

Title: It's Family Time! Parent-Child Interactions by Race and Hispanic Origin Before and After the COVID-19 Pandemic

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PAA 2023 Annual Conference, April 13, 2023

SEHSD Working Paper 2023-08/SIPP Working Paper 306

Abstract (150 words)

Parental involvement activities, such as sharing family dinners, going on outings, or reading to children, have numerous positive effects for both children and parents. Yet, families face significant socioeconomic constraints associated with time, human capital, finances, and living arrangements for engaging with children often. This research addresses the gap in the literature by studying the associations of specific U.S. parental involvement activities by socioeconomic characteristics, while also analyzing differences by race and Hispanic origin. This study also examines whether the COVID-19 pandemic changed the relationships between each characteristic and parental engagement. I use descriptive statistics and regression models to evaluate data from the 2018 and 2021 Survey of Income and Program Participation.

Keywords: Parenting; parental involvement; children; shared dinners; outings; reading; United States; socioeconomic characteristics; race and Hispanic origin; COVID-19

Introduction

Parental involvement activities, such as sharing family dinners, going on outings, or reading to children, have numerous positive effects for children such as improved school performance, lower engagement in risky behaviors, and reduced odds of being overweight, in addition to improved family functioning (Bertrand et al., 2008; Sen, 2006; Skeer and Ballard, 2013). While historically parents in the United States have been highly engaged with children, there are large differences across engagement measures (Dye and Johnson, 2006; Knop and Siebens, 2014). In 2018, only 65 percent of parents read frequently to young children, while 84 percent had frequent family dinners and 85 percent went on frequent outings with young children (Mayol-Garcia, 2022). While families may all desire to spend quality time with their children, some may face distinct advantages or challenges to doing so, depending on their socioeconomic situation. Factors can be associated with household structure (e.g., living with a spouse or partner), financial resources (e.g., poverty), or human capital (e.g., educational attainment), all of which may hinder or facilitate parents' ability to engage more often with their children. These factors may impact specific racial and ethnic groups more than others, but we know little about these variations.

Moreover, the COVID-19 pandemic shocked family routines with work and school closures. One blog points out that parents took young children on fewer outings in 2020 than in prior years, but also increased shared dinners and reading to young children (Mayol-Garcia, 2022). Although this story also

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This paper is released to inform interested parties of ongoing research and to encourage discussion of work in progress. The views expressed on statistical or methodological issues are those of the author and not those of the U.S. Census Bureau. All estimates in the paper are derived from public-use datasets.

highlighted differences in these outcomes by select socioeconomic measures, it did not include differences by race or Hispanic origin, despite minorities facing disproportionate rates of COVID-19-related sickness, mortality, and job loss (Do and Frank, 2021; Kochhar, 2020; Noe-Bustamante et al., 2021). Therefore, it is possible that the social and economic consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic changed which characteristics are associated with high levels of parental engagement with children, especially among race and ethnic groups.

Research Questions

To address the gaps mentioned above, this study addresses the following research questions:

- 1) How do specific parental involvement measures, like frequent dinners, frequent outings, and frequent reading to children, vary by socioeconomic characteristics in the United States?
- 2) Do the relationships between parental involvement and socioeconomic characteristics vary by race and Hispanic origin?
- 3) Has the COVID-19 pandemic changed the relationships between socioeconomic characteristics and parental involvement across racial and Hispanic origin groups in the United States?

A better understanding of the challenges parents face can inform ways to boost parental engagement routines while also paying attention to the specific needs and strengths of racial and ethnic groups, particularly in a world affected by the COVID-19 pandemic.

Literature Review

Parental Involvement

What is parental involvement? Parent-child interactions include a variety of activities, such as sharing meals, going on family outings, reading, telling stories or singing to children, and playing together. The characteristics of these interactions matter, such as frequency (e.g., number of dinners per week) and quality (e.g., are there distractions during interactions, like the TV being on during meals). Parent-child activities also change as children become older (Kranstuber Horstman et al., 2016). For example, reading to young children ages 0-5 is especially important because they are developing basic language skills, while many of the benefits of shared family dinners are found among adolescents.

Why does parental involvement matter? Parent-child interactions have many positive effects on children's social, educational, health, and cognitive outcomes, in addition to parental well-being. Parents help children develop social skills by modeling behaviors like communication and emotion regulation, which can also lead to improved family functioning (Berge et al., 2012; Bertrand et al., 2008; Skeer and Ballard, 2013). Cognitive functioning, such as decision-making, language, and attention, is developed through regular interactions with others (Bertrand et al., 2008; Kay Kenney, 2012). Child health outcomes such as lower rates of being overweight and improved motor skills, as well as health behaviors like exercising, and lower risk-taking have been associated with parental engagement (Fulkerson et al., 2014; Sen, 2012; Skeer and Ballard, 2013). Studies also find that parents who demonstrate interest in their children's lives are linked with children valuing education and reading, having higher educational aspirations, and better school performance (Hango, 2005; Skeer and Ballard, 2013). Although most of the research on parental engagement has focused on child outcomes, an emerging literature on parents also finds that interacting with children results in greater parental well-being (Musick et al., 2016). Although in 2022 many parents reported that parenting was harder than

how they imagined it, 87 percent said being a parent was very important to who they are as a person (Minkin and Horowitz, 2023).

How is parental involvement important? A vast literature highlights the critical developmental role that regular interactions with peers and caregivers have on young children under the age of 5 who are experiencing quick brain development (Bertrand et al., 2008; Kay Kenney, 2012). Parents and adults can serve as facilitators, initiators, and partners in children’s development and learning through various activities, including play time (Henry 2006; Willard et al. 2019). Parents can also serve as models for interacting with others and developing emotional awareness.

Three types of parent-child interactions: Dinners, outings, and reading

This section details some of the findings regarding the frequency of three types of parent-child interactions: dinners, outings, and reading. Mealtimes are moments when families practice communicating with each other and sharing food. For example, families may negotiate which foods are prepared or share how their day went, and in doing so strengthen parent-child relationships by developing feelings of connection and openness (Hammons et al., 2020; Skeer and Ballard, 2013; Villegas et al., 2022). Consequently, frequent family meals are associated with lower risky behaviors among youth such as disordered eating, alcohol and substance use, violent behaviors, and feelings of depression or thoughts of suicide (Harrison et al., 2015; Skeer and Ballard, 2013). Having frequent dinners together was also associated with children’s educational outcomes such as participation in extracurricular activities and improved school performance (Kaushal and Nepomnyaschy, 2009; Skeer and Ballard, 2013). Shared dinners foster oral literacy through tabletop conversations (Villegas et al., 2022). Some health benefits and behaviors youth experience when they have frequent family meals include lower odds of being overweight, eating more fruits and vegetables, and more physical activity (Berge et al., 2012; Fulkerson et al., 2014; Sen, 2012).

Outings are connected with social, linguistic, cognitive, educational, and health child outcomes. Taking children to a park, a museum, or a family gathering exposes children to different types of settings, which promotes interactions with others, socioemotional regulation, and mobility (Kay Kenney, 2012). For example, a child who is taken to a park will interact and share spaces with other children and parents, as well as explore the world and be physically active. Parents can influence how these interactions and exploration happen, such as through guided questions, which one study found led to children having discussions about exhibitions or spending more time playing with the exhibitions during a museum visit (Willard et al., 2019). Visiting parks is also associated with higher child resilience and lower stress and is sometimes prescribed by pediatricians (Razani et al., 2019). Additionally, one study found that fewer mother-child outings were associated with lower child educational outcomes (Hango, 2005).

Reading is a key activity that is well-documented as having long-lasting effects on children’s cognitive, linguistic and educational trajectories. Bertrand and colleagues (2008: 858) note that “reading books drives multiple sensory pathways that underpin children’s ability to relate, understand and explore their world” through the development of “literacy, numeracy and inquiry skills.” Reading is a language-enhancing activity that fosters literacy and oral conversations (Kay Kenney, 2012). Interventions involving parents reading to children show gains in 3-4-year-old language measures (Lonigan and Whitehurst, 1998).

Socioeconomic characteristics and parental involvement

The characteristics of parents, families, and households may facilitate or hinder engagement levels with children via affecting resources associated with time, money, and human capital. Living arrangements, such as parents living with partners or spouses, may help with time management by permitting the couple to take turns or split child-related tasks. One study found that working single parents reported 32.6 percent fewer and 62 percent shorter park visits than two-parent, single-worker families (Fan et al., 2012). Human capital and status also play an important role in the activities held with children. For example, higher levels of educational attainment have been strongly associated with reading to children (Lonigan and Whitehurst, 1998; Kay Kenney, 2012). Having citizenship is a source of social status and privilege associated with improved health and health care. For example, non-citizen Asians reported greater psychological distress than naturalized citizens and native-born citizens of the same race group (Gee et al., 2016).

Financial resources matter quite a bit for family dynamics because they determine whether a household can meet its basic needs. Poverty, a measure that considers income and household size, is well-documented as a factor associated with negative family and child outcomes including child emotional and behavioral problems, lower educational outcomes, worse health, and parental stress (Guo et al. 2000; Haskins and Sawhill, 2007; McLeod and Nonnemaker, 2000). Yet, some research finds that parental engagement can offset some of the negative effects living in poverty may have on children (Hango, 2005).

Material hardship comprises direct measures of whether households struggled to meet specific demands like paying rent or bills, affording enough food, and living in adequate housing. It has been associated with lower parental health, straining parent-child relationships, and experiencing more forms of hardship (Rodems and Schaefer, 2020). Although 18.4 percent of children lived in income-poor households between 1996 and 2011, 36.5 percent of children lived in households with at least one form of material hardship (Rodems and Schaefer, 2020). Schenck-Fontaine and Ryan (2022) show that specific types of material hardship are associated with increased child behavioral problems and lower math and reading scores among children. Limited financial resources may result in households not being able to afford enough food or to buy children's books, which may affect families' ability to have shared meals or read to children. Money may also be especially important for outings with children in order to cover food, transportation, and entertainment expenses.

Race, Hispanic origin, and parental involvement

Parental involvement may differ across racial and ethnic groups for different reasons. Structural and historical processes of racism have left minorities facing significant socioeconomic disadvantages. For example, Hispanic, Black, and American Indian and Alaska Native groups were overrepresented in the population in poverty in 2021, and poverty has been linked with negative family outcomes, as described above (Creamer et al., 2022). Half of Black and Hispanic children lived in households experiencing material hardship compared with over one-third (36.5 percent) of all children between 1998 and 2011 (Rodems and Schaefer, 2020). Cultural differences across groups may also shape parent-child interactions. An orientation towards familismo among Hispanics may lead them to place high value in face-to-face contact with relatives and family closeness, shaping family activities such as meals and outings (Cauce and Domenech Rodriguez, 2002).

