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Intensive parenting

Perspectives on Parental Time and Mediation of Technology Use

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Defining the problem

While there has been an upward trend in the time parents and children spend together (Bianchi 2011), there is also intensifying parental anxiety about whether the former are spending enough time with children (Milkie et al. 2004; Nomaguchi et al. 2005; Roxburgh 2006). Moreover, a growing number of studies are investigating parental stress and relations between parenthood and mental health (e.g. Ruppaner et al. 2019; Rizzo et al. 2013; Nomaguchi – Milkie 2020). The 'parenthood paradox' is the term used to describe the discrepancy between the expectations of being a parent and the empirical evidence that parenthood is linked to poor mental health (Rizzo et al. 2013). Moreover, there is growing empirical evidence that parenting is more stressful today than it was in earlier decades (Nomaguchi – Milkie 2020). Similarly, a recent study in the United States (Crouch 2017) showed that most parents report that raising kids is more challenging today than it was when they were kids. Parents also consider that technology and social media use play the most important role in the feeling that parenting is so complicated.

These trends highlight that cultural expectations about and experiences with parenting have changed enormously over the last couple of decades in Western societies, resulting in the development of contemporary parenting culture (Hays 1996; Nelson 2010; Furedi 2001). This ideal was introduced and described by Sharon Hays' concept of intensive mothering (1996), which argued that mothering has become resource-intensive: mothers are required devote large amounts of time and energy to their children to ensure their proper development (Hays 1996). Furthermore, increasing risk awareness has also contributed to the changes in parenting (Furedi 2001). Therefore, parental monitoring and supervision have also become important elements of the new style of parenting. Consequently, these changes primarily concern the intensification of parenting – namely, the extension and social inflation of the parental role (Furedi 2001). While the rise of this parenting cultural script emerged first in the US and the UK, in recent years it has also spread beyond these countries (Dermott – Pomati 2016; Gauthier et al. 2021).

The emergence of intensive parenting might explain the anxiety of today's parents about the time they devote to their children. Cultural views about parenting are dominated by considerations about the quality of parent-child relationships, and time is increasingly perceived as one of the most important components of those relationships (Roxburgh 2012). Although the significant impact of parental time on children's wellbeing and cognitive and

social outcomes is well documented in the literature (Offer 2013; Hsin – Felfe 2014; Milkie et al. 2010; 2015), debate about the impact of the quality of parental time is increasing (Milkie et al. 2015; Waldfogel 2016; Fomby – Musick 2018). This debate is based on the claim that what matters is not the total amount of shared time, but rather *how* parents spend time with their children (Hsin – Felfe 2014). The concept of quality time – as one of the parental resources – has become an important aspect of the new parenting ideal (Snyder 2007; StGeorge – Fletcher 2012). This concept dominates the popular debate on parenting in media, and in recent years several sociological studies related to parental time have also been published about this concept, yet the notion of quality time remains completely vague. Moreover, there is a relative lack of empirical evidence about how parents and children spend time together (Craig et al. 2014). A squeezed feeling of time might influence the quality of parental time and level of parental engagement (Kutrovátz 2017).

Since the contemporary cultural norm of parenting emphasizes parental omnipotence in relation to the future of offspring (Furedi 2001), it might be a crucial dilemma for parents how to navigate adolescents' technology use – this concern is reflected in findings about the parenting of perceptions, as mentioned above. Technical devices might lead to the acquisition of new skills and knowledge and increase the cognitive outcomes of children (Camerini et al. 2018), and the future labour market will expect specialized knowledge and technological skill. However, based on the time-displacement approach, screen time used for entertainment or social media might compete with that available for other enrichment activities such as school-related assignments or extracurricular activities (Camerini et al. 2018). There is currently a debate about the effect of screen time on children's mental health in the academic discourse, with some empirical findings revealing that screen time is correlated with a lower level of subjective wellbeing (Fitzpatrick et al. 2019; Cao et al. 2011) – a fact that might further increase parental concerns.

Consequently, there is growing interest in parental mediation strategies related to children's technology use in the public and academic discourse. The concept of parental mediation refers to the communication and behavioural strategies applied in parent-child relations regarding children's technology and internet use (Clark 2011; Livingstone et al. 2011). Therefore, mediation of adolescents' technology use might be a particularly relevant topic within the framework of intensive parenting.

Expectations about intensive parenting may seem to involve mothers and fathers similarly, but empirical evidence show that responsibilities – in both domains: parental time and parental mediation – have remained unequal. Thus, parenting practices are highly

gendered and can lead to more stress and frustration for women than for men (Ishizuka 2019; Faircloth 2014; de Haan et al. 2018; Kirwil et al. 2009).

Furthermore, these changes are not independent of parents' social positions. In terms of parenting behaviour, there is consistent empirical evidence that social class might differentiate these practices (Lareau 2003; Ishizuka 2019; Nelson 2010). Consequently, the cultural norms of parenting and class differences in parenting practices based on diverse cultural conceptions might predict a range of child outcomes and thereby contribute to comprehending the role of family in the intergenerational reproduction of inequality (Lareau 2003; Ishizuka 2019).

Most of the studies on parenting focus on young children and neglect teenagers and approach parental time from a developmental perspective, thus their results emphasize the significance of early years (Waldfogel 2016; Milkie et al. 2015; Bianchi – Robinson 1997; Fomby – Musick 2018; Gracia – García-Román 2018). In agreement with this, parental time has been associated with fewer behavioural problems and better academic performance, and might positively affect children's wellbeing (Offer 2013; Hsin – Felfe 2014; Milkie et al. 2010; 2015). However, recent findings from the US show that spending time together with parents might be as beneficial for older children as for younger ones (Milkie et al. 2015: 358).

However, parents and their teenage children spend less time together compared to past generations because of their greater involvement in activities outside the home or highly scheduled everyday lives (Ashbourne – Daly 2012; Vaterlaus et al. 2019). Moreover, adolescence may be a more stressful period than early childhood. A recent study from the US (Meier et al. 2018) reports that parents of teenagers are less happy spending parental time than parents of toddlers and infants.

Additionally, intensive technology usage is particularly typical of teenagers (Aarsand 2007), and there is growing evidence that entertainment technologies – such as videogames and content consumption on various screens – play a pervasive role in the lives of teenagers (Gardner – Davis 2013; Pew Research Centre 2018).

Consequently, this dissertation focuses on young adolescents aged between 12 and 16 years old. It is important to note that in the following sections the terms children, adolescents, and teenagers will be used simultaneously, but all refer to this period of life.

1.2. Research questions, aims, and relevance

The aim of this research is to explore how ideals about contemporary parenting shape parental time perceptions and the parental mediation of technology use. Therefore, the dissertation focuses on strategies related to the parenting of adolescents, investigating the patterns of time parents and their teenage children spend together, and the parental mediation of technology usage. This thesis seeks to increase understanding of what role these practices play in parenting today.

This study argues that the patterns of parental time and parental mediation might reflect contemporary parenting ideals. First, the dissertation focuses on different aspects – quantitative and qualitative – of parental time, and especially on the subjective perceptions of family members. In terms of time perceptions, the cultural standards of good parenting underline the importance of spending not just enough time but also quality time with children. On the one hand, growing time pressure might influence parental time perceptions, thus the research investigates the experience of hurriedness and focus in parental time. On the other hand, based on ideas about parental determinism – namely the claim that parents' practices are aimed at cultivating children's skills and abilities for the sake of the latter's developmental and educational outcomes (Faircloth 2014; Furedi 2001; Nomaguchi – Milkie 2020) – cognitive enhancement is considered of crucial significance during the period of adolescence, thus the study investigates those events and activities that are seen to be important in this respect.

The technology use of adolescents might be beneficial, but also risky (Livingstone et al. 2017), and it has become a parental responsibility to navigate children's technology use to improve their digital skills, enhance their ability to manage different forms of technology, and to mitigate the possible harms associated with their use. Parental mediation strategies are the forms of these types of navigation, and I argue that the underlying aims of these are in line with the ideals of intensive parenting.

Consequently, this study investigates how the diverse forms of parental time and parental mediation influence the subjective quality of parenting. Additionally, it explores how parents consider parental time; how consciously they mediate teenagers' technology use; and what their intentions are with these practices. Understanding these factors might highlight some features and differences in contemporary parenting in Hungary.

Researching parental behaviour might contribute to a deeper understanding of social expectations related to parenting that may differ according to social stratification and parental gender. Therefore, investigating dimensions of parenting might be crucial for understanding

the maintenance of inequalities or their increase. Furthermore, research on parenting is still lacking in Hungary, so a better understanding of the features of contemporary parenting might reveal some important characteristics of family functioning.

Last, the research investigates and compares both parents' and children's subjective perceptions, satisfaction, and opinions about parental time. Investigations concerning family dynamics typically concentrate on parents and do not involve the perspective of children (Milkie et al. 2010; Kremer-Sadlik – Paugh 2007; Christensen 2002) – although there are some examples of the investigation of parental time from children's point of view that have generated paradoxical results and thus underline the importance of what are considered the quality dimensions of parental time by the actors themselves (Galinsky 1999; StGeorge – Fletcher 2012). In previous decades, research that has sought to capture the child's perspective has become a topic of interest in international social studies (Christensen – James 2000; Greene – Hogan 2005). The practice of defining childhood as a social product has become popular in sociological debate, leading to the interpretation of children as a social group (Christensen – Prout 2005; Mayall 2000). Consequently, the 'missing voice' of children is interpreted in relation to their disadvantageous position and their dependence and subordination to adults (Christensen – Prout 2005). Therefore, understanding the child's perspective is crucial for integrating the opinion of this neglected social group into the sociological debate.

The Covid-19 pandemic has alerted us the importance of the diverse resources involved in spending quality time and of digital skills. It has significantly changed how parents spend time together with their children – on the one hand, it has enabled more time and more intensive activities together; on the other, the parental role in children's education has strengthened. Related to the educational role, the pandemic has shown the embeddedness of technology in parenting practices and education. As a result, pre-existing inequalities in childhood in terms of parental time and technology usage have become much more salient in society.

The study is based on a mixed-methods research approach that enables the merging of the generalisability and explanatory nature of quantitative methodologies with the explorative aims of qualitative methodologies (Hesse-Biber 2010). The research is based on data from a representative Hungarian quantitative survey – conducted in 2017 – that included parent-child dyads. The survey covers subjective estimations and evaluations of parental time, screen time, parental mediation strategies of technology use, parenting, work-life balance, and wellbeing.

Additionally, I also analyse semi-structured interviews carried out with 29 parents of 12–16-year-old teenagers in Hungary in 2019.

The novelty of this dissertation is threefold. First, the study explores the diverse patterns of parenting practices of adolescents in two domains – parental time, and the parental mediation of technology usage – in Hungary within the framework of intensive parenting. The representative Hungarian data contribute generalizable findings to the scholarly work based on mostly qualitative approaches to this topic, and might add to the small international literature (e.g. Faircloth et al. 2013; Ennis 2014; O'Brien et al. 2020; Gauthier et al. 2021).

On the one hand, the findings might unveil the growing pressures of parents that may be caused by changing expectations regarding parenting (Van der Lippe 2007). On the other hand, the results might show how contemporary parenting can reinforce pre-existing inequalities in childhood and perpetuate new kinds of social inequalities in children's outcomes.

Second, the research might broaden the debate about whether quantity or quality time matters by integrating the subjective perspectives of family members – especially the voice of children – on parental time, potentially contributing to the refinement of the quality time concept.

Third, since family and parenting research is dominated by a quantitative approach (e. g. Nomaguchi – Milkie 2020; Bianchi – Milkie 2010), applying mixed methods might reveal some important and still unexplored aspects of family functioning. Additionally, it might provide some explanations for the growing feeling of parental anxiety about parental time and about increasing parental stress that might contribute to a deeper understanding of parenting mechanisms.

1.3. Structure of the thesis

The dissertation is structured as follows: as a point of departure, it describes the theoretical background of the research that intends to link two domains that are considered the manifestations of intensive parenting in adolescence: parental time, and the parental mediation of technology use.

First, the features of intensive parenting ideal will be elaborated. This is followed by a description of parental time approaches and parental mediation strategies. This section ends by linking the different elements of the theoretical framework. In the next chapter (Chapter 3), I review the related international and Hungarian literature that focuses on parenting, parental

time trends, adolescents' use of technology, parental mediation, and the related influential factors. Subsequently, the research questions and hypotheses will be formulated (Chapter 4). The dissertation follows with a presentation of the methodological considerations and the research design. This chapter (Chapter 5) includes a discussion of the data collection process and sampling, and a description of the analytical approaches. Chapter 6 describes the research findings. This section is divided into two parts: first, the survey results, and afterwards the qualitative findings. This is followed by a joint interpretation of the empirical results from both strands of this mixed-method study, in line with the research questions (Chapter 7). The thesis ends with a summary of the main empirical findings of the research and draws conclusions. This section also discusses limitations and proposes areas for further research (Chapter 8).

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In the theoretical background[1] of this dissertation, the features of contemporary parenting ideal are demonstrated and two domains of parenting – parental time and parental mediation of technology use – related to changing parenting norms are highlighted.

The importance of spending enough time and valuable time with children has emerged in relation to the popular and scientific discussion about contemporary parenting (Offer 2013; Snyder 2007; StGeorge – Fletcher 2012). Therefore, the issue of parental time makes up one of the core elements of the dissertation. Since the main aim of the research is to grasp several facets of time as it applies to families, with a focus on parent-child interaction, the diverse approaches and conceptualizations of parental time will be elaborated.

On the other hand, in focusing on adolescents in this research, mediating technology use has also become a new responsibility of parents, and thereby a new domain of modern parenting. This section also reviews the concepts of parental mediation from the perspective of intensive parenting.

Therefore, in the following I will focus on contemporary parenting concepts. First, the chapter will discuss the concepts and features of intensive parenting, reflecting on changing expectations. Additionally, the approaches to parental time will be elaborated, and two conceptual notions related to time will be demonstrated – namely, family time and quality time. Furthermore, some concepts of parental time will be discussed. This is followed with a description of the parental role in the mediation of technology use and the diverse forms of parental mediation. The chapter ends by linking to the theoretical framework: it highlights the intensive practices that occur in parental time and parental mediation.

2.1. Concepts of intensive parenting

Numerous scholars have investigated the development of contemporary parenting culture, and have argued that what we think about parenting concerning expectations and behaviour has changed significantly, especially in Western society (Hays 1996; Nelson 2010; Furedi 2001). These changes are twofold. First, the intensification of parenting concerns the widening scale of parental duties: the extension and social inflation of the parental role. On the other hand, it has changed in a way that, through parenting, parents are encouraged to perform their own identity (Furedi 2001:106). Faircloth and colleagues (2013) summarize this identity-adopting

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[1]In this section I draw on papers published in Review of Sociology (Kutrovátz 2017) and in socio.hu (Kutrovátz et al. 2018).

feature in the following way: "Most of all [parenting] means being both discursively positioned by and actively contributing to the networks of ideas, values, practices and social relations that have come to define a particular form of the politics of parent-child relations within the domain of the contemporary family" (Faircloth et al. 2013:2).

This thesis focuses on the former shifts: on the extension and expansion of the parental role. There is an increasingly explicit focus on parents and parental behaviour, which is a result of emerging contemporary parenting (Lee 2014). Accordingly, there is a growing range of activities, in addition to physical care, that are nowadays perceived as parental obligations concerning childrearing. Additionally, parents are seen as wholly responsible for their children's development and their future outcomes (Faircloth 2014:25). First, Sharon Hays (1996) introduced the concept of 'intensive mothering' in relation to exploring new expectations about motherhood in the United States in an influential book. Hays defines the new commitments that characterise contemporary mothering in the following way: "the methods of appropriate child rearing are construed as child-centred, expert-guided, emotionally absorbing, labour intensive, and financially expensive" (Hays 1996:8). Consequently, a range of intensive styles of parenting have appeared, which are also reflected in popular debates about 'tiger moms' and 'helicopter parents' (Faircloth 2014; Dermott – Pomati 2016).

After Hays' (1996) influential findings, other scholars (Furedi 2001; Nelson 2010; Lareau 2003) also defined the intensification of parenting, applying other conceptual frameworks. In line with these concepts, I highlight the following most important elements of contemporary parenting ideals: child-centeredness (1), expert guidance (2), monitoring (3), parental responsibility (4), and last, parental investment (5).

First, Hays (1996) highlights child-centeredness in her definition of intensive mothering. Accordingly, the child's needs take priority in family life, and should even come before those of their parents, and children should be at the centre of parents' attention. In terms of child-centeredness, changes in the meaning of childhood should be underlined that have occurred within a broader context of social, demographic, and economic transformations (Bianchi et al. 2006). Zelizer (1994) suggests the emergence of modern childhood through an investigation of economic activities in families. In her often-cited work, entitled *Pricing the Priceless Child,* she argues that the 'new sacred child' is a result of the sentimentalization of childhood regardless of social class. Investigating this transformation in the United States from the end of nineteenth century, the author suggests that as children have tended to work less for the family, they have lost their economic value but have become 'emotionally

priceless' within the family. Zelizer summarized this new normative ideal of the child in the following way: "The new sacred child occupied a special and separate world, regulated by affection and education, not work or profit" (Zelizer 1994:209). Bianchi and colleagues (2006) also underline changes in beliefs about the ideal childhood when investigating parental time trends and parental time pressure.

Being at the centre of parents' attention also means ensuring that the child's proper development is one of the most important tasks of parenting, and related to this, that mothers should be aware of related expert guidance. The relevance of expert guidance in contemporary parenting indicates the pressure that parents should listen to experts' knowledge about how best to raise children. Child-centredness and paying attention to experts are the two major characteristics of intensive mothering that are also identified by Lee and Bristow (2009).

The relevance of constant monitoring and supervision in contemporary parenting is discussed in influential pieces of work by Frank Furedi (2001) and Margaret Nelson (2010). Furedi (2001), in a book called *Paranoid Parenting,* published in the UK, applies risk as an underlying concept and argues that today's parents constantly worry and question whether they are parenting correctly (cited by Faircloth 2014).[2] The scholar argues that a culture of fear has led to increasing risk awareness and parental concerns are dominated by the need to ensure children's safety. In terms of risk, Faircloth (2014) underlines the role of the social constructivist approach to childhood that contributes to changing perceptions about children and might underpin contemporary parenting ideals. This approach proposes that children are defined as a unified social group, which highlights some specific similarities (Christensen – Prout 2005). Children's vulnerability – namely, that they are more vulnerable and more exposed to persuasion and manipulation (Hill 2005) than adults – is one of these similarities, according to the present social constructivist approach. Thus, children are assumed to need more protection. Faircloth explains the interrelation in the following way: "Centring on the definition of children as 'at risk', it is this way of thinking about children, what they need, and the problems of how adults relate to them, that makes 'paranoid parenting' possible" (Faircloth 2014:37). Consequently, adult supervision and parental monitoring have also become important elements of the new style of parenting. The old standards involving everyday practices, like children's unsupervised outdoor activities, letting children go to

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[2] Related to this, from another perspective Hays (1996) emphazises the requirement of emotional work associated with parenting that is associated with worries and feeling of guilt.

school alone, or older children supervising younger ones, are nowadays considered irresponsible parenting (Edwards – Gillies 2013).

Similarly, Margaret Nelson (2010) terms the intensive style of parenting parenting out of control. She underlines the relevance of surveillance in modern parenting. Nelson (2010) argues that technological changes might also contribute to shifting types of parenting and thereby serve as a perfect means of meeting the requirements of modern parenting. She also investigates how the usage of technologies defines the practices of contemporary parenthood. She suggests that baby monitors and cell phones are means of hovering over children and being constantly present, monitoring them, and being involved in the life of children at any age. Accordingly, these devices serve as surveillance tools. The above-mentioned term 'helicopter parenting' describes the phenomenon of this overprotectiveness (Dermott – Pomati 2016).

In terms of parental responsibility, the notion of 'parental determinism' (Furedi 2001) indicates that parental behaviour and interventions determine the future of children, thereby emphasizes parental omnipotence. Accordingly, the logic of intensive parenting means that parents are seen as being totally responsible for their children's social and emotional outcomes and educational success (Faircloth 2014; Hays 1996). As Gauthier and colleagues (2021) summarize: "it captures the overall pressure that parents feel in terms of their own personal responsibility to do their best for their children" (Gauthier et al. 2021:341).

Connected to this, parental investment has become of great importance. The term 'concerted cultivation' as an intensive parenting approach introduced by Anette Lareau (2003) refers to this constant parental work of helping children to achieve their potential. The importance of cognitive enhancement is reflected in many activities which are seen as indicators of good parenting, such as reading with children, helping with homework, and attending cultural programs (Dermott – Pomati 2016). Additionally, the inclusion of extra-curricular activities in the day-to-day lives of children is also aimed at their cultural development (Lareau 2003). The aforementioned term 'tiger moms' refers to this phenomenon, as the latter push children to do extra-curricular activities to ensure their academic success (Dermott – Pomati 2016). A recent study terms this phenomenon 'stimulation' (Gauthier et al. 2021).

The requirement of a high level of parental investment points out the resource-intensive feature of modern parenting that includes the importance of continuous availability – 'being there' – for children (Nelson 2010; Gauthier et al. 2021). Consequently, intensive mothering suggests that time with mothers has become especially highly valued (Milkie et al.

2015), so the norm reflects the high expectations that a good mother is always available for her children (Nagy – Paksi 2014; Milkie et al. 2010).

Two specific factors are discussed in the literature that are significantly associated with parenting norms and practices: parents' gender, and social class. The following section elaborates on these two aspects in detail.

