

DRAFT: comments appreciated!

Race and Class in Family Life:

Time use, religion, and children's organized activities

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Annette Lareau,

University of Pennsylvania

Elliot Weininger,

SUNY Brockport

Dalton Conley,

New York University

and Melissa Velez

New York University

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One of the most important sociological questions of the day concerns the precise way in which class and race are intertwined in daily life. Today, there is evidence of racial discrimination in key aspects of life including hiring (Pager, 2007), sentencing patterns in courts (Western, 2006), and housing searches (Massey and Denton, 1993). Yet in other aspects of daily life, the significance of race is less clear and highly contested (Wilson, 1980).¹ The sphere of the family and child rearing is an arena where, if racial differences exist, for example between African-American families and white families, then it is likely to be connected to differing sets of dispositions or values rather than discrimination per se. Here too, there have been important debates.

Some scholars have suggested that race does play a critical role in family life (see, among others, Hill, 2001, McLoyd et. al, 2000, Demo and Cox, 2000, Pattillo-McCoy, 1999, Landry, 2002; Neckerman, 2004). Other scholars, however, have suggested that class (not race) is critical in understanding core aspects of family life (Edin and Kefalas, 2005; Lareau, 2003). One change that people do agree upon, however, is that families and children, particularly middle-class children, are spending much more time in organized activities than in earlier decades (Hofferth and Sandberg, 2001a, 2001b).

As scholars and practitioners have increasingly taken up the issue of children's participation in organized activities (Chin and Phillips, 2004; Shaw and Dawson, 2001; DeBroff, 2003) a debate is emerging about the role that class and race play in this sphere. In an ethnographic study of white and black families with elementary-school aged children, Lareau (2003) concluded that white and black middle-class families exhibited a pattern of "concerted cultivation," whereby children were viewed as "projects" whose talents and skills had to be actively fostered by adults. By contrast, working-class and poor families used scarce resources for their children, but then

presumed that, in their leisure activities, children would spontaneously grow and thrive, a pattern she called “the accomplishment of natural growth.” However, others, using nationally representative data, have contested that conclusion. For example Katerina Bodovski, using the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study, found that race was statistically significant in predicting children’s organized activities (Bodovski 2008). As she writes: “An average White student in the sample was enrolled in more extra-curricular activities and was taken on more educational trips than an average Black child” (Bodovski p. 21). Milkie and Warner (2009) make a similar point. (For related analyses see Cheadle, 2008). These studies have shown that even after controlling for parents’ social class position, African-American children are less likely to participate in organized activities such as art lessons, soccer, music, and other extracurricular activities than white children. They imply that race has a more powerful role than earlier work, and in particular Lareau’s, has acknowledged.

Further complicating this debate is the evidence that African-Americans are much more religious than whites (Taylor et. al, 2004). Despite this, most studies of children’s leisure activities do not take up the issue of religion. The failure to attend carefully to religion is unfortunate since there is an extensive body of work showing race differences in key aspects of religious experiences including prayer, belief in God, and belief in an afterlife. Numerous studies indicate that African-Americans have more religious faith than do whites. For example one study found that 29.8% of blacks and 15.7% of whites state that they are “very religious minded” (Taylor et. al, 1996). When asked if religious beliefs are “very important” 80.1% of blacks but 51.5% of whites agree (Taylor et. al, 1996). As Taylor and his colleagues summarize, “As compared to whites, black respondents demonstrated higher levels of both public (e.g., religious attendance) and private (e.g., reading religious materials) religious behaviors and were more likely to endorse positive

statement or attitudes....[of] the strength of personal religious commitment.... These differences persisted despite controls for demographic (e.g., socioeconomic status, region) and religious [affiliation]" (Taylor et. al, 2004, pg 36). Research on families with young children is not as widely available but even here there are indications of blacks being more religious. Wilcox, for example, reports that race is significant in predicting paternal involvement in adolescent religious activities (Wilcox, 2002). In addition, numerous studies have pointed to the role of the black church as an organizing feature of social life, particularly rural Southern communities as well as promoting social activities and civil rights (Pattillo-McCoy, 1998; Hunt and Hunt, 2001). This literature would suggest that studies stressing the importance of social class in child rearing may have also underestimated the importance of race in children's organized activities. It is plausible to suspect that there may be a race differences in children's participation in religious organized activities; however, the issue has not been well-studied.

Of course, there are important differences between art lessons, sports activities, and the like, on the one hand, and religious activities, on the other. The texture, tone, and goals of religious services and activities differ from those of more "secular" activities. As children age, there are highly competitive forms of performance in art, music, and sports in which they can excel, receive prizes, and (in rare cases) receive scholarships (Levy, 2009). By contrast, no such competitive assessment and ranking exist for religious activities, as a general rule. In addition, organized activities are heavily individualistic, while the tenor of most religious activities is oriented towards a collective spirit. Most parents will permit children to quit an organized activity if they do not like it; this option often does not exist for religious activities. Thus there is little doubt that the goals of secular and religious activities differ. Thus, one potential conclusion is that if black children and families spend more time in religious organized activities than do

whites, this pattern offers support for the conclusion that different values and dispositions connected to racial membership, rather than social class, are the critical in producing this pattern.

On the other hand, if social class differences surface in children's roles in religious activities themselves, this might suggest a different conclusion. For example, in her analysis of concerted cultivation and natural growth, Lareau noted that although some working-class and poor parents enrolled their children in organized activities, the meaning that these activities carried for them differed from the meaning they had for middle-class parents. In working-class and poor families there was more emphasis on compliance, directives, and subordination of children's preferences to those of adults. Working-class and poor parents did not see organized activities as offering "teachable moments" which they could use to promote children's talents and skills. (Lareau, 2003). Hence, it is not only the fact of participation in organized activities that is critical in distinguishing between the cultural repertoires of concerted cultivation and natural growth. It is also important to know how parents structure, interact, and mediate children's experiences outside the home.

In this paper, we attempt to argue that children's participation in religious activities does exhibit class variations of this sort, and that racial differences in the propensity of children (and their parents) to participate in religious activities do not obviate the class-specific argument of Lareau's ethnographic work. In the first part of the paper we analyze nationally time diary data in order to evaluate the role of race and class in participating children's participation in various types of organized activities. In the second part of the paper we turn to the ethnographic data from observations of African-American families to try to make sense of the role of religion in

shaping parents' child rearing strategies.

Data and Methods

The first part of this paper examines these questions using the Child Development Supplement to the Panel Study of Income Dynamics. Specifically we draw on the 1993-1997 waves of the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) and the 1997 Child Development Supplement (CDS) to the PSID. The PSID is a nationally representative longitudinal survey begun in 1968 with a focus on issues relating to household finances and employment (Hill, 1992). Annual or bi-annual waves of the survey have followed both the original sample families and the “breakaway” families formed by children of initial sample members. A weighting system has been devised to account for the effects of both the initial probability of being sampled and attrition (which is generally low) over time; it also incorporates a post-stratification factor (estimated through a comparison with the 1997 Current Population Survey) to ensure the data are nationally representative.⁹ Each wave of the PSID collects detailed information on the employment status, income, and finances of household members, as well as on related matters such as in our analyses.

The CDS was administered in 1997 to a subsample of PSID families with children between the ages of 0 and 12 years old. Data were collected on 3,563 children in 2,380 families. (Thus two-thirds of these children are siblings of another child in the subsample, but no one family has more than two children in the study.) A set of child-level weights was created for use with these data by modifying the PSID weights to account for each child's within-family probability of being sampled.