Prior literature has found differences in parental engagement levels across racial and ethnic groups. Family outings and reading to young children were more common among White parents than Black or

Hispanic parents (Kay Kenney, 2012). However, Hispanics, especially those with a child family member, made up the largest proportion of park users (40 percent) compared to other racial and ethnic groups (Vaughan et al., 2018). This research suggests “parks may serve a significant communal purpose for Hispanics that they do not serve for other racial/ethnic groups” (Vaughan et al., 2018:10). Furthermore, dining as a family is more common among Hispanics than other groups (Kaushal and Nepomnyaschy, 2009; Mayol-Garcia, 2022b).

In summary, early learning and socialization opportunities that are parent-initiated, such as shared family dinners, reading to children, and outings, have a critical role in children’s social, emotional, cognitive, and physical development. These behaviors vary across socioeconomic characteristics, race, and ethnicity. While we know the COVID-19 pandemic affected families in myriad ways, we know little about specific effects on parent-child interactions.

Materials and Methods

Data

This study used public data from the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP), a nationally representative, longitudinal panel survey administered by the U.S. Census Bureau that collects information on a variety of socioeconomic characteristics of the civilian, non-institutionalized population of the United States living in households. Each SIPP panel follows individuals for up to four years. Starting in 2018, each SIPP data year has included respondents from multiple overlapping panels with up to four different waves.²

Two data years were analyzed in this study. First, the 2018 panel was used as a pre-COVID 19 benchmark. This year is preferable to subsequent pre-COVID era data years (2019 and 2020) given that 2018 was less affected by low nonresponse rates and nonresponse bias.³ Second, 2021 data was used for its relevance to current parental involvement trends in a COVID-19 world.

The populations of interest in this study are reference parents of children between the ages of 0-17 for the outcome of family dinners and reference parents of children between the ages of 0-5 for the outcomes of outings and reading. In the SIPP only one adult (15 years or older), usually the mother, is considered the reference parent and answers questions about her biological, step, and adopted children who live in the household, even if the other parent also lives in the household. In this study, “reference parent” and “parent” are used interchangeably.

Methods

² Statistics from surveys are subject to sampling and nonsampling error. For further information on the source of the data and accuracy of the estimates, including standard errors and confidence intervals, go to <<http://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/sipp/tech-documentation/source-accuracy-statements.html>>. For more information on nonresponse bias in the SIPP, go to <<https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/sipp/tech-documentation/nonresponse-reports.html>>.

For more information on the SIPP panel structure access the User’s Guides (Section 1.5 for data year 2021): <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/sipp/guidance/users-guide.html>

³ Access more information on SIPP 2019 nonresponse here: <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/sipp/tech-documentation/user-notes/2019-usernotes/2019-insuff-geo-cov-unit-nonresp.html>.

Access more information on SIPP 2020 nonresponse here: <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/sipp/tech-documentation/user-notes/2020-usernotes/COVID-coll-impact-unit-nonresp.html>.

To address my research questions, I first use descriptive statistics to analyze the associations between: a) parental involvement in 2018 and socioeconomic characteristics and b) parental involvement in 2018 and socioeconomic characteristics by race and ethnicity. Second, I ran logistic regressions on 2018 data to: a) study the associations between socioeconomic characteristics and parental involvement net of other factors and b) include race and ethnicity interaction terms. Predicted probabilities help clarify differences across groups. Third, I analyzed descriptive statistics of 2018 and 2021 parental involvement, in addition to running a separate set of logistic regressions using a combined 2018 and 2021 dataset to evaluate changes in parental involvement measures.⁴ All analyses were conducted using person-level sample weights for the month of December in addition to replicate weights to adjust standard errors.⁵ The statistical analyses were conducted using *proc surveylogistic* in SAS 9.4.

Variables

The SIPP collects information on child well-being, including three questions about parental involvement with children. Reference parents were asked to identify the number of times in a typical week a) they had dinner with their children ages 0-17, b) they took young children ages 0-5 on outings such as to the park, library, zoo, a store, church, a restaurant, or a family gathering, and c) they or another family member read to young children ages 0-5. Although prior research has used the full count distribution from zero to seven times per week (Kay Kenney, 2012; Kaushal and Nepomnyaschy, 2009), I recoded these three variables into ‘frequent’ or ‘non-frequent’ dummy variables following prior Census Bureau reports (Knop and Siebens, 2018; Laughlin, 2014). Five or more weekly dinners or reading were respectively considered frequent dinners and frequent reading, while two or more weekly outings were considered frequent outings. This paper uses “parental engagement,” “parental involvement,” and “parent-child interactions” interchangeably to refer to these activities.

Race and Hispanic origin were coded as dummy variables identifying reference parents as non-Hispanic White alone, non-Hispanic Black alone, non-Hispanic Asian alone, non-Hispanic Other race, and Hispanic. Other race includes all other races and two or more races. For simplicity, throughout this paper I use “White” interchangeably with “non-Hispanic White alone,” “Black” with “non-Hispanic Black alone,” etc.

Parental age (in the descriptive statistics classified as less than 25 years old, 25-54 years old, and 55 or older and in the models included as a continuous numeric variable) was also included.

Two household structure variables were included. Reference parents were classified as being partnered (i.e., having a coresident spouse or a cohabiting partner), or being solo. I also identified parents by whether they lived with additional adult relatives who were not a spouse or partner at month 12.⁶

⁴ Although some cases in 2021 are Wave 4 cases from 2018, I treat the data as cross-sectional in order to evaluate the trends before and after the COVID-19 pandemic for all parents. All cases in data year 2018 cases are Wave 1, while 2021 includes Waves 1, 2, and 4 cases.

⁵ December is the recommended reference month for SIPP as the calendar year weight for interviewed respondents. For more information, access the SIPP User’s guide, section 7.3.4: https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/sipp/tech-documentation/methodology/2021_SIPP_Users_Guide_AUG22.pdf.

⁶ Additional adults were considered relevant especially for reading due to the survey question specifically asking about parents or **other household members** reading to young children. Furthermore, household members may contribute to household expenses and other household or family-related responsibilities.

Several person-level socioeconomic measures were considered in this study. Educational attainment has two categories: bachelor's degree or more versus less than a bachelor's degree. Parents were identified as having U.S. citizenship or not. Number of hours worked (by the reference parent) at month 12 was classified into three categories: full-time (35 or more hours), part-time (1-34 hours worked), and no hours worked or not in the labor force.

Two household-level socioeconomic variables were also evaluated. I measured material hardship as parents who lived in households experiencing any food, housing, or bill-paying hardship in calendar year 2020. Neighborhood hardship identifies parents who lived in a neighborhood someone in the household reported as somewhat or very unsafe.

I also explored additional characteristics, including foreign-born status, English proficiency, parent teleworking any day, receipt of SNAP, at least one vehicle owned by a household member, and household poverty status. In some instances, differences in descriptive statistics were significant, but due to high or moderate correlations between characteristics and low fit statistics of regression models, these additional measures were excluded from the final version of this paper. Unless otherwise noted, all of the variables are measured at the time of interview.

Results⁷

RQ1 and RQ2: Parental Involvement, Socioeconomic Characteristics, and Race and Ethnicity

Descriptive Statistics: 2018

Table 1 shows the 2018 weighted percentage distributions of reference parents of children ages 0-17 and reference parents of children ages 0-5. This table also includes the percentage rate of parents having frequent dinners, frequent outings, and frequent reading with children by demographic and socioeconomic characteristics.

Distributions: 2018

In 2018, reference parents of children ages 0-17 in the SIPP represented 15.6% of adults in the population (40.9 million), and reference parents of children ages 0-5 represented 6.6 percent of adults (17.4 million). Parents of young children were younger (mean age of 33.2) than all parents (mean age of 39.2). The racial and ethnic composition was similar for both groups. Non-Hispanic White alone parents made up more than half of all reference parents (54.8 percent of parents of children ages 0-17 and 52.5 percent of parents of children ages 0-5). About 14 percent of parents were non-Hispanic Black alone, 7 percent were non-Hispanic Asian, 3 percent were another race, and about 22 percent were Hispanic.

About three-quarters (75.7 percent) of parents of young children were coupled -- that is, they lived with a spouse or unmarried partner -- compared with 71 percent of all parents. About a third (32 percent) of all parents lived with an extra adult; this was lower for parents of young kids (24.3 percent). Over a third (37 percent) of parents had a bachelor's degree or more. Between 87-88 percent of parents were U.S. citizens. Over half of all parents worked full-time (52 percent), 18 percent worked part-time, and 30 percent were not working. Among parents of young children, a higher percentage was not working (37.2

⁷ This paper focuses on the most notable findings for space reasons, although there were additional results.

percent). A third (33 percent) of parents lived in households that experienced some form of material hardship, while only 8 percent experienced household neighborhood hardship.

Frequent Parental Involvement Rates: 2018

Parents were highly engaged with children in 2018. About 83.8 percent of parents had five or more dinners in a week with their children, which was not statistically different from the 85.1 percent of parents who had frequent outings with young children. However, both measures were higher than the percentage of parents reading frequently to young children (65.4 percent).

There are significant differences between race and Hispanic origin in the frequency of dinners and reading. Non-Hispanic Asian alone and Hispanic parents had high percentages of frequent dinners, at 89.3 percent and 87.2 percent, respectively.⁸ Regarding frequent reading to young children, high proportions of non-Hispanic White (73 percent) and non-Hispanic Asian (71 percent) parents did so, although these two groups were not statistically different from each other. About 58 percent of Black parents read frequently to their children. In contrast, only 51 percent of Hispanic parents read frequently to children.

Stark differences were found in parental engagement levels by socioeconomic characteristics. Citizenship is linked to parental involvement in different ways by type of outcome. In 2018, 90 percent of non-citizen parents had frequent dinners with children, compared with 83 percent of citizen parents. In contrast, citizen parents practiced higher involvement as measured by frequent outings and frequent reading than non-citizens. About 86 percent of citizen parents took young children on frequent outings compared with 80 percent of non-citizen parents, and 67 percent of citizen parents read frequently to children compared with 54 percent of non-citizen parents. Educational attainment and hardships may play a significant role for non-citizens; therefore, the regression results shed additional light on these findings. Partnered parents had frequent dinners with children in higher proportions than solo parents (85.9 percent vs. 78.4 percent respectively). They also read more frequently to children compared with solo parents (69.1 percent vs. 53.6 percent respectively). Having at least a bachelor's degree seems to be positively linked with parents going out with young children and reading to children frequently. As expected regarding parental work, those working full time were less likely to share frequent dinners with children compared with parents working part time (80 percent vs. 84 percent respectively) or who did not work any hours (91 percent). Living in a household that experienced some form of material hardship is linked with fewer frequent shared dinners, fewer outings, and less-frequent reading to children. Neighborhood hardship was linked with lower parental involvement as measured by frequent outings and frequent reading to children. For example, 80 percent of parents who experienced neighborhood hardship took children on frequent outings compared with 86 percent of those who did not experience neighborhood hardship.