2.1.1. Gender

Parenting is highly gendered (Ishizuka 2019, Faircloth 2014). First, the norm of intensive mothering has emerged and strengthened in our societies, although the expression of and emphasis on parenting tends to conceal the reality that mothers undertake most caring tasks and are primarily responsible for their children (Faircloth – Lee 2010). However, in the academic discourse special attention is paid to the new type of fatherhood (LaRossa 1988; Spéder 2011). The category of 'new' or 'active' fatherhood emerged in the 1960s in social research in the United States. According to the most popular view of changing fatherhood, this redefinition of the role of fathers in the family is a consequence of changes in women's positions in society, as a result of which families face greater challenges with arranging childcare. The result is that ideals of 'fathers' have evolved in American society that involve active, caring involvement and a close emotional bond between father and child (LaRossa 1988). (The gender regime in the Hungarian context will be described in Chapter 3.4 in more detail.)

Furthermore, Nordic societies are regarded as especially apt examples in terms of supporting involved fathering, with the rapid expansion of both parental leave and flexible working provisions targeted at fathers since the 1990s (O'Brien et al. 2007). Consequently, a growing number of investigations focus on the issue of work-life balance in men's lives (Kvande 2009; Halrynjo 2009; Biggart – O'Brien 2010; Galinsky et al. 2013) that are also intended to explore societal obstacles to active fatherhood (Brandth – Kvande 2001; Barnett – Baruch 1987; Burnett et al. 2011). Although Ishizuka (2019) argues that social expectations about mothering and fathering are increasingly similar in contemporary Western societies, the reconciliation of work and family commitments mainly concerns women (Schor 1991, Hochschild 2001; Young – Schiemann 2018). Moreover, becoming a parent strengthens traditional patterns: as mothers leave the labour market, the working time of fathers increases (Craig – Mullan 2010). Moreover, the gendered nature of parental leave might add to perceptions of unequal labour at home (Rehel 2014). In spite of Ishizuka's (2019) argument,

Faircloth (2014) suggests that there is also empirical evidence about the difference in mothers' and fathers' responses to parenting ideals. These results confirm that it is mostly women who are responsible for the work associated with ensuring children's health and wellbeing and enhancing their cognitive development (Shaw 2008; Shirani et al. 2012).

2.1.2. Social class

Social class is a further factor that significantly determines the parenting experience. Intensive motherhood prescribes obligations, and thereby serves as a normative standard rather than a description of the practices of every mother (Milkie et al. 2015). It is important to underline that new expectations about parenting are deeply influenced by the norms of the middle-class (Dermott – Seymour 2011). However, Hays (1996) argues that since the "middle class presents the most powerful, visible and self-consciously articulated model readily apparent in public discourse and policy" (as cited by Faircloth 2013: 26-27), intensive styles of parenting operate as culturally dominant beliefs. However, prior research has generated conflicting results about the relation between the orientations towards parenting norms and social class. Some scholars argue that there are no differences in terms of supporting intensive parenting norms (Edin – Nelson 2013; Hays 1996; Ishizuka 2019), whereas others suggest that parents conceive good parenting differently in terms of social class (Edin – Kefalas 2005; Calarco 2014; England – Strivastava 2013; Lareau 2003, Weininger et al. 2015). Researchers argue that these differences might be identifiable in parental time (England – Strivastava 2013), in attitudes towards child-rearing styles (Lareau 2003), and in beliefs about schooling and appropriate classroom behaviour (Calarco 2014).

In terms of parenting behaviour, there is consistent empirical evidence that social class might distinguish these practices (Lareau 2003; Ishizuka 2019; Nelson 2010). First, economic resources – strongly connected to the family structure – and human and social capital can influence how individuals meet the requirements of the ideals of intensive parenting (Dermott – Seymour 2011). The consumption of material goods that defines diverse methods of parenting requires access to a certain level of economic resources (Faircloth – Lee 2010). The ability to organise cultural programs, go to movies or buy board games and books is strongly dependent on the financial situation of the family. Furthermore, the intensive style of parenting also demands a specific skill-set – namely: "a certain level of expertise about children and their care, based on the latest research on child development, and an affiliation to a certain way of raising a child and a particular educational strategy" (Faircloth 2014: 31). The ability to make these choices is typically the privilege of well-educated parents (Faircloth

– Lee 2010). Often, mothers at the bottom end of the socioeconomic ladder do not have the knowledge or resources to live up the cultural expectations of modern parenting (Nomaguchi et al. 2016).

Lareau's (2003) research demonstrates that parenting practices, particularly parent-child shared leisure activities differ not (only) by parental educational level but rather by social class, since class identities shape cultural attitudes and parental values. The author investigated parenting in the United States with a focus on behaviour and reported that the family's social class position shapes the cultural logic of child-rearing. She differentiated between the child-rearing styles of the middle-class (specified as the above-mentioned 'concerted cultivation') and of the working class and the poor (named the 'accomplishment of natural growth'). The author posits that concerted cultivation – a more intensive parenting approach – is responsible for transmitting parents' advantages to their children. Accordingly, satisfying a child's wants and needs are at the centre of parenting practices, thus everyday life is organized around children's programs. Moreover, parents of the middle class are more likely to give children choices and to prepare them for success by encouraging them through the use of structured enrichment activities and verbal interaction and reasoning. In addition, they are more likely to negotiate with them about 'proper' behaviour and offer reasoned explanations. In contrast, the 'accomplishment of natural growth' – the child-rearing style of the working class and the poor – involves providing basic care for children and allowing them to mature. Further, there is a clear distinction between adults and children: children of less privileged parents are more likely to acknowledge parental authority; these parents are more likely to use directives as the basis of parental discipline (Lareau 2003).

Similarly, Nelson (2010) also proposes the existence of class differences in parenting practices. In her research, professional middle-class parents demonstrate an intensive parenting style that she terms 'parenting out of control', as mentioned above. Nelson (2010) suggests that these parents intend to extend and defend childhood. She defines the following five components of this intensive parenting model: a strategy of ongoing availability (1), flexibility (2), intimacy (3), a belief in their children's boundless potential (4), and claims of trust (5). Similar to Lareau's findings (2003), parents of a higher social class are more likely to rely on discussions and negotiations. By contrast, in 'the working class and middle class … parenting styles draw on concerns about concrete dangers, an awareness of youthful indiscretions, and a desire to see children mature sooner, rather than later' (Nelson 2010:175).

Moreover, mothers of the 'underclass' define their motherhood in relation to these dangers; the core elements of their identity are the provision of safety and material sufficiency

(Edin – Kefalas 2005). Low-income single mothers in economically marginal neighbourhoods in Philadelphia also share widely accepted ideas about the importance of quality time as a relevant feature of good parenting, but their interpretations significantly differ from those of middle-class mothers. These mothers reported the value of 'being there' for their children – meaning spending time with them, paying attention to them, being together with them, and supporting them with the primary aim of protecting them from the dangers of their neighbourhood streets – such as drug and alcohol use, crime, or early pregnancy. Even participating in extracurricular activities has this protective function, and it is not cultivation that is emphasised. However, the norm of self-sacrifice that is also embraced in the model of intensive parenting is strong among them, but low-income mothers value survival, while middle-class value achievement through child-rearing (Edin – Kefalas 2005).

Consequently, the cultural norms of parenting and class differences in parenting behaviours based on diverse cultural conceptions might predict a range of outcomes of children and thereby contribute to comprehending the role of the family in the intergenerational reproduction of inequality (Lareau 2003; Ishizuka 2019; England – Strivastava 2013).

To sum up, the new style of parenting has become recourse intensive as it demands large amounts of time, energy, and material resources. There are two assumptions: that parental determinism and children's vulnerability have expanded parenting such that parents now feel a responsibility to cultivate their children's abilities and skills to help them achieve their potential and ensure their healthy physical and emotional development through a growing range of activities (Faircloth 2014:26).

Furthermore, although expectations about the intensive style of parenting seem to concern mothers and fathers similarly, responsibilities remain unequal and parenting practices are highly gendered, potentially leading to more stress and frustration for women (Ishizuka 2019; Faircloth – Lee 2010; Faircloth 2014). Further, social class differences in the norms of parenting, and especially in parenting practices, might explain the mechanism behind the social reproduction of inequality (Ishizuka 2019; Lareau 2003, 2015).

2.2. Parental time

The time parents and children spend together is one important aspect of intensive parenting, as contemporary parenting ideals prescribe the intensive involvement and continuous availability of parents (Hays 1996; Nelson 2010). Parental time can include all kinds of parent-child interactions, including interactions with only one of the parents, so it consequently refers to both maternal and paternal time.

First, I present briefly the social context to assist in the comprehension of parental time, then I review the diverse approaches to and typologies of parental time.

The squeezed feeling of time in contemporary Western societies represents the social context of parental time. Although contemporary families have the largest amount of leisure time at their disposal in the course of history (Kremer-Sadlik – Paugh 2007), there is growing evidence about time famine in academic and popular media (Sullivan – Gershuny 2001). Numerous researchers emphasize the effect of the volatility of labour markets, and as a result focus their attention on changes in working conditions (Schor 1991; Van der Lippe 2007), describing the new working organisations and time regime as post-Fordist (Van Echtelt et al. 2009). These organisations' knowledge-based approach has led to the growing autonomy and responsibility of employees (Kvande 2009; Perrons et al. 2005; Van der Lippe 2007; Van Echtelt et al. 2009). In this working regime, the ideal worker (Acker 2011:76) "is expected to be at work at set times, focused only on the tasks at hand, responsive only to demands of supervisors, available for long working hours, and unhampered by other responsibilities, such as children and housework". Consequently, availability has become an important value: it is not time but rather the moral obligation of task completion that regulates work (Kvande 2009; Perrons et al. 2005; Van der Lippe 2007; Van Echtelt et al. 2009) – this results in a boundless time culture where completion of an important call or meeting and tasks determine the end of working time (Kvande 2009). This flexibilization leads to the erosion of socio-temporal structures, while the absence of fixed institutional temporalities makes it difficult to coordinate the two spheres (Southerton 2003).

While flexible working arrangements are typical of the service sector and particularly of white-collar workers (Kvande 2009), it is important to note that time pressure and a boundless working culture is not only typical of these sectors. Time poverty can also be associated with economic poverty, and can involve workers with fixed schedules, as it "can cut across differences in education, occupation, and social class" (Hobson et al. 2013:83). Moreover, global economic pressures and downturns make the labour market more

precarious, and those who are engaged in low-paid sectors with insecure working conditions, have secondary jobs, and work long shifts, are especially affected.

These changing characteristics of work influence family life, the nature of parenting, and the time spent with children (Wajcman et al. 2008; Galinsky 1999; StGeorge – Fletcher 2012).

2.2.1. Approaches to parental time

The current discourse about parenting underlines that cultural views of parenting are dominated by the quality of parent-child relationships, and that time has become one of the most important components of that relationship and therefore of the parenting experience (Roxburgh 2012). A diversity of approaches can be seen in the literature that express the significance of the time parents and children spend together. In the following section of this paper, these ideas will be elaborated.

There is a broad concept of family time which reflects on the importance of spending special time with family and children. This concept includes the idea that our lives should be organised in a child-centred way (Gillis 2003) and mirrors a romanticized version of family life, where emphasis is placed on the creation of quality time that promotes family well-being (Daly 2001). Consequently, family time refers to an idealized, infinite time which families live according to (Ashbourne – Daly 2012). Daly (2001), in investigating the ideal of family time, distinguishes three attributes of this concept. First, according to parents, family time is dedicated to the social production of memories. Secondly, togetherness and positive time are at the core of this notion. Last, this time may be particularly highly valued when it involves spontaneity. As a consequence, family time refers to family rituals, traditions, and family events, and also time which might be spontaneously used but enables an experience of togetherness (Daly 2001; Ashbourne – Daly 2012) – like time spent together watching movies and playing games. Offer (2013) suggests that family time is thereby considered to promote family functioning and enhance individuals' well-being. The scholar argues that there are two approaches to assessing family time. First, the idea that close parent-child relationships are constructed by the routine activities and everyday tasks associated with family life, such as family meals or doing household chores. Second, when viewing family time from the quality time perspective, structured and organized child-centred leisure activities are the focus (Offer 2013). Offer (2013) claims that both types might be beneficial to adolescents' wellbeing: routine activities create shared parent-child experiences of everyday life, while organized

leisure time enables family members to relax and experience togetherness. Consequently, family time thus emphasizes the importance of quality itself.

The concept of 'quality time' emerges in the frame of family time. This qualitative aspect of time comes to the fore; the notion of quality time primarily accentuates the nature of interactions, not the amount of time families spend together: consequently, the emerging concept of 'quality time' differs from its temporal characteristics, and subjective experience is highlighted. Accordingly, time is considered a social construction which includes values and beliefs about how individuals should efficiently use their time (StGeorge – Fletcher 2012).

In terms of parenting, quality time is an often-used concept that operates as a cultural model of the modern parenting ideal (Snyder 2007). Accordingly, Snyder (2007) describes the significance of quality time as follows: 'Quality time' "has become part of our cultural discourse concerning what it means to be a 'good' parent" (p. 320). Bittman and Wajcman underscore the importance of focus in parental time: "there is also increasing emphasis in Western culture on spending 'quality time' with children, that is, devoting undivided attention to their activities" (Bittman – Wajcman 2004:183).

It is important to highlight that Offer (2013) suggests that this approach – one that reflects the idealized image of family life – has been the subject of much criticism in the literature since this cultural ideal might cause stress and frustration for parents.

However, quality time reflects the problem of time scarcity in family life (Kremer-Sadlik – Paugh 2007) by emphasizing the importance of the quality not the total amount of time the family spends together. Since during adolescence parents and their children spend less time together than in earlier years because of children's greater involvement in activities outside the home, or fixed daily schedules, the problem of time scarcity in families might be highly relevant in this period (Ashbourne – Daly 2012). In contrast, a growing feeling of time pressure might hinder parents from paying undivided attention to their children.

Furthermore, as ensuring long-term outcomes is of great significance in contemporary parenting, quality time concerns beliefs about how parents should spend time with their children to enhance positive outcomes for them, and ensure their proper development, subjective wellbeing, and close parent-child relations (Snyder 2007; StGeorge – Fletcher 2012). In line with this, quality time has been defined in the literature as the amount of time that is spent on activities of a particular quality which are seen as interactive or enriching for children, like reading, talking, playing or eating with parents, etc. (Milkie et al. 2015; Kalil et al. 2014). Therefore, several studies have underscored the importance of the content of interaction (Hsin 2009; StGeorge – Fletcher 2012). This approach is reflected in the changing

denotation of activities reported in diaries: the latter suggested that the emphasis shifts from activities themselves to more childcare-related activity (e.g.: from 'went to football with son' to 'took son to football') (Sullivan – Gershuny 2001:341-342).

Lareau (2003) also argues that it is a parental responsibility to guide children's daily activities in a way that encourages their cognitive abilities and helps build specific values, preferences, and skills. Similarly, Shaw (2008: 695), when discussing family leisure, proposes the following: "Activities, outings and vacations are typically selected, organized and managed for the sake of the children. However, this is done not simply in terms of whether the children are expected to enjoy the activities, or whether the activities are deemed to be age appropriate, but also what the children will learn from or gain from their participation."

Accordingly, there are diverse approaches to describing quality time in studies based on time-use data, and most of these studies conceptualize parental time from a developmental perspective[3] and consider parental time as a form of social capital based on James Coleman's (1988) argument (Bianchi – Robinson 1997; Fomby – Musick 2018; Gracia – García-Román 2018).

Coleman (1988) argues that social capital is crucial for children as it facilitates the creation of social outcomes, and relationships among and between individuals encompass this capital. Therefore, he suggests that the social and cultural resources of parents can be utilized only through interactions that will enhance a child's cognitive development. Accordingly, social capital in the family refers to the time parents and children spend together when parents devote undivided attention to the child. Therefore, the nature of children's time use, including parental time, is crucial for their human capital and long-term outcomes (Hofferth – Sandberg 2001). Moreover, those skills that children obtain from engaging in different daily activities have become decisive in increasingly competitive skill-based labour markets. For this reason, Esping-Andersen (2009) underlines the importance of parental time investment in understanding rising inequalities. He argues that the quality of resources and social interactions may put children who are at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder in a worse position, regardless of the amount of parental time, "Consequently, the way parents engage in cultural-related activities with children is relevant to identify the mechanisms behind the reproduction of social inequality" (Gracia 2015:291).

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[3] The theoretical approach of developmental psychology (Kirk 2007) defines childhood as a developmental period; as a phase of growing up (Christensen – Prout 2005). Investigations in line with this approach have created empirical evidence about the importance of early childhood, the latter which is claimed to significantly determine later cognitive and mental development and future success (Waldfogel 2016).

In line with the developmental perspective about children's time use, there is a large body of literature that provides typologies of parental time based on this approach (Bittmann et al. 2004; Thomsen 2015; Gracia – García-Román 2018; Fomby – Musick 2018). In the following section, I review these typologies, focusing on adolescence.

2.2.2. Concepts of parental time

First, Bittmann and colleagues (2004) approach parental time by emphasising the diverse developmental features of activities. The authors consider that forms of face-to-face parent-child interaction – such as teaching and helping with homework, telling stories, playing together, listening to and talking with children, and reprimanding them – mainly promote children's linguistic, cognitive, and social skills, and support their health and emotional wellbeing. The authors term these types of activities *developmental childcare.* However, they argue that in terms of adolescents, *travel and communication* are of crucial significance. This includes transportation to school and extracurricular activities, attending school programs, having discussions with the child and the organisation of their programs. The authors suggest that this type of care is highly important since it demands the parent's full attention (Bittmann et al. 2004: 142-43). This also reflects Lareau's (2003) notion, who posits that it has become a parental responsibility to arrange children's daily activities even when they are not together.[4]

Last, activities such as monitoring and supervision are labelled *low intensity childcare* and refer to activities in which parents remain in the background, including being available for the children (Bittmann et al. 2004:143.).

There is also a significant body of literature that takes the standard approach to differentiating parental time (Hofferth 2006; Milkie et al. 2015; Lemmon et al. 2018). This highlights social capital accumulation as a function of shared time, but also the importance of parental accessibility. Accordingly, Milkie and colleagues (2015) differentiated two important forms of maternal time for children's developmental outcomes. First, the authors argue that 'accessible time' might ensure monitoring and supervision and thereby provide security for

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[4] In line with Lareau's (2003) argument about the importance of organizing children's everyday lives, Kalil and colleagues (2012) identified four categories of parental investment based on different developmental stages. The authors argue that the relative importance of the activities for children's advancement depend on their particular developmental period. Consequently, the following subdivided four categories – basic care involving routine tasks and physical care (1), play (2), teaching (3) and management (4) referring to organizing programs and monitoring children – fit the different developmental stages such as infancy, toddlerhood, the preschool period, and middle childhood. Kalil and colleagues (2012) emphasize that, although during middle childhood parents and children spend less time directly interacting, parents intend to ensure the provision of enriching academic and social opportunities through managing children's time use and monitoring their activities and social networks.

children and promote their school performance. Additionally, as described above, 'being available' is a significant cultural element of contemporary parenting ideals, especially for mothers. On the other hand, the authors highlight the importance of 'engaged time', which refers to direct interaction. Despite this, Milkie and colleagues (2015) emphasize that studies that focus on the amount of time spent on specific activities do not typically consider the level of parents' engagement in particular tasks (Milkie et al. 2015).

Furthermore, the recent concept of *parenting package* has been introduced by Fomby and Musick (2018) to capture the nature of time and to broaden the notion of quality time. The scholars propose that rather than focusing on shared activities considered as quality time, the broader – material, emotional and interpersonal – context should be examined. Therefore, this concept emphasizes the parents' material and emotional resources and the context of parent-child interactions, including parental styles and strategies (Fomby – Musick 2018). Accordingly, Fomby and Musick (2018) distinguish six indicators of the parenting package: emotional support (1), cognitive stimulation (2), the frequency of parent-child discussions (3), punitive parenting (4), parental school involvement (5), and child time in educational and structured activities (6).[5]

Besides direct parent-child interactions that aim to enhance the cognitive and behavioural skills of children, family meals also appear as one of the important aspects of parental time in the diverse typologies. A large body of literature is investigating the importance of family meals. Most of them study the nutrition- and health-related aspects of eating meals together and the impact of this on adolescents' wellbeing or risk-taking behaviour (Eisenberg et al. 2004; Fulkerson et al. 2006). However, eating meals with family members is also a significant element to consider in relation to researching the functions of parental time. Some scholars argue that these shared meals are considered to represent family unity, togetherness, and an organized family life. Furthermore, shared mealtimes are viewed as a crucial activity for ensuring the socialization of children and creating a particular family identity through the ritual and transmission of specific values and meanings (Larson et al. 1996; Fulkerson et al. 2006; Hofferth – Sandberg 2001). Consequently, Offer (2013) proposes that, concerning parental time, family meals are considered the best researched family routine that might be beneficial for adolescents' wellbeing.

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[5] There is persistent evidence that adolescents' time use is significantly related to problem behaviours – such as substance use or criminal behaviours. Social control theory suggests that family support and parental time might protect children from risky behaviours (Barnes et al. 2007). However, researching the role of risk-taking behaviour in the family time context in more detail is outside the scope of this dissertation.

2.2.3. Screen-based activities in the context of parental time

The technology use of parents and teenagers might significantly change the characteristics of time (Mesch 2006). However, it is important to differentiate between the diverse technologies. While the traditional entertainment media portfolio includes television, video games, music, etc., media such as social network sites and cell phones are forms of new social media. This distinction leads to the identification of diverse forms of interaction: the former are regarded as passive, whereas the latter enable active connection with others (Coyne et al. 2014). However, usage of both types may influence family time and interactions in a two-way process. First, according to the time-displacement explanation, spending time on video games alone or chatting with friends might have a negative impact on family time. Second, using ICT creates new forms of accessibility (Nelson 2010), thereby possibly enhancing the connectivity of the family, while family interactions might be activated by using entertainment media together (Mesch 2006; Coyne et al. 2014).