The CDS collected a wide variety of questionnaire data, gathered during the school year, from adults who played a significant role in each child's life (i.e., primary and secondary caregiver,

teacher, school principal, etc.). It also collected time diary data for each child that detailed his or her activities on one weekend day and one weekday. The time diaries were filled out by the primary caregiver in combination with the child (if he or she was of sufficient age), and enumerated each the child's activities, as well as the people who were present (if any), from midnight to midnight on the target days. In total, 2,904 time diary sets were completed. Personnel at the University of Michigan Institute for Survey Research oversaw the coding of each activity into one of ten general categories; subsequently, detailed three-digit codes were applied. Thus, the diaries distinguish approximately 250 activities.

Consistent with our intention to build on earlier ethnographic studies (Lareau 2003), which focused on elementary-school children, the data analyzed here are restricted to children who are at least 6 years of age. Because our outcome measures are drawn from the time diaries, we have omitted cases from our analyses in which only one diary was filled out. We estimate our models using a child-level file that merges time diary data with CDS questionnaire variables and PSID variables. We further omit a handful of children living in single-father headed households and households where either the father or the mother and father were not working, since there are too few to develop reliable parameter estimates. For this reason, we also omit a small number of children living in households headed by a non-parent. Finally, because of the limited samples of immigrant families, we restrict our sample to blacks and whites. Thus, our analyses are based on data for 1155 children, of whom 655 are white and 500 are African American.

Our outcome measures were created by summing the amount of time spent in the relevant activities on the weekday and weekend day for which diaries were collected. In order to express these measures in a meaningful metric, we followed Hofferth and Sandberg's (2001a, 2001b) procedure of differentially weighting data from the two diaries: the weekday totals were

multiplied by five, the weekend totals were multiplied by two, and the results added, yielding a weekly estimate for each of the relevant activities. These measures are as follows.

Time in Organized Leisure Activities: By “organized activities” we mean activities, usually devoted to leisure, that are adult-directed, have some type of formal enrollment requirement, and/or a schedule fixed in advance. These include things like team sports (practices and games), individual sports (e.g. karate), organizational groups (e.g. girl scouts, church choir), and cultural activities (e.g. piano lessons). Most of the relevant time diary codes are unproblematic with respect to this idea. Nevertheless, a few are ambiguous. For example, we are unable to distinguish between organized and non-organized horseback riding, photography, and painting. In order to be conservative, we have excluded these ambiguous codes from our measure of time in organized leisure; the exception is playing a musical instrument, which we assume, among children 6 to 12 years old, is time devoted to preparing for a lesson.

Conceptually, the main difficulty entailed in measuring organized activities lies in whether to include time spent attending religious services. On the one hand, most would not consider this is a leisure activity. On the other hand, however, in many instances, parents’ purpose in having children attend is to provide religious training. A didactic intention of one sort or another is common to other organized activities, both religious (e.g. Sunday School) and non-religious (e.g. cub scouts, music lessons).

In light of these complications, we have constructed a set of alternative measures. These serve as the outcomes in the analyses. Our most expansive measure combines the amount of time children spend in 1) secular organizational activities (such as scouts), 2) organized sports (games, meets, practices, or lessons), 3) secular arts activities (music or art lessons, playing an instrument), and

4) religious activities (services, religious school, choir, or youth group). We also compute alternative measures of time devoted to organized activities. The first excludes attendance at religious services, in order to gauge their impact on our measure, while the second excludes all religious activities, in order to evaluate participation in what might be deemed “secular” organized activities.

We also consider participation in specific types of activities. Thus, we have constructed separate measures of time devoted religious activities, athletic activities, and arts-related activities. (The time diaries do include enough participation in organizational activities—such as scouts—to facilitate a separate analysis.) Analysis of these measures will enable us to determine whether distinct patterns exist with respect to the type of extra-curricular activities children participate in.

Race and class: The main predictors in our analyses concern race and class. As noted, we have restricted the sample to white and African-American children in the PSID-CDS data. Thus, race is captured with a single dummy variable indicating whether the child is black. To assess the impact of class, we use three relatively standard indicators: income, wealth, and maternal education. In order to minimize the impact of income fluctuations, we have computed the average of a series of annual measure of the household’s income between 1993 and 1997, expressed in 1997 dollars. In our equations, we use the natural log of this average as a predictor; cases for which income data was missing in one or more years are coded 1 on a missing data dummy variable. Similarly, we compute the average of each household’s wealth in 1994 and 1999, the years closest to the CDS administration in which the PSID collected information on familial wealth, and use the natural log in our equations. We also include a dummy variable to indicate whether each family had 0 or negative wealth in at least one of these years. Finally, mother’s educational attainment is measured with a set of three dummy variables: high school

degree, some college (but less than a bachelor's degree), and bachelor's degree or higher; high school dropout serves as the reference category.²

We also control for a number of individual and family characteristics that could potentially confound the effects of race and class. These are as follows:

Family structure and labor force participation: We have cross-classified family structure and labor market participation in order to control for factors that could impact the outcomes we are interested in a variety of ways. The two-parent family in which both the mother and father are employed is our reference category. Dummy variables identify female-headed households in which the mother is not employed, female-headed households in which the mother is employed, and two-parent families in which the mother is not employed.

Child Characteristics: We measure the child's age in years. We also include a dummy variable for the child's sex (with female being the reference category).

Family Characteristics: We control for the presence of a step-parent in the household and for the number of children under 18 years old in the household. In addition, we introduce controls for the weekend day on which the diary was collected (one dummy variable), the weekday on which the diary was collected (four dummy variables), and the total amount of time unaccounted for in the diaries. The latter is intended to serve as an indicator of the quality of the diary data. Because there are a substantial number of siblings in the data, we report robust standard adjusted for the clustering of children in families.

Means and standard deviations of all of the independent variables are provided in Table 1. Our statistical strategy is driven by distributional considerations. All of the outcome measures are left-censored to a substantial degree. Therefore, we estimate Tobit models.

[Table 1 here]

Results

Table 2 presents multivariate analyses of our alternative measures of children's time in organized activities. The first column contains estimates for the expansive measure. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that the race indicator is not only non-significant, but extremely close to 0, indicating no race difference in the propensity of children to participate in organized activities, once other factors are controlled for. By contrast, maternal education exhibits a significant effect. Indeed, while the standard errors are large, the point estimates are substantial in size: the predicted difference between a child whose mother is a high school dropout and one whose mother attended college (but did not earn a degree) is over four hours per week on the latent variable; and for a child whose mother earned a bachelor's degree, this difference is six hours. Among the control variables, age exhibits a significant, positive coefficient, as would be expected. Gender and number of siblings, however, are non-significant. Consistent with previous work (Lareau and Weininger 2008), a non-trivial difference in participation is apparent between children whose mothers are employed for wages and those whose mothers are not.

[Table 2 here]

In column 2, the outcome measure is altered so as to remove time spent attending religious services. With this change, a large, highly significant race effect becomes apparent. The negative coefficient (indicating lower participation for blacks than for whites) implies that it was only the inclusion of service attendance which drove the null finding for race in the previous model. Otherwise put, while the overall propensity to participate in organized activities does

appear to differ between blacks and whites, the type of activities children participate in does differ, with blacks substantially more likely to devote time to religious services. Furthermore, the gradient for maternal education is slightly reduced in this model; and because the associated standard errors are also increased, only the indicator for the highest level of maternal education attains (marginal) significance. In this model, a negative sibling effect also becomes apparent.

Model 3 in Table 2 contains estimates for a measure of organized activity participation that excludes not just service attendance, but all religious activities. Here, we see a very large race difference. The negative coefficient indicates that black children are considerably less likely to participate in secular organized activities, and devote less time to them, than their white counterparts. The coefficients for maternal education in this model, meanwhile, are roughly comparable in size to those of the previous models, but do not attain statistical significance due to the increased size of their standard errors.