Frequent Parental Involvement Rates by Race and Hispanic Origin: 2018

Rates of frequent parental involvement by race and Hispanic origin are shown in Tables 2-4 for dinners, outings, and reading. Considering rates of parental involvement across race and Hispanic origin provides additional insight into the role each characteristic has on involvement. Percentage distributions of

⁸ The frequency of dinners was not statistically different between these two groups.

parents of children ages 0-17 by race and ethnicity across socioeconomic characteristics are available in Appendix A, while these distributions for parents of children ages 0-5 are available in Appendix B.

Rates for Dinners by Race and Hispanic Origin

Material hardship was linked with frequent dinners in different ways by race and Hispanic origin (refer to Table 2 and Figure 1). Although White and Hispanic parents experiencing material hardship had lower proportions of frequent dinners, the opposite was true for Black parents. Eighty-five percent of Black parents experiencing material hardship had frequent dinners with their children, compared with 80 percent of Black parents who did not live in households with material hardships. In other words, Black parents succeeded in achieving frequent dinners and perhaps are doing so purposefully despite the challenges material hardships posed to their families. Forty-five percent of Black parents of children ages 0-17 lived in households where material hardship was reported.

Among Asian families, neighborhood hardship was associated with more frequent dinners, while this was not statistically significant for any other race and ethnic groups. About 96 percent of Asian parents who experienced neighborhood hardship had frequent dinners with their children, compared with 89 percent of Asian parents who did not experience neighborhood hardship. Asian parents might be opting to have family dinners in their homes precisely because of perceived threats in the neighborhood. Four percent of Asian parents of children ages 0-17 lived in households with some form of neighborhood hardship.

Not having U.S. citizenship is associated with frequent dinners across race and Hispanic origin groups, especially for Non-Hispanic Black and non-Hispanic Asian parents.⁹ About 90 percent of non-citizen Black parents shared frequent dinners with their children compared with 81 percent of citizen Black parents, a gap of about 10 percentage points.

Partnership has a positive connection to frequent dinners for all groups except Black parents. Among non-Hispanic White parents, the difference in frequent dinners between coupled (85 percent) and solo (75 percent) parents was quite large (9.3 percentage points). Although for most parents, educational attainment was not associated with more frequent dinners, among Black parents a higher proportion of those with lower educational attainment had frequent dinners with their children (83.4 percent) compared to Black parents with at least a bachelor's degree. Non-Hispanic White parents who lived with no extra adults also had more frequent dinners with children than those with extra adults (84 percent vs. 77 percent). The difference by work status was quite large among White parents: 79 percent of full-time working White parents shared frequent meals, while 82 percent of part-time working parents and 90 percent of parents with no hours worked did so.

Rates for Outings by Race and Hispanic Origin

Once again, material hardship was linked with frequent outings in different ways by race and Hispanic origin (refer to Table 3 and Figure 2). Experiencing material hardship was linked with a lower proportion of White and Hispanic parents taking their young children on frequent outings, compared to their counterparts who did not experience material hardship (80 percent vs. 90 percent among White parents and 80 percent vs. 85 percent among Hispanic parents). In contrast, Asian parents who experienced

⁹ Although the trend is also there for White and Hispanic parents, these are not statistically significant.

material hardship were more likely to take young children on frequent outings (93 percent) than Asian parents who did not experience material hardship (80 percent).

Neighborhood hardship was associated with a lower frequency of outings with young children for non-Hispanic White and Hispanic parents, compared respectively to their counterparts who did not experience neighborhood hardships (81 percent vs. 87 percent among White parents and 76 percent vs. 84 percent among Hispanic parents). The only group for which educational attainment was linked with frequent outings were non-Hispanic White parents. Among White parents with a bachelor's degree or more, 89 percent took their young children on frequent outings, compared with 85 percent of White parents with a lower education level.

Rates for Reading by Race and Hispanic Origin

Reading frequently to young children varied quite a bit across racial and ethnic groups (refer to Table 4). Among Black parents, work status is linked to higher reading to children when they are employed full-time (66 percent) compared to part-time (52 percent) and non-working (51 percent) Black parents (Figure 3). This association was not found for any other race and ethnic groups. On one hand, working full-time may limit parents' time to be highly engaged with children, but on the other hand, full-time working parents might also have additional resources (e.g., more money for books, flexible work schedule, or job stability) for being highly engaged with children. Running the full model with interaction terms allows me to disentangle this finding further and is discussed in the next section.

A lack of material hardship was linked with higher proportions of White and Hispanic parents reading frequently to children when compared to their counterparts in households with material hardship. Citizenship and reading were important for Hispanic parental involvement; 54 percent of Hispanic U.S. citizen parents read to young children frequently, compared with 44 percent of non-citizen Hispanic parents. Partnership, through the presence of a spouse or unmarried partner, was important in similar ways for White, Black, and Hispanic parents with regards to frequent reading. For example, among coupled Black parents, 65 percent read frequently to their children compared with 51 percent of solo Black parents. However, among all coupled parents, Hispanic parents read frequently to children the least (55 percent). Frequent reading was done more often by White parents in households in which there were no extra adults in the households (75 percent) than in households with extra adults (63 percent).

Educational attainment also described a similar pattern with regards to frequent reading by race and ethnic groups. Having a bachelor's degree or more was associated with a higher proportion of White, Black, and Hispanic parents reading to children when compared respectively to their less educated counterparts. For example, 71 percent of Black parents with an undergraduate degree or more read frequently to their children, compared with 54 percent of Black parents with less education.

The lack of statistical significance between parental involvement and some of the characteristics described in the sections above may be linked to small sample sizes for some groups or to no difference across groups of parents. Including interaction terms of each socioeconomic characteristic by race and ethnicity will demonstrate whether the role these variables play in parental involvement is different across parent groups.

Logistic Regression Models: 2018

Regression models provide further insights into whether and how socioeconomic characteristics were associated with frequent parental involvement. The logistic regression results for each parental involvement outcome are shown in Table 5. The models predict each outcome: frequent dinners (1), frequent outings (2), and frequent reading (3) by including several socioeconomic characteristics of reference parents and their households. Coefficients (in logged odds), standard errors, and odds ratios (OR) are shown. The results follow similar trends to the rates of frequent parental involvement, as discussed above.

Dinners: 2018

Parents with a Hispanic origin or Asian race were associated with having a significantly increased OR of frequent shared meals with children (Model 1). Hispanic parents were 1.4 times as likely to share frequent dinners with their children as non-Hispanic White parents after controlling for various socioeconomic characteristics, and Asian parents were 1.5 times as likely to do so. These trends align with the rates of frequent meals for both groups and an orientation towards family, as mentioned above.

An older parental age was associated with a negative effect on the likelihood of frequent shared meals. A one-year increase in parental age was associated with a 3 percent decrease in the odds of sharing frequent meals with their children ages 0-17 in 2018. As expected, the effect of being a solo parent, living without a spouse or unmarried partner, was negatively associated (OR=0.7) with frequent dinners, compared to partnered parents. This pattern was also observed for parents living in households with an extra adult who was not the parent, spouse, or partner (OR=0.8). Those other adults may be filling in at mealtimes for parents when they are unavailable. Work status had the largest effect on the likelihood of frequent dinners with children. Parents who did not work any hours were 2.4 times as likely to share frequent meals with their children compared with parents who worked full-time, while parents who worked part-time were 1.3 times as likely to do so. As expected, living in a household that experienced some form of material hardship was associated with a 23 percent decrease in the odds of sharing frequent meals with children than the odds of frequent meals among parents who lived in households that did not experience any material hardship.

Outings: 2018

Most characteristics studied in Model 2 for frequent outings were not significantly associated with this outcome, except for material hardship. This aligns with prior research that has found fewer variables linked with this outcome (Kay Kenney, 2012). The concept of “outings” is quite open and ambiguous; therefore, many factors could be shaping parent-child behaviors as well as reporting for this question. However, as expected, material hardship had a strong negative effect on the likelihood of frequent outings with young children. Parents in households with some form of material hardship had a 34 percent decrease in the odds of taking young children on outings than their counterparts. This is perhaps not surprising, since many types of outings require disposable income to cover expenses related to transportation, food, or entertainment.

Reading: 2018

Several parental and household characteristics were associated in some way with the odds of frequently reading to young children (Model 3). Racial and Hispanic origin differences are notable. All groups

except non-Hispanic Asian parents had lower odds of frequently reading to young children when compared to non-Hispanic White parents. Citizen parents were 1.5 times as likely to read frequently to their children as non-citizen parents. Solo parents had an OR=0.7 of frequently reading to their young children compared with parents living with a spouse or partner. Unsurprisingly, parental educational attainment was strongly associated with frequent reading. Parents with a bachelor's degree or more were twice as likely to read frequently to their young children than parents with lower educational attainment. Finally, material hardship was negatively associated with reading to children (OR=0.8).

To summarize the main regression model results, several social and economic characteristics of parents and their households were associated with frequent parental involvement in different ways. In particular, household material hardship was associated with lower parental involvement across the three outcomes evaluated. Being coupled was important for both dinner and reading outcomes. Parental involvement, as measured by frequent dinners and reading, differed by race and Hispanic origin and is further studied next.

Logistic Regression Models with Interaction Terms and Predicted Probabilities: 2018

Interaction terms for each of the social and economic characteristics by race and Hispanic origin were tested in additional models not shown. The final models including interaction terms only for significant characteristics are shown in Appendix C; they include coefficients (in logged odds) and standard errors. This section shows the predicted probabilities for notable results per outcome.¹⁰

For frequent dinners, interactions by race and ethnicity and material hardship were significant for Black parents. Figure 4 shows the predicted probabilities of sharing frequent dinners by household material hardship across the race and Hispanic origin of reference parents. After controlling for various socioeconomic characteristics and including interaction terms, Black parents who experienced material hardship had a predicted probability of 85 percent for frequently dining with their own children, which was higher than for Black parents who did not experience material hardship (81 percent). For all other groups, except Other race, parents who experienced material hardship had lower probabilities of frequently dining with their children compared to their counterparts who did not experience material hardship.

The predicted probabilities in Figure 5 suggest that material hardship is associated with frequent outings in different ways for Asian parents than for other race and ethnic groups. Although for all other groups material hardship was associated with lower probabilities of frequent outings, among Asian parents the opposite relationship emerges. The probability of taking young children on frequent outings was 93 percent among Asian parents who experienced material hardship, compared with a probability of 80 percent among Asian parents who did not experience material hardship.

The predicted probabilities in Figure 6 suggest that parental work status is associated with frequent reading to young children in different ways for Black parents than for other race and ethnic groups. After controlling for socioeconomic characteristics like educational attainment, Black parents who work full time had a predicted probability of 69 percent of reading frequently to their young children, which is higher than for Black parents who are working part-time (56 percent) or not working (49 percent).

¹⁰ Results in this section did not undergo additional statistical testing because SAS does not calculate error measures for predicted probabilities when applying *proc surveylogistic*.