Similarly, concerning television viewing Livingstone (2009) also suggests that there are contradictory images about this activity in the family context. The idealistic notion of television viewing emphasizes that it creates family togetherness and provides an opportunity to discuss TV programs, etc. Further, watching TV together, considered as an everyday routine, might enable "quality moments of positive interactions marked with affection and love that may aid in maintaining personal and family well-being" (Kremer-Sadlik – Paugh 2007:297). On the other hand, the present diversity of programs means that television viewing most likely does not involve a shared family experience. Moreover, from a developmental perspective, a large amount of time spent watching TV or on other media activities may be seen as detrimental to more enriching activity (Livingstone 2009; Camerini et al. 2018).

In line with these paradoxical approaches, investigations typically apply one of two different approaches to time spent TV watching and media. Some studies consider watching television as a form of leisure time that might enhance family wellbeing (Offer 2013). On the other hand, and underlining the developmental feature of children's time, screen-based activities are viewed as risky in relation to school performance and subjective wellbeing (Gracia – García-Román 2018). Although Gracia and García-Román (2018) do not focus particularly on parental time, but rather on children's time use, the importance of direct and indirect parental guiding and mediation are accentuated. Accordingly, the authors differentiate between watching TV and engaging in other electronic activities, including playing video games, using mobile phones, computers, and iPads etc., as two negative aspects of developmental time use when focusing on late childhood and adolescence (children aged

between 10 and 16). The scholars underline that these risks accompany screen time when parents do not guide or mediate these activities.

As Figure 1 demonstrates, the trends described above are highly interrelated. The underlying notions of intensive parenting ideals have resulted in diverse approaches to describing the similar changes in and features of parenting – namely, the intensification and growing responsibility of the parental role. The accelerated change in technology use is having a very complex and controversial impact on the contemporary life of families. Devices provide new opportunities for family members to connect to each other, experience togetherness in their everyday practices, or spend family leisure in a new way. However, use of technologies – especially when children use devices alone – increases the risk awareness of parents, thus contributing to the further intensification of parenting. In addition, technology also serves as a tool of modern parenting (e.g. for surveillance). Consequently, the forthcoming section elaborates the diverse forms of parental mediation of technology connected to the intensive style of parenting.

Figure 1. Concept map
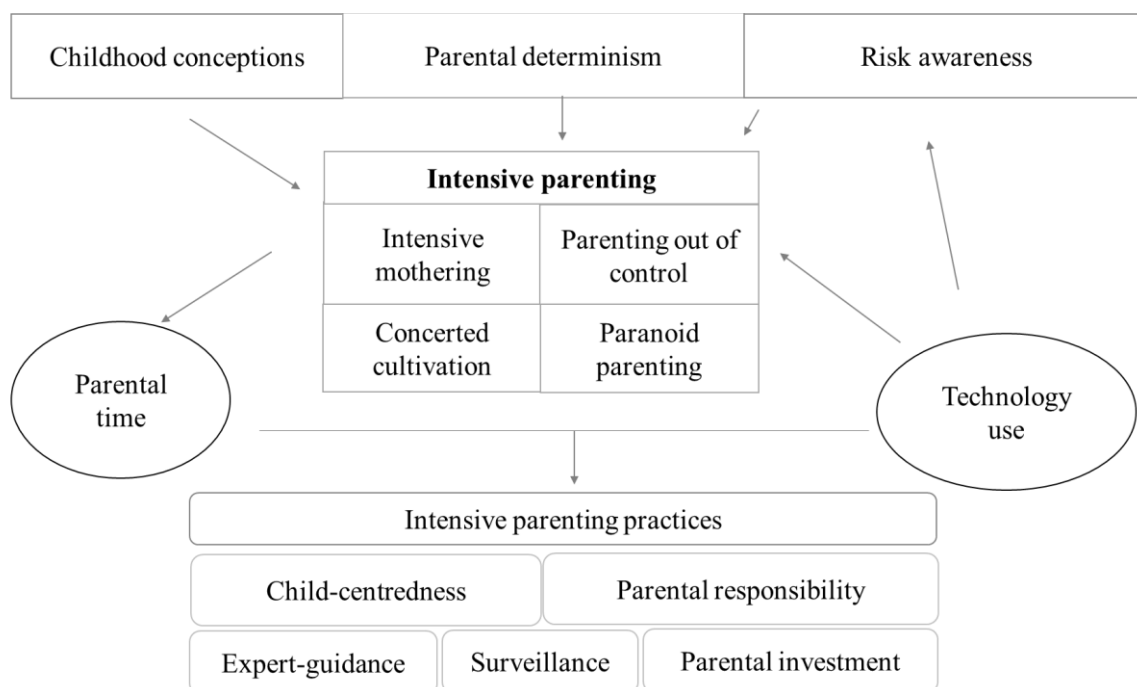
2.3. Parental mediation of technology usage

The technology usage of adolescents might be particularly relevant in the framework of understanding the contemporary norm of parenting. First, the importance of children's cognitive enhancement is underlined. Accordingly, the use of technological devices might create new skills and knowledge, thereby enhancing children's cognitive outcomes (Dermott – Pomati 2016). However, screen time might also compete with other enrichment activities (Camerini et al. 2018; Gracia – García-Román 2018). Notwithstanding, technological affordances serve as a means of monitoring children, and, as described above, monitoring has become an important aspect of contemporary parenting ideals. Additionally, concerning parental time this dual nature of technology usage is elaborated in the previous section.

These concerns are also reinforced by the generational digital divide: adolescents' perceptions about technology and their usage is very intensive and related patterns significantly differ from those of adults (Aarsand 2007; Dén-Nagy et al. 2012). Adolescents use devices more frequently, and they perceive themselves to be more proficient than their parents (Fletcher – Blair 2014), thus they also value social technology more in their life (Lee, S.-J. 2013). Furthermore, adolescence is a challenging period concerning communication and interaction because of the latter's development and changing role in the family (Fletcher – Blair 2014, Lee 2013). Therefore, the technology usage of children might be also a new challenge associated with parenting and parental time.

In line with this, Lee and colleagues (2010) suggest that parents' 'lack of awareness' based on their lower level of knowledge emerges in discussions about the threats of technology usage. This results in the fact that 'out of touch' parents might be seen as risky for their children, which strengthens the idea of the intensification of parenting expectations.

Additionally, the importance of obtaining digital skills should be underlined. The concept of digital cultural capital grasps the phenomenon of the reproduction of the competence of managing technology and points out the relation between parental digital literacy, patterns of digital media use, and children's digital skills (Yuen et al. 2018; Ollier-Malaterre et al. 2019). Related to this, parental attitudes towards technologies are defined by their social relations: parents that possess digital skills – because of their jobs – can more easily improve their children's digital literacy (Hollingsworth et al. 2011).

Consequently, there is growing interest in parental mediation strategies related to children's technology use in the public and academic discourse. The term 'parental mediation' is used to describe parent-child interactions – communication and behavioural strategies – related to children's use of media. Additionally, it also includes parental responsibility for

setting and enforcing rules about the usage of technology and the internet to minimize the potentially negative impacts of media and maximize the benefits of usage (Fletcher – Blair 2014, Clark 2011)[6].

There is consensus in the academic literature about the main forms of parental mediation: these include *active mediation*, *restriction*, and *co-using* strategies (Clark 2011; Gentile et al. 2012; Camerini et al. 2018). This classical approach was introduced in line with empirical investigations about control over watching television. Restrictive mediation refers to parental control over technology use, primarily concerning the duration and content of use. Active mediation is aimed at educating individuals to behave properly on social media, negotiating, interpreting and discussing about access to content (Zaman et al. 2016).

Over the past decades the focus has gradually shifted from the study of television to the mediation of internet and mobile device usage (e.g. Garmendia et al. 2012; Mascheroni et al. 2016; Nikken – Schols 2015; Dedkova – Smahel 2020). Due to digitalization and the emergence of new tools and platforms, it is also necessary to learn and understand new mediation strategies. On the one hand, new tools and software have emerged to block and filter content; on the other hand, it has become possible to check the user's activity after use, such as through accessing browsing history or reading messages (Symons et al. 2017a).

In terms of internet use, there is an often used – primarily in connection with the EU Kids Online project – four-dimensional division of parental mediation strategies (Talves – Kalmus 2015). This typology distinguishes between active mediation and co-use and three forms of restrictive strategies. Similarly, active mediation and co-use points out parents' notable role in screening and helping with the proper use of new technologies. The first form of the restrictive strategy is setting rules and limits on the duration and content of use. The second form is the use of technical controls, such as the use of tools for filtering content. Last, the monitoring of activities should be mentioned, such as reading messages or browsing previously visited websites (Talves – Kalmus 2015).

Beside the classical approaches, research that explores parental mediation has introduced new strategies or new terms that describe similar approaches, such as deference, supervision, or participatory learning (Symons et al. 2017a; Zaman et al. 2016; Clark 2011).

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[6] Several studies – especially psychological investigations (e.g.: Konok et al. 2020; Özgür 2016; Valcke et al. 2010) – approach parental behaviour in terms of influencing children's digital technology usage by applying the concept of parental styles (Baumrind 1967, 1991). Parental styles refer to a wider dimension of childrearing patterns and do not focus on a single parenting behaviour (Konok et al. 2020). A detailed discussion of parental styles is outside the scope of this dissertation. I argue that the approach of parental mediation might grasp intensive parenting ideal practices more thoroughly.

Zaman and colleagues (2016) identified the distance strategy as a new form of parental mediation, and distinguished two types of the latter which were previously used in empirical literature. First, a strategy of *deference* is intended to educate children about independent and responsible behaviour and tries to avoid parental intervention with use (Zaman et al. 2016; Sasson – Mesch 2014). Second, supervision refers to situations when a child might use the technology alone, but in the presence and under the supervision of the parent (Symons et al. 2017a; Zaman et al. 2016). A participatory learning strategy, somewhat similarly to active mediation, involves 'parents and children interacting together with and through digital media' (Clark 2011: 323). Moreover, instead of hierarchical, top-down knowledge transfer, a more open, reciprocal dialogue can be created, which privileges the learner (the child), and makes room for dialogue between partners (Clark 2011: 333). Consequently, due to technological development a more symmetrical position might be created between children and parents.

2.3.3. Forms of parental mediation as intensive parenting practices

In this section,[7] I review the forms of parental mediation from the perspective of intensive parenting. There are several typologies in academic literature, making it difficult to compare and assess the different parental mediation strategies. However, there are terms that emerge in each categorization, and many concepts overlap with each other. In a recent systematic literature review of articles published over the past ten years we identified and unified four parental mediation strategies: namely, restriction (1), active mediation (2), monitoring (3) and deference (4) (Kutrovátz et al. 2018). In the following I elaborate on these types in more detail.

First, *restriction* concerns limiting access, content, or social media use, or buying affordances and devising specific rules about how to use technical tools (Kutrovátz et al. 2018). Although restrictive mediation might be especially effective in terms of reducing screen time or risk, it can also result in a forbidden fruit effect; on the other hand, its effectiveness might depend on the authority of parents (Naab 2018), which might conflict with contemporary parenting standards. Moreover, the restriction approach hinders opportunities to enhance children's digital literacy and resilience, and undermines the child's agency in their relationship with their parents (Mascheroni et al. 2018).

The second form is *active mediation*, which, often implemented with the *co-use* of technology, is aimed at educating users to behave properly on social media, including

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[7] In this section I draw heavily on a manuscript I submitted for publication to a special issue of Intersections (Kutrovátz 2021).

negotiating, interpreting, and discussing about (buying) and accessing to content (Kutrovátz et al. 2018). In terms of intensive parenting, active mediation might enhance the acquisition of specific skills and knowledge that enable appropriate online behaviour and improve digital literacy. Further, these practices also support the child's agency, enable negotiations, and promote reasoned explanations.

Monitoring is the third form: as a strategy it focuses mostly on controlling activities on social networking sites and checking the content thereby consumed or shared. A part of monitoring may be controlling children's electronic devices (checking browsing history, interactions, and messages) as well (Kutrovátz et al. 2018). As surveillance is highly important in contemporary parenting, monitoring children's online activities might be a relevant part of this ideal. In relation to that, Daneels and Vanwynsberghe (2017) identified a new manifestation of monitoring: when parents use mobile applications and social media accounts only for monitoring purposes.

A strategy of deference is intended to educate children to engage in independent and responsible behaviour, and tries to avoid parental intervention with use (Kutrovátz et al. 2018). Consequently, related aims are also in line with those of intensive parenting; however, this form is not an active one in terms of practices but rather emphasises the significance of showing examples. In connection to that, parents might acknowledge the increasing independence of adolescents because they might feel the "need to grant more decision-making authority to young people as they age" (Clark 2011, p. 325). What is more, several studies pointed (Clark 2011; Riesmeyer 2021) to the issue of reverse socialisation (when children teach parents how to use digital media devices) in parental mediation while underlining the equal agency of parents and children (Clark 2011).

The following table (Table 1) demonstrates the diverse strategies according to their aim(s) and means.[8]

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[8] This table was presented in a paper published in socio.hu (Kutrovátz et al. 2018). The cited references are discussed in this paper in more detail.

Table 1. Parental mediation strategies – aims and means

Forms of parental mediation	Aim	How? By what means?
1. Restriction	− access (device, location, time) *(Symons et al. 2017a, Symons et al. 2017b)*	− rules *(Talves–Kalmus 2015)* − technical controls *(Symons et al. 2017a, Talves–Kalmus 2015)*
	− content	
	− interactions/social media use *(Symons et al. 2017a)*	− rules
	− online shopping *(Zaman et al. 2016)*	− rules − e.g. allowed to download free applications
2. Active mediation + co-use	− appropriate behaviour on social media *(Symons et al. 2017b)* − content (buying) *(Zaman et al. 2016)* − access (device, location, time) *(Zaman et al. 2016)*	− interpretative mediation *(Symons et al. 2017a)* − participatory learning *(Zaman et al. 2016)* − supervision *(Symons et al. 2017a, Zaman et al. 2016)*
3. Monitoring	− social media use, interactions *(Symons et al. 2017b)* − content	− monitoring (browsing history, interactions, messages) *(Symons et al. 2017a, Talves – Kalmus 2015)*
4. Deference *(Zaman et al. 2016)*	− teaching responsible and autonomous online behaviour	− non-intervention *(Sasson – Mesch 2014)*

Source: Kutrovátz et al. 2018: 58

There have been further changes in theory building concerning parental mediation: *enabling mediation* (Livingstone et al. 2017) is a more complex category than active mediation, as it focuses on setting up a framework that guarantees safe internet use, thus allows for the positive effects of media usage to appear. Accordingly, beside active parental mediation, it includes the use of technical control measures and monitoring too. This form of parental practice empowers children and supports their active engagement, and strengthens the positive uses of the internet (Livingstone et al. 2017). Enabling mediation therefore covers the widest spectrum of intensive parenting practices.

In conclusion, the parental mediation of technology is discussed in the theoretical literature as an important practice for mitigating the harm of intensive or risky usage. Moreover, some strategies may aim to maximize the benefits of usage by helping with the acquisition of specific skills and knowledge about appropriate usage and facilitating children's agency, while other forms are more effective at decreasing screen time and the risk of technology use, thus may focus on ensuring the child's wellbeing. Last, monitoring children's online activities might enable their surveillance and provide a safe online environment. Therefore, I conclude that the parental mediation of technology use is strongly connected to social and cultural expectations of modern parenting, strengthening the idea that it may be a specific domain of contemporary parenting practice.

2.4. Linking the theoretical frameworks: Parental time and parental mediation as intensive parenting practices

This section briefly elaborates the focus of this study by highlighting the connection between the two domains – parental time and parental mediation – of intensive parenting (see Figure 2). I argue that intensive parenting can be grasped comprehensively by examining the practices of these two fields.

In the thesis I investigate parenting by focusing on two intensive features; namely, parental responsibility, and parental investment. I argue that parental responsibility might represent a more general level of intensive practices: the overall pressure parents may feel because of their growing responsibility to ensure their child's mental and physical health and proper development can influence everyday parenting practices.

However, parental investment is similar in that it might also be considered a form of parental responsibility. However, parental investment is more concrete and reflects the labour-intensive feature of intensive parenting and emphasizes the conscious practices that aim to benefit children.

In terms of parental time, the nature or quality of time comes to the fore in the theory. Therefore, parental time is theorized to underline the developmental perspective and to emphasise the importance of engagement in enrichment activities. This active involvement in shared activities reflects parental responsibility to organize and manage time parents and children spend together in a way that might be beneficial – mentally, developmentally and physically. This highlights the suggestion of Shaw (2008) that family leisure might be considered to be parental – especially maternal – work. This form of time engagement is also

related to parental investment since parents need to utilize various resources to spend parental time effectively. On the other hand, the value of 'being there' is an important feature of contemporary parenting, and this expectation of parental responsibility might also increase the feeling of pressure.

Concerning parental mediation, the emergence of new technological tools and the related significant change in adolescents' leisure time has created this new domain of parenting. Since media use is associated with potential harm, parents are seen as 'risk managers' (Lee et al. 2010) in terms of navigating and restricting children's technology use. Therefore, I argue that conscious and engaged forms of parental mediation have become the most relevant responsibility of contemporary parenting. Additionally, restrictions might be highly effective at mitigating the risk of media use. However, as the restriction approach does not foster digital literacy, I underscore the relevance of active mediation in the framework of intensive parenting too. Active mediation addresses the acquisition of specific skills and knowledge through media use. Therefore, it also requires parental investment: continuous negotiations and explanations are labour intensive and demand a high level of digital knowledge and a high degree of involvement in children's technology use.

Figure 2. Intensive parenting in parental time and parental mediation
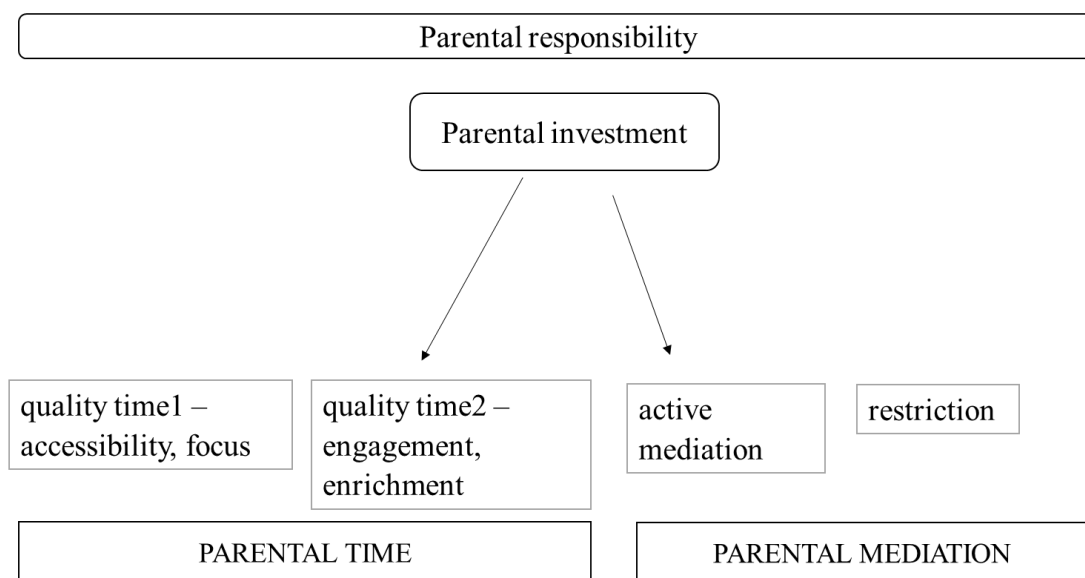
To sum up, related to the intensive parenting ideal, this dissertation focuses on two aspects of parental time, especially quality time: namely, accessibility and engagement. I also highlight two forms of parental mediation: active mediation, and restrictions, as intensive parenting

practices, since these refer to both aspects of this parenting ideal; namely, ensuring proper development and providing a safe environment that protects children. I propose that investigating these phenomena might reveal the contemporary parenting practices of Hungarian parents of teenagers and might contribute to understanding the mechanisms of intensive parenting more thoroughly.

3. EMPIRICAL LITERATURE REVIEW

This section[9] provides a review of previous empirical findings about parenting practices in two domains: parental time, and the parental mediation of technology use. First, the trends in and influential factors of parental time will be elaborated within the framework of intensive parenting ideology. Second, I discuss the main patterns of parental mediation. I also highlight some findings from researching the child's perspective. Last, the Hungarian context will be discussed.

3.1. The relationship between parenting and parental time

The trend of spending time with children reveals the increasing importance of parental time, and thus the rise of intensive parenting (Bianchi 2011; Nomaguchi – Milkie 2020). Maternal time with children increased from the 1980s to the mid-2000s in the US, despite women's entry into the paid workforce (Bianchi 2000; Bianchi 2011). Furthermore, the tendency for fathers to spend more time with children is strengthening. These two trends have led to an increase in the total time dedicated to children, despite decreasing fertility levels (Sullivan – Gershuny 2001, Lam et al. 2012; Bianchi 2011). However, other empirical results from Australia (Craig et al. 2014) show that it is not an increase in overall parental time that is observable but rather a significant change in time allocation that permits more intensive parenting. Craig and colleagues (2014) investigated Australian parenting behaviour between 1992 and 2006; they suggest that parents now care more intensely, since time spent on leisure and social activities have barely changed despite the higher proportion of full-time mothers and a larger proportion of children involved in childcare activities.

What is more, the phenomenon of the parenthood paradox and empirical evidence about increasing parental stress also highlights the relevance of intensive parenting (Rizzo et al. 2013). Furthermore, the standard for quantity parental time has become high (Milkie – Warner 2014). Consequently, the feeling of time deficit has become one of the stressors that parents experience (Nomaguchi – Milkie 2020). There is persistent evidence that most parents want to spend more time with their children in the US (Milkie et al. 2019; Roxburgh 2006). Milkie and colleagues' (2019) recent findings reveal that both employed fathers and mothers desire to spend more parental time with children (Milkie et al. 2019). Parents also highly value parental time and report that they are happier when they can spend time with their

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children (Musick et al. 2016). Offer (2013) finds that parental time is positively related to emotional wellbeing.