Taken together, these models indicate that, using an expansive measure of organized activities, no difference is apparent in the extracurricular time use of white and black children, while substantial differences do exist according to maternal education. However, this finding depends on the inclusion of service attendance in the time measure. Thus, the inclusive measure conceals heterogeneity with respect to the *type* of activities that white and black children participate in.

In order to examine this finding more carefully, Table 3 presents a set of models that assess the relations between race, class, and time devoted to various subsets of organized activities. Model 1 in this table contains estimates for time devoted to religious activities (including service attendance). As the previous models imply, a reasonably large, statistically significant race effect is present, with black children exhibiting a greater propensity to devote time to religious

activities than their white counterparts. A roughly comparable difference is also apparent in the comparison of those with highly educated mothers and those whose mothers did not complete college. Interestingly, none of the other predictors in the model significantly predict participation in religious activities.

[Table 3 about here]

Model 2 in this table presents estimates for participation in organized (as opposed to informal) sports activities. Here we again find a rather large, statistically significant race effect. However, in contrast to the previous model, the race effect here is negative, indicating a lower propensity on the part of blacks. Additionally, while we do not observe a statistically significant effect of maternal education, participation in organized sports appears to be highly sensitive to household income, increasing as the latter increases. Thus, class remains highly salient with respect to participation in organized sports activities. Unsurprisingly, this model also exhibits a large, statistically significant gender effect, indicating that boys have a substantially greater propensity to participate in these activities than girls.

Finally, model 3 examines predictors of participation in arts-related organized activities such as music and dance lessons. Here, interestingly, the race coefficient—while negative—is relatively small and does not approach statistical significance. Additionally, while no income effect is apparent, reasonably large, highly significant differences are apparent across levels of maternal education.³ Simply put, increases in the propensity to enroll in arts-related activities are closely tied to increases in maternal education. Additionally, a large gender effect is apparent, this time with boys exhibiting a substantially lower propensity to participate than girls.

Taken together, these analyses suggest two conclusions. First, they indicate that the null finding

for race in the equation for the expansive measure of organized activities was, in fact, the result of (roughly) offsetting race differences in the propensity to engage in different types of organized activities—and specifically, the increased propensity of blacks to participate in religious activities and their decreased propensity to participate in organized sports.⁴ Thus, when considered at a more general level, analysis of the propensity to engage in these activities does not support the premise of distinct approaches to childrearing across black and white families. However, as soon as we distinguish between types of activities, the question of distinct childrearing styles arises, with the greater centrality of religion among blacks, relative to whites, being the key finding.

Secondly, it must be noted that each of the activity subsets we considered exhibits sensitivity to a class measure. Indeed, the propensity to participate in each type of activity—including, it bears emphasizing, religious ones—increases sharply with increases in either maternal education or household income. Thus, while these data imply a complicated story concerning race, the class story remains consistent with our previous ethnographic work: it is children from middle-class families whose daily lives are most likely to be saturated with organized extracurricular activities, as opposed to their working-class or poor counterparts.

Summary: the Time-Diary Results

In many ways, these data raise more questions than they answer. As Lareau's ethnographic research suggested the results do suggest that the amount of time that middle-class and working-class families spend on children's organized activities differs. Middle-class families enroll their children in more activities. Other research (Lareau and Weininger, 2008) has shown that mothers' (but not fathers') work hours are negatively related to the time children spend in

organized activities. Despite this pattern, the amount of time is significant. Indeed, in a relatively crude measure, we estimate that a college-educated mother with two children spends the equivalent of one month of working at a full-time job on her children's organized activities.⁵

Our results suggest that this significant time investment is similar for white and African-American middle-class children. In general, children whose mothers have a B.A. are busy. The total time spent is similar by race. Class matters.

But our results suggest that the content of the activity *does* vary by race. African-American children spend more time in church activities, particularly religious services but also other church related activities such as choir, ushering, and youth activities. African-American children spend less time in secular organized activities such as music, dance, soccer, and other sports. Thus race is statistically significant in terms of the content of time use. This result raises many questions. To return to concepts introduced in earlier work, the results lead us to reflect on the meaning of the activities. If concerted cultivation is the development of children's talents and skills, can religion – which has a fundamentally different enterprise than many organized activities --- be seen to be part of concerted cultivation? Religion has a collective orientation rather than an individualist one. Many parents permit children to choose soccer or dance or other activities and to terminate them if they so choose. Many dance, music, and athletic activities are competitive ranked. Scholarships exist and children can achieve a level of distinction. Religion, on the face of it, is a different enterprise. It is collective in nature. There are no organizationally established competitive hierarchies for displays of talent. It cannot, as with gymnastics, produce a scholarship to college. Parents do not generally permit children to opt-out.

Yet, at the same time, there are signs that there are differences across churches in the expectations for children. If religion was outside of the framework, we would expect to see roughly similar patterns across a variety of churches in how children enact their religious obligations (i.e., dress up, attend church, attend Sunday School). In earlier work, we suggested that middle-class children were seen as a special project and their skills and talents were developed while working-class and poor children were given food, clothing, and valuable resources but then presumed to spontaneously grow and thrive. On the face of it, religion would seem to be very different than secular organized activities; it is difficult to see who the conceptual tools of concerted cultivation and natural growth could be applicable. To probe these questions more deeply, we turn to ethnographic data.

Ethnographic research

This paper draws on data collected for a larger study of the rhythm of children's lives outside of school discussed in *Unequal Childhoods* (Lareau, 2003) but focuses on an important issue not elaborated there. Data were gathered on the families of 88 children between the ages of eight and ten. Thirty-two of the children and their families lived in a medium-sized midwestern city; the remainder (N=56) lived in the metropolitan area surrounding a large East Coast city. Observations were conducted in third-grade classrooms and the participating families were drawn from these schools. Approximately one-half of these families were white and one-half black; one family was inter-racial.⁶ The sample was deliberately constructed to include middle-class (N=36), working-class (N=24), and poor families (N=28); class was defined using a combined measure of education and occupational position.⁷ Much of the data was collected during extensive interviews with the children's mothers. If a father was present or if the child had an on-going relationship with the father then we also sought to interview the father in a

separate interview.⁸ Observations were also conducted during children's organized activities that required parent labor such as soccer activities, basketball programs, and baseball games as well as PTA meetings, school fairs, and book sales.

In addition to the interviews, observational data were gathered between 1994 and 1996 on a subset of 12 children and their families, selected to represent all combinations of class, (child's) gender, and race included in the larger sample. This highly intensive phase of the study entailed daily visits by a multi-racial team of researchers with the participating families.⁹ Although both parents and children registered their awareness of being observed, family members appeared to relax and routines resumed over the course of regular, repeated visits. As the families became accustomed to the presence of the researchers, behaviors that initially had been absent (e.g., swearing, squabbling) began to emerge. Only a subset of the 12 families attended church regularly. An African-American girl, Tara Carroll, lived with her grandmother, brother, and uncle. The Handlon family, a white middle-class family, was also very active in their Protestant church. Both African-American middle-class families attended a predominantly black Baptist church; they actually attended the same church. A bi-racial girl attended a predominantly white Evangelical church. Two other children went to church more occasionally. In this paper, due to data limitations and also space, we focus our comparison on Tara Carroll, a girl living below the poverty line with her deeply-religious grandmother and two African-American upper-middle-class families of Stacey Marshall and Alexander Williams.

