		B	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
1.00	Intercept	-4.182	.095	1939.062	1	.000	
	[thincome=1.00]	1.822	.087	442.610	1	.000	6.181
	[thincome=2.00]	1.016	.100	103.668	1	.000	2.763
	[thincome=3.00]	0[b]	.	.	0	.	.
	[involvedp=1.00]	.859	.069	157.161	1	.000	2.361
	[involvedp=2.00]	0[b]	.	.	0	.	.
	[CSEX=1]	.528	.064	68.095	1	.000	1.696
	[CSEX=2]	0[b]	.	.	0	.	.
2.00	Intercept	-2.338	.049	2322.508	1	.000	
	[thincome=1.00]	1.167	.049	569.537	1	.000	3.211
	[thincome=2.00]	.886	.053	279.269	1	.000	2.424
	[thincome=3.00]	0[b]	.	.	0	.	.
	[involvedp=1.00]	.474	.041	135.102	1	.000	1.606
	[involvedp=2.00]	0[b]	.	.	0	.	.
	[CSEX=1]	.306	.040	58.242	1	.000	1.358
	[CSEX=2]	0[b]	.	.	0	.	.

a. The reference category is: 3.00

b. This parameter is set to zero because it is redundant

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

I used a national representative dataset to quantitatively test Lareau's (2003) theory, regarding how parent expectations and concerted cultivation impact students' academic achievement. The model utilizes certain aspects of concerted cultivation in the following areas: parent expectations, parental involvement with the school, gender and total family income.

While this study did not venture into new research territory, it did, however examine whether Lareau's theory could be utilized as a basis for further studies of parental involvement, parent expectation, socio-economic status and child outcome in a quantitative study. The findings in this study support the majority of other research studies that investigates academic achievement and the parenting practice of concerted cultivation.

The results support Lareau's (2003) theory and findings that the parenting practice known as concerted cultivation is correlated with higher academic achievement. All three of the independent variables that were tested were statistically significant and had an impact on the dependent variable. While income had the most impact on parental expectations, I was more conceptually concerned with parental involvement and gender. When it comes to parental involvement, this sample exhibited a fair amount of parent involvement (meaning many of the parents in this sample utilized one of the components of concerted cultivation) and it shows if parents are invested in their child's academic outcome, that their outcome will be more favorable in fulfilling those expectations. When considering gender, results indicate that girls are indeed expected to have higher academic achievement than boys, which supports the growing body of literature that is emerging on this, it shows that a cultural shift has taken place.

These findings also support previous research that suggest parents utilize concerted cultivation. Cheadle and Amato (2010) found that parents utilize concerted cultivation with their daughters more than with their sons. Power, McGrath, Hughes, and Manire (1994) showed that daughters are more compliant to parental directives and influence than are sons. The reasoning for this could be that daughters are more receptive to these directives and influence and more likely to benefit from concerted cultivation than the sons are. Another frame of thought is that parents feel it takes more to cultivate their daughters compared to their sons, because historically women have not been able to achieve the same levels of education and occupational status as men. As mentioned before the gender gap in academic achievement has closed and actually has been reversed (Cheadle & Amato, 2010); females are now expected to achieve more academic success than their counterparts. Further research that would be beneficial would be looking into the relationship of child gender and the way concerted cultivation is utilized; in essence how parents use concerted cultivation towards their sons versus their daughters. This would give us more insight and give another piece of the puzzle to help see the bigger picture of what this parenting practice has to offer for children and their academic success. There are other variables and factors that need to be researched in order to understand concerted cultivation in its totality.

It is worthwhile to note the literature on extra-curricular and organized activities in relation to gender offers insight into the concerted cultivation-gender paradigm. Fletcher et al. (2003) point out that girls are more likely to participate in organized activities in childhood more than boys. Thus, boys are more likely to have more free and unsupervised time (Posner & Vandell, 1999). The area of extra-curricular involvement as part of concerted cultivation

should be further investigated to capture nuances of gender, academic achievement and influence of coaches.

Limitations

This study has several limitations. It is hard to measure the entire parenting practice construct known as concerted cultivation and from this study I know that we have not captured it in its entirety. The present study set out to answer a few questions dealing with Lareau's (2003) theory about middle class parenting practices. There are many factors and components that we could not fit into this particular study, which focused primarily on the effects of social class as measured by household income, gender and parental involvement in schools on academic achievement. For this study, not all of Lareau's theoretical components could be tested; for example, I could not test for habitus working with the national data set that we had. There were no questions that were geared towards the concept of habitus, which deals with the child's mannerisms, attitudes and habits that influence their day-to-day decisions and perceptions of the social world they live in. In addition, there were no questions that were addressed to the children and their own expectations. The survey had only a few items that dealt with cultural capital, and I focused on the question about the parental expectations for the child's future education as the dependent variable. Therefore, there are some theoretical pieces proposed by Lareau (2003) missing from this study; but we still are able to target the variables that can be measured in a quantitative study.

There are several limitations related to the secondary data that were obtained and utilized for this study. While these findings of this study are indeed valuable, this study has some limitations when it comes to interpreting the results and they should be interpreted with caution. Even though the, NHES 2012 oversampled for African-American and Hispanic

American population, it still seems like the Hispanic subgroup was still not represented in totality. Lareau (2003) focused on Caucasian American and African Americans, so the current study fails to take into account for all of the races that the NHES encompassed in their survey. More research is needed to see if concerted cultivation is utilized by other ethnicities and cultures and what affects it has on their academic achievement; to see if finding are supported across ethnicities

Affluent families seem to be over represented in the secondary data; income is quite high compared to the national median household income, which was $51,939 in 2012. Approximately 56 percent of the sample population, 9,682 families had a total income of $50,001 or higher. Parents in this sample most likely utilize concerted cultivation, as their income places them high in the middle class. Future research, should utilize a sample that is more representative of the whole population and not skewed towards a particular socioeconomic status; this representative sample will yield a better understanding of this issue.

Another limitation is the parent involvement variable, this data set included information about children in grade kindergarten through 12 grade. Parent involvement tends to decline as students progress in their academic careers; in other words, parents are far more involved in elementary school than they are in secondary school (Stouffer, 1992). This factor could have an effect on the parent involvement variable because a longitudinal design was not utilized; the responses to the question on the survey represent a one-year span. Out of the three independent variables, parent involvement had the second strongest significance, so it would be ill advised to say that this variable does not matter. Even though it is a large data set and purports to be nationally representative, we question whether or not it is.

I chose to use income as the variable to represent social class because it had a stronger correlation than parent education or employment status to capture the effects of the independent variable without making the analysis too complicated to interpret. This could skew the interpretation because it does not give you the full and complicated construct of socio-economic status or social class. Leaving room for future research pointed in the direction to have a full analysis of social class and SES in terms of concerted cultivation

Conclusion

The present study used a multivariate logistic regression approach in order to address questions regarding the parenting practice known as concerted cultivation, the impact and effect on academic achievement. The results yielded a few different outcomes that align with the community of research and knowledge that has already been established. First, within the realm of concerted cultivation, parents who are more involved in the child's academic career have higher expectations for that child. Second, a parent's social class does have an impact on their academic expectations for that child. Lastly, females are expected to do better academically and go further in their academic careers than their male counterparts.

The present study has continued to build upon the foundation of work that Lareau (2003) has established with her work surrounding concerted cultivation. However, there is still more research needed in order to see the total impact of concerted cultivation, especially focusing on students from second through seventh grades. Nonetheless, concerted cultivation does indeed play a role in explaining parental expectations for the child's future education.

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