3.1.1. Factors that influence parental time

There are several important factors that influence parental time, Monna and Gauthier (2008) extensively explored the social and economic determinants of these in a review article. Although the intensive parenting ideal might be an important cultural model across social classes (Ishizuka 2019; Putnam 2015; Hays 1996), it does not affect everyone in the same way (Faircloth 2014): parenting practices take different forms that influence trends in parental time, too. This section reviews some of the more recent empirical findings – in line with the factors highlighted by Monna and Gauthier (2008), four important dimensions related to the emerging concept of parenting are elaborated. These factors are also important for comprehending the increasing feeling of time pressure related to parenting.

The developmental stage of children
First of all, the age of children is one of the most influential factors as regards the amount of time parents devote to children. There is persistent evidence that parental time decreases as children age (Kendig – Bianchi 2008; Monna – Gauthier 2008; Craig et al. 2014). On the one hand, in the first years childcare is highly time demanding and labour intensive as parental time is mostly characterized by personal care, and tasks such as feeding, dressing, etc. On the other hand, in line with the concept of intensive parenting, the importance of early years might also explain the increasing amount of time parents spend with children during this period (Monna – Gauthier 2008; Craig et al. 2014). Waldfogel (2016) argues that, based on the well-explored impact of early childhood experiences on children's outcomes, the significance of parental time, especially maternal time, is the strongest norm applicable to these years (Waldfogel 2016). Craig and colleagues (2014) compared Australian time-use data between 1992 and 2006 to explore changes in parental time with regard to the emerging concept of intensive parenting. The authors found that the increase in parental time was only applicable to children aged 0-4 years.

However, studies from the last decade show that parents of infants and toddlers report better mental health than parents of older children, especially parents of teenagers (Luthar – Ciciolla 2016; Meier et al. 2018). Pollmann-Schult's (2014) findings from Germany show that caring for infants and toddlers correlates with higher life satisfaction, while mothers of preteen school children and teenagers have a lower level of life satisfaction. Recent empirical

results from the US (Meier et al. 2018) demonstrate that adolescence is a particularly difficult time for parents, since both mothers and fathers are less happy than when they spend time together than parents of toddlers and infants. In addition, mothers report to a higher level of stress and less meaning when their children are teenagers. Similarly, Nomaguchi (2012) reveals that parents with younger children are less depressed and have greater self-esteem and self-efficacy than parents of school-aged or teenage children. The quality of parent-child relationships may explain the lower level of satisfaction of parents with teenagers (Nomaguchi – Milkie 2020; Nomaguchi 2012). The distinct period of adolescence might negatively influence the quality of relationships and thereby parenting. In this period, adolescents prefer to spend time with their peers and the parent-child relationship is less close, as the latter strive for autonomy (Nomaguchi 2012). Moreover, the adolescent life stage is considered an important risk factor regarding substance use and other risk-taking behaviour (Olumide et al. 2014, Esmaeelzadeh et al. 2018; Furstenberg 2000 cited by Nomaguchi 2012). Therefore, parents remain responsible for the establishment of rules and limits for teenagers, but the level of negativity and rejection by middle-school children might be higher (Luthar – Ciciolla 2016), resulting in children questioning parental values and practices, leading to more conflict (Nomaguchi 2012). Findings about the difficulty of parenting adolescents might influence how parents and children perceive the quality of shared time.

In turn, concerning parental determinism, Nelson (2010) argues that adolescence is also a significant period for establishing and supporting children's success. Milkie and colleagues (2015) in a recent study about this issue in the US found that parental time – if both parents are present – has a positive impact on several indicators of adolescent wellbeing. Moreover, maternal time – referring to the time parents are directly involved in participating in certain activities, conceptualized as 'engaged time' – appeared to be significant only for teenagers (aged 12-18 years) and not for school-aged children (aged 3-11 years).

Gender
As for time-use data, although the trend is moving towards greater parity in terms of the time parents spend with children due to the increasing amount of time fathers spend with offspring (Rehel 2014; Craig et al. 2014; Hofäcker 2007), maternal time remains longer and has not decreased since women's entry into the labour market (Bianchi 2000). Moreover, it is not only the amount of time but the different nature of the time that is spent with children that also proves that the gender division in parental time remains strong. While fathers are more likely to participate in leisure and educational activities with children, mothers are mostly

responsible for more labour-intensive tasks such as providing physical and routine care (Monna – Gauthier 2008; Craig et al. 2014). Additionally, fathers who spend time with children are more likely to do so in the presence of their partner, while mothers spend more solo time with children (Craig et al. 2014; Kalil et al. 2014). Concerning multitasking, Offer and Schneider (2011) examined data in the US and found that mothers spent ten hours a week more than fathers engaged in multitasking, which time was mostly dedicated to childcare and housework. Moreover, while multitasking at home for mothers had negative outcomes (like work-family conflict, stress, etc.), for fathers it was not associated with negative impacts.

In line with the trend described above, Craig and colleagues (2014) also described how Australian fathers spent significantly more time with children in 2006 than in 1992. Concerning the type of activities, the scholars suggest that paternal time with children involves much greater proportions of leisure time than maternal time.

However, there is little empirical research about less visible parenting activities such as managing children's lives, organising their programs, etc. (Nomaguchi – Milkie 2020). Daminger (2019) investigated household labour among middle-class families in the US and identified cognitive labour as a source of gender inequality in the household. Accordingly, the responsibility for making decisions, managing family life, planning vacations and birthday presents was unequally distributed, and women were more likely to do these mental activities.

Highlighting the features of the cultural norms of parenting, a US study on educational differences and cross-spouse effects on parents' time with children concluded that cultural values are stronger for mothers, since their educational level is more likely to determine both maternal and paternal time than men's education (England – Strivastava 2013). These facts confirm the claim that women face an intense dual burden of work and private life, and that the nature of time spent with children can lead to more time pressure.

In relation to this, Connelly and Kimmel (2015) analysed time-use data in the US and found that mothers are more stressed and fatigued and less happy during parental time than fathers. In contrast, there are some conflicting results about the gendered characteristics of time pressure. On the one hand, Nomaguchi et al. (2005) suggested that time pressure is influenced by gender, and women are more time pressured. The authors describe how fathers are more likely to report spending insufficient time with their children and spouses, while the time strain involved in the parental role – and in the role of spouse – only negatively influences mothers' wellbeing among dual-earner parents. Similarly, Pollmann-Schult (2014) found that time demand of parenting counterbalanced the benefits of parenthood. These results confirm claims about the pressure of the cultural norms of modern motherhood.

Despite this, Roxburgh (2012) argues that it has not been confirmed that there is a difference between mothers and fathers concerning the amount of free time, or in the feeling of time pressure. The author focused, more precisely, on the effect of a 'squeezed' feeling of time related to parenting, and found that, for both men and women, feelings about time with children are a relevant source of stress among American dual-earner couples. Therefore, based on her results, Roxburgh (2012) concludes that 'changing normative expectations may be placing additional stress on working fathers' and at the same time, these 'changes in expectations for fatherhood are not concomitant with decreases in expectations for mothers' (p.1054). This contradiction might be explained by Sebők's (2014) conclusion. The latter author argues that while job characteristics influence work-life conflict among men and women equally, family factors affect the reconciliation of work-life balance negatively primarily among women in Hungary.

Socioeconomic status
A growing body of literature demonstrates that styles of parenting might differ between various social classes (Lareau 2003; Kalil et al. 2014; Hsin – Felfe, 2014). Furthermore, increasing evidence supports the notion that highly educated parents spend more time with their children than less-educated parents do (Sayer et al. 2004; Kalil et al. 2014). Additionally, the increase in parental time in Western countries was found to be greater among higher educated parents in the long term in 11 Western countries (Dotti Sani – Treas 2016). Time-diary data in the US in the 2000s also confirmed earlier empirical evidence that well-educated parents invest significantly more time into their children (England – Strivastava 2013). The authors accentuate the importance of the cultural norms of parenting to explain their findings – namely, that more highly educated parents spend more time on childcare, although they are more likely to be employed and to work full-time. However, England and Stravistava (2013) distinguish between several types of activities and find no significant differences in terms of the activities that support children's cognitive learning or basic care according to parental educational level.

This hypothesis was supported by Bianchi and Robinson (1997) who reported, based on time diary data from a sample of children from California aged between three and eleven, that parental education is a strong predictor of human and social capital investment. This result confirms the importance of differences in terms of class and education.

Moreover, highly educated parents spend parental time differently: for example they spend more time on enrichment activities (Kalil et al. 2014; Hsin – Felfe 2014). Similarly,

Gracia (2015) examined the influence of social position on parents and children's leisure activities based on time-use data in the UK. He suggests that mothers' education in particular is a strong determinant of cultural activities, and their social class tended to predict inequalities in TV watching; accordingly, working class parents may lack the time and income to engage in cultural activities. Nomaguchi and colleagues (2016) also argue that lower-status mothers may often lack the knowledge and resources to match up to the ideals of modern parenting (Nomaguchi et al. 2016).

Related to economic resources, the disadvantaged position of single parents may be underlined. In line with this, family structure is also highly influential, since there is a growing proportion of both one-parent and multinuclear families (Vaskovics 2014). Parental time with children can differ significantly according to the various forms of families (Waldfogel 2016). However, Kendig and Bianchi (2008) suggest that it is not the structure of the family but rather the societal position that matters. Investigating the relationship between family structure and maternal time in the US in the mid-2000s, scholars found that single mothers spent less time with children, as is consistent with earlier empirical evidence. The data explained the smaller time investment according to the latter's disadvantageous social structural position; the authors proposed that the differences between mothers in similar circumstances (employment, education, or age) would otherwise disappear. In contrast, after exploring time investment across family structures in the US, Kalil and colleagues (2014) argued that family structure influences the time devoted to children. The authors report that the solo parenting time of single mothers (i.e. the time children spend only with the mother) is even greater than that of married mothers. They propose that the smaller total time investment that children with single mothers make is the result of the lack of time investment from non-resident biological fathers, and/or mothers' resident partners. Furthermore, they conclude that children in two-biological-parent families might offer children the most benefits based on the greater amount of parental time they invest, including solo father time.

Job characteristics

In the literature the employment patterns and work characteristics of parents are the focus of the investigation of parental time, typically instigated by the persistent debate in Western societies about how maternal employment affect children's outcomes and wellbeing.

Concerning the quantity of time available for children, parents' employment status strongly determines this; empirical findings demonstrate that there are significant differences in the amount of time spent with children according to maternal employment status, with the

result that much less time is spent with children of employed mothers (Kendig – Bianchi 2008).

However, results of a study about the influence of working hours questions the significance of the latter based on cross-national data (Sayer – Gornick 2012). Sayer and Gornick (2012) examined time-diary data from nine countries (including English-speaking and Nordic countries, France, and Slovenia) and proposed that it is neither employment patterns nor the gender regime but rather the cultural norms of parenting that define parental time. Their conclusion is based on the finding that time spent with childcare was no less in countries with high maternal employment rates and long working hours. For example, while countries with a different culture of working hours and work-family policies like Norway and Canada showed similarities, similar countries (France and Norway) showed great differences in time devoted to care.

More recent empirical findings (Kelly et al. 2014) accentuate the importance of schedule control[10] in balancing work and family life. Milkie and colleagues (2019) findings show that long working hours are associated with a feeling of time deficit with children; however, those parents with schedule control spend more time with their offspring.

Emphasizing the importance of the nature of time devoted to children in recent debate, there is growing academic interest in whether it is simply the amount of time that matters for children (Milkie et al. 2015), and how much patterns of employment (non-standard work, flexibility etc.) affect the quality of time parents spend with children (Fox et al. 2013).

Concerning the impact of working life on the family, several studies have found a negative effect. Focusing on parenting, Galinsky (1999) investigated parents and children using large-sample representative research and also conducted interviews in the US in the 1990s. The author also highlighted that the changed characteristics of work have led to longer working hours and more time pressure. Her results support the hypothesis of negative spillover[11] from work to family: Galinsky found that holding down a job reduces the energy available for parenting. In addition, the findings of an Australian study (Wajcman et al. 2008)

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[10] Schedule control refers to whether employees have control over the timing of their work, the number of hours they work, and the location of their work (Kelly et al. 2014).

[11] Spillover theory is one of the approaches related to work-life interfaces. It highlights the integration of the two domains through their mutual influence on each other, and does not consider the domains to be separate. Accordingly, positive or negative attitudes, feelings, values, and behaviour may spill from one sphere to the other, leading to similarities between the two spheres (Roehling et al. 2003). The transfer can be two-way: work-to-family or reversed family-to-work (Staines 1980). While this theory posits both positive and negative effects, it is primarily negative impacts that are highlighted in the literature (Geszler 2014).

underline the importance of job characteristics: the employees' degree of control over start and finish times, work stress, and working hours are determinants of work-to-family spillover.

Focusing especially on parental time, Roeters and colleagues (2010) applied a path model to research the quality of Dutch parents' and children's relations through examining parental time. They suggest that it is not only the amount but also the nature of time that is determinant. Roeters and colleagues' (2010) study demonstrated complex and mixed findings about the impact of the characteristics of work. First, long working hours decrease time spent with children, resulting in lower quality relationships. Moreover, while non-standard forms of work by the mother led to more time with children, they also resulted in more disturbance in terms of work commitments and less focused time for children, thereby negatively impacting relationship quality. Finally work engagement showed conflicting effects. On the one hand, work engagement resulted in more parental time and thereby better relationships, but on the other, it led to more interruptions during time spent with children, resulting in lower quality relationships.

3.2. Research on parental mediation

Literature on parental mediation is very diversified and inconclusive based on the diverse approaches to measuring forms of parental strategies. Additionally, most qualitative studies remain at the general, explorative level: studies focus mostly on exploring strategies and the related individual-level factors and the effectiveness of the strategies (Kutrovátz et al. 2018). It is mostly psychological and communication research that has examined this topic, thus a sociological perspective is still lacking (Kutrovátz et al. 2018). Therefore, the topics of risk, problematic online behaviour, and mental health dominate the research area (e.g. Bányai et al. 2017; Prievara – Pikó 2016, Király, O. et al. 2014; Fitzpatrick et al., 2019; Cao et al., 2011). A recent systematic review of parental mediation (Kutrovátz et al. 2018) identified three main topics. First, some research projects aim at generally exploring and describing diverse forms of parental mediation and their related factors. Second, a significant amount of literature focuses on the effects of parental mediation on risky online behaviour. Last, the relation between parental mediation and the protection of personal data and sharing personal information should be underlined. Additionally, there is also a narrower field that focuses on problematic online behaviour – especially video gaming – and its association with mental health.

In the following, drawing on studies that aim to explore general patterns of technology use and their influences, I highlight the role of age, gender, and socioeconomic status, which may determine how parents mediate children's technology usage. In line with these factors, I elaborate on some empirical findings in the forthcoming sections.

3.2.1. Age and gender

The choice of mediation strategies is also influenced by the age and gender of the child, and, as with parenting in general, parents' gender is also a significant factor.

In terms of age, empirical findings are consistent: as children get older, parents use strategies less frequently, and while younger children's use of digital device tend to be mediated by restrictions, while parents of older children tend to apply active mediation strategies (Kutrovátz et al. 2018; Mascheroni et al. 2016)

Concerning gender, empirical results show more complexity. The diverse patterns of technology use – girls are more likely to spend time on social media, while computer gaming is more typical among boys (Kutrovátz et al. 2020; Pew Research Center 2018) – and, related to this, the perceived risks of use define parental mediation approaches (Cingel – Hargittai 2018)

Talves and Kalmus (2015) analysed the gendered patterns of parental mediation strategies and other influential factors both at the macro and micro level. On the one hand they carried out an international comparison based on data from the *EU Kids Online* project, which includes representative data on the internet use of 9-16-year-old children from 25 European Union Member States. On the other hand, they also analyzed the Estonian cultural context – and to do so, they conducted two focus group interviews with parents of 9-14-year-old children. International comparison revealed that in most countries parents applied various strategies to mediate their daughters' internet use, mainly applying the strategies of active mediation, while with sons they interfered a lot less, using only restrictive mediation, technical restrictions, and monitoring. No significant difference was found in the strategies applied to daughters or sons in Hungary. The authors of this study found that the difference in parental mediation strategies related to media use applied in the case of daughters and sons is correlated with the respective country's indicators of gender equality, and broadband penetration rate. Consequently, parents used different strategies depending on the child's gender in those countries where parental tasks are distributed more equally, and the diffusion of online technologies started earlier. To provide the context for such unexpected results, the

authors argue that in these countries parents have had more time and opportunity to adopt different mediation strategies for boys and girls (Talves – Kalmus 2015).

The Estonian data revealed that children's age is an important factor in the choice of mediation strategy, especially in the case of boys. The internet use of smaller children was more strongly mediated, mainly with restrictive methods. Apart from age, parents' self-confidence also strongly influenced the mediation strategy applied to boys' internet use. The more self-confident parents were, the more the versatile strategies they used. In the case of girls, their knowledge and online experience played an important role, and parents applied fewer strategies when they considered their daughter's online experience to be sufficient. Based on a detailed examination of the Estonian cultural context, the authors argue that the parental mediation strategies that were applied are not only dependent on the child's gender, but the sociodemographic factors influence the choice of strategy and the complex dynamics of the parent-child relationship (Talves – Kalmus 2015).

The important role of age and gender is discussed in other studies as well. Quantitative research on Belgian families (Symons et al. 2017a) examined the role of parents' and children's age and gender. The results showed that the age of children had the strongest influence, as fewer strategies were applied in case of older children. Data showed that children's gender influenced the choice among parental strategies to a lesser extent. However, limiting interactions on social media platforms was more common in the case of daughters (carried out mainly by the mother), while in the case of sons limitation was applied to access. Another study (Symons et al. 2017b) found that the older the child, the more the parents tried to avoid setting rules and regulations. A three-year longitudinal study from Singapore also concluded that the use of restrictive and active parental strategy declines as the child gets older and more independent in the online world (Chen – Chng 2016).

However, Vanweesenbeeck and colleagues (2016) underline that, during adolescence, risky behaviour related to children's privacy increases (e.g., provision of data when downloading / using applications), while teenagers still lack the ability to think critically about their privacy. Therefore, we argue that investigating parental mediation of teenagers' technology use is of crucial significance.

Concerning parents' gender, there is persistent empirical evidence that mothers are more likely to mediate children's media use than fathers, and they also tend to be more supportive of their usage (de Haan et al. 2018; Kirwil et al. 2009; Symons et al. 2017a).

3.2.2. Socioeconomic status

Whether patterns of digital media use and parental mediation are highly dependent on social position is still an under-researched question (Gee et al., 2014). However, there are some empirical findings about the inequalities in parental mediation based on parents' educational level and socio-economic status: the range and forms of parental mediation also differ according to diverse social groups (Mascheroni et al. 2016; de Haan et al. 2018; Nikken – Schols, 2015)

First of all, parents of higher social status attempt to navigate children's media use more frequently (Mascheroni et al. 2016). In line with this, Cingel and Hargittai (2018) analysed the link between first-year university students' recollection of memories about restrictive parental strategies and their school grades. Students of highly educated parents reported significantly more reasons for rules being imposed than children of parents with a lower socioeconomic status.

Concerning the types of mediation, findings are rather more complex since this factor is related to parents' digital literacy and attitudes towards technologies too (Mascheroni et al. 2016). Generally, higher status parents – in terms of education and income – are more likely to choose active or enabling mediation (Gee 2014; Livingstone et al. 2011). Moreover, less educated parents are more likely to apply strategies inconsistently (Nikken – Schols 2015). However, in terms of restrictions there are rather paradoxical results. de Haan and colleagues (2018) found that technical restrictions are more common among the lower educated than among higher educated parents. Similarly, Nelson (2010) shows that upper- and middle-class parents disapprove of the use of parental controls and filters. Contrarily, other empirical findings show that restrictive mediation was applied regardless of the socioeconomic status of parents: higher status parents also apply restrictions frequently (Mascheroni et al. 2016). Findings about co-use with children are also not consistent in terms of socioeconomic background. Connell and colleagues' (2015) results show that better educated parents are more likely to play video games with their children; other studies, however, have found the opposite (Gentile et al. 2012; Top 2016).

With regard to digital literacy of parents and parental attitudes towards technologies, Nikken and Schols' (2015) findings about young children show that those who consider technology use more positively apply strategies of supervision, co-use, and active mediation, while parents who are afraid of the negative outcomes of media tend to use restrictions. Several studies have revealed the correlations between parental digital skills and active mediation and monitoring (e.g., Nikken – Schols 2015; Dedkova – Smahel 2020). The more

confident parents are, the more they engage in these mediation strategies. Dedkova and Smahel (2020) revealed that active mediation is associated with parent's self-efficacy of an online problem of the child. Similarly, Mascheroni and colleagues (2016) argue that less educated parents consider their children to be more competent at using technologies than they themselves are, leading them to apply restrictions and or be permissive, meaning that children must learn using digital devices on their own or from their older siblings. In contrast, better educated parents used a variety of strategies with the priority of active mediation.

Daneels and Vanwynsberghe (2017) investigated this question in Belgium from the perspective of parents and adolescents. They report that while parents had a low level of technical competency, those with a critical attitude primarily used active or enabling mediation, with a focus on risks and safety associated with social media, but allowed adolescents some autonomy. Similarly, Mascheroni and colleagues (2016) identified a group of parents with high level of digital expertise – based on their work or interests and regardless of their social status – who considered technology use to represent an opportunity for learning, therefore they were less restrictive.

Other studies revealed the reactive nature of parental mediation. Bartau-Rojas and her colleagues (2018) suggest that parents do not consciously plan their strategies in advance because of their lower level of digital knowledge. Therefore, parents are more likely to prohibit and restrict their children's use due to concerns about their inappropriate online behaviour. Similarly, Fletcher and Blair (2014) also argue that parents' lack of digital skills might be related to general parental attitudes towards mediation: parents focus on what children should not do when they use screens, rather on how they can effectively moderate their use.