Children Defer to Adults: Tara Carroll

Ten-year-old Tara Carroll and her twelve-year-old brother Dwayne live with their maternal grandmother in a three-bedroom apartment in public housing. Two uncles also stay at the apartment, one living there more or less full time and the other more intermittently. Tara and Dwayne's mother Cassie has her own apartment but she is in regular, daily contact with her children. The two were born during a particularly difficult time in their mother's life; among other things, she was struggling with a drug problem. Thus, Tara and Dwayne have lived from birth with their grandmother who, as their guardian, receives public assistance (AFDC) to help pay for their food, clothing, and shelter.

Cassie's situation has improved. She has a job with a collections company, making telephone calls to try to recover money owed by credit cardholders with outstanding debts. She now shares some childcare responsibilities with her mother.¹⁰ All interaction with the school, for example, falls to Cassie. She conscientiously attends parent-teacher conferences and other school-related events. Tara and Dwayne's father is in prison, and although the children saw him from time to time before he went to jail (and sometimes accompany their mother when she makes trips to the prison), he does not play a significant role in their lives.

Tara is a fourth grader at Lower Richmond school. She is short and slightly built. Her very thin legs stick out from under her crisply ironed dresses. Her hair is always neatly and cleanly parted, fixed in numerous festive pigtails tied with stretch bands, each with its own bright florescent pink, purple, or blue plastic ball attached. Curious, perky, and upbeat, she is popular both with her peers and her teachers.

In Tara Carroll's family, attending church is an activity of great importance to the adults, and of seemingly little significance to the children. Tara's grandmother takes religion very seriously. She attends her Pentecostal church every Sunday morning and often on Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday nights, as well. She (but no other member of the household) answers the telephone, "God is good. Hello?" For Ms. Carroll, religion is "the foundation" of life. Going to church, she believes, helps children

... to learn the word of God. And [it] teach[es] them the principal things--how to treat their family. How to love their neighbors. What's wrong and what's right. ...You teach them about how God loves them as they are. He's not concerned about what they have or what they've accomplished. But he is mainly concerned about their soul and their spiritual being, and how they treat their fellow man and obey their parents. And how you treat people that are older than them.

Despite the importance Ms. Carroll attaches to going to church, it seems clear that in practice, the experience has different effects and meaning, depending on the churchgoer's age and gender. All of Ms. Carroll's daughters (including Tara's mother Cassie) accompany their mother to church; none of Ms. Carroll's sons attend regularly. And, although the adult congregation appears to find the Pentecostal service lively and spiritually moving, the children remain remarkably aloof and uninvolved, despite the singing, dancing and music-making going on all around them:

A hymn, whose words only are provided in the church program, "Since I Have Been Redeemed," is initiated by the choir....It is impossible to know how many times the song is sung because the singing, apparently improvised and proceeding by direction of the

organ and drums, produces a hypnotic effect which I also feel. This “getting lost” in the music seems of course the intent: to repeatedly “praise the Lord,” with no thought for time. It seems that even after singing the same song for twenty minutes, the congregation does not want to stop. Again and again, the music dies down and then someone starts it up again and it eventually increases to a high level again.

Members of the congregation call out, clap, and dance to the music, lifting their palms in the air. Some people come to the front of the church where, moved by the spirit, they bow down. The general atmosphere of the service is much more spontaneous and less orderly than what we observed when we accompanied the black middle-class Marshall family to a Baptist church or a white middle-class Handlon family to a service at their Presbyterian church. At the Carrolls’ church, worship consists of a fluid blend of singing, prayer, and dancing:

Then there is a culminating hymn that goes on for a few minutes, getting [more and more animated], with the choir moving and dancing and drummers really going. (Cassie is fully dancing in her seat now, though she has put her coat on). It doesn't seem like anyone wants to stop singing....A lot of people have put on their coats or do so during the hymn, yet they keep dancing and singing; a few people stand up and move toward the exits at the back of the room, but no one leaves. Finally the music dies down a little, and people begin to leave; several members of the choir and drummers begin to dance freely at this point, standing up for free movement. Many people dance their way out of the sanctuary.

The service lasts slightly more than three hours (from noon until 3:15 P.M.). Although the children are generally quiet and well behaved, they do not appear to be enjoying themselves. And, with some exceptions (noted below), they are completely uninvolved in the service:

Throughout the service (both music and sermon), the children are mostly incredibly bored looking: the girls alternately stare, look tired, talk to each other, and fill out Christmas cards. As the time goes on, Tara and Dee [her cousin] start drawing pictures on their church program and look as though they're playing some kind of game. Tara also cuddles up beside her mother a couple of times during church...[Cassie] in turn puts her arm around her. The two boys [Dwayne and his cousin Tomiko] are right behind me, so I can't see what they're doing, but I hear them talk to each other at times. At one point, they both leave the pew, and then the room, for about ten minutes.

Unlike in some middle-class Episcopal churches, where children bring along books and toys and are allowed to talk and whine during the (one-hour) service, in the Carrolls' church, children are expected to participate or to be sufficiently quiet to avoid drawing the attention of an adult. Talking brings reprimands but sleeping does not:

Several times during the service, [Aunt] Sasha turns around and tells Tara specifically to be quiet. Cassie, who is sitting beside her, never does this. During the sermon, Dee and Lila [Dee's sister] go to sleep again (they are the only two children who sleep today), and during this time, Tara makes faces at and waves to a toddler who a few minutes into the sermon has walked over from her mother to sit in the lap of a teenager sitting beside me to the right.

A few times, the children, including Tara, do become briefly involved in the service by shaking a tambourine to the beat of the organ and drum music:

Ms. Carroll has a shaker and Tara has a tambourine, which she shakes intermittently at different points to the beat of the hymns, kept steady by the drums up front, with no apparent direction; the tambourine is also shared by her Aunt Patricia and her cousins as well.

Overall, though, as this field worker reflects in her notes, the children seem disengaged:

I am really struck by how unmoved the children are at church. Even during the music, they don't respond. Looking around, however, it seems to me that most of the children in the congregation have the same blank look on their faces, like they are simply waiting for it to be over with. The contrast is remarkably great, then, between the adults, who are oftentimes ecstatically moved, and the children.

This clear division between adults' and children's worlds is not limited to church settings. Day-to-day social interaction is similarly bounded. For example, once the church service has ended, Ms. Carroll and the children's aunts linger, visiting with other church members. The children wait. They look bored, but unlike their middle-class counterparts, they do not attempt to hurry the adults, nor do they ask when they will be leaving. When the adults begin to move slowly out of the church and toward a car owned by one of the aunts, the children follow. Eventually, the whole group heads to the home of one of Ms. Carroll's daughters. There, while the adults fix Sunday dinner, the children play together and watch television. Occasionally, they argue quietly

among themselves. These spats are not loud or long enough to draw the attention of the adults (who are in the next room).

When dinner is served, the children are seated at a “children’s table,” separate from the adults. Although the meal includes many different dishes (chicken, rice and gravy, rolls, stuffing, broccoli, candied yams, baked macaroni and cheese, corn, roast beef, and cut up Cornish game hen), the children eat quickly and leave:

I hear the children talking amongst themselves a little and to Patricia, but can't really get into it since Ms. Carroll sits to my right and Sasha sits to my left and they engage me in conversation.... Ms. Carroll and Patricia move to seconds easily, and so I do too, with the macaroni (of which there is a lot). I am astonished, however, at how fast dinner goes. None of the children want second servings, and they are all finished after about ten minutes, disappearing again from the dining room as quickly as they came in.

Once the children have left the table, they do not return. Thus children had a separate sphere with little if any adult intervention or verbal engagement.