Assumptions about work status and time availability for being engaged with children are torn down by these results. Black parents who do not work may seem to have more time available to read to children, but after controlling for many characteristics, they actually do so less frequently than Black parents who work full-time. In other words, full-time working Black parents overcome challenges due to work; they leverage their resources in different ways than full-time working parents of other racial and ethnic groups to make sure they spend time reading frequently to children.

The descriptive statistics, the logistic regression model results, and the predicted probabilities of the models including interaction terms all support the following main findings regarding parental involvement in 2018. First, there were differences in parental involvement across socioeconomic characteristics. For example, having a spouse or partner was associated with more frequent dinners and frequent reading with children. Second, there were differences in levels of parental involvement across racial and ethnic groups. For example, Hispanic and Asian parents were 1.4 and 1.5 times as likely than White parents to have frequent dinners with their children after controlling for socioeconomic characteristics. Third, social and economic characteristics were associated with parental involvement in different ways across racial and ethnic groups. For example, experiencing material hardship was associated with a higher predicted probability of taking children on frequent outings among Asian parents compared with all other groups.

RQ3: The Impact of COVID-19 on Parental Involvement

Descriptive Statistics: 2021

But what about 2021 and the COVID-19 pandemic? Table 6 shows parental involvement rates in 2018 and 2021 by race and Hispanic origin. Due to space limitations, the full descriptive statistics for 2021 are shown in Appendix D. This section focuses on select differences across years. With regards to parental involvement, it seems like the COVID-19 pandemic has had a similar effect across racial and ethnic groups of parents. A higher proportion of parents in 2021 held frequent family dinners when compared to their 2018 counterparts. For example, 86 percent of White parents had frequent dinners in 2021, compared with 82 percent in 2018.

The COVID-19 pandemic had a chilling effect on frequent outings with young children. Across all racial and ethnic groups (except for Other race), parents took young children on fewer outings in 2021 than in 2018. During the pandemic families held back from visiting each other, while many places where people used to gather like churches, malls, and parks were closed. Furthermore, many families experienced lost jobs, reductions in work hours, and loss of health, which also may have affected the frequency of outings.

In 2021, the overall trend was for higher proportions of parents reading frequently to young children when compared to 2018. For example, 68 percent of all parents read frequently to their children in 2021, compared with 65 percent in 2018.

Logistic Regression Models: 2018 and 2021

Table 7 shows the logistic regression results of the combined 2018 and 2021 data for each parental involvement outcome. The first model in each outcome (Models 1, 3, and 5) includes a year variable that identifies cases in 2021. About two-fifths of the combined datasets were 2021 cases (43 percent among parents of children ages 0-17 and 41 percent among parents of children ages 0-5). The results for this

variable indicate whether there was a change in parental involvement between years and in which direction.

The second model for each outcome (Models 2, 4, and 6) also includes a dummy variable identifying cases that appear in both 2018 and 2021 SIPP data. Due to the SIPP's overlapping panel design, about one-fifth of parents in the combined datasets were in both years (21 percent among parents of children ages 0-17 and 19 percent among parents of children ages 0-5). If the dummy variable coefficient for cases in both years were statistically significant, this would suggest: 1) those cases show different patterns across time than parents who are in the data only once, and 2) additional adjustments would be required to control for collinearity between their involvement responses. Fortunately, this variable is not significant in any of the models, so we cannot reject the null hypothesis that cases in both years do not differ with regards to parental involvement from those in the data only one year. In other words, using the combined dataset is fine for studying parental involvement.

The main results by socioeconomic characteristics are fairly similar to the model results shown in Table 5. Most importantly, the results for Models 1 and 3 support the 2018 and 2021 differences in frequent dinners and outings outlined above. In Model 1, the odds ratio of frequent dinners was 1.3 for parents in 2021. In other words, in 2021 parents were 1.3 times as likely to have frequent dinners with their children than their 2018 counterparts, after controlling for various characteristics. In 2021, parents had an odds ratio of frequent outings of 0.5 compared to parents in 2018; that is, parents had odds of taking young children on frequent outings that were 50 percent lower than the odds for parents in 2018. The odds ratios of reading were not statistically different across years after controlling for socioeconomic characteristics.

Citizenship gained some statistical significance across all outcomes, supporting the descriptive findings that noncitizens are more likely to have frequent dinners with, but fewer outings with and reading less frequently to, children than U.S. citizens. Additional models (not shown) were run with interaction terms of year by race and ethnicity, but none was statistically significant. In other words, the changes to parental involvement between 2018 and 2021 were estimated to occur in a similar way across all groups of parents.

Discussion

The narrative shifts when race and ethnicity become the focus of analysis. This paper studies parental involvement with a spotlight on race and ethnicity by first looking at descriptive statistics and parental involvement rates, then developing models and including interaction terms to allow relationships between characteristics to vary across racial and ethnic groups. Four main findings emerge from this research.

First, socioeconomic characteristics matter for parental involvement. Some characteristics were strongly linked with parental involvement, while factors associated with outings were less clear. Household material hardship was the only socioeconomic characteristic strongly associated with all three outcomes and shows a negative association to parental involvement. Specifically, parents who experienced material hardship were 23 percent less likely to have frequent dinners with their children, 34 percent less likely to take young children on frequent outings, and 23 percent less likely to read frequently to their young children. These results align with prior research which finds that material hardship limits household resources in many ways affecting family dynamics (Rodems and Schaefer, 2020; Schenck-

Fontaine and Ryan, 2022). Lower parental engagement levels among households experiencing material hardship are concerning, given that over one-third of children experience material hardship (Rodems and Schaefer, 2020).

Results for citizenship status regarding outings and reading align with prior literature noting the unequal status non-citizens possess when compared to U.S. citizens (Gee et al., 2016). Descriptive statistics and model results from the combined 2018 and 2021 data show that non-citizen parents are more likely to have frequent dinners, but less likely to go on frequent outings or read to children, when compared to U.S. citizen parents. In prior research, foreign-born parents have consistently shared more frequent dinners with children than native-born parents (Mayol-García, 2022b).

Other socioeconomic characteristics were also important and associated with parental engagement in the expected directions. For example, coupled parents were more likely to have frequent dinners or read to children, not working was highly associated with frequent dinners, while having a bachelor's degree or higher was highly associated with reading frequently to young children. Prior research has noted how navigating work schedules can be a challenge for scheduling shared family meals (Villegas et al., 2022).

Second, parental involvement levels vary significantly by race and ethnicity, specifically with regards to dinners and reading. Non-Hispanic Asian and Hispanic parents are the most likely to have frequent dinners with their children. An orientation towards family has been researched extensively under the term *familismo* among the Hispanic population and may be shaping their outcomes with regards to dinners (Cauce and Domenech Rodríguez, 2002; Morelen and Thomassin, 2013). Asians also place a high value on the family (Morelen and Thomassin, 2013; Pew, 2013; Rothbaum et al., 2000). Furthermore, immigrants, who have been found to frequently dine with children in prior research, make up a significant part of these groups (Budiman and Ruiz, 2021; Mayol-Garcia, 2022b). In this study, 40 percent of Asian parents of children ages 0-17 and 33 percent of Hispanic parents were non-citizens.

High proportions of non-Hispanic White (73 percent) and non-Hispanic Asian (71 percent) parents read to children frequently, followed by Black (58 percent) and Hispanic parents (51 percent). Although the Hispanic population is experiencing increases in educational attainment levels (McElrath and Martin, 2021), Hispanics still have lower education levels than other racial and ethnic groups, which may be shaping their rates of frequent reading. About 82 percent of Hispanic parents of children ages 0-5 in this study had less than a Bachelor's degree. This is due to a combination of historical processes in which Hispanics have experienced layers of disadvantage including low access to quality education, but also immigration of people with low education levels from Latin American countries where education levels are lower than in the United States (Lee and Zhou, 2015; Saenz and Morales, 2015). Furthermore, language and ethnic discrimination (Gonzalez, 2011) may disincentivize parents from teaching children their native language, which may result in less frequent reading to children, particularly when coupled with low parental English proficiency. Differences in reading across race and ethnicity align with prior research (Kay Kenney, 2012).

Third, the relationship between socioeconomic characteristics and parental involvement differed by race and ethnicity. Most importantly, this study uncovers an incredible story of parental strengths and resilience, in the shape of frequent parent-child interactions, among groups facing significant socioeconomic disadvantages. For example, Hispanic parents, 37 percent of whom experienced material hardship and 82 percent of whom had less than a bachelor's degree, dine more frequently with their

children than other groups. Material hardship, a measure of challenges faced by households to meet their basic needs, was not a deterrent for Black families, who also dined more frequently with their children, nor Asian families, who took young children on more frequent outings. Full-time work status was overcome as a challenge for Black parents who read to their children more often than other Black parents. These parents might be acutely aware of the challenges their families face and are intentionally increasing their interactions with children, perhaps to strengthen their bond with children and lower the negative effect of these challenges. For example, prior research has found that parental involvement can diminish the impact of poverty on child outcomes (Hango, 2005).

Fourth, the COVID-19 pandemic changed the levels of parental involvement in 2021 as compared to 2018. Specifically, parents experienced an increase in sharing frequent dinners with their children and a decrease in frequent outings with young children. These changes applied in similar ways across race and Hispanic origin. The findings about increased shared dinners support prior studies (Mayol-Garcia, 2022a). School and work lockdowns resulted in many families spending more time together at home. Many families also experienced significant shocks due to household members' health via illness and death, and shocks to income through work lockdowns, loss of jobs, and loss of wages (Do and Frank, 2021; Kochhar, 2020; Noe-Bustamante et al., 2021). Between 2020 and 2021, families used unemployment, stimulus, and Child Tax Credit payments to pay for basic needs like food, rent, and debt, which leaves little discretionary income for outings (Mohanty, 2021; Perez-Lopez and Bee, 2020; Perez-Lopez and Mayol-Garcia, 2021).

Limitations

This paper only focused on three types of parent-child engagement behaviors, which are the only ones available in the SIPP, but future research could study other measures like peer play or being sung to/told stories that also vary by socioeconomic characteristics and race/ethnicity (Kay Kenney, 2012). Given the important role that material hardship had for all of the parental engagement measures studied, future research could focus on separating food insecurity from bill-paying and housing hardship, and evaluating neighborhood hardship more closely (Schenck et al., 2022). Future research could also benefit from refinement of living arrangements measures to clarify whether households are multigenerational, include additional relatives, or are doubling up (Harvey et al., 2021). Unobserved differences between households may shape some of the results; however, the variables included and consistent pattern of findings across descriptive and regression analyses offer some assurance that the results shown are not spurious.

Conclusions

The results of this paper are important because they highlight how a focus on race and ethnicity can tell a different story about family outcomes. Despite prior research linking specific characteristics, like material hardships, to negative outcomes like lower parental involvement, this study found some disadvantaged groups can leverage their resources, overcome challenges, and engage in healthy family routines in higher proportions than other parents. These are in fact family strengths that are overlooked when analyses focus only on total populations. The COVID-19 pandemic has disproportionately affected racial and ethnic minorities, reinforcing the need for incorporating a racial and ethnic lens to future research.