Similarly, Shin (2015) found that parents in their sample in Singapore preferred using restrictive strategies – especially time restriction. The author argues that parents feel high confidence in managing and regulating their children's digital media use and this fact resulted in less engagement in active mediation.

Despite the empirical results concerning the relations between parental digital literacy and parental mediation, there is a little empirical knowledge about what role parental resources play in reproducing digital inequity. Yuen and his colleagues (2018) investigated students in Hong Kong, revealing the relevance of parental mediation in creating cultural capital. The authors argue that parents with a higher level of ICT skills effectively support and guide children's media use in a way that helps them build their own competences.

In summary, I can claim that children's age proved to be the strongest factor in the studies that were reviewed, while gender also influenced whether parents apply any mediations strategies, and which strategies they choose. Moreover, similarly to with parenting in general, the domain of mediating children's media usage is differentiated by class. Parents' educational and income level – and typically connected with these factors, their digital literary and their beliefs about technology – significantly determine how they navigate their children's technology use.

3.3. Children's perspective
3.3.2. Parental time
Some research that investigated parental time from the children's point of view has generated paradoxical results, thereby reflecting the problem of conceptualizing quality time, and the importance of understanding what actors themselves consider the quality dimension of parental time to be (Galinsky 1999; Christensen 2002; StGeorge – Fletcher 2012). Similarly, parents' and their children's perception of applied parental mediation strategies differ significantly (Vaterlaus et al. 2014; Symons et al. 2017a).

In terms of parental time, many scholars argue that routine activities such as watching television together or having meals together can be considered important for children (McKee et al. 2003; Näsmen 2003; Turtiainen et al. 2007). Galinsky (1999) investigated parents and children using large-sample representative research and conducted interviews in the US in the 1990s. She also reported a discrepancy between parents and children in terms of thinking about time based on an examination of both perspectives. While parents – particularly fathers – complained about spending too little time with their children, children were not overly dissatisfied with the amount of time they spent together. Galinsky also highlights that it is typically older children who report to spending too little time with their parents. This result reflects the decrease in shared time with teenagers.

Additionally, Christensen (2002) suggests that the problem with the 'quality time' concept is that it does not include the perspective of children about time, but rather only adults' accounts and expectations. She investigated 10–11-year-old children in North-England and defined five 'qualities of time'. Results indicated that children value the time that is conventionally defined as quality time, as also described in Chapter 2.2: routine and ordinary activities (1) such as family meals or watching TV together; and availability or 'being there' for the child (2). Furthermore, she underlines the value of having a say over the use of time (3), the value

of individuals' own time as a means of experiencing peace and quiet, which involves (4) the right to privacy, and last, the value of being able to plan one's own time (5). These findings show that children's views of family time are highly contextual and can be captured considering time spent with friends, at school, or on their own.

Moreover, Offer (2013) argues that based on different perception of teens, family leisure might be also a negative experience for them. For instance, children might feel bored during these activities, or report to experiencing parental criticism (Larson – Richards 1994; Ochs – Shohet 2006 cited by Offer 2013).

3.3.2. Parental mediation

Generally, children perceive the deployment of fewer strategies than parents report (e.g. Vaterlaus et al. 2014; Symons et al. 2017a; Gentile et al. 2012), perhaps reflecting the social expectations of contemporary parenting: it has become a parental responsibility to control and educate children in relation to technology use. This discrepancy might be the result of a social desirability bias in parental answers: in other words, to maintain their self-perception of good parenting.

Vaterlaus and colleagues (2014) compared children's perceptions and parental mediation strategies related to interactive technologies such as mobile devices and internet use, focusing on the age group 16-18-years-old in the United States. They found significant differences in the case of internet use: more than half of the participating parents reported limitations, while more than 75% of adolescents reported that they do not perceive that their parents apply any mediation strategies whatsoever. Similar results were found by the already mentioned Belgian study (Symons et al. 2017a), which revealed significant differences between the perception of mothers and children regarding almost all forms of parental strategies (except for the technical strategy). The perceptions of fathers and children differed in the case of limitations on access and interaction. Similarly, parents in this case reported significantly more restrictions compared to adolescents.

Children's opinions about parental strategies have also been examined by the *EU Kids Online* project's qualitative analysis, within which focus-group and individual interviews were conducted in 2013 in nine European countries,[12] with the participation of 9-16-year-old children. When examining this data, Haddon (2015), found that children expressed criticism when their parents did not clearly communicate why they found certain online behaviours to be risky, or what motivated the rules they set for children's internet use. Children also claimed

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[12] Belgium, Czech Republic, Greece, Italy, Malta, Portugal, Romania, Spain, and the United Kingdom

that in some cases they found the given parental strategy unnecessary, or the strategy's application inconsiderate. Furthermore, it undermined the authenticity of parental advice and rules if children perceived their parents' digital knowledge to be insufficient. Age played a great role in the responses children gave about parental strategies: younger children accepted parental supervision and advice more easily (in some cases, even requiring such guidance), while older children discussed the various reasons behind their dissent. One of these was their need for independence and the perception that they had gained their parents' trust and the right for their private lives to be respected. They also discussed sensitive topics and online risks more easily with parents if they felt like they were supported in their independence instead of having to face limitation strategies.[13]

3.4. The Hungarian context
3.4.1. Gender and working regime

Most of the theories and empirical findings described above concern Western societies, primarily the United States, where the issue of work-life balance and parental anxiety associated with spending enough (and enough 'efficient') time with children have emerged as salient issues as the 'male-as-earner-female-as-carer' model has been replaced by the dual-earner family model. Finally, the Hungarian context and related empirical findings will be reviewed. A description of both gender and working regimes are important for comprehending the patterns of parental time in Hungary. First, I briefly review the gender-related attitudes and characteristics of the labour market. In the following sections, empirical data about parental time and work-life interfaces will also be elaborated on.

Hungary as a post-socialist country has a long tradition of women's labour participation; however, after the demise of the regime the state even reinforced the role of motherhood, providing generous state support for parental leave and childcare. These re-familization policies resulted a strengthening of traditional attitudes and patterns concerning the gender division of labour (Hobson et al. 2013, Nagy 2010). While there is some empirical evidence that during the 2000s attitudes related to gender roles became more egalitarian, traditional views and unequal practices have not altered significantly. However, Pongrácz and S. Molnár (2011) found that while the dual-earner family model has become generally

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[13] Two other studies also examined the issue: Berríos-Valenzuela and colleagues (2015) examined the use of communication devices and perceptions on parental strategies among 9-12-year-old children in Chile based on quantitative data. Shin (2015) conducted interviews with parents of 7-12-year-old children in Singapore about internet use, the perceived influence of internet use, and the perception of parental roles.

acknowledged mainly because families need two paid jobs to have a sense of financial security, the majority still prefer a traditional gender division of labour. Similarly, Gregor (2016) investigated the changes in attitudes in the 2000s and reported that general beliefs about gender roles have become more equal and flexible, but traditional attitudes about gender roles in the family remain strong. In terms of parenting, ideas about the ideal number of children are generally connected to the more traditional attitudes of both men and women. Moreover, the value placed on having children in Hungary is very high compared to in other countries; a fact suggested by both an examination of attitudes (Pongrácz – S. Molnár 1994) and by data about time use (Hofäcker 2007).

As far as working regimes are concerned, labour force participation is low in Hungary in international comparison. However, in the last couple of years the employment rate has increased, although it is still below the EU15 average, and compared to the countries of the region, Hungary is still lagging (Scharle 2016). The low participation rates particularly affect women, especially mothers of small children (Hobson et al. 2013), and the gender wage gap is one of the highest among 144 countries (Simonovits – Szeitl 2018). The high rate of unemployment and sense of an unstable future because of a precarious economy are related to a prevalence of low wages and irregular, precarious jobs which increase insecurity. Moreover, long working hours characterize the labour market, and there are limited opportunities for flexible and non-standard work schedules, such as part-time work (Hobson et al. 2013; Frey 2011).

To sum up, societal norms related to gender and the structural characteristics of the labour market such as long working time regimes and precariousness (Hobson et al. 2013) mean that time pressure related to parental time might be an issue of particular concern to Hungarian society.

3.4.2. Parental time data

In this section of the paper, changes in time-use data about parental time will be discussed. Hungarian data from 2009/2010 show a similar trend to the international trends described above. Accordingly, an increase in the time spent on childrearing activities is observable among Hungarian couples in the past three decades, while parental time almost doubled during this period. Since the time that fathers spend with children has increased remarkably, the inequality in parental time between mothers and fathers has decreased. Moreover, among professionals, fathers are tending to spend more time with children compared to mothers (difference is 14%), reflecting the emerging cultural norm of involved fatherhood. However,

the gendered difference in childcare has remained strong: generally, mothers tend to spend twice as much time with children per day than fathers. Furthermore, this gendered division of roles is reflected not only in the amount of time but also in the nature of activities: while mothers are primarily responsible for caring tasks, fathers take part in leisure activities and playing with children (Harcsa 2014).

Some data highlight the changing cultural norms of parenting. The last Hungarian time-use data from 2010 show that the time spent on childrearing activities has almost doubled in the past three decades (Harcsa 2014). This is consistent with the trend in Western societies (Hofäcker 2007; Lam et al. 2012).

In addition, the structure of parental time has changed significantly: time for reading and playing was four times greater in 2010 than at the end of the 1980s, while time spent on caring tasks decreased during this period. Considering the time spent on shared activities, there has been a significant increase in parents engaging in activities only with their child. However, it is important to note that the increase in time spent parenting primarily concerns children until they reach school-age, while time spent on shared activities with children older than seven years is decreasing. This finding might reflect the overscheduled life of school-age children (Harcsa 2014), and shows the relevance of further explorations of parental time with older children.

Furthermore, there is a difference in time spent on the family according to the parents' educational level; namely, parents with a better education have more time for families, and this discrepancy has increased. On the one hand, this might indicate that parents with lower levels of education are more affected by time squeeze (Harcsa 2014), but on the other, it might reflect the high value awarded family time in relation to contemporary parenting culture in higher social classes.

3.4.3. Parents' work-life balance

An increase in parental time might affect the work-life balance of parents. However, examples of research into parenting are still lacking, while earlier findings typically demonstrate the difficulty of managing this issue that stems from the structural characteristics of labour.

Utasi (2011) examined negative stress stemming from work based on European Social Survey data from 2005, comparing various regions of Europe. She found that negative work stress affected the private sphere most significantly in Central-Eastern Europe, particularly among women. Hobson and colleagues (2013) investigated individual perceptions of alternatives and claims for work-life balance through a comparison of Sweden and Hungary

based on qualitative interviews conducted with employed parents. They found that Hungarian parents have only a weak sense of entitlement to work-life balance. The authors explained their results by pointing to a long working-time regime and precarious labour market.

Consistent with other international findings, employees with families experience more stress in terms of reconciling work and family (Tóth 2007). Moreover, Nagy (2008) investigated male managers and found that conflict in their lives was primarily connected to children, especially to the insufficient time the former were able to spend with their children, although the interviewees accentuated the importance of spending quality time with offspring (Nagy 2008).

In line with this finding, Takács (2013), based on survey data collected from employed parents in Budapest, also argues that quality parenting, which is defined as dedicating quality time to children, has become an important expectation of being a parent. The growing importance awarded to spending sufficient time with children is also reflected in the findings of some recent empirical, qualitative studies. Takács (2015) reported that fathers who consider themselves active in their fathering role complained about the insufficient time they are able to devote to their children because of the time constraints of work. Moreover, recently recorded interviews with managers about their work-life balance highlighted the significance of quality instead of quantity time (Nagy 2016).

3.4.4. Patterns of technology use and parental mediation

In this section I shortly describe the general patterns of ICT and internet use, with a focus on adolescents. Then, I review previous findings about the forms of parental mediation strategies adopted by Hungarian parents.

With regard to the internet penetration, in 2015, two-thirds of Hungarian households had internet access (Fehérvári 2017). However, there are remarkable social inequalities in terms of access to technological devices and the internet and also in patterns of technology use in Hungary (Fehérvári 2017; Bauer et al. 2017). Fehérvári (2017) examined penetration data about infocommunication technologies and patterns of usage and argued that regional and educational differences are more significant than the generational divide. Accordingly, internet penetration is the highest in Central Hungary (around 85%) and Central and Western Transdanubia (around 80%), while data from Northern Great Plain, Northern Hungary, and the Southern Great Plain show a more disadvantageous picture (less than 70%). However, in terms of the daily use of internet, regional differences are not remarkable.

Differences in internet penetration and usage are reflected in terms of age and educational level too. Members of the younger generation are more likely to use mobile phones to access the internet: 80 percent of 16-24-year-olds use smart phones for this purpose and 55 percent of 65-74-year-olds. In terms of education, individuals with a tertiary level of education use internet on a daily basis the most (93%), while 81% of those with lowest level of education use the internet on a daily basis.

Similarly, data from Hungarian Youth Research from 2016 show that those individuals whose parents have the lowest level of education and those from Northern Hungary and the Northern Great Plain are less likely to have computer internet access in their households, or smart phones (Bauer et al. 2017). For instance, 95 percent of youth whose parents had completed tertiary education had internet access, while this proportion was 18 percentage points less for youth with parents with the lowest level of education. Therefore, the lag of those who have completed only primary education is the most significant regarding access to internet.

Concerning the screen time patterns, inquiries about adolescents' technology usage are dominated by the field of psychology, thus these studies mostly focus on problematic online behaviour (Bányai et al. 2017; Prievara – Pikó 2016; Király, O. et al. 2014). Additionally, while scientific knowledge is relatively scarce concerning sociology, research reports and policy-based investigations prevail in this field. The Hungarian Youth Research investigated the age group between 16 and 29 years old and the European School Survey on Alcohol and other Drugs provide data about adolescents' substance use and leisure activities, and thus about the media use of teenagers (ninth and tenth grade). In terms of social media use and video gaming, social differences based on gender and type of school are the most significant. Accordingly, the use of social media is more common among the investigated age group than video gaming. One third of respondents had not played any games in the last 30 days, while 95 percent of pupils had visited a social media platform in the week prior to the survey. Consequently, they spend more time on social media than on gaming, and there is also a difference between use on weekends and weekdays. A greater proportion of pupils spend time online on typical weekends than on typical weekdays, and for longer (Kutrovátz et al. 2020). Consistent with international trends (Bucksch et al. 2016; Talves – Kalmus 2015; Pew Research Center 2018), girls are more likely to use social media and boys typically play video games (Kutrovátz et al. 2020).

There are differences in screen time according to type of school. Pupils in vocational high schools are more likely to spend long hours online (at least six hours) than pupils of high

schools. Moreover, the perception of use differs according to school type. However, pupils of high schools generally spend less time on social media platforms, and a greater proportion of them perceive their screen time as too much compared to teenagers in other schools. Moreover, they are more likely to report that their parents perceive their screen time as too much (Kutrovátz et al. 2020). This result might reflect the social desirability and importance of parental influence.

Concerning the parental role, Ságvári (2019) examined the screen-time patterns of use and parental mediation of technology of children aged between 7 and 16 based on Hungarian representative data. The data show that media use – i.e. on all devices except for TVs – becomes more intense as children grow, but it is primarily smart phone usage that increases in significance. Older children are also more likely to have their own TV and computer/laptop or both in their bedroom. Fifty-eight percent of 12-year-old children do not have these devices in their bedrooms, while this proportion is 18 percentage point less among those aged 16 years old (Ságvári 2019).

The Hungarian data show similar patterns to the previous international findings (Lee, S. -J. 2013; Harris et al. 2013). First, as children get older parents tend to apply fewer strategies. Moreover, a higher level of parental education is associated with a higher level of parental mediation. In addition, a higher level of digital skills was correlated with a higher level of risk perception that also resulted in more parental mediation. Ságvári (2019), through applying cluster analysis, defined five forms of parental mediation. Individuals in the biggest group (47%) are termed 'passives' as they do not apply any strategies some active mediation. Second, the group of 'restrictors' (26%) primarily control their children's usage of ICT. The third group of parents use 'active mediation' (18%): the most dominant strategy here is active mediation, but they also apply some restrictions and monitoring. Four percent of parents also use technical mediation; they prefer using technical controls such as software to regulate their children's media use. The last group is termed the 'all-rounders' (5%), who use wide spectrum of mediation strategies.

In conclusion, the review of the related Hungarian empirical results about parental time and work-life balance finds similar patterns to the international trends that are described above. These findings prove that the societal norms of parenting are intensifying, and may result in more pressure on parents. Moreover, parenting is still a very under-researched field, and there

is also little scientific knowledge about the patterns of technology use and parental mediation in Hungary. Further inquiries might contribute to the debate on intensive parenting by contributing an understanding of the Hungarian experience.

4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

Drawing on the prior theoretical concepts and empirical research, the dissertation seeks to answer the question *how do contemporary parenting ideals shape parental time perceptions and the parental mediation of technology use?* To answer this question, I outline three goals of this study. First, it investigates the role of intensive parenting practices in the subjective quality of parenting. Second, it explores the associations of the socioeconomic status and gender of parents with these parenting practices, thereby focusing on the inequality of parenting. Last, it reveals teenagers' perceptions about parental time by comparing its effect on parents' and adolescents' accounts of the quality of parenting. In line with these aims, I propose the following three research questions:

RQ1: What defines the subjective quality of parenting? How do parents perceive the intensive practices of parental time and the parental mediation of technology?

RQ2: How do the gender and socioeconomic status (SES) of parent affect the subjective quality of parenting? What are the differences in gender and SES in terms of parental time perceptions and in patterns of parental mediation?

RQ3: What are the differences between parents' and adolescents' parental time perceptions in defining the subjective quality of parenting? What kind of parental time is important for adolescents?

4.1. Intensive parenting practices

Contemporary parenting underscores the significance of spending quality time with children (Snyder 2007). The importance of enrichment activities and of activities that enhance the connection between family members has increased (Bittman et al. 2004; Milkie et al. 2015; Kalil – Mayer 2016; Bianchi – Robinson 1997), while the significance of attention has been underlined (Bittman et al. 2004; Galinsky 1999). However, the level of engagement is still unexplored, because investigations focus on enrichment activities based on time-use data (Milkie et al. 2015). Moreover, the paradoxical results of the significance of quality time highlight the problem of its conceptualization (Galinsky 1999; StGeorge – Fletcher 2012). Therefore, this study measures two elements of quality time; namely, enrichment activities, and focused time. Focused parental time is considered to be the level of engagement in parental time.

In the current discourse about parenting, parental mediation of teenagers' technology usage might be an important means of promoting teenagers' expertise and mitigating the harm of intensive or risky usage (Lee et al. 2010; Livingstone et al. 2017). Steinfeld (2021) argues that a combination of a restrictive strategy and active mediation contributes to fostering teenagers' future self-regulation. The restrictive strategy involves limiting access, content, and social media use, and involves rules related to how and when to use the related gadgets, while active mediation together with the co-use of technology is aimed at educating children to behave properly on social media, and negotiating, interpreting, and discussing access to content (Kutrovátz et al. 2018).

Consequently, this study argues that the patterns of parental time and parental mediation might reflect contemporary parenting ideals; it thereby seeks to explore what role these practices have in influencing parents' views of the subjective quality of parenting. Therefore, the research predicts that these practices affect the subjective quality of parenting positively. In line with this assumption, I formulate the following hypotheses:

H1. a. Both aspects of quality time – focused time and enrichment time – positively influence the subjective quality of parenting.

H1.b. Active and restrictive mediation positively influence the subjective quality of parenting.

The qualitative strand of the research might complement and enhance the understanding of the survey results. In this part, related to hypothesis *H1.a.*, the study aims to clarify what parents consider to be important in parental time, and how they differentiate between different times – particularly, I seek to explore how availability and engagement appear in parental narratives. Additionally, based on the model of intensive parenting, which requires an increase in the level of conscious behaviour, this dissertation investigates what the intentions are behind shared activities, assuming that the goal of enrichment might emerge in the interviews.

Furthermore, related to hypothesis *H1.b.*, the study also explores how consciously parents mediate teenagers' technology use, which strategies they apply, and what the purposes of these practices are.

4.2. The role of parents' SES and gender

Previous empirical literature suggests that both areas – parental time and parental mediation of technology use – are strongly correlated with parent's socioeconomic status and parents' and children's gender (Craig et al. 2014; Kalil et al. 2014; Lareau 2003; Hsin – Felfe 2014; Talves – Kalmus 2014; Mascheroni et al. 2016).

Although expectations about intensive parenting seem to concern mothers and fathers similarly, responsibilities have remained unequal, thus parenting practices are highly gendered and might lead to more stress and frustration for women than for men (Ishizuka 2019, Faircloth 2014). Moreover, there is empirical evidence that parental time pressure does not decrease as children grow (Ruppanner et al. 2019). However, while expectations related to parenting are deeply influenced by the norms of the middle-class (Dermott – Pomati 2016), there is increasing empirical evidence that the ideal of intensive parenting has expanded across social classes, but parenting practices take different forms (Nomaguchi – Milkie 2020).

Concerning parental mediation, similar patterns have been identified in previous research. Accordingly, mothers apply mediation strategies more frequently than fathers (Symons et al. 2017a), and those with a higher level of education apply parental mediation strategies more often (Garmendia et al. 2012). Also, the digital skills of parents are determinant, and this factor is also dependent on the status of parents (de Almeida et al. 2012; Barbovschi et al. 2015).

Consequently, the study explores how parents' gender and their SES are associated with the investigated fields of parenting. Based on the previous empirical results, I assume that parental time and parental mediation are unequal practices – accordingly, I formulate the following hypotheses:

H2. a. Quality time and parental mediation have a larger positive effect on the subjective quality of parenting of mothers than fathers.

H2.b. Quality time and parental mediation have larger positive effects on higher status parents' than on lower status parents' subjective quality of parenting.