In sum, Tara and Dwayne Carroll live in a world where children cater to adults. They may find activities like the Sunday church service tedious and time-consuming, but there is no question that they will attend. Middle-class children, black and white, generally are not expected to sit for such long periods, nor to spend much of their time at events or activities of importance to adults. Products of concerted cultivation, they are used to having adults’ worlds revolve around them, not vice versa. Thus, middle-class children find it difficult to adjust their behavior when they are forced to spend time in settings of little interest to them. Poor children, products of a childrearing

strategy that emphasizes the accomplishment of natural growth, tend not to nag, complain, or badger adults, regardless of the setting. They are used to deferring to adult directives.

Poor (and working-class) children have greater autonomy than middle-class children with respect to their free time. They are not enrolled in multiple organized activities and they neither seek nor get much adult involvement in their leisure pursuits. Unlike middle-class children, they do not move back and forth between their peers and adults, touching base. Poor children tend to devise their own forms of entertainment and settle conflicts without adult intervention.

Children Have a Customized Role in Church: Stacey Marshall and Alex Williams

In the church the middle-class African-American families we studied attend, the families also hear readings from the Bible, music, and sermons. The content of the message of faith in God, miracles of Jesus, and need to help others was also similar. The family sang “Blessed Assurance” and “Leaning on the Everlasting Arms” and heard a sermon on Mathew 6: 5- 15 “The Lord’s Prayer: Thy Will Be Done.” But while Tara Carroll’s church was an adult-directed experience where children were expected to defer to adults, the middle-class African American church had many elaborated roles for children to play. Indeed, core aspects of the service and of the overall program of the church were intended to service the needs of youth. Even when children were only nine and ten years of age, children were ushers, were in a youth choir, they took overnight church trips to other parts of the country, and were in special fund raisers. In addition, even though the expectations were much more abbreviated for the length of time that children were sit quietly during the service, the middle-class children chattered, gossipy, and laughed in church. In short they did not comply. Thus in the church experience middle-class families retained their emphasis on key aspects of concerted cultivation. Children also displayed a sense of entitlement.

Mr. and Ms. Marshall and their two girls, Fern (12) and Stacey (10), live on a very quiet, circular street lined with large, recently built, two-story suburban homes outside the city. Ms. Marshall is a college graduate and also holds a Master's degree in computer science. Employed full time in the computer industry, she telecommutes one day per week. Like his wife, Mr. Marshall has a college degree and was very active in his fraternity as an undergraduate. He is employed as a civil servant. Although the Marshalls' income is around \$100,000 per year, the family, especially Ms. Marshall, often worries about money and being downsized as some of her colleagues have been.

The family is busy. The hectic pace of their lives is similar to other middle-class families we observed. Stacey is active in gymnastics. Fern is active in basketball. Each girl often has three or four events per week. Both girls attend religious services, participate in the usher program, and attend Sunday school at King Baptist Church; Stacey is in the church youth choir.

King Baptist church is a congregation with a long history which is located in a modern handsomely furnished building in a suburb.¹¹ As the (bi-racial) fieldworker wrote in her analytic memo after going to church with the Marshall family:

The church seems to be a big part of the Marshall's life, and the type of church they've chosen to attend seems to me to be [consistent with] their position as middle-class Blacks. The service was not overly charismatic or noisy, and the emphasis on college education was evident.

The church, which seats 300 in the sanctuary, contains a number of symbols reflecting the fact that the African-American congregation was composed overwhelmingly of college graduates. For example a cathedral shaped stain-glassed window contained the seal of a Historically Black College on it. In addition the minister had a stole with the emblem of Omega Psi Phi which is a well-known black fraternity on it. The table had numerous leaflets including invitations for a jazz vesper services as well as information from businesses. The church also offers a number of support services for the congregation including information about scholarships. On the pamphlet describing the history of the church it lists “organizations we support.” The organizations include the NAACP, United Negro College Fund, and two colleges.

The church has a reputation for emphasizing social justice issues. In sermons it was common for the pastor to link spiritual issues with broader political themes as on this sermon in early January:

The minister spoke of the importance of carrying the “Christmas Spirit” throughout the year. His sermon was very political at times. He spoke of the federal deficit and quoted current statistics on welfare.

In contrast to the Carroll’s church’s fluid format, indeterminate length, and emotional displays, King Baptist Church seemed seemed dry and hyper-organized. The 11:00 a.m. service is over around 12:15. (The Williams like to attend the 8:00 service because it is even shorter and it always ends on time.) In addition there are a detailed and orderly set of rituals, readings, and hymns:

It was now time for us to sing "Blessed Assurance." We had to stand for that song. After we'd finished, there was a prayer where the choir and congregation sang while holding hands. The choir then sang a song. After that, there was a responsive reading from the

Bible. The choir sang after we'd finished the reading. It was time for the next hymn, "Leaning on the Everlasting Arms". There was a prayer and alter call (an invitation to come forward and join the church), after which the ushers walked back down the aisles and out the left set of doors to another room.

Latecomers are held at the door until an appropriate moment in the service:

During the service.... they would not open the doors until a particular juncture had been reached. Then they would open them and a fair-sized crowd (perhaps ten people) was allowed to enter and find a seat.

While Tara Carroll sat on the pew for three hours, at this church the children had an organized role to play in the service as "Junior Ushers." Stacey's older sister was "President" of the Junior Ushers. The girls were all expected to wear a white blouse and a dark skirt and fulfill a number of duties including handing out programs and collecting the offertory. The ushers sat together. Fern took her role seriously and directed the girls where to stand and what to do. The ushers passed out programs before the service. At key points in the service they had important duties:

Each girl was stationed on the inside and outside of the aisle with a silver collection plate.

After the appropriate prayers have been said the girls set the plates in motion. As they made their way from the outside to the inside, a girl would walk up to Stacey who was standing in the main aisle with a large wooden basket. The other ushers would empty a full plate into Stacey's basket. When they had finished, they gave the basket to the lone boy Usher. He walked it up the center aisle to present it to the pastor.

As the boy delivered the basket to the pastor, the congregation said the offertory prayer in unison:

Dear Lord, Life's troubles help us to exercise a greater faith in you. Thank you for proving your reality and love during our time of need. We bless your name for your nearness. As we bring our offerings to you, we trust that they are worthy expressions of our gratitude and love. Help us to be good trustees of all the material and spiritual blessings you have so freely given. In Jesus' name. Amen.

Thus, the children's role in church was carefully choreographed.

An enduring problem for the parents, however, was that the ushers would be noisy, giggling, and non-compliant in church. For example at one point in the service (before the offertory) the ushers left to go to the Usher Room. Ms. Williams anticipated problems, as the field workers notes:

All the rest of the ushers followed them out. Ms. Williams leaned over to me and said "They're going to go off now into the Usher's Room- sometimes if they get too loud you can hear them through the wall."

Ms. Marshall also warned the field worker about the problem before church back at the house:

Now I want to tell you about the service. Because the girls are ushers, they sit in the back of the church. I sit back there sometimes because their leader is a man and they're almost all little girls- and if they get too... [using her hands to flap back and forth to demonstrate chatting] then I generally tell them to quiet down."

During the church service Ms. Marshall sat with her husband a number of pews away from her daughters. She and her husband both made vain efforts to get them to quiet down:

At one point in the sermon, [Ms. Marshall and Mr. Marshall] both looked over to where the girls were sitting and making noise, and gestured to them to quiet down. Danny did

this by making his hand into a chatty mouth and aiming it at them (but he smiled as he did this)- the girls smiled, but continued whispering.