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Table 1. Descriptive Statistics and Parental Involvement by Characteristics, SIPP 2018

Characteristics	Parents of children Ages 0-17				Parents of children ages 0-5					
	Distribution		5+ dinners per week		Distribution		2+ outings per week		5+ reading per week	
	Percent	MOE	Percent	MOE	Percent	MOE	Percent	MOE	Percent	MOE
Number of adults (15+ yrs., in thousands)	261,642	x	x	x	261,642	x	x	x	x	x
Number of reference parents (in thousands)	40,863	547	x	x	17,389	399	x	x	x	x
Percent reference parents of adults	15.6	0.2	x	x	6.6	0.2	x	x	x	x
Number of reference parents (unweighted)	7,932	x	7,932	x	3,339	x	3,339	x	3,339	x
All reference parents	100.0	x	83.8	0.8	100.0	x	85.1	1.1	65.4	1.4
Age (mean in single years)	39.2	0.2	x	x	33.2	0.2	x	x	x	x
Non-Hispanic White alone	54.8	0.8	82.4	1.0	52.5	1.4	86.8	1.4	73.3	1.7
Non-Hispanic Black alone	13.8	0.6	81.9	2.2	14.3	1.0	83.6	3.3	58.0	4.2
Non-Hispanic Asian alone	6.6	0.3	89.3	2.3	6.7	0.7	82.8	5.0	71.4	5.4
Non-Hispanic Other race	2.8	0.3	80.2	4.5	3.3	0.5	83.1	6.3	59.5	7.7
Hispanic (any race)	22.0	0.6	87.2	1.3	23.1	1.1	83.0	2.2	51.0	2.7
Citizen	88.2	0.6	82.9	0.9	86.8	0.9	85.9	1.1	67.1	1.4
Non-citizen	11.8	0.6	89.9	1.7	13.2	0.9	79.8	3.3	54.0	4.4
Partnered	71.4	0.8	85.9	0.9	75.7	1.1	85.0	1.3	69.1	1.7
Solo	28.6	0.8	78.4	1.5	24.3	1.1	85.2	2.1	53.6	3.1
Extra adults	31.5	0.9	80.5	1.3	24.3	1.3	82.9	2.3	59.3	3.1
No extra adults	68.5	0.9	85.3	0.9	75.7	1.3	85.8	1.3	67.3	1.6
Bachelor's degree or more	36.6	0.9	83.3	1.3	36.8	1.4	87.0	1.9	78.3	2.2
Less than a bachelor's degree	63.4	0.9	84.0	0.9	63.2	1.4	84.0	1.4	57.8	1.8
Worked full-time	52.2	1.0	79.8	1.1	44.9	1.4	85.4	1.6	66.5	2.2
Worked part-time (1-35 hrs.)	17.5	0.7	83.8	1.8	17.9	1.1	86.8	2.5	64.8	3.3
Did not work	30.3	0.9	90.6	1.1	37.2	1.5	83.9	1.7	64.3	2.4
Material hardship (food, bill-paying, or housing)	33.0	0.9	81.9	1.4	34.7	1.5	81.1	1.9	57.9	2.5
No material hardship	67.0	0.9	84.7	0.9	65.3	1.5	87.2	1.3	69.3	1.8
Neighborhood hardship	8.0	0.5	82.7	2.6	8.9	0.8	80.2	4.0	57.9	4.8
No neighborhood hardship	92.0	0.5	83.9	0.8	91.1	0.8	85.5	1.2	66.1	1.5

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Survey of Income and Program Participation 2018 (weighted public-use data).

Notes: x not applicable. MOE: margin of error.

Table 2. Percentage of Parents Sharing 5+ Dinners per Week with Children Ages 0-17 by Race and Hispanic Origin and Socioeconomic Characteristics, SIPP 2018

Characteristic	Non-Hispanic White alone		Non-Hispanic Black alone		Non-Hispanic Asian alone		Hispanic	
	Percent	MOE	Percent	MOE	Percent	MOE	Percent	MOE
Number of reference parents (in thousands)	22,382	x	5,654	x	2,694	x	8,976	x
Unweighted count	1,733	x	419	x	210	x	858	x
All reference parents	82.4	1.0	81.9	2.2	89.3	2.3	87.2	1.3
Citizen	82.3	1.0	81.2	2.4	85.7	3.3	86.5	1.7
Non-citizen	87.4	7.0	91.1	6.1	94.8	2.5	88.6	2.4
Partnered	84.5	1.1	81.6	3.4	90.4	2.2	90.0	1.5
Solo	75.2	2.4	82.1	2.9	77.5	11.3	81.0	2.7
Extra adults	76.8	1.9	78.1	3.7	89.5	3.7	85.8	2.2
No extra adults	84.4	1.2	83.9	2.7	89.2	3.1	88.2	1.7
Bachelor's degree or more	82.2	1.6	77.1	4.7	90.6	2.9	87.6	2.9
Less than a bachelor's degree	82.5	1.3	83.4	2.6	87.1	4.0	87.1	1.6
Worked full-time	78.7	1.4	78.6	2.7	87.3	3.5	82.1	2.3
Worked part-time	82.3	2.4	82.9	5.1	83.4	7.7	87.7	3.3
Did not work	89.7	1.6	87.6	3.5	94.6	2.7	93.6	1.6
Material hardship	79.3	2.0	84.6	3.1	85.8	6.2	84.3	2.3
No material hardship	83.7	1.1	79.6	3.0	90.2	2.4	88.8	1.8
Neighborhood hardship	82.1	3.9	77.2	6.5	96.2	5.8	83.9	4.0
No neighborhood hardship	82.4	1.1	82.6	2.3	89.0	2.4	87.6	1.4

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Survey of Income and Program Participation 2018 (weighted public-use data).

Notes: x not applicable. MOE: margin of error. Other race was excluded due to insufficient sample size.

Table 3. Percentage of Parents Taking Children Ages 0-5 on 2+ Outings per Week by Race and Hispanic Origin and Socioeconomic Characteristics, SIPP 2018

Characteristic	Non-Hispanic White alone		Non-Hispanic Black alone		Non-Hispanic Asian alone		Hispanic	
	Percent	MOE	Percent	MOE	Percent	MOE	Percent	MOE
Number of reference parents (in thousands)	9,135	x	2,487	x	1,172	x	4,018	x
Unweighted count	1,733	x	419	x	210	x	858	x
All reference parents	86.8	1.4	83.6	3.3	82.8	5.0	83.0	2.2
Citizen	86.7	1.4	84.7	3.2	87.2	6.1	84.2	2.8
Non-citizen	90.4	7.0	73.4	13.0	77.9	7.6	80.3	4.0
Partnered	87.2	1.6	81.4	5.5	82.6	5.2	81.7	2.7
Solo	84.8	3.2	85.6	4.0	85.9	15.7	86.3	4.0
Extra adults	84.4	3.3	84.1	5.1	80.3	10.9	82.3	4.1
No extra adults	87.3	1.5	83.4	4.3	83.7	5.3	83.3	2.7
Bachelor's degree or more	89.4	1.9	78.9	8.2	82.1	6.4	84.6	5.4
Less than a bachelor's degree	84.6	2.0	85.0	3.4	84.4	6.6	82.6	2.3
Worked full-time	86.9	2.0	82.2	4.8	86.3	6.0	84.3	3.4
Worked part-time	88.3	3.0	82.7	7.9	87.1	13.4	87.1	5.0
Did not work	85.8	2.4	86.0	4.5	78.7	6.9	80.2	3.0
Material hardship	80.3	2.7	82.3	5.0	93.0	5.7	80.3	3.4
No material hardship	89.6	1.5	84.7	4.3	79.8	6.0	84.7	2.6
Neighborhood hardship	80.6	6.5	83.6	8.3	91.8	13.8	76.3	7.0
No neighborhood hardship	87.2	1.4	83.6	3.7	82.4	5.1	83.9	2.3

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Survey of Income and Program Participation 2018 (weighted public-use data).

Notes: x not applicable. MOE: margin of error. Other race was excluded due to insufficient sample size.

Table 4. Percentage of Parents Reading 5+ Times per Week to Children Ages 0-5 by Race and Hispanic Origin and Socioeconomic Characteristics, SIPP 2018

Characteristic	Non-Hispanic White alone		Non-Hispanic Black alone		Non-Hispanic Asian alone		Hispanic	
	Percent	MOE	Percent	MOE	Percent	MOE	Percent	MOE
Number of reference parents (in thousands)	9,135	x	2,487	x	1,172	x	4,018	x
Unweighted count	1,733	x	419	x	210	x	858	x
All reference parents	73.3	1.7	58.0	4.2	71.4	5.4	51.0	2.7
Citizen	73.5	1.8	56.8	4.3	74.6	6.8	54.2	3.3
Non-citizen	61.6	12.7	69.8	12.9	67.8	8.0	44.1	5.0
Partnered	75.6	1.9	65.1	6.3	71.6	5.6	54.7	3.2
Solo	62.3	4.8	51.5	5.3	67.5	21.2	41.3	6.0
Extra adults	63.0	4.7	61.2	8.2	74.5	9.9	50.9	4.4
No extra adults	75.3	1.8	56.8	4.6	70.2	6.4	51.1	3.7
Bachelor's degree or more	82.5	2.2	71.0	8.4	73.6	6.5	65.8	7.3
Less than a bachelor's degree	65.6	2.7	54.0	4.7	66.5	8.8	47.8	3.0
Worked full-time	72.4	2.5	65.9	6.2	70.4	8.4	52.6	4.5
Worked part-time	72.7	4.3	51.6	10.2	63.3	17.7	52.0	7.2
Did not work	74.8	2.9	50.5	6.8	74.2	7.0	49.2	4.6
Material hardship	65.3	3.4	57.0	5.5	71.2	11.0	44.3	4.5
No material hardship	76.7	2.0	59.0	6.0	71.4	6.4	55.2	3.5
Neighborhood hardship	66.0	7.3	59.6	10.1	58.0	26.7	47.9	9.1
No neighborhood hardship	73.7	1.8	57.8	4.7	71.9	5.4	51.4	3.0

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Survey of Income and Program Participation 2018 (weighted public-use data).

Notes: x not applicable. MOE: margin of error. Other race was excluded due to insufficient sample size.