In the qualitative section, this study explores the main differences in parental time perceptions and patterns and in parental mediation between parents of diverse SES and between mothers and fathers. Further, the empirical literature review (see Chapter 3) suggests that these practices are highly influenced by other external factors, such as the age of the child

or parent's job characteristics. Therefore, the research investigates which explanations or external factors define parenting practices according to parents' accounts.

4.3. Parents' and their children's perspective of parental time

Investigations concerning family dynamics typically focus on parents and ignore the perspective of children (Milkie et al. 2010; Kremer-Sadlik – Paugh 2007; Christensen 2002). However, there are some examples of investigations of parental time from the children's point of view that have generated paradoxical results, underlining the importance of what are considered the quality dimensions of parental time by the actors themselves (Galinsky 1999, StGeorge – Fletcher 2012). Accordingly, several scholars have argued that routine activities, like watching television together or having meals together, are considered important for children (McKee et al. 2003; Näsmen 2003). Galinsky (1999) also reported a discrepancy in thinking about time between parents and children based on an examination of both perspectives. While parents – particularly fathers – complained about spending too little time with children, children were not overly dissatisfied with the amount of time they spent together. This result also strengthens the idea that there is increasing parental anxiety about spending sufficient time with children related to the new expectations of parenting.

Therefore, this study examines parents' and children's perceptions of parental time by comparing their impact on the subjective quality of parenting. The perspectives are compared only based on quantitative data, and I formulate the following hypotheses:

H3.a. There is a difference in the role of perceptions of the *quantity* of time (related to the subjective quality of parenting) between adolescents and parents.

H3.b. There is a difference in the role of perceptions of *quality* time (related to the subjective quality of parenting) between adolescents and parents.

5. DATA AND METHODS

This study is part of a broader research project[14] that focuses primarily on parents' and their teenage children's (12-16 years old) perceptions of time and on parental mediation strategies in Hungary. The project employs a mixed-methods research design: a national representative survey using parent-child dyads is complemented by semi-structured interviews. The qualitative phase was also conducted with both parties of the family (one parent and one teenage child were interviewed). Moreover, the quantitative part covers the investigation of subjective wellbeing, work-life balance, and parenting skills. This wider project aims to explore the subjective experiences of shared time and involve children's perspectives in the debate about parental time. Moreover, the research unveils the relations of parental time with the work-life interface, subjective wellbeing, and parenting. Last, it focuses on the role of technology use and parental mediation strategies in family dynamics.

This section elaborates the methodological considerations of the research. The following section (5.1.) demonstrates the advantages of applying mixed methods in this research and elaborates the research design in more detail.

5.1. Research design

In this section, I argue that the aim of this research demands a mixed-methods design that applies both quantitative and qualitative research (Creswell – Plano Clark 2003, 2007). However, it is important to note that mixed-method research creates a specific research paradigm that combines the two approaches – qualitative and quantitative methodology – and thus might capture the advantages of both different approaches. Consequently, mixed-methods design integrates data that are collected from quantitative and qualitative parts of a study and merges the multiple perspectives and positions in one theoretical framework (Creswell – Plano Clark 2007).

Greene et al. (1989) underline five advantages of applying a mixed-methods approach. First, it enables *triangulation,* enabling cross-checking and validation of the results of the two methods. It provides a more nuanced and richer understanding, and also strengthens the reliability of the data. Second, the *complementarity* means that the results of one method contribute to the interpretation of the findings from the other, thereby generating a more

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complex understanding of the phenomenon. *Development* contributes to refining the design of one method using another. The fourth argument for using mixed methods has been termed *initiation* as it helps reveal inconsistencies and raise new questions that can instigate new investigation. Last, *expansion* refers to the open-minded and flexible feature of this approach, which facilitates an examination of the different aspects of the investigated phenomenon (Greene et al. 1989).

First, the complexity of the research topic – namely, integrating parental time and parental mediation, alongside examining both parental and children's perspectives – influenced the methodological choice of the current research. Moreover, the conflicting results of studies based on different approaches strengthened this choice. Most quantitative data show a positive picture of increasing leisure time and parental time (Bianchi 2011; Dotti Sani – Treas 2016), while qualitative investigations suggest a growing feeling of hurriedness (Perrons et al. 2005; Van der Lippe 2007). The literature on parental mediation is also very diverse (Kutrovátz et al. 2018) and there are no Hungarian qualitative data about this topic.

Furthermore, we intended to integrate the perspective of children into the research of parental time perceptions. The desire to examine multiple perspectives, and also the methodological challenges of researching children, initiated the choice of mixed methods. The unequal power relations between the adult researcher and children and the diversity of competences (Hill 2005) can threaten the reliability and validity of data. Applying mixed methods might mitigate these problems.

Finally, there is no representative information about perceptions of parental time or on children's perspectives on parental time in Hungary. The intensive parenting literature is also mostly qualitative in nature (Gauthier et al. 2021), while a representative survey can provide generalizable findings about Hungarian parents with teenagers.

These factors contributed to the methodological choice of this study. Consequently, the quantitative part facilitates an explanation of parenting – more specifically, the parenting skills/subjective quality of parenting – associated with intensive parenting practices. Moreover, it examines the role of sociodemographic characteristics in the subjective quality of parenting. Therefore, this strand of research has an explanatory nature and also reveals general patterns of parenting. Additionally, it is combined with the explorative nature of the qualitative investigation (Hesse-Biber 2010) that may help complement and explain quantitative findings.

In the following, I describe the research design in more detail. Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) determine a typology of mixed-methods design based on four dimensions that refer to the diverse aspects of integrating the two methods. These dimensions are the level of *interaction* (1), *timing* (2), *weighting* (3), and *mixing* (4). This study applies an *explanatory sequential design.*[15] The two phases of the research interact with each other in this model (see Figure 3): first quantitative, then qualitative data collection and analysis are carried out, followed by the interpretation of the findings. The quantitative results contribute to developing the qualitative strand – for instance, providing insight in the process of shaping the sample and the interview guides. Moreover, the qualitative results might enrich the understanding of the quantitative findings and might provide some illustrations and explanations of controversial or outstanding findings (Creswell – Plano Clark 2011).

Figure 3 Research design
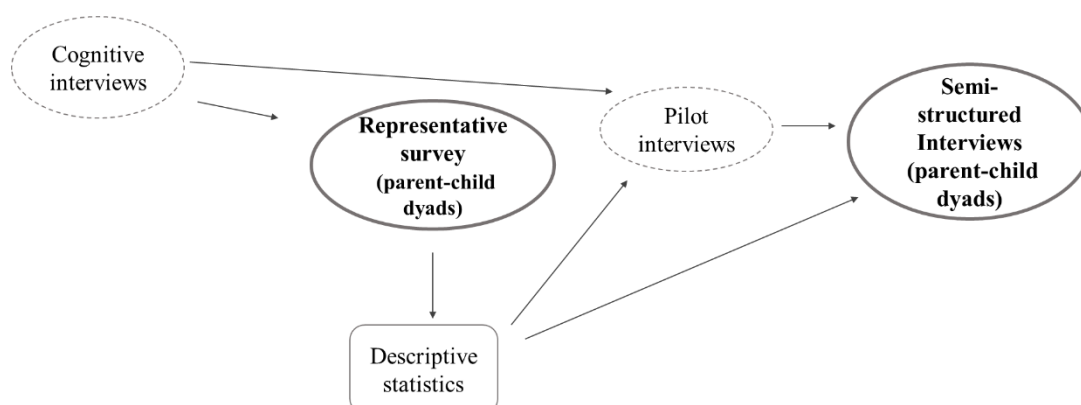
In the following, I elaborate the relationship between the qualitative and quantitative phases in line with the dimensions of Creswell and Plano Clark (2007).

5.1.1. The level of interaction

The level of interaction refers to the relation between the two methodological parts of the study during the research process. Research design may be interactive or independent. When researchers mix qualitative and quantitative findings at the stage of overall interpretation, this

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[15] Beside this categorization, Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) defined the following ideal types: convergent parallel design (1), explorative sequential design (2), embedded model (3), transformative design (4), and multiphase design (6). A detailed description of these types is outside the scope of this dissertation.

is termed independent design, while interactive design means that the two strands are mixed at earlier phases of the research process too (Greene 2007).

The current study's research design is explanatory and interactive. First, the aim of this research is to explain parental time and parental mediation from the perspective of intensive parenting. Therefore, the previously defined hypotheses will be tested using quantitative methodology, while the qualitative findings might add some new details and explanations to the interpretations of the investigated associations, deepening the understanding of contemporary parenting.

Since the preliminary findings have already provided some input related to outlining the qualitative strand, the interaction occurs first at the phase of research design. Accordingly, the qualitative sample and interview guide were created based on the first survey results. The diverse methodological parts interact in the joint interpretation of the research findings, as presented in Section 6.3.

5.1.2. Timing

The temporal relationship between the diverse methodological approaches is termed timing. Timing refers to the data collection and also to the interpretation phases of the research, which can be conducted simultaneously or sequentially (Király et al. 2014). As Figure 3 shows, this study has two phases, and the timing of the data collection is sequential. First, the representative survey – I consider the cognitive interviews to be part of the quantitative section[16] – and later the semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted. The results are also described sequentially in the following sections (6.1 and 6.2), although the interpretation phase occurs simultaneously.

5.1.3. Weighting

With a mixed-methods research design, the dimension of weighting refers to the relative importance awarded the two methodological sections. The two methodological strands might have the same significance, but their relevance might also differ. In this latter case, one

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[16] To test the questionnaire before the stage of data collection we applied cognitive interviews to explore whether the respondents comprehend the questions, and associated responses with same concepts that we intended to measure. We conducted pilot interviews with the same aim as part of the qualitative phase. Additionally, pilot interviews also revealed relevant topics related to parenting practices that contributed to the preparation of the interview guides.

section takes priority – there is greater emphasis on this phase, while the other one rather plays a complementary role (Király et al. 2014).

The dominance is on the quantitative aspects of this research, as is typical of the ideal type of explanatory sequential design. The national representative findings provide generalizable findings for Hungarian families with children aged between 12 and 16 years old. The scope of the quantitative research is also broader, since it also compares the perspectives of parents and children. The research questions in the qualitative section relate to some selected topics from the quantitative phase – such as concern intensive parenting practices, gender, and SES difference – and aim to provide a richer understanding of the quantitative findings that are based on testing hypotheses. As the qualitative design is built on the preliminary findings of the survey, the interviews have a narrower and deeper focus, especially in relation to the discussion of parental mediation.

5.1.4. Mixing

Mixing is a way of integrating the methods that refers to the point of and the implementation of the interaction. Researchers may mix methods at any point or during all phases of the research process: research design; data collection; data analyses; and interpretation. The implementation of the interaction might be employed by linking, integrating, or embedding. In the first case, data are separately collected and connected at certain phases of the research. With integration, data are merged in line with criteria defined by researchers. Last, embedding a method into wider research means that this method only supports the findings from the primary methodology (Király et al. 2014).

The current study uses a high level of integration by mixing quantitative and qualitative phases. First, methods are integrated into the phase of research design that is based on the same theoretical framework. Also, the results of the quantitative strand contribute to defining sampling criteria, and to outlining the topic that needs to be more deeply investigated, thus enhancing the refinement of the interview guides. I then mixed the methods at the phase of interpretation of the findings from both strands, while the discussion and conclusions are created on the basis of results of a combination of the quantitative and qualitative strands. I argue that mixing methods enhance the reliability of data and a combined analysis enriches the interpretation of the findings (Tashakkori – Teddlie 2003; Hesse-Biber 2010).

To sum up, this study is based on a two-phase mixed-methods research approach that employs a sequential explanatory sequential design with the dominance of the quantitative part. The survey is followed by semi-structured interviews. The findings from the diverse methodological parts are integrated and interpreted jointly in the discussion.

The forthcoming section (5.2.) discusses some important aspects related to methodological considerations about researching children. Chapters 5.3 and 5.4 introduce the methods of data collection, the sampling, and analytical approaches of each methodological parts separately.

5.2. Methodological challenges with researching adolescence[17]

While there is a long tradition of research on children, these studies typically neglect children's voices and opinions, thus neglect the actual involvement of children in research (Hill 1997; Morrow – Richards 1996; Brannen – O'Brien 1995). Social constructionism questions the conceptualization that childhood is solely a biological phenomenon. Therefore, according to this approach, childhood may also be seen as a social and cultural product, and children are defined as active, competent persons (Christensen – Prout 2005: 48). Consequently, in previous decades, research into children's perspective has emerged in international social studies (Christensen – James 2000; Greene – Hogan 2005). The new conceptualizations of childhood and the interpretation of children as a social group enable the implementation of comparative research (Christensen – Prout 2005). This allows for combining the perceptions and experiences of parents and children through an investigation of parental time.

The new sociology of childhood highlights the diversity of childhood, but in contrast also emphasizes its universal nature. On the one hand, the conception of childhood as a social construct has allowed the recognition of childhood diversity. On the other hand, the conception of childhood as a social product has resulted in children being defined as a unified social group, which involves underlining specific similarities (Christensen – Prout 2005). Therefore, in research with children it is highly important to find a balance between these viewpoints (diversity and commonality). The researcher's preconceptions about children and childhood significantly determine the research method, thus, it is worth being reflexive with these preconceptions at the stage of research design.

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[17] In this section, I draw on papers I have published in the *Corvinus Journal of Sociology* (Kutrovátz 2017).

In line with the social constructivist approach (Christensen – Prout 2002), we regard children as competent persons and equal actors, and thereby as subjects of the research. Notwithstanding, their differences from adults – discrepancies in verbal competences, the unequal power relationship between researchers and participants, and the vulnerability of children (Hill 2005) – are considered significant and thereby shaped our methodological framework and research design (Hill 2005; Gibson 2012).

5.3. Quantitative research
5.3.1. Data collection and Sample

The survey data are from a F2F CAPI piece of research carried out with 1000 Hungarian families in November 2017. The purpose of the study was to obtain knowledge about teenagers' and their parents' perceptions of the time they spend together, as well as adolescents' technology use and screen time, parenting, their wellbeing, and parents' work-life balance. Families with adolescents aged 12-16 years old were randomly selected; the sample is representative at the household level by the main regions of Hungary and by the type of settlement (Budapest, county centres, towns, villages). On the individual level, the sample represents families with children in the target group by age and gender of the child. There was a minimum 40% quota for men to ensure that fathers were represented too. During the data collection process, the interviewer first addressed the parent, then the interview with the child was implemented without the parent being present in the same room. As a result, the database of parent-child dyads includes the answers of both adolescents and one of their parents.

Since employment status has a significant impact on the amount and patterns of parental time, and the majority of the sample were employed (90.2%), the analysis was restricted to those households where the responding parent's employment status was active. For the same reason, I considered unemployed respondents as inactive, too.

A total of 902 households were involved in the research (see Table 2). The ratio of girls to boys was 58.2%:41.8%. More than one-third (36.3%) of the adolescents belonged to the 12-13 age group, while 63.7% of them were 14-16 years old. The distribution of parents was 54.9% mothers and 45.1% fathers. Parental average age was 42 years, and the respondents had 1.60 children in the household on average. Almost one-third (32.9%) of households are located in villages, 35.2% are in towns, and similar proportions are found in the capital and in county centres (15.0% and 16.9%). Concerning the parental educational level, the largest

proportion of parents had completed secondary or vocational education (40.6% and 37.2%, resp.), while 16.4% of parents had a tertiary education and 5.8% only a primary level. According to their subjective perceptions, the majority of families have good material circumstances (61.40%); one-third of the sample (33.9%) have just enough income; and 4.7% can be considered poor. The great majority of parents are two-parent families (91.6%) while 8.4% of them are one-parent families. Concerning the parent's type of occupation, white-collar and blue-collar workers are found in same proportions in the sample (44.5 and 44.6%), while 10.9% are self-employed and managers.

Table 2. Survey sample characteristics

	n	*Mean (%)*	*SD*	*Min*	*Max*
Adolescent					
Boy	377	41.8	-	-	-
Girl	525	58.2	-	-	-
Age		14.14	1.51	12	16
Parent					
Father	407	45.10	-	-	-
Mother	495	54.90	-	-	-
Age		42.23	5.33	25	63
Number of children		1.60	0.85	1	13
Type of settlement					
Budapest	135	15.00	-	-	-
County centre	152	16.90	-	-	-
Town	317	35.20	-	-	-
Village	297	32.90	-	-	-
Parental education					
Primary	52	5.80	-	-	-
Vocational	335	37.20	-	-	-
Secondary	366	40.60	-	-	-
Tertiary	148	16.40	-	-	-
Subjective material status					
1 Poor	42	4.70	-	-	-
2	300	33.90			
3	482	54.40	-	-	-
4 Well-off	62	7.00	-	-	-
Type of family					
Two-parent families	781	91.60	-	-	-
One-parent families	72	8.40	-	-	-
Type of occupation					
Blue-collar	400	44.6	-	-	-
White-collar	399	44.5	-	-	-
Self-employed or manager	98	10.9	-	-	-

5.3.2. Measures

Subjective quality of parenting

Subjective quality of parenting was used as a dependent variable in the multivariate analyses, measured from both perspectives based on parents' and adolescents' assessments of parenting. To create a measure of subjective quality of parenting, I applied a question about the assessment of parenting skills from Galinsky's research (1999) on children's and parents' perspectives about parents' work-life balance. The items were designed to assess a range of parenting skills that are strongly linked to children's social and emotional development and success in school (see details in Table 5). The reliability test for these items resulted in a Cronbach's alpha value of 0.895 for children and 0.901 for parents.

Since the sum of the ten different five-point scale items is not uniformly distributed in any of these cases (see Figure 1-2. in Appendix 1), a significant proportion of parents (40.0%, n=360) and children (38.7%, n=349) strongly agreed with all statements. Therefore, the dichotomous measures were created by computing ten different five-point scale items: the subjective quality of parenting and adolescents' perception of quality of parenting were coded as '1' when the respondents graded the parenting skills items the highest.

Parental time

In the analyses, quantity and quality time are also measured. Quality time is integrated as the most important explanatory factor in the research, while the amount of time is involved as an explanatory indicator and as a control variable in the explanatory models.

Quality time

Quality time is measured by two different indicators; one refers to *focused time* (1), and the other consists of the frequency of *enrichment activities* (2).

One of the main explanatory indicators is focused time – both from the parents' and children's perspective. It is composed of two five-point Likert scale questions (see Table 3): (1) *"How frequently does it happen that during the time you spend with your child you pay attention to something else (e.g. chores/work etc.)?" / "How frequently does it happen that during the time you spend together your parent cannot fully pay attention to you?"* and (2) *"How would you describe in general the time you spent together with your child/parent in the last three months: very rushed and busy; rather rushed and busy; sometimes rushed and busy, sometimes calm; rather calm, very calm?"*. These variables correlate with each other: for the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 102.342 (df = 12), p-value = 0.000 in the

case of parental answers; for the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 98.598 (df=12), p-value=0.000 for adolescents' answers. I considered focused time to exist when someone answered that a parent cannot pay attention *never, seldom,* or *sometimes* and that their shared time is *rather* or *very calm*. These two indicators – one for the child, one for the parent – were used as a dichotomous independent variable in the multivariate analyses. Accordingly, the proportion of parents who consider that they spend focused time with children is 43.3% (n=391), while in the case of adolescents it is 46.8% (n=421) in the investigated sample.

Table 3. Responses considered as focused time

Paying attention is hard/Describing shared time in general	Very calm	Rather calm	Sometimes calm, sometime rushed	Rather rushed	Very rushed
Never					
Seldom					
Sometimes					
Often					
Always					

The other explanatory variable, so-called enrichment time, was created based on four items on a six-point scale (*1-never – 6-daily*): *"How frequently do you do the following activities together with your child/with your parent: (1) playing together; (2) playing digital games together; (3) attending cultural programs together; (4) doing sport/hiking together?"*. The reliability test for these items resulted in a Cronbach's alpha value of 0.798 for the parental variable and 0.825 for the teenager's variable.

Two categorical variables, one for parents' and one for children's answers, were created. I computed the responses in both cases (see Figure 1 and 2 in Appendix 2) and recoded the values into three categories: (1) *little*, (2) *average,* or (3) *too much enrichment time* (see Table 4).

Table 4. Distribution of enrichment time

	Adolescents		Parents	
Enrichment time	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*
Little	432	48.0	376	41.7
Average	284	31.5	345	38.3
Too much	185	20.5	180	20.0

Quantity time

The quantity of time parents and their children spend together reflects the parent's and adolescents' estimations in minutes for an average weekday and an average weekend day. I took the logarithmic transformation of the variables, and the parental estimation of quantity time is applied as an explanatory and control variable in the multivariate analyses.

Parental mediation

This study focuses on media use in general, therefore parental mediation strategies were identified and labelled based on the following set of questions regarding different aspects of the parents' approach to their child's use of digital devices and technology: *1. Do you restrict access to digital devices as a form of punishment? 2. How closely do you follow the use of technology of your child? 3. Do you check what your child uses their digital devices for? 4. Do you read messages to/from your child? 5. How often do you quarrel with your child over the use of digital devices? 6. How often do you discuss the appropriate use of digital devices with your child?*

Responses to these six questions were considered to be quasi-continuous variables and were recorded on 4-to-6-level Likert scales. We approached parental mediation inductively, thereby the most typical groups of parents based on their patterns of strategies were created by method of k-means cluster analysis (see Figures 1-6 in Appendix 4).[18] Based on the cluster analysis, four groups of parents were identified: those that apply a strategy of active mediation, an ad hoc approach, a strategy of permission, or one of restriction.