Indeed, the analytic memo by the field worker (who had grown up in a Baptist church) suggests that she was horrified by the girls' church demeanor:

Stacey and her friend whispered and giggled throughout the service, which struck me as extremely irreverent. The other little girls (by the end of the service, there were probably 12 girls dressed in roughly the same way) were also whispering and tittering throughout the service, so this wasn't just limited to Stacey.

It seemed like a social club for girls:

I guess I came with the notion that being an usher was some sort of solemn responsibility- it looks almost like some sort of preteen social club. The adult leader seems to have little or no control over them.

Not all children behaved in this way. Alex Williams for example was not an usher (although he was in the youth choir). Alex sat with his parents (and the male fieldworker) during church. On this Sunday, bored, he played with the program. Bessie eyed him but did not say anything. Mr. Williams also played with a six-month old baby who sat next to him for the duration of the service. During church he took the baby from his mother, held her, and allowed the child to squeeze his fingers. (The child started crying when Mr. Williams handed the child back to the mother.) Compared to the Carroll church, there was a different, more distant, role of the congregation in the middle-class Baptist church. The children were seen as being entitled to a holding a prominent, visible, and important role in the church. The role was broad enough so many children (i.e., twelve) could participate. The church also sought to make accommodations

so that children did not have to sit through the entire service by allowing the ushers to go off to the usher room. Even when in the service, however, parents' efforts to have the children sit quietly were, unlike in the Carroll family, half-hearted and ineffective.

Sunday service was supplemented with a number of other activities aimed at developing children's talents. For example, later that morning, in Sunday School, the teacher sought to have children develop an argument, as the field worker noted:

The teacher of the class was [not only] very pleasant [but] skilled. She asked the student to support their responses to her questions. She asked the students for personal examples and scriptures. The students also read aloud. This type of setting will definitely reinforce those skills which are required to be a good student.

Not only did the church arrange for many children to have a special "job" of usher during the service, it also had a youth choir. This choir rehearsed on Friday evenings beginning at 7:00 p.m. It has many events during the year including a fundraiser with special t-shirts printed up to say "I Love Jesus This Much" and have hand prints in primary colors on them. The children wore them with white shorts, white tennis shoes, and white socks. There was a special performance of the choir. These activities created demands for volunteer labor. Overwhelming the children's labor was guided by mothers (not fathers) as, for example, twenty mothers had an hour meeting to plan the outfits for the choir group as well as other children's activities. In addition, as in other elements on concerted cultivation, mothers not only helped to produce specific activities for their children. They fretted over if children were getting a suitable experience which was developing their skills and talents. For example, after choir practice ended on a summer evening, the

children ran around the parking lot, stopping to eat home-made chocolate chip cookies, then chasing and playing together. Mothers conversed:

We went back outside and chatted some with [another] mother. Part of the discussion was about the church choir teacher and how Alexander and the woman's daughter are both in the youth choir at a local music program which is much more disciplined. [They] complained about how unprofessional the church choir teacher is. Ms. Williams said, "She has the attitude that this is a kids' church choir and it should just be fun." But, she added, "The kids don't think that is good." Ms. Williams shrugged her shoulders, not taking sides.

When her son appeared, however, Ms. Williams queried him:

A minute later Alex came out. Ms. Williams asked him how it was. He shrugged and said something about it not being professional enough.... Then Alex ran around the parking lot with some of the younger kids. He seemed to have fun.¹²

In addition to the youth choir there various trips including a church trip to Disney World in Florida over a long weekend. In short, despite the similar content of religion with the emphasis on faith, hope, and charity, the churches offered strikingly different expectations for children.¹³

Discussion

There is little doubt that there has been a history of stratification in the United States; race and class are critical dimensions of stratification. What is less clear, however, is how race and class interact. One of the most important sociological questions of the day concerns the precise way in

which class and race are intertwined in daily life. There is dramatic and consistent evidence of high levels of discrimination in key aspects of life. Pager has documented decisively through audit studies the continuing persistence of racial discrimination in call-backs. Although most applicants do not receive a callback in an application for an entry level position, there is no doubt that black men, without a criminal record, receive lower rates of callbacks than white men who reveal that they are a convicted felon (Pager 2007). Figures of racial steering and discrimination have declined, housing audits do suggest that racial discrimination, particularly against African-Americans, continues. The criminal justice system clearly displays patterns of racial discrimination, particularly in sentencing (Western 2006).

Indeed, reasonable people disagree on the question of if social class has an important impact on family child rearing strategies, independent of race. The role of race and class is particularly unclear in family life. Unlike work or housing requests this is an Since the children's leisure time use is an important, and growing, part of social life, and since time diary measures are considerable better than self-reported measures of time use, this paper seeks to use the case of time spent involved in organized activities as a springboard to reflect upon broader theoretical issues.

We show that, as our earlier ethnographic work indicated, there is evidence that social class (as operationalized as mother's education) is tied to the amount of time that children spend in organized activities. We argue for the importance of including religious activities in the list of children's out-of-school activities. When children's religious activities are included, the total time spent in children's organized activities is best predicted by our measure of social class. Consistent with the our earlier work and others, it suggests that class, not race, is the key predictor of time spent in organized activities. Measured in a variety of ways, in terms of

participation in organized activities and time spent “hanging out” outside of school, the results are consistent: a race pattern between whites and blacks does not emerge in their time use. But, traditionally, blacks are more religious than whites and the black church has an historic role in social relations. Black children spend more time in organized religious activities than do white children. Hence if one considers the *type* of organized activity then a race pattern surfaces. Black children spend more time on religious activities than they do on art, music, and sports; the reverse is true for whites. The exclusion of religion from previous studies has been an important omission. Still, the interpretations of these results come down to the *meaning* of religious activities compared to art lessons, music, and sports and the degree to which parents are making decisions based on a “zero-sum” allocation of time or if the parents have ample time and are making value decisions.

The question this raises, going back to our earlier argument, is how much of concerted cultivation (i.e., the development of children’s talents and skills) compared to natural growth (i.e., parental intervention to help care for children but then seeing children as spontaneously growing and thriving) is reflected in these measures. The ethnographic data presented here is heavily limited. It only follows two black churches which are of different denominations. We know that denominations matter in crucial aspects of church life. In addition, there is significant variability across churches within the same denomination. Still, these two churches varied in the degree to which children had an elaborated structured role in the service as well as the expectations for how long children would sit and the social norms for talking and laughter during the church service. In the middle-class church, children were entitled to have more autonomy and exercise of specialized activities than in the church attended by the Carroll family. The strategies for how parents engaged with children moved into the church service; parents’ expectations in

the church were consistent with parents' expectations for behavior in other aspects of daily life.

Yet, we are hampered by a highly limited sample. In addition, it is difficult for the survey research to provide evidence about the meaning of the activities.

We cannot fully adjudicate among these possibilities with the given data set. We would speculate however that the crucial element of concerted cultivation and natural growth is in how parents' manage the activities.... do they ask children questions about it, do they seek it as a chance to develop children's talents, do they see it as part of a process of building children's horizons and skills? We do not see a reason a priori to suggest that religious activities are not part of concerted cultivation. Indeed, religious training provides an opportunity for the development of children's reasoning skills and sense of entitlement. On the other hand it is clear that there is a much more of a collectivist orientation in religion rather than an individualist one, for example in competitive sports. In addition, some families simply do not permit children to opt out of church. For families who attend church regularly, church activities are much longer in duration than most other organized activities. Thus crucial differences exist. Furthermore, the black church has a storied and crucial history in the story of the black family in America. Religious beliefs have been higher for blacks than for whites. A fuller account of why blacks are more active in church than whites is beyond the scope of this paper. The crucial question is the reasons why blacks are more likely to have their children spend time in church than in other organized activities. It could be because of time conflicts and, given the traditionally stronger belief systems, religious activities crowd out (or supplant) secular organized activities. In this view, if there was more time in the day, work schedules were more flexible, and so forth that black families were very much like to have children in more activities. Another approach is that there are the true differences in child rearing priorities and, blacks play more value on religious activities than other organized

activities. In approach, there would be a race difference in core aspects of concerted cultivation where whites, but not most blacks, seek to develop their children's talents and skills through organized activities. It raises the possibility that blacks are more collectivist in orientation than whites, a point suggested by Michele Lamont from her interviews with male workers (Lamont, 2000).