Table 5. Logistic Regression Results of Frequent Parental Involvement with Children, SIPP 2018

Outcome Model	5+ Dinners with Children Ages 0-17		2+ Outings with Children Ages 0-5		5+ Reading with Children Ages 0-5	
	1		2		3	
Characteristic	Estimate	OR Sig.	Estimate	OR Sig.	Estimate	OR Sig.
Intercept	3.113 (0.199)	***	1.953 (0.308)	***	0.324 (0.259)	
Age (single years)	-0.032 (0.003)	0.97 ***	-0.010 (0.006)	0.99	0.004 (0.005)	1.00
Hispanic	0.301 (0.093)	1.35 **	-0.106 (0.137)	0.90	-0.664 (0.098)	0.51 ***
Non-Hispanic Black alone	0.095 (0.105)	1.10	-0.149 (0.183)	0.86	-0.349 (0.129)	0.71 **
Non-Hispanic Asian alone	0.386 (0.165)	1.47 *	-0.196 (0.243)	0.82	-0.201 (0.171)	0.82
Non-Hispanic Other race alone	-0.151 (0.186)	0.86	-0.203 (0.284)	0.82	-0.420 (0.21)	0.66 *
Citizen	-0.258 (0.141)	0.77	0.303 (0.167)	1.35	0.376 (0.127)	1.46 **
Solo (no spouse/partner)	-0.376 (0.074)	0.69 ***	0.169 (0.137)	1.18	-0.399 (0.112)	0.67 ***
Extra adults (not parents or spouse/partner)	-0.245 (0.065)	0.78 ***	-0.161 (0.128)	0.85	0.069 (0.102)	1.07
Bachelor's degree or more	0.033 (0.077)	1.03	0.159 (0.132)	1.17	0.715 (0.106)	2.04 ***
Worked part-time	0.232 (0.089)	1.26 **	0.171 (0.147)	1.19	0.023 (0.123)	1.02
Did not work	0.884 (0.089)	2.42 ***	0.026 (0.113)	1.03	0.142 (0.096)	1.15
Material hardship 1	-0.258 (0.077)	0.77 ***	-0.409 (0.101)	0.66 ***	-0.262 (0.093)	0.77 **
Neighborhood hardship 1	-0.093 (0.121)	0.91	-0.208 (0.175)	0.81	0.018 (0.134)	1.02
Total (Unweighted in numbers)	7,932		3,339		3,339	
-2 Log L	34,383,098		14,438,439		21,044,740	

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Survey of Income and Program Participation 2018 (weighted public-use data).

Notes: Standard errors in parenthesis. Statistical significance (sig.): *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001. x Not applicable.

1 Hardship is a household-level measure.

Table 6. Parental Involvement Rates per Week by Race and Hispanic Origin, SIPP 2018 and 2021

Characteristic	All reference parents		Non-Hispanic White alone		Non-Hispanic Black alone		Non-Hispanic Asian alone		Hispanic	
	Percent	MOE	Percent	MOE	Percent	MOE	Percent	MOE	Percent	MOE
Dinners 2018 1	83.8	0.8	82.4	1.0	81.9	2.2	89.3	2.3	87.2	1.3
Dinners 2021 1	86.8	0.8	85.9	1.1	83.5	2.4	91.6	2.6	89.6	1.5
Outings 2018 2	85.1	1.1	86.8	1.4	83.6	3.3	82.8	5.0	83.0	2.2
Outings 2021 2	73.1	1.6	73.8	2.4	74.9	4.8	67.2	5.9	72.6	3.1
Reading 2018 2	65.4	1.4	73.3	1.7	58.0	4.2	71.4	5.4	51.0	2.7
Reading 2021 2	67.7	1.8	76.1	2.1	66.2	5.7	66.2	6.2	51.5	3.9

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Survey of Income and Program Participation 2018 and 2021 (weighted public-use data).

Notes: x not applicable. MOE: margin of error. Other race was excluded due to insufficient sample size.

1 Universe is parents of children ages 0-17.

2 Universe is parents of children ages 0-5.

Table 7. Logistic Regression Results of Frequent Parental Involvement with Children in 2018 and 2021

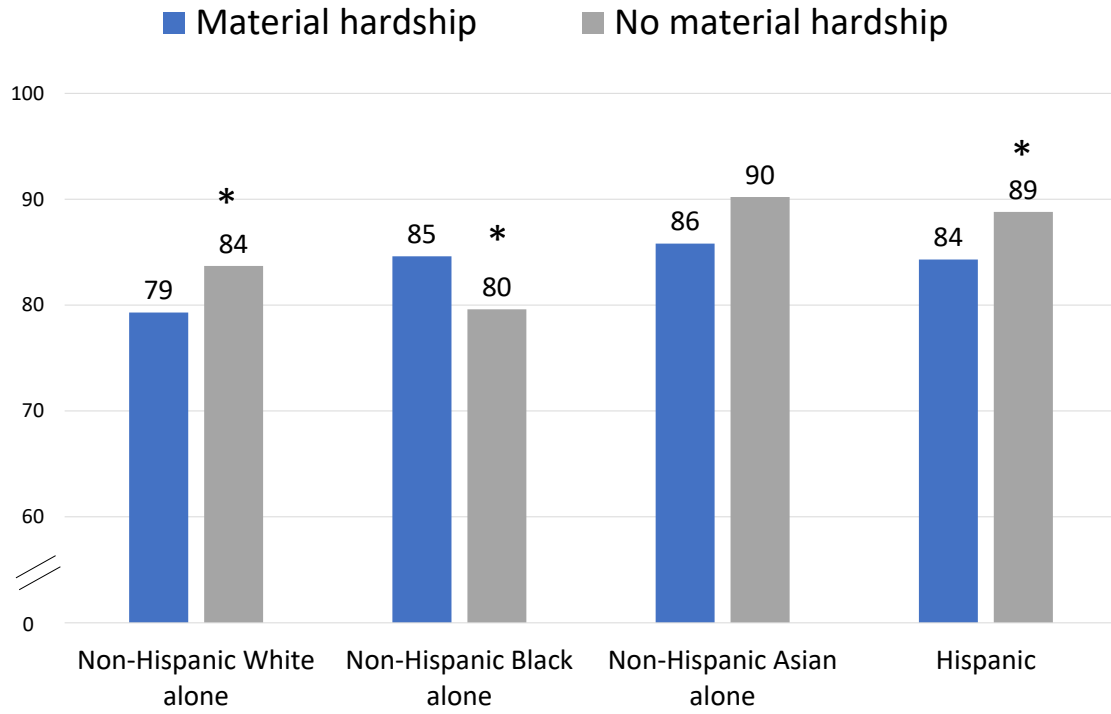
Model	5+ Dinners with Children Ages 0-17				2+ Outings with Children Ages 0-5				5+ Reading with Children Ages 0-5			
	1		2		3		4		5		6	
Characteristic	Estimate	OR Sig.	Estimate	OR Sig.	Estimate	OR Sig.	Estimate	OR Sig.	Estimate	OR Sig.	Estimate	OR Sig.
Intercept	3.150 (0.171)	***	3.148 (0.171)	***	2.074 (0.216)	***	2.071 (0.217)	***	0.358 (0.203)		0.359 (0.203)	
Age (single years)	-0.033 (0.003)	0.97 ***	-0.033 (0.003)	0.97 ***	-0.015 (0.005)	0.98 ***	-0.015 (0.005)	0.99 **	0.000 (0.004)	1.00	0.000 (0.004)	1.00
Hispanic	0.300 (0.074)	1.35 ***	0.300 (0.074)	1.35 ***	0.010 (0.095)	1.01	0.010 (0.095)	1.01	-0.697 (0.086)	0.50 ***	-0.697 (0.086)	0.50 ***
Non-Hispanic Black alone	0.059 (0.085)	1.06	0.058 (0.085)	1.06	-0.006 (0.128)	0.99	-0.008 (0.128)	0.99	-0.243 (0.119)	0.79 *	-0.242 (0.119)	0.79 *
Non-Hispanic Asian alone	0.371 (0.146)	1.45 *	0.372 (0.146)	1.45 *	-0.208 (0.154)	0.81	-0.208 (0.154)	0.81	-0.384 (0.133)	0.68 **	-0.384 (0.133)	0.68 **
Non-Hispanic Other race alone	-0.088 (0.156)	0.92	-0.085 (0.156)	0.92	-0.115 (0.221)	0.89	-0.114 (0.221)	0.89	-0.392 (0.185)	0.68 *	-0.392 (0.185)	0.68 *
Citizen	-0.290 (0.115)	0.75 *	-0.291 (0.115)	0.75 *	0.272 (0.126)	1.31 *	0.273 (0.126)	1.31 *	0.430 (0.104)	1.54 ***	0.430 (0.104)	1.54 ***
Solo (no spouse/partner)	-0.374 (0.062)	0.69 ***	-0.375 (0.062)	0.69 ***	0.109 (0.105)	1.12	0.109 (0.105)	1.12	-0.390 (0.097)	0.68 ***	-0.390 (0.097)	0.68 ***
Extra adults (not parents or spouse/partner)	-0.249 (0.055)	0.78 ***	-0.251 (0.055)	0.78 ***	-0.101 (0.098)	0.90	-0.102 (0.098)	0.90	0.077 (0.082)	1.08	0.078 (0.082)	1.08
Bachelor's degree or more	0.081 (0.061)	1.08	0.081 (0.061)	1.09	0.197 (0.095)	1.22 *	0.197 (0.096)	1.22 *	0.786 (0.088)	2.19 ***	0.786 (0.088)	2.19 ***
Worked part-time	0.235 (0.068)	1.26 ***	0.236 (0.068)	1.27 ***	0.193 (0.106)	1.21	0.194 (0.105)	1.21	0.209 (0.094)	1.23 *	0.209 (0.094)	1.23 *
Did not work	0.987 (0.076)	2.68 ***	0.988 (0.076)	2.69 ***	-0.055 (0.09)	0.95	-0.055 (0.09)	0.95	0.208 (0.074)	1.23 **	0.208 (0.074)	1.23 **
Material hardship 1	-0.309 (0.064)	0.73 ***	-0.309 (0.064)	0.73 ***	-0.312 (0.082)	0.73 ***	-0.312 (0.082)	0.73 ***	-0.355 (0.074)	0.70 ***	-0.355 (0.074)	0.70 ***
Neighborhood hardship 1	-0.134 (0.103)	0.88	-0.134 (0.103)	0.88	-0.040 (0.134)	0.96	-0.039 (0.134)	0.96	-0.017 (0.115)	0.98	-0.017 (0.115)	0.98
In 2021	0.2 (0.054)	1.26 ***	0.272 (0.064)	1.31 ***	-0.8 (0.071)	0.47 ***	-0.747 (0.089)	0.47 ***	0.1 (0.07)	1.05	0.044 (0.087)	1.05
In both 2018 and 2021	x	x	-0.075 (0.086)	0.93	x	x	-0.025 (0.105)	0.98	x	x	0.013 (0.102)	1.01
Total (Unweighted in numbers)	13,891		13,891		5,686		5,686		5,686		5,686	
-2 Log L	62,082,911		62,077,182		32,631,379		32,630,910		39,312,417		39,312,294	

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Survey of Income and Program Participation 2018 and 2021 (weighted public-use data).

Notes: Standard errors in parenthesis. Statistical significance (sig.): *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001. x Not applicable.