I use *active* and *restrictive mediation* as separate dichotomous explanatory variables: those who belong to one of this groups are coded as '1'; other parents are coded '0'. In this dataset active mediation refers to parents who predominantly chose a strategy of following and controlling their child's use of digital devices, sometimes reading their online messages, but

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[18] The k-means cluster analysis was conducted by Márton Rakovics for a manuscript entitled *Parental mediation in the age of mobile technology* written by Beáta Nagy, Kitti Kutrovátz, Rakovics Márton, and Gábor Király. In this paper we explained and justified the clustering process in detail as follows: "To assess the robustness of our findings, we compared k-means clustering results to those obtained from a two-step cluster approach. The latter was based on a combination of a cluster feature tree (Zhang et al. 1996) and hierarchical clustering. This is a model-based approach whereby likelihood and likelihood-based information criteria (AIC or BIC) can be computed by relying on a mixture of multinomially or normally distributed data. The best fitting number of clusters can be determined by choosing the arrangement which minimizes one of the information criterion in the two-step clustering method, or by maximizing the silhouette-index (Rousseeuw 1987) which describes the consistency of the clustering generated by both methods. Solutions involving two to five clusters were tested, and while AIC and BIC values and the silhouette-indices were similar for all solutions, interpretability was determined to be best for the four-cluster version. We must note that respondents were classified into clusters in a hard-clustering fashion, which occurred somewhat arbitrarily for respondents located close to the cluster boundaries" (Nagy et al. 2021: 8-9).

not to the extent that it results in regular conflict. Accordingly, they can and do discuss the preferred way to use ICT in a normal fashion (Nagy et al. 2021). Their proportion in the investigated sample is 38.7% (n=349).

Parents who follow a restriction approach try to impose strict control over their child's use of digital devices, and often punish them by restricting access to them. They seek to have regular discussions about ICT with their children, but these often end in quarrelling instead of reaching mutual understanding (Nagy et al. 2021). The distribution of restrictive parents is 16.6% (n=150).

Control Variables
The following household, child and parental characteristics were selected as control variables: gender of parent, gender of child, age of child, parental education, subjective material status of the family, number of children, type of family, and type of settlement (see details in Table 5).

Table 5. Measures included in the multivariate analyses

	Measure	*Description*
Dependent variables		
Parenting	***Subjective quality of parenting***	Dichotomous variable based on computed five-item Likert scales of ten items:
	Parents' perceptions	1 = highest level of subjective quality of parenting (50 point), 0 = others (<50 points)
	Adolescents' perceptions	
		What grade would you give you/ your mother/father or the following diverse parental activities and behaviours?
		- Being there for him/her / me when she/he is / I am sick
		- Raising him/her / me with good values
		- Make him/her / me feel important and loved
		- Being able to attend important events in his/her / my life
		- Appreciating him/her / me for who he/she is / I am
		- Encouraging him/her / me to want to learn and to enjoy learning
		- Being involved with what is happening to him/her / me at school
		- Being someone he/she / I can go to when he/she is / I am upset
		- Spending time talking with him/her / me
		- Knowing what is really going on in his/her / my life
Explanatory variables		
Parental time		
Quality time	***Focused time***	Composition of two ordinal variables: *Paying attention to the child is hard & Describing parental time in the last three months in general*
	Parents' perceptions	Focused time = Very calm and rather calm parental time + Paying attention is never/seldom/sometimes hard
	Adolescents' perceptions	Dichotomous variable: 1 = focused time; 0= not focused time
	Enrichment time	Computed frequencies (*1-never to 6-daily*) of four shared activities (*Playing together; Playing digital games together; Attending cultural programs together; Doing sport/hiking together*) and recoded the scale values to three categories:
	Parents' perceptions	
	Adolescents' perceptions	little (ref.cat.) (1), average (2), too much (3)

Quantity time	**Amount of parental time on a weekday** Parents' estimations	Estimations in minutes for an average weekday
	Amount of parental time on a weekend day Parents' estimations	Estimations in minutes for an average weekend day
Parental mediation	**Active mediation** Parents' perceptions	Recoded four clusters of parents' groups based on their attitudes and behaviour towards children's technology use Dichotomous variable: 1=active mediation, 0=others (restriction, ad hoc, permissive)
	Restriction Parents' perceptions	Recoded four clusters of parents' group based on their attitudes and behaviour towards children's technology use Dichotomous variable: 1=restriction, 0=others (active med., ad hoc, permissive)

Control variables

Sociodemographic factors	*Gender of parent*	1=father, mother ref.cat.
	Gender of child	1=boy, girl ref. cat.
	Age of child	aged between 12-16
	Parental education	primary (ref.cat.); low secondary or vocational; high secondary; tertiary: college or university
	Subjective material status	1 - poor (ref. cat.) to 4 - well off
	Number of children	
	Type of family	two-parent families (ref. cat.); one-parent families
	Type of occupation	blue-collar; white-collar + self-employed or manager (ref. cat.)
	Type of settlement	Budapest (ref.cat.), county centres; town; villages

5.3.3. Quantitative data analysis methods

Bivariate analyses were implemented using mean comparisons with one-way ANOVA and chi-squared independence testing in simple two-dimensional contingency tables in order to describe the investigated sample and explore the socio-demographic correlations. Then, multivariate analyses were conducted using binary logistic regression models to analyse how diverse aspects of quality time and parental mediation affect the subjective quality of parenting, to explore gender and SES differences, and to investigate the discrepancies in parents' and adolescents' perceptions in this regard. I relied on the estimation of average marginal effects to compare the diverse effects and to provide a more accurate interpretation. Marginal effect relies not only on the parameter estimate of the variable, but considers the values and parameter estimates of other variables, therefore with average marginal effects the directions and powers of causal relations can be measured and compared, in contrast to applying estimates of odds ratio (Bartus 2005).

First, Model 1 estimates the predictors of intensive parenting practices: quality time (focused time and enrichment activities) and parental mediation strategies (active and restrictive mediation), as applied to parental perspectives. Then, quantity time estimations as control variables are added to the model (Model 2). Model 3 is complemented with the socio-demographic control variables.

To assess gender and SES differences, the same models are run on subsamples. First, subsamples are based on parents' gender to compare mothers and fathers concerning the correlations between intensive parenting practices and subjective quality of parenting. The second subsamples are defined using the parent's type of occupation – the models compare two groups: white-collar workers and self-employed and managers with blue-collar workers. To test whether gender and SES differences prove the hypotheses, logit models with interactions were run on the full sample (Bartus et al. 2019).

Finally, the parents' and adolescents' perceptions are compared. The two equations are estimated jointly with generalised structural equation modelling (Model 4). Jointly fitting models and estimating effects with margins provide a general approach to comparing effects across models (Mize et al. 2019).

First, I examine the effects of quality time on the subjective quality of parenting, then quantity time is added to the model, and the last models are controlled with socio-demographic variables.

5.4. Qualitative research

As described in the research design, I applied an explanatory sequential design; accordingly, the first results of the quantitative data created the qualitative strand of this research. In the following, I describe the qualitative sample and recruitment method, the method of data collection, and the analysis.

5.4.1. Sampling and recruitment

The preliminary findings of the survey data showed that the patterns of parental time and also parental mediation vary greatly according to the socioeconomic status of parents, and parent's gender. Therefore, these two characteristics were the most influential factors when forming our target group – besides the age of children – in the qualitative section, for exploring the differences more comprehensively. From the status variables we chose the educational level of parents since this is an easily accessible piece of data about interviewees. Accordingly, we aimed to create two groups of parents according to their educational level and intended to involve fathers as respondents. Similar to the quantitative data collection process, the sample was built on parent-child dyads, and we involved those teenagers who were aged between 12 and 16 years old. First, we recruited respondents through schools because we assumed that school management and class teachers would have sufficient information about pupils' social background. Additionally, we offered shopping vouchers for participation. Despite this, recruitment was rather slow. During the interviewing process, we also employed snowball sampling to increase the efficiency. Ultimately, in 2019, from January until June (during school time) I conducted interviews with members of 29 families. Since this research focuses on actively employed parents and the time they spend with their children, I excluded five cases from this investigation. Therefore, the qualitative sample consists of 24 parent-child dyads. Mothers are overrepresented, while 14 girls and 10 boys participated in the research. The mean age of the parents was 46 years old. Most of the families (18) lived in the capital Budapest; the others were also from nearby. Most parents responded that they had good material circumstances, five families had only one parent in the household.

However, the distribution of parents by educational level was balanced; it was mainly those with a lower education that were excluded because of their inactive employment status. In addition, the educational level did not totally grasp their social position because white-collar workers and self-employed and entrepreneurs were overrepresented in the sample. Therefore, besides the educational level, we included type of occupation to distinguish two groups of parents by socioeconomic background. Consequently, we considered as higher

status parents those individuals who had white-collar positions, or were managers, or self-employed professionals with higher education (n=17). All blue-collar workers and one self-employed with a secondary education were defined as lower status parents (n=7). In the analyses, we refer to the social status of parents based on these categorisations that include the aspects of education and occupation.

Table 6 Qualitative study sample characteristics

	N/Mean	*Min*	*Max*
Adolescent			
Boy	10	-	-
Girl	14	-	-
Age	14	12	16
Parent			
Father	7	-	-
Mother	17	-	-
Age	46	41	55
Number of children	2	1	4
Type of settlement			
Budapest	18	-	-
Town	1	-	-
Village	5	-	-
Parental education			
Secondary	11	-	-
Higher	13	-	-
Subjective material status			
1 Poor	-	-	-
2	4	-	-
3	14		
4 Well-off	6	-	-
Type of family			
Two-parent families	19	-	-
One-parent families	5	-	-
Type of occupation			
Blue-collar	7	-	-
White-collar	9	-	-
Self-employed or manager	8		

5.4.2. Semi structured interviews and the interview guide

As described above in the research design, we implemented semi-structured interviews with parents and children too. Conducting face-to-face interviews with children in the investigated age group was considered an appropriate research method (Gibson 2012).

Parental consent for their child's participation and informed consents for both parties

about their voluntary participation, anonymity, and data management were obtained. Additionally, the Ethics Committee at Corvinus University of Budapest approved our research process in advance.

As with the quantitative data collection, parents were first interviewed – with one exception –, and children were then interviewed separately. First, parents responded to some sociodemographic closed questions. The two interview guides were similarly structured according to two thematic blocks: parental time and technology usage, and related parental strategies. Interviews begun with a discussion of the perception of parental time, then interviewees explained the household's infocommunication and entertainment technology infrastructure and patterns of usage – primarily teenager's usage, but also parental technology use was an issue in the interviews – and the diverse strategies employed to control or influence children's screen use. The duration of parental interviews was between 40 and 80 minutes, and, as we expected, interviews with adolescents were much shorter – these lasted between 15 and 60 minutes. All interviews were recorded and transcribed, and the transcripts have been checked against the recordings for accuracy. The current research investigates parental data from the qualitative perspective.

5.4.3. Qualitative data analysis method: thematic analyses

The qualitative part of this study draws on thematic analysis following the definition of Braun and Clark (2006). The scholars propose that thematic analysis is a method that enables the identification, analysis, and reporting of patterns – as themes – within data (Braun – Clarke, 2006:79). They argue that researchers have to make the process of analysis and their decisions explicit.

Since the current study employs an explanatory sequential research design, where quantitative data dominate the analysis and the qualitative part provides richer and more nuanced explanations of these results, I employed theory-driven analysis. The themes relate to the specific research questions based on the theoretical approach, such as the diverse types of parental quality time or parental mediation strategies, and the evaluation of shared time and teenagers' screen time. However, I intended to be reflexive and open-minded enough to identify important themes apart from those implied by the research questions that were embedded in the theoretical framework. Therefore, a typical semantic approach was applied: themes were identified at the semantic level that were associated with the explicit meanings of the data. The specific research questions influenced the coding process too, the latter which was undertaken using NVivo software.

The next section describes patterns related to the concept of intensive parenting that were identified during the analytical process and interprets their significance and broader meaning.

I identified two main themes referring to intensive parenting practices; these are labelled quality time (1), and parental mediation (2). Additionally, I defined a further theme that describes the diverse connections of parental time and screen time (3) that is significantly related to both practices. Quality time contains two further subthemes: everyday rituals, and enrichment activities, while parental mediation includes two subcategories: the dominance of restriction, and a mix of strategies. Further, in line with the second research question that refers to influential factors, another subtheme was defined that captures the role of gender and SES differences. Figure 4 shows the investigated themes and their relations. The results of the qualitative research will be discussed according to the themes in Chapter 6.2.

Figure 4. Thematic map of themes in the qualitative analysis
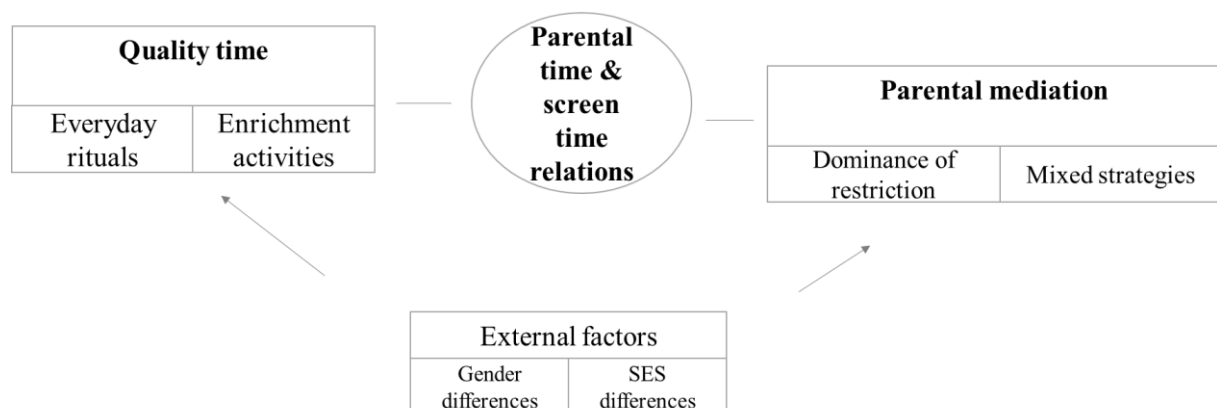
6. RESULTS

In this part, I demonstrate the empirical results of the research. First, I reveal the quantitative findings, including descriptive results, and the regression models according to the hypotheses. The quantitative section ends with a short summary of the main findings. Then I discuss the qualitative research results using a similar structure.

6.1. Quantitative research
6.1.1. Descriptive statistics

I describe the characteristics of the investigated sample applying bivariate analyses, such as mean comparisons with one-way ANOVA and chi-squared independence testing using simple two-dimensional contingency tables.

Subjective quality of parenting

I discuss the subjective quality of parenting by examining the mean value of the score for the parenting skills items. The distribution of the mean value of parenting skills is extreme in both cases – from both parents' and children's perspectives. There are hardly any parents or adolescents who did not evaluate their own or their parent's performance very positively: their responses show similar patterns[19], although parents are a bit more critical of their own skills (see Figures 3 and 4 in Appendix 1). Most of the parents strongly agree (between 58.4% and 80.5%) and there is a remarkable proportion (14.5% - 29.4%) who agree with all statements about their parenting.

Examining the relationship to sociodemographic variables, we conclude that the subjective quality of parenting is significantly related to the parent's gender, subjective material wellbeing, and their educational level, and in the case of children to the parent's type of occupation. Further, it is negatively correlated with the child's age and, in the case of parental responses, positively with the number of children in the family (see Table 1 in Appendix 1). Accordingly, mothers and parents of higher socioeconomic status and their children are more likely to assess their parenting or their parent's parenting as better. The subjective quality of parenting decreases as children age and increases with growth in the number of children in a family.

To see some differences at the item level, Figure 5 displays the mean value of the items of parenting according to parents' gender. This shows that mothers asses their parenting skills as higher almost for all items. However, there are statistically significant differences in

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[19]The two-tailed p-value is greater than 0.05; the mean difference is not statistically significant.

means between mothers and fathers for the items marked with an asterisk (see Table 2 in Appendix 1 for the details of the statistical tests). The most remarkable difference is with the statement 'I am there when my child is sick.'

Figure 5. Parental items referring to parenting according to gender of parents (mean values on five-point scales)
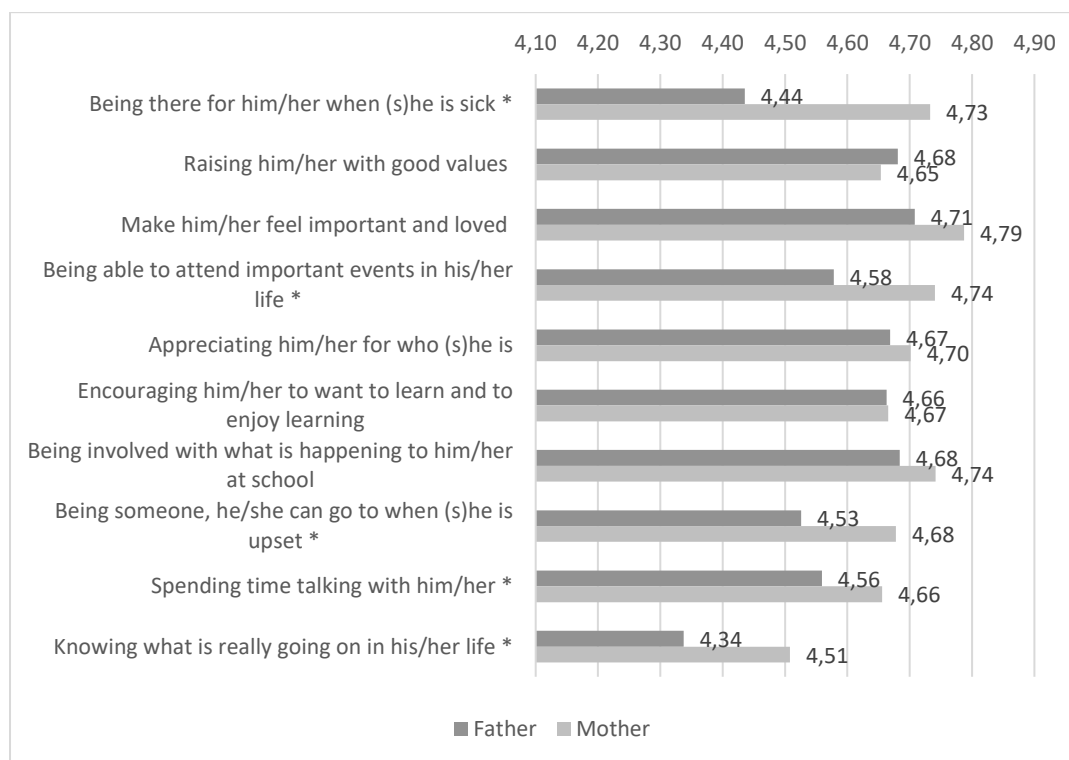
Figure 6 presents the mean values of parental response by subjective material status. As we can see, in most cases those parents assess their parenting as the best who are living in well-off households. There are statistically significant differences in means according to subjective material status for the items marked by an asterisk (see Table 3 in Appendix 1 for the details of the statistical tests).

Figure 6. Parental items referring to parenting according to subjective material status (mean values on five-point scales)
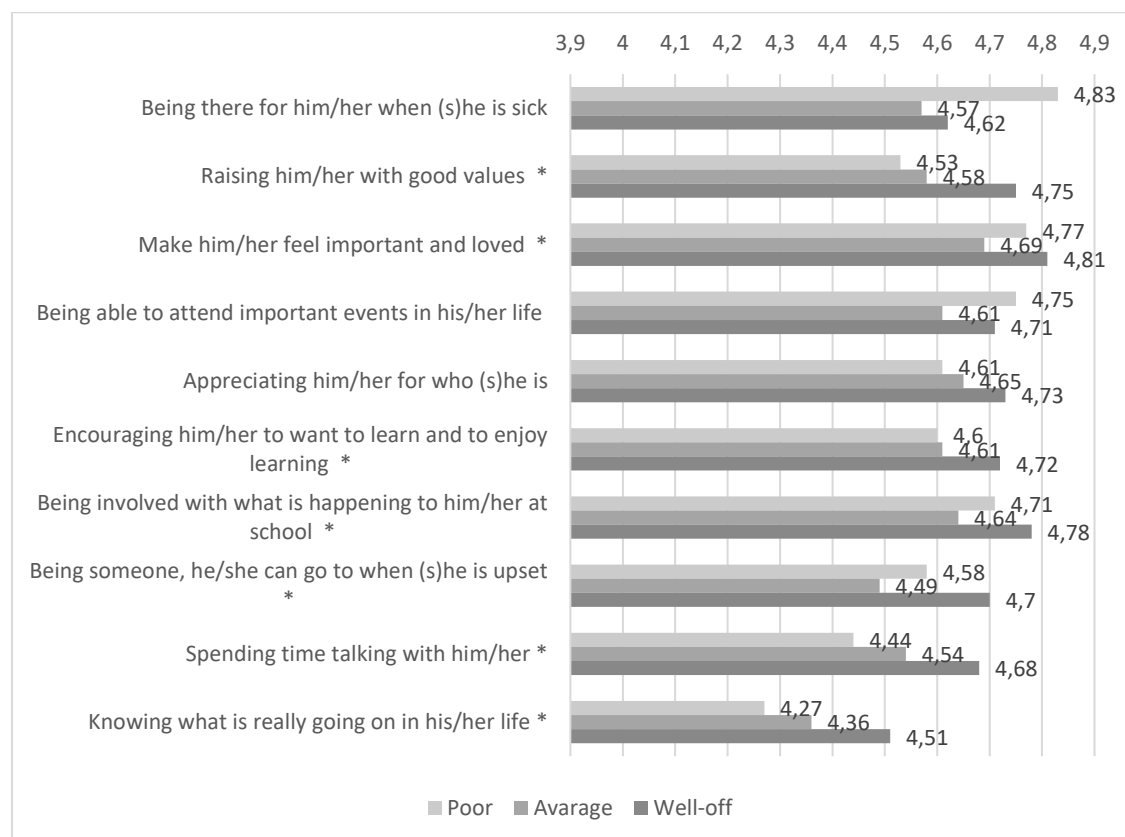
Quality time

Parents' and adolescents' responses to the items related to focused time (*Parent cannot pay full attention* & *Perception of shared time in the last 3 months*) show very similar patterns – however the first item is statistically different between parents and children – and, as in the case of parenting, adolescents are not as critical with their parents as parents are with themselves. Nonetheless, a notable proportion perceive that parents often or always cannot pay full attention to children (25.5%; 30.7%), and a smaller share think that shared time is rushed (6.7%; 7.1%) (see Table 1 in Appendix 2). There is no significant relation – from neither perspective – between the estimated amount of time (both weekday and weekend) and the perception of focused time.