In the end, we are struck by the general impact of parents' education on time use of children. The sheer amount of time children, and undoubtedly parents, spend on these organized activities is considerable. In recent years we have seen the growth of a cultural movement of building in "unscheduled time" (which some parents then schedule on the calendar). There are books and professional advice columns of not keeping children too busy. We speculate that these trends are more likely to be taken up by middle-class parents than working-class ones and, based on this evidence, we suggest that white and black families are likely to follow the ever-changing professional advice. This large and significant difference in time allocation by social class is a key finding. The meaning of the time and the content of the time, however, remains murky. Thus there are signs that class remains very powerful in key aspects of family life and while there are ways in which it is also shaped by race, the complex interaction is worthy of investigation in the future.

¹ In this paper we restrict our analyses to whites and African-Americans in part to permit comparison with Lareau's earlier work (2003).

² Unfortunately, we are unable to break out post-baccalaureate education as a separate category of maternal level of education due to the low number of black children in the data set (only six) who would be included.

³ The coefficient for high school degree is marginally different than that for some college ($p = .059$), and is significantly different from the coefficient for bachelor's degree or higher ($p = .045$). The coefficients for the two highest levels of maternal education are not significantly different.

⁴ Although it is beyond the scope of this paper, note that while the equation for the expansive measure (Model 1, Table 2) does not exhibit a significant gender effect, offsetting gender differences are present in the models for sports activities and arts activities.

⁵ Our results suggest that for mothers who have a B.A. each child spends three hours and twenty minutes per week in organized activities. For each child over the course of a month this would be 13 hours and 20 minutes; a mother with two children the children would have about 25 hours. In the course of a year this would be 300 hours or, counting a forty hours per week full-time schedule, about nine weeks of work. As we discuss elsewhere, each hour of children's activities has other labor attached to it for parents including signing children up, purchasing uniforms, finding and cleaning uniforms, selling fundraising products, ordering photos, and so forth. Much of this labor is "invisible labor" (DeVault, 1996). Some parents stay with children during activities; others children and run errands. As a conservative measure, we simply cut children's time in half and did a "ballpark" estimate of college-educated mothers with two children spending the equivalent of one-month of full-time labor on their activities.

⁶ As in many studies, there is a confounding of race, class, and family structure. The middle-class families were disproportionately two-parent households while the poor families were overwhelmingly single-parent households

⁷ Middle-class children are those whose households have at least one parent who is employed in a position with a significant amount of occupational autonomy, usually in a professional or managerial position, and who has a college degree. Working-class children are those whose households have at least one parent who is employed in a position with limited occupational autonomy, usually in a skilled or semi-skilled position. Parents' educational level may be high school dropout or high school graduate, or may include some college courses, often at a community college. This category includes lower-level white-collar workers. Poor children are those whose households have parents who are on public assistance and do not have steady participation in the labor force. Most of these parents are high school dropouts or high school graduates.

⁸ Our sample included stepparents, boyfriends, grandmothers, and guardians caring for children, as well as biological parents. For brevity, in the text we use the term "parent" to refer to the person who was primarily responsible for caring for the child and who was the one with whom the child lived. Usually, but not always, this was the biological parent. Mothers and fathers were interviewed at separate times; where possible, non-custodial fathers (or grandparents) who played an important role in children's lives were interviewed as well. The first author (a middle-age white woman) and a small group of white and African American assistants conducted a total of 137 interviews. Each interview lasted approximately two hours and followed a specific format that included ample opportunity for respondents to provide open-ended answers.

⁹ The visits were not restricted to the participants' homes. Members of the research team accompanied the children (often in the presence of other family members) as they went to medical check-ups, sports practices, music recitals, church services, etc.; team members also observed the children as they "hung out" at home or in the neighborhood, playing with friends or relatives. In every case, at least one of the fieldworkers who regularly visited belonged to the same racial group as the child, and in most instances there was one fieldworker of the same gender. For a fuller and more detailed description of the methods used in this research, see Lareau (2003)

¹⁰ There is some ambiguity in the roles each woman plays in the children's lives. Cassie, for example, often defers to her mother on key decisions, such as whether Tara and Dwayne could be in the study. On the other hand, Ms. Carroll often defers to her daughter. Thus, when the children complain about attending a tutoring project in the housing development office, she accepts Cassie's decision that the children do not have to be in the program:

...I guess they didn't like it...They said [the adult tutors] had attitudes....And so they complained to their mother about the attitudes, and she said, "Don't send them down there." So I don't. ...I think they just didn't want to go. Period. I didn't take it to heart. I really didn't take it seriously. I just didn't send them.

¹¹ We recruited our families from the same general geographic area. We interviewed 18 middle-class African-American families with a child who was nine or ten and we carried out participant-observation with two families. It is not surprising then that some attended the same church, including the two families we observed. As it happened we observed the Marshall family many months after we visited the Williams family. They attended different services. Thus we never ran into the other family at church. Nor did we ever discuss it. [After the study was over Ms. Marshall indicated that she thought she knew the identity of the Williams family but we sought to brush it off just indicating that we could not tell anyone who she was and of course we could not discuss it with her.] Hence in this excerpt we have field notes from the same church which we attended with different families. We also have interviews quotes about this church from other families. Unfortunately, in the poor and working-class families we followed, only three regularly attended church. They did not attend the same one. We attended one vacation Bible study with one working-class African-American boy (Tyrec Taylor) but he was kicked out of it for misbehavior part of the way through the evening. We also attended one service with a bi-racial child who attended a predominantly white church. This church had a Sunday school but it did not offer usher roles, youth choir, or other elaborate youth programs for children ten years of age. (The youth program for teens was more elaborate.) Given the limited information from the other cases and due to space constraints we have focused our discussion on only two churches with African-American congregations. Of course, our discussion is very incomplete. For a discussion of variation in the religious experiences of youth see Christian Smith (2005).

¹² At the end of that season, Alex dropped church youth choir. His father had vociferously objected to him being in two choirs (due to concerns about masculinity) but Ms. Williams had overruled him. In addition his father reported that there was concern he was too busy. Shortly after he dropped it, however, he added Friday night basketball. We suspect that the concerns that the choir was not "professional" enough played a role but we did not have an opportunity to ask Ms. Williams or Alex about this issue.

¹³ There were also differences in how adults and children interacted in the car rides. In Tara Carroll's case her grandmother did not own a car but Tara's aunt did. The children, aunts, and grandmother crowded into the car after church to go to dinner at an aunt's house. (There were not enough seatbelts.) Tara was quiet the entire time. At one point Ms. Carroll criticizes her daughter and then talks about Tara's brother, "I better not talk about Cassie because Dwayne always starts balling if I talk about his mother" but Dwayne looks back at her (without any affect) and she does not ask him question. He does not initiate talk with her. The amount of speech is considerably less than in the middle-class families. For example in the drive home from church, Mr. and Mrs. Williams engage in a teachable moment:

Alex reads a two paragraph essay and mispronounced the word lead. He pronounced it as [Pb+]. The context suggested it [should] have been pronounced as in lead-er. Both of his parents allowed him to complete the paragraph before they interrupted him. Ms. Williams was seated in the back seat behind Alex. She asked, "Go to the beginning and read it over again. I think you mispronounced a word." Alex reread it again mispronounced the word again. Mr. Williams chimed in, "That word is pronounced lead [lead-er]." [Periodically glancing at Alex as he made a right turn on a major thoroughfare] he continued, "That is a trick word. You have to look at the context to see how the word is pronounced." Alex reread the paragraph again and repeated both pronunciations.