1 Hardship is a household-level measure.

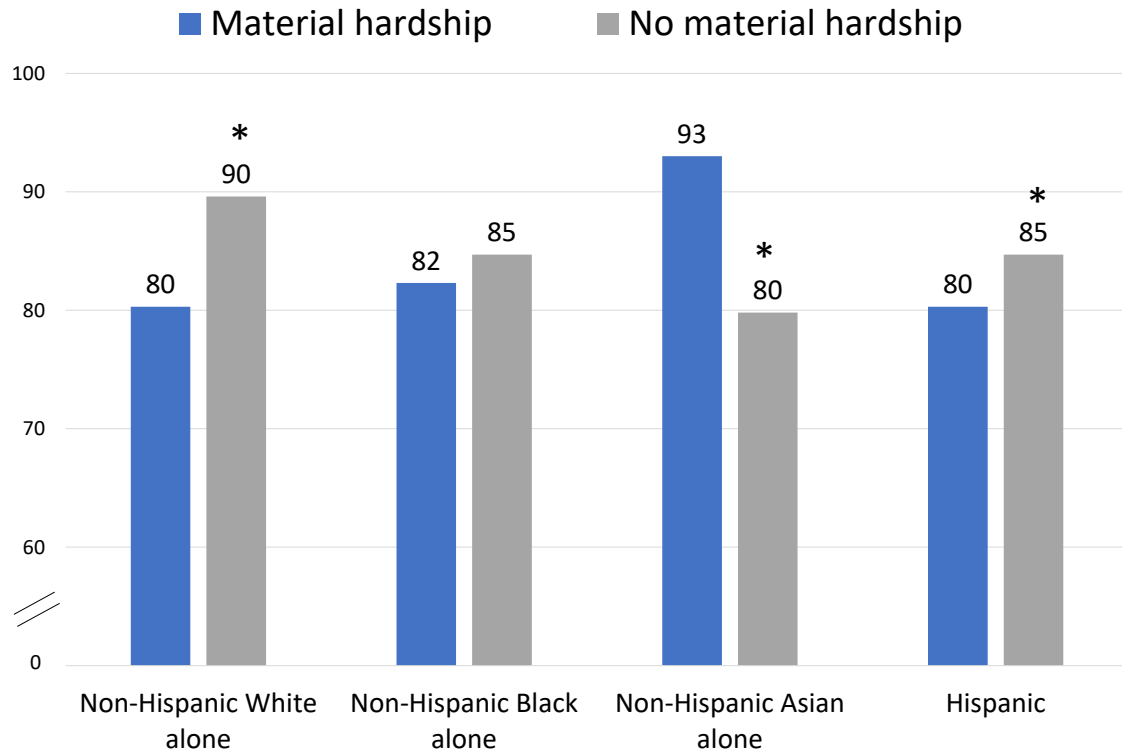
Figure 1. Dinners and Material Hardship



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Survey of Income and Program Participation 2018 (weighted public-use data).

Note: * = $p < 0.10$.

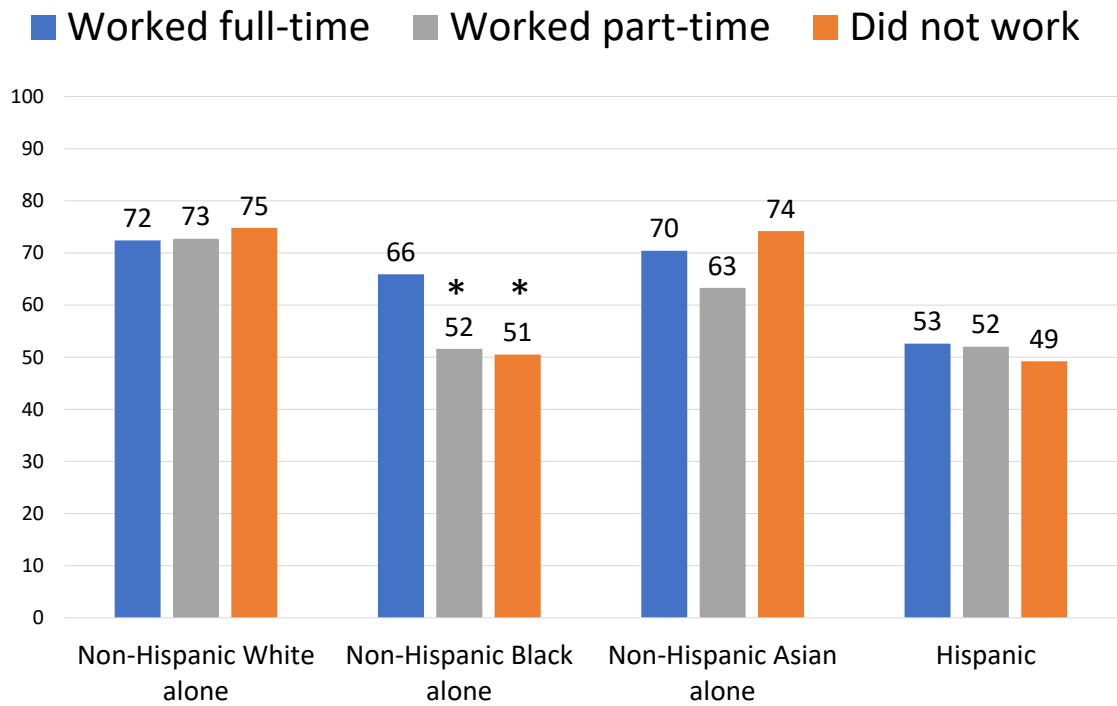
Figure 2. Outings and Material Hardship



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Survey of Income and Program Participation 2018 (weighted public-use data).

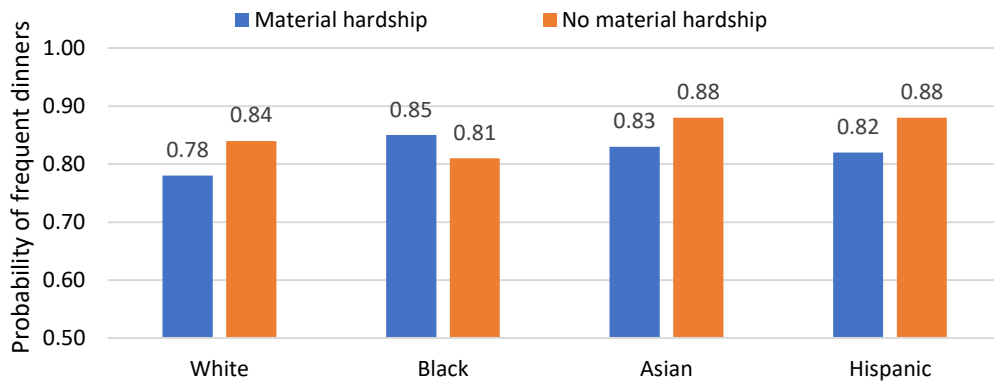
Note: * = $p < 0.10$.

Figure 3. Reading and Work Status



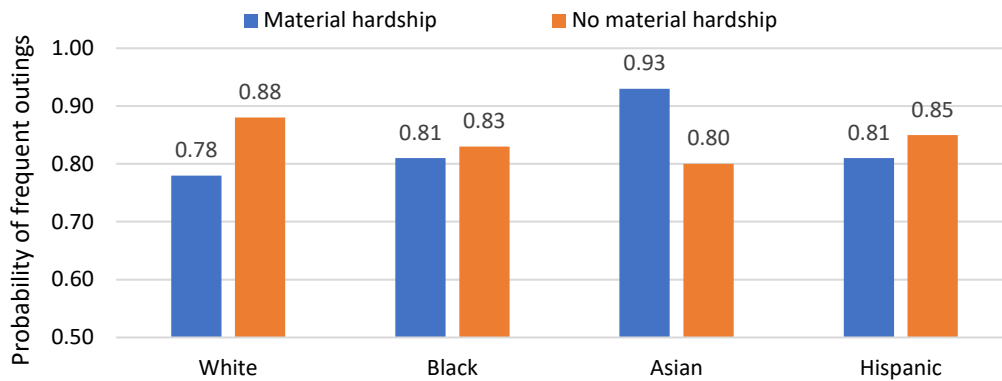
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Survey of Income and Program Participation 2018 (weighted public-use data).
 Note: * = $p < 0.10$.

Figure 4. Predicted Probabilities of Frequent Shared Dinners for Parents by Household Material Hardship and Race and Hispanic origin



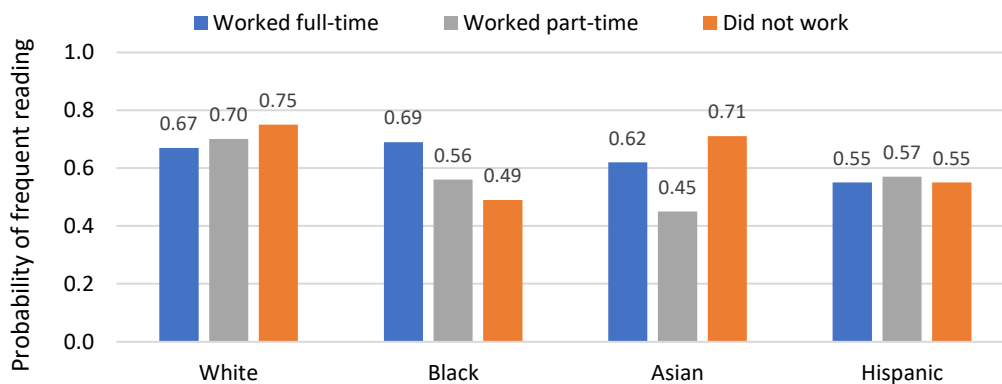
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Survey of Income and Program Participation 2018 (weighted public-use data).
 Note: In this model reference parent characteristics correspond to a mean age, citizen, partnered, no extra adults, less than a BA, working full-time, and no neighborhood hardship.

Figure 5. Predicted Probabilities of **Frequent Outings** for Parents by Household Material Hardship and Race and Hispanic Origin



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Survey of Income and Program Participation 2018 (weighted public-use data).
 Note: In this model reference parent characteristics correspond to a mean age, citizen, partnered, no extra adults, less than a BA, working full-time, and no neighborhood hardship.

Figure 6. Predicted Probabilities of **Frequent Reading** for Parents by Work Status and Race and Hispanic Origin



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Survey of Income and Program Participation 2018 (weighted public-use data).
 Note: In this model reference parent characteristics correspond to a mean age, citizen, partnered, no extra adults, less than a BA, no material hardship, and no neighborhood hardship.