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Table 1. Descriptive Statistics

	Mean (SD)
Outcome Measures (Minutes per Week)	
Organized activities (expansive measure)	205.5 (307.2)
Organized activities (religious services excluded)	141.2 (265.7)
Non-religious organized activities	111.9 (247.7)
Religious organized activities	93.6 (201.0)
Sports-related organized activities	66.8 (204.7)
Arts-related organized activities	26.4 (95.3)
Child's Race	
Black	0.43 (0.50)
Class Measures	
Mother completed high school ^{a,b}	0.38 (0.49)
Mother completed some college	0.30 (0.46)
Mother completed bachelor's or more	0.20 (0.40)
Log of income, 1993-1997 (constant 1997 dollars)	10.51 (0.89)
Income missing in one or more years	0.20 (0.40)
Log of total wealth, 1994, 1999 (constant 1998 dollars)	9.14 (3.95)
No wealth dummy	0.13 (0.34)
Family Structure and Labor Market Participation^c	
Female headed household, mother working	0.25 (0.43)
Female headed household, mother not working	0.05 (0.23)
Dual parent household, mother not working	0.14 (0.35)
Controls	
Child's Age (years)	9.01 (2.01)
Child's Gender (Male = 1)	0.51 (0.50)
Number of children under 18 in household	2.43 (1.03)
Blended family ^d	0.07 (0.26)
N (Unweighted)	1155

^aReference category is mothers with less than a high school education

^bRefers to biological, adoptive or step-mother who is the child's primary caregiver.

^cReference category is dual parent family in which both parents are working.

^dIncludes step-parent families.

Table 2. Tobit Regressions of Alternative Measures of Children's Minutes per Week in Organized Activities

	Model 1: Expansive Measure	Model 2: Religious Services Excluded	Model 3: All Religious Activities Excluded
Child's Race			
Black	3.7 (83.0)	-234.5 ** (80.8)	-360.4 *** (100.3)
Class Measures			
Mother completed high school ^{a,b}	166.1 (145.8)	165.5 (169.4)	157.3 (219.0)
Mother completed some college	258.0 + (151.7)	245.2 (174.1)	282.6 (223.8)
Mother completed bachelor's or more	367.1 * (166.6)	334.3 + (191.6)	331.7 (243.5)
Log of income, 1993-1997 (constant 1997 dollars)	66.2 (52.3)	71.2 (60.8)	83.4 (73.8)
Income missing in one or more years	-192.9 * (82.1)	-168.4 * (83.6)	-215.6 * (104.4)
Log of total wealth, 1994, 1999 (constant 1998 dollar)	5.4 (18.5)	-4.0 (19.3)	2.9 (21.6)
No wealth dummy	-46.8 (194.3)	-132.4 (205.3)	-48.7 (236.4)
Family Structure and Labor Market Participation^c			
Female headed household, mother working	-46.0 (109.7)	-22.9 (106.4)	65.1 (125.1)
Female headed household, mother not working	309.2 * (77.6)	448.7 ** (167.6)	350.8 (228.6)
Dual parent household, mother not working	179.2 * (77.6)	208.3 * (83.3)	217.9 * (94.9)
Controls			
Child's Age (years)	30.4 ** (11.2)	36.6 ** (12.2)	44.0 ** (14.6)
Child's Gender (Male = 1)	50.0 (45.7)	77.6 (47.2)	91.2 + (55.1)
Number of children under 18 in household	-35.3 (26.2)	-63.3 * (26.5)	-89.5 ** (32.7)
Blended family ^d	20.0 (121.2)	-90.7 (121.3)	-66.6 (145.6)
Constant	-1337.3 * (551.6)	-1274.1 * (639.6)	-1551.5 * (774.7)
Log Sigma	6.3	6.3	6.3
Left-censored observations	625	740	845
Total observations	1155	1155	1155

+p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Note: Robust standard errors adjusted for clustering of children in families are in parentheses. Analysis weighted by 1997 CDS child weight. Sample includes children ages 6-12. Children with only one time diary day were eliminated from the models.

Note: Models also include controls (coefficients not shown) for the weekday on which a diary was collected, the weekend day on which a diary was collected, and the total amount of time unaccounted for in the diaries.

^aReference category is mothers with less than a high school education

^bRefers to biological, adoptive or step-mother who is the child's primary caregiver.

^cReference category is dual parent family in which both parents are working.

^dIncludes step-parent families.

Table 3. Tobit Regressions of Children's Minutes per Week in Different Types of Organized Activities

	Model 1: Religious Activities	Model 2: Sports Activities	Model 3: Arts Activities
Child's Race			
Black	205.8 * (81.4)	-437.2 ** (134.4)	-93.9 (61.6)
Class Measures			
Mother completed high school ^{a,b}	84.3 (99.7)	96.6 (257.1)	236.9 * (101.8)
Mother completed some college	115.6 (110.6)	95.1 (262.9)	357.0 ** (103.7)
Mother completed bachelor's or more	271.8 * (120.6)	211.1 (283.3)	374.9 ** (115.4)
Log of income, 1993-1997 (constant 1997 dollars)	10.8 (48.0)	210.8 * (86.6)	-18.4 (62.5)
Income missing in one or more years	-112.4 (82.4)	-246.7 (154.1)	-25.2 (76.5)
Log of total wealth, 1994, 1999 (constant 1998 dollars)	-2.5 (24.0)	-8.9 (29.7)	23.7 (19.4)
No wealth dummy	-139.5 (234.7)	-308.4 (340.2)	337.3 (208.7)
Family Structure and Labor Market Participation^c			
Female headed household, mother working	-99.0 (104.9)	-48.0 (167.7)	-54.6 (76.5)
Female headed household, mother not working	145.6 (139.6)	678.1 + (353.7)	-2.1 (160.5)
Dual parent household, mother not working	7.4 (61.4)	178.2 (137.8)	74.9 (62.7)
Controls			
Child's Age (years)	-3.1 (10.5)	60.5 ** (22.2)	32.1 ** (11.6)
Child's Gender (Male = 1)	-42.5 (47.2)	395.2 *** (93.6)	-209.0 *** (48.2)
Number of children under 18 in household	17.5 (26.3)	-110.0 * (48.8)	-30.8 (28.9)
Blended family ^d	128.2 (133.3)	-304.1 (212.0)	-47.3 (118.1)
Constant	-873.0 + (494.1)	-3305.4 (894.2)	-865.6 (669.6)
Log Sigma	6.1	6.6	6.0
Left-censored observations	861	989	1027
Total observations	1155	1155	1155

+p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Note: Robust standard errors adjusted for clustering of children in families are in parentheses. Analysis weighted by 1997 CDS child weight. Sample includes children ages 6-12. Children with only one time diary day were eliminated from the models.

Note: Models also include controls (coefficients not shown) for the weekday on which a diary was collected, the weekend day on which a diary was collected, and the total amount of time unaccounted for in the diaries.

^aReference category is mothers with less than a high school education

^bRefers to biological, adoptive or step-mother who is the child's primary caregiver.

^cReference category is dual parent family in which both parents are working.

^dIncludes step-parent families.