Appendix A. Percentage Distribution of Socioeconomic Characteristics of Parents with Children Ages 0-17 by Race and Hispanic Origin, SIPP 2018

Characteristic	Non-Hispanic White alone		Non-Hispanic Black alone		Non-Hispanic Asian alone		Hispanic	
	Percent	SE	Percent	SE	Percent	SE	Percent	SE
Number of reference parents (in thousands)	22,382	x	5,654	x	2,694	x	8,976	x
Unweighted count	4,281	x	994	x	495	x	1,921	x
All reference parents	100.0	x	100.0	x	100.0	x	100.0	x
Age (mean in single years)	39.9	0.1	38.3	0.3	39.9	0.3	37.9	0.2
Citizen	98.4	0.2	93.6	0.9	60.1	2.3	66.7	1.1
Non-citizen	1.6	0.2	6.4	0.9	39.9	2.3	33.3	1.1
Partnered	77.4	0.7	45.1	1.5	91.6	1.2	68.6	1.1
Solo	22.6	0.7	54.9	1.5	8.4	1.2	31.4	1.1
Extra adults	25.8	0.7	35.3	1.6	33.6	2.3	41.9	1.3
No extra adults	74.2	0.7	64.7	1.6	66.4	2.3	58.1	1.3
Bachelor's degree or more	44.2	0.8	24.9	1.3	62.5	2.2	17.9	1.0
Less than a bachelor's degree	55.8	0.8	75.1	1.3	37.5	2.2	82.1	1.0
Worked full-time	54.1	0.8	55.3	1.8	48.5	2.4	47.3	1.2
Worked part-time (1-35 hrs.)	18.2	0.6	15.9	1.3	15.4	1.7	16.6	0.9
Did not work	27.7	0.7	28.8	1.6	36.2	2.2	36.1	1.2
Material hardship (food, bill-paying, or housing)	29.7	0.7	44.5	1.7	19.8	1.9	36.9	1.2
No material hardship	70.3	0.7	55.5	1.7	80.2	1.9	63.1	1.2
Neighborhood hardship	5.6	0.4	13.7	1.2	4.5	0.9	10.8	0.7
No neighborhood hardship	94.4	0.4	86.3	1.2	95.5	0.9	89.2	0.7

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Survey of Income and Program Participation 2018 (weighted public-use data).

Notes: x not applicable. MOE: margin of error. Other race was excluded due to small sample size.

Appendix B. Percentage Distribution of Socioeconomic Characteristics of Parents with Children Ages 0-5 by Race and Hispanic Origin, SIPP 2018

Characteristic	Non-Hispanic White alone		Non-Hispanic Black alone		Non-Hispanic Asian alone		Hispanic	
	Percent	SE	Percent	SE	Percent	SE	Percent	SE
Number of reference parents (in thousands)	9,135	x	2,487	x	1,172	x	4,018	x
Unweighted count	1,733	x	419	x	210	x	858	x
All reference parents	100.0	x	100.0	x	100.0	x	100.0	x
Age (mean in single years)	33.7	0.2	32.7	0.4	34.3	0.3	32.4	0.2
Citizen	97.7	0.3	90.2	1.6	52.9	3.2	68.5	1.6
Non-citizen	2.3	0.3	9.8	1.6	47.1	3.2	31.5	1.6
Partnered	82.6	0.9	48.1	2.3	94.9	1.4	72.7	1.6
Solo	17.4	0.9	51.9	2.3	5.1	1.4	27.3	1.6
Extra adults	16.9	1.0	28.1	2.3	27.1	3.3	36.5	1.6
No extra adults	83.1	1.0	71.9	2.3	72.9	3.3	63.5	1.6
Bachelor's degree or more	45.3	1.3	23.7	2.1	68.8	3.4	17.8	1.4
Less than a bachelor's degree	54.7	1.3	76.3	2.1	31.2	3.4	82.2	1.4
Worked full-time	46.6	1.2	47.5	2.8	41.6	3.4	40.9	1.7
Worked part-time (1-35 hrs.)	19.1	0.9	18.5	2.1	11.3	2.2	15.4	1.3
Did not work	34.3	1.1	34.0	2.7	47.1	3.5	43.7	1.9
Material hardship (food, bill-paying, or housing)	30.1	1.1	48.6	2.7	23.0	2.9	38.7	1.8
No material hardship	69.9	1.1	51.4	2.7	77.0	2.9	61.3	1.8
Neighborhood hardship	6.2	0.6	15.0	1.8	3.9	1.3	11.9	1.1
No neighborhood hardship	93.8	0.6	85.0	1.8	96.1	1.3	88.1	1.1

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Survey of Income and Program Participation 2018 (weighted public-use data).

Notes: x not applicable. MOE: margin of error. Other race was excluded due to small sample size.

Appendix C. Logistic Regression Results of Frequent Parental Involvement with Children with Key Interaction Terms, SIPP 2018

Outcome	5+ Dinners with Children Ages 0-17	2+ Outings with Children Ages 0-5	5+ Reading with Children Ages 0-5
Model	1	2	3
Characteristic	Estimate Sig.	Estimate Sig.	Estimate Sig.
Intercept	3.156 *** (0.201)	2.119 *** (0.315)	0.236 (0.259)
Age (single years)	-0.032 *** (0.003)	-0.010 (0.006)	0.004 (0.005)
Hispanic	0.333 ** (0.125)	-0.307 (0.179)	-0.515 *** (0.144)
Non-Hispanic Black alone	-0.173 (0.134)	-0.434 (0.241)	0.065 (0.183)
Non-Hispanic Asian alone	0.400 * (0.177)	-0.629 * (0.261)	-0.225 (0.259)
Non-Hispanic Other race alone	-0.292 (0.218)	-0.130 (0.484)	-0.710 * (0.328)
Citizen	-0.259 (0.141)	0.306 (0.167)	0.362 ** (0.131)
Solo (no spouse/partner)	-0.375 *** (0.074)	0.175 (0.136)	-0.391 *** (0.113)
Extra adults (not parents or spouse/partner)	-0.241 *** (0.065)	-0.150 (0.127)	0.061 (0.103)
Bachelor's degree or more	0.027 (0.076)	0.131 (0.134)	0.732 *** (0.108)
Worked part-time	0.223 * (0.089)	0.161 (0.146)	0.136 (0.161)
Did not work	0.880 *** (0.089)	0.022 (0.113)	0.355 ** (0.126)
Material hardship ¹	-0.360 *** (0.094)	-0.731 *** (0.148)	-0.264 ** (0.092)
Neighborhood hardship ¹	-0.109 (0.121)	-0.237 (0.174)	0.032 (0.134)
Material Hardship x Hispanic	-0.059 (0.175)	0.469 * (0.231)	x
Material Hardship x Black	0.641 ** (0.203)	0.603 (0.32)	x
Material Hardship x Asian	-0.095 (0.369)	1.975 ** (0.628)	x
Material Hardship x Other race	0.374 (0.418)	-0.046 (0.594)	x
Worked part-time x Hispanic	x	x	-0.079 (0.244)
Did not work x Hispanic	x	x	-0.349 (0.216)
Worked part-time x Black	x	x	-0.664 * (0.336)
Did not work x Black	x	x	-0.824 ** (0.261)
Worked part-time x Asian	x	x	-0.167 (0.613)
Did not work x Asian	x	x	0.041 (0.339)
Worked part-time x Other race	x	x	0.585 (0.562)
Did not work x Other race	x	x	0.423 (0.487)
Total (Unweighted in numbers)	7,932	3,339	3,339
-2 Log L	34,335,181	14,341,376	20,956,301

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Survey of Income and Program Participation 2018 (weighted public-use data).

Notes: Standard errors in parenthesis. Statistical significance (sig): *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001. x Not applicable.

¹ Hardship is a household-level measure.

Appendix D. Descriptive Statistics and Parental Involvement by Characteristics, SIPP 2021

Characteristics	Parents of children Ages 0-17				Parents of children ages 0-5					
	Distribution		5+ dinners per week		Distribution		2+ outings per week		5+ reading per week	
	Percent	MOE	Percent	MOE	Percent	MOE	Percent	MOE	Percent	MOE
Number of adults (15+ yrs., in thousands)	266,607	x	x	x	266,607	x	x	x	x	x
Number of reference parents (in thousands)	37,845	680	x	x	15,772	540	x	x	x	x
Percent reference parents of adults	14.2	0.3	x	x	5.9	0.2	x	x	x	x
Number of reference parents (unweighted)	5,959	x	5,959	x	2,347	x	2,347	x	2,347	x
All reference parents	100.0	x	86.8	0.8	100.0	x	73.1	1.6	67.7	1.8
Age (mean in single years)	39.9	0.2	x	x	34.1	0.3	x	x	x	x
Non-Hispanic White alone	53.7	0.9	85.9	1.1	51.1	1.6	73.8	2.4	76.1	2.1
Non-Hispanic Black alone	13.2	0.8	83.5	2.4	13.7	1.3	74.9	4.8	66.2	5.7
Non-Hispanic Asian alone	7.3	0.5	91.6	2.6	7.5	0.9	67.2	5.9	66.2	6.2
Non-Hispanic Other race	2.5	0.3	85.6	5.1	2.9	0.6	73.3	8.9	68.7	10.9
Hispanic (any race)	23.2	0.7	89.6	1.5	24.9	1.4	72.6	3.1	51.5	3.9
Citizen	89.1	0.7	86.1	0.8	87.6	1.2	74.0	1.8	70.1	1.9
Non-citizen	10.9	0.7	92.7	1.7	12.4	1.2	66.9	5.2	50.9	5.8
Partnered	72.9	1.0	88.7	0.8	79.3	1.6	73.0	1.8	70.6	1.8
Solo	27.1	1.0	81.7	1.8	20.7	1.6	73.7	4.0	56.4	4.7
Extra adults	30.6	1.1	83.5	1.5	22.4	1.6	71.7	3.5	61.0	3.6
No extra adults	69.4	1.1	88.3	1.0	77.6	1.6	73.5	1.8	69.6	2.0
Bachelor's degree or more	41.0	1.1	87.3	1.2	41.9	1.8	75.2	2.3	80.1	2.4
Less than a bachelor's degree	59.0	1.1	86.6	1.1	58.1	1.8	71.6	2.3	58.7	2.4
Worked full-time	49.4	1.1	82.9	1.3	43.9	1.8	74.2	2.6	67.4	2.8
Worked part-time (1-35 hrs.)	17.8	0.9	86.1	2.0	18.7	1.4	77.2	3.4	71.4	4.0
Did not work	32.8	1.0	93.2	1.0	37.5	1.7	69.9	2.8	66.3	2.7
Material hardship (food, bill-paying, or housing)	29.3	1.1	83.9	1.6	29.8	1.7	69.6	3.3	56.4	3.8
No material hardship	70.7	1.1	88.1	0.9	70.2	1.7	74.6	1.9	72.5	1.9
Neighborhood hardship	9.2	0.7	84.7	3.2	9.1	1.1	73.5	5.3	60.2	6.3
No neighborhood hardship	90.8	0.7	87.1	0.8	90.9	1.1	73.1	1.8	68.4	1.8

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Survey of Income and Program Participation 2021 (weighted public-use data).

Notes: x not applicable. MOE: margin of error