In the case of the first item (Parent cannot pay full attention), parental perceptions correlate with the gender of parents, with subjective material background, and number of children (see Table 2-4 in Appendix 2). Accordingly, mothers feel distracted when spending time with their children more frequently than fathers. The more children a family has, the more distracted the parents feel. The most obvious difference according to the socio-

demographic variables is subjective material status: the more well-off the family, the more focused parents felt when together with their children. However, there was no difference in children's perspective in this regard.

Figure 7 shows the differences according to parents' gender. The proportion of mothers who perceive that they often or always cannot pay full attention to their child is almost ten percentage points higher than fathers who feel the same.

Figure 7. Distribution of parental responses regarding how often they cannot pay full attention to their child according to parent's gender
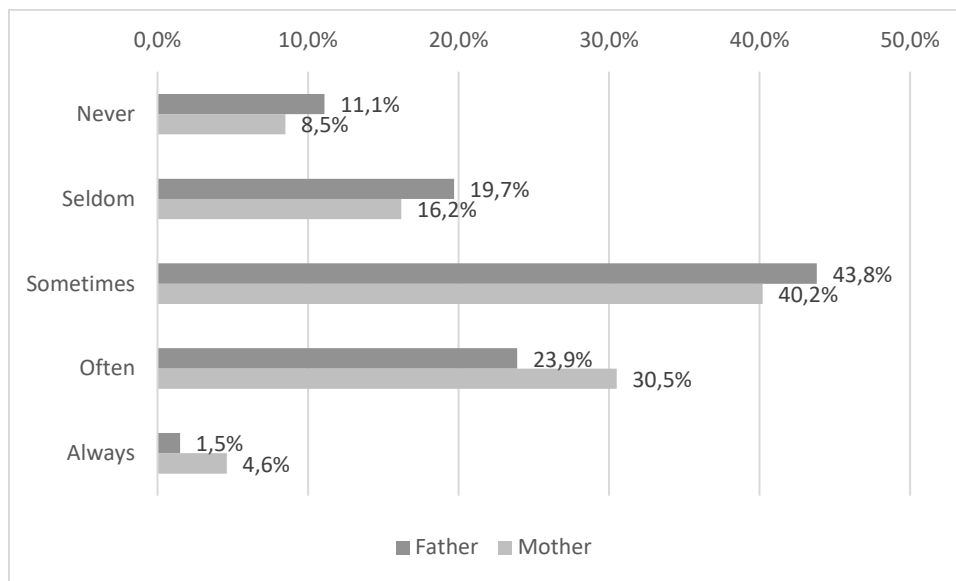
Note. For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 14.345 (df = 4), p-value = 0.006.

Concerning the perception of shared time in the last three months, this phenomenon has similar relationships with the demographic variables (see Table 4-7 in Appendix 2). Fathers, parents with a better economic situation, and white-collars or managers and self-employed parents perceive shared time as calmer. Those living in the capital report to having rushed parental time more frequently, and children also perceive shared time as more hectic as they age (see Table 8 in Appendix 2).

As we can see in Figure 8, notable differences by type of occupation appear in the share of parents who perceive parental time as calm or sometimes calm/sometimes rushed. Almost 70% of managers and self-employed parents perceive shared time as calm, while 54% of blue-collar worker responded the same. Comparing children's and parents' responses, teenagers perceive time as more hectic who have managerial or self-employed parents.

Figure 8. Distribution of the perception of shared time in the last three months according to parent's type of occupation
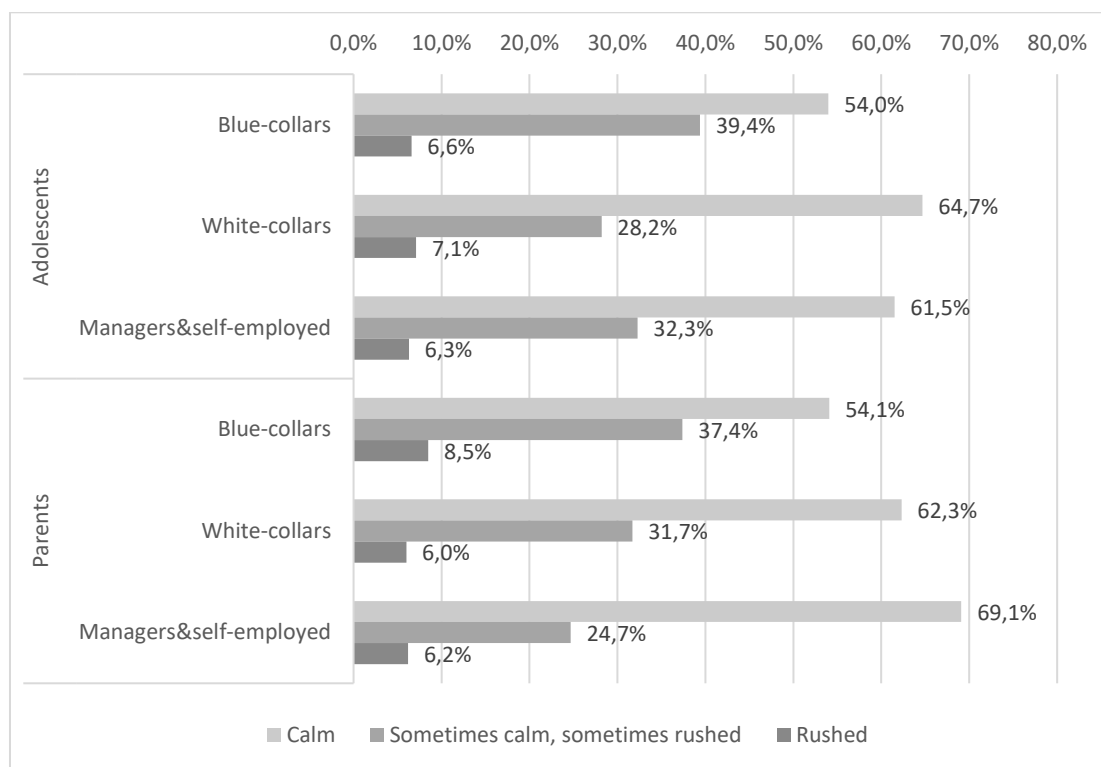
Note. Adolescents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 11.403 (df = 4), p-value = 0.022. Parents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 10.252 (df = 4), p-value = 0.036.

There are no remarkable differences in parents' and children' responses about the frequency of enrichment activities; parents report a significantly greater frequency of playing in general (see Table 9 in Appendix 2). Moreover, only playing together was significantly associated with the estimated amount of parental time (weekday and weekend) (p<0.001). Playing together is the most frequent activity: according to adolescents, 29.9 percent, while according to parents 34.4 percent of families play together at least once a week. Playing is followed by playing digital games and doing sports and hiking: between 16 and 18 percent of parents and adolescents report that they do these activities and around 12 percent attend a cultural event at least once a week.

From both perspectives, all four activities are significantly related to most of the socioeconomic background variables – such as parent's educational level, subjective material status, and type of occupation – and to the type of settlement and age of children (see Table 10-32 in Appendix 2).

Additionally, the frequency of playing digital games together is also correlated with parent's gender from the child's perspectives, and with the type of households based on parental

responses (see Table 18-19 in Appendix 2). Overall, as children age, they spend less time on activities together with their parents, and higher socioeconomic status or a bigger type of settlement is also associated with more frequent shared activities. Perhaps surprisingly, mothers play digital games together with their teenagers more frequently than fathers: 15.0 percent of fathers and 20.2 percent of mothers play at least once a week (see Table 21 in Appendix 2). Playing together is the most common shared activity among the investigated items, and the educational differences are the least remarkable in this case, while attending cultural events or doing sports and hiking shows greater variability (see Figure 9).

Figure 9. Distribution of frequency of enrichment activities according to parent's educational level
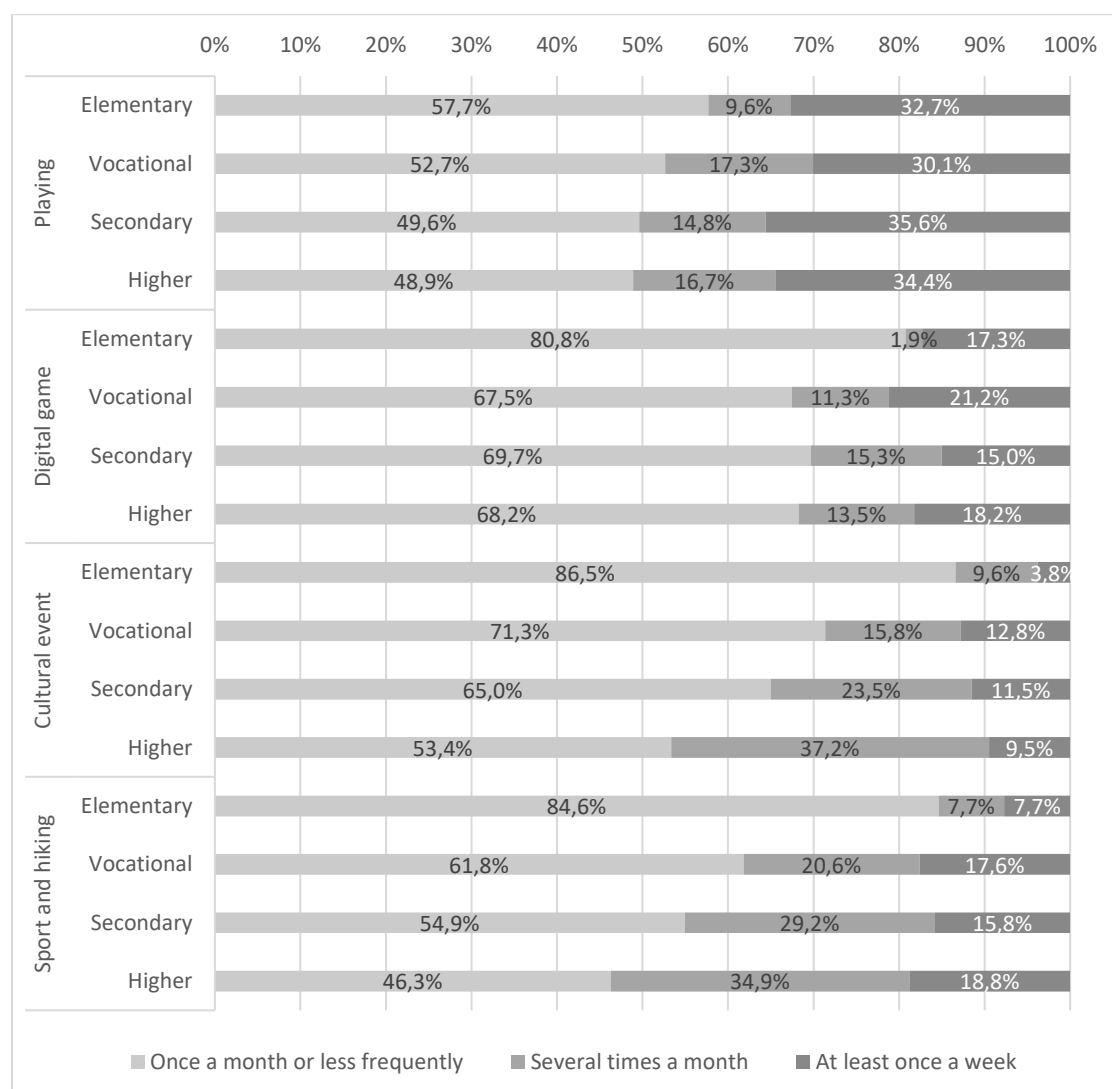
Note.
Playing: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 17.296 (df = 6), p-value = 0.008.
Digital game: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 12.128 (df = 6), p-value = 0.059.
Cultural event: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 37.150 (df = 6), p-value = 0.000.
Sports: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 31.219 (df = 6), p-value = 0.000.

Quantity of time

Both parents and children estimated parental time on a typical weekday and on a typical weekend day. On average, parents spend about four hours with their children on a weekday and eight hours on a weekend. Teenagers estimate 19 minutes less on a weekday and 44 minutes less on a weekend (see Table 7). Both estimations vary significantly according to parent's gender and age of child.

Based on parental responses, mothers spend significantly more time with their children than fathers: the difference is 45 minutes on a typical weekday, and more than an hour on an average weekend day based on parental answers. The amount of parent-child shared time is also higher for younger children by half an hour on weekdays, and one hour on weekends (see Table 1-2 in Appendix 3). As for the subjective material background of the family, the data indicate no difference.

Table 7. Estimation of amount of shared time (mins)

	n	Mean	Std. deviation
Parent weekday	898	234	121,10
Child weekday	894	215	106,47
Parent weekend	898	473	244,97
Child weekend	894	429	240,32

Parental mediation: active and restrictive strategy

As mentioned above, using cluster analysis we identified several groups among the parents based on their responses related to the mediation of their teenagers' technology usage (Nagy et al. 2021). Table 1 in Appendix 4 presents the distribution of parents' mediations strategies. The largest group applies an active mediation approach (38.7%), and 16.6% of parents use restrictions to control their child's technology use.[20] In this research, I involve the dummy variables created from the results of the cluster analysis in the examination.

Like quality time, applying active mediation is also associated with socioeconomic variables: those who have higher status in terms of education, subjective material status, or type of occupation are more likely to choose this kind of strategy. Concerning the choice of restrictive strategy, there are fewer differences between the diverse sociodemographic groups. Restrictions are associated with the parents' type of occupation, although the direction of the

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[20] There are two other approaches: the ad hoc, and the permissive strategy, but these are not the focus of the current research.

correlation is not that linear: white-collar workers apply such a strategy more often than blue-collar workers or the self-employed and entrepreneurs (see Table 2-3 in Appendix 4). Figure 10 shows the significant differences in terms of those who apply an active mediation strategy according to parents' education: a higher level of education is correlated with an active mediation strategy, while a restrictive approach does not show great variability and differences are not statistically significant.

Figure 10. Distribution of mediation strategies according to parents' educational level
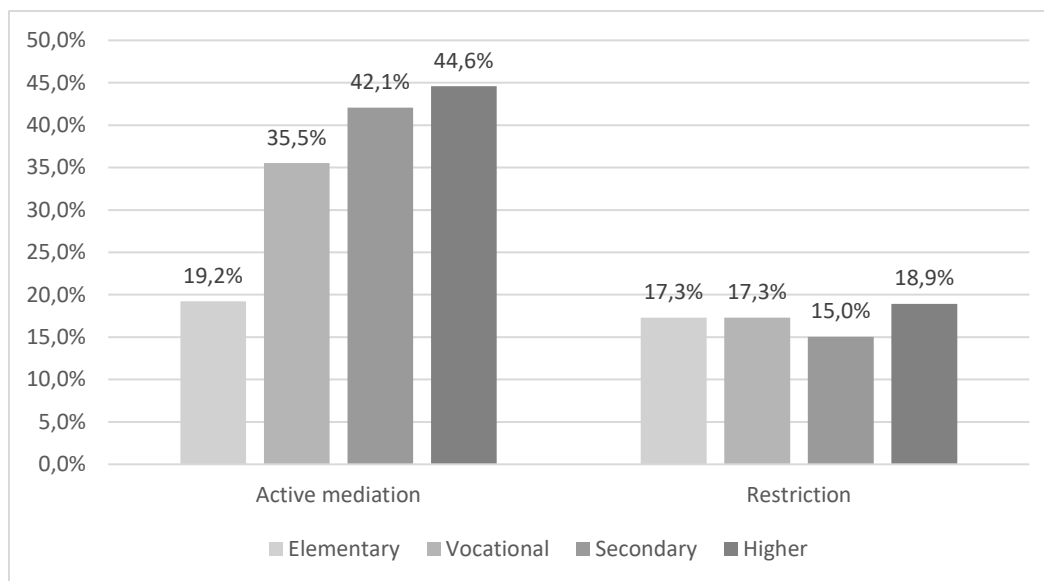
Note. Active mediation: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 13,656 (df = 3), p-value = 0.003

Furthermore, girls' parents are more likely to follow an active mediation strategy than boys' parents. The data show that mothers tend to restrict the technology use of children more often than fathers. Last, both types of investigated strategy are more frequently used when children are younger.

Summary

To sum up, we conclude that the investigated intensive parenting practices, parental quality time, and parental mediation strategies – especially active mediation, and the subjective quality of parenting – vary significantly according to the factors of the socioeconomic status of families (such as subjective material background), parental education, and parents' gender. Moreover, as the descriptive statistics show, parents' and adolescents' perceptions of time are very similar. In the following, multivariate analyses are conducted to assess the role of

intensive practices in determining the subjective quality of parenting, allowing for an estimation of effects while controlling for the other explanatory variables in the models.

6.1.2. Intensive parenting practices

This study suggests that, based on contemporary parenting ideals, the investigated parenting practices – quality time (focused time and enrichment activities) (*H1.a.*) and active and restrictive mediation (*H1.b.*) might positively affect parents' subjective quality of parenting. In this section, to test these assumptions the average marginal effects of these parenting practices on parental evaluations are estimated using binary logistic regression, examining parental perspectives.

Table 7. presents the average marginal effects in three models. The first model estimates the effects of the explanatory variables, while the second model is controlled for the quantity of parental time, and Model 3 is complemented with socio-demographic control variables.

As we can see, focused time has a significant positive impact on the subjective quality of parenting in all models – its average marginal effect remains stable in the controlled models. Having focused time with teenaged children is associated with a 16-percentage-points greater probability of a better evaluation of parenting when controlling for sociodemographic variables. Compared to other explanatory variables' effects, focused time has the biggest positive impact on the subjective quality of parenting. Surprisingly, and in contrast to our assumption, the other aspect of quality time – enrichment activities – have a negative impact on the subjective quality of parenting in the controlled model. Spending 'too much' time on enrichment activities decreases the probability of a better appraisal of the subjective quality of parenting by ten percentage points compared to spending little enrichment time. As for spending an average amount of time on enrichment, the data indicate no difference.

Concerning parental mediation of technology use, active mediation also has a significant positive effect on the subjective quality of parenting. However, its effect decreases when control variables are involved: in the third model, the application of an active mediation strategy is associated with a nine-percentage-point greater probability of an assessment of the better subjective quality of parenting. Restrictive mediation also has a significant positive effect in the first model, but this effect disappears when we control for demographic variables.

The results show that the quantity of time matters: the estimated amount of time spent with children on a weekend day positively influences the subjective quality of parenting: with

an increase in time at the weekend there is a seven-percentage-point greater probability of an appraisal of better subjective quality of parenting in Model 3.

With regard to control variables, subjective material status, gender of parent, number of children, and the age of the child significantly influence the subjective quality of parenting. Fathers tend to evaluate themselves as worse at parenting than mothers, and there is 22 percentage point greater probability that well-off parents evaluate themselves as better at parenting compared to poor parents. An increase in the number of children also increases the probability of an appraisal of the better subjective quality of parenting, while as children age parents evaluate themselves worse as parents, although – importantly – these effect sizes are very small.

Table 8. Average marginal effects of parental time and active and restrictive mediation on evaluations of parenting

	Model1.1	Model1.2	Model1.3
Focused time	0.15***	0.16 ***	0.16***
Average enrichment time	0.03	0.02	0.01
Too much enrichment time	-0.05	-0.06	-0.10*
Active mediation	0.13***	0.12**	0.09*
Restrictive mediation	0.09*	0.09+	0.04
Amount of time (weekday)		-0.04	-0.04
Amount of time (weekend)		0.08*	0.07+
Gender of parent (Father=1)			-0.11**
Gender of child (boy=1)			-0.01
Age of child (12-16)			-0.02*
Parental education: low secondary/vocational			-0.04
Parental education: high secondary			0.01
Parental education: tertiary			0.02
Subjective material status: 2			-0.03
Subjective material status: 3			0.07

Subjective material status: 4			0.22*
One-parent families			0.06
Number of children			0.04*
Type of settlement: county centre			0.00
Type of settlement: town			-0.01
Type of settlement: village			0.01
N	892	888	828
Pseudo R	0.06	0.07	0.13

Note. Statistically significant estimates appear as ***p<.0.001, **p<0.01, *p<0.05, +p<0.1.
Reference categories: gender of parent: mother, gender of child: girl; parental education: primary; subjective material status: well-off; type of settlement: Budapest.
(see p-value & confidence intervals in Appendix 5)

In sum, an investigation of quality time and two types of parental mediation using models indicates that focused time is the most important factor that affects the subjective quality of parenting, although too many enrichment activities have a negative impact. Similarly, active mediation increases the probability of (an appraisal of the) higher subjective quality of parenting, while restriction does not have any impact in the controlled model. Consequently, hypotheses *H1.a* and *H1.b* are partially supported – the investigated parenting practices (focused time and active mediation) are found to be important factors that influence the subjective quality of parenting positively, while enrichment activities also matter, but in the opposite direction to expected.

6.1.3. The role of parents' gender and SES

In this section, I describe how the same models were run on subsamples to reveal the parental gender and SES differences in the role of parenting practices. After presenting the different models in the subsamples, further models were run on the whole sample with gender and SES interactions to test whether the differences in the values of average marginal effects were statistically significant.

Concerning the gender of parents, I assumed that the indicators of quality time and parental mediation would have larger effects on the maternal than paternal subjective quality of parenting (*H2.a.*). First, Table 8 presents the average marginal effects of explanatory variables according to parents' gender. The table shows that focused time has a stable significant positive effect for mothers and fathers in all models. Its effect size is especially

large for fathers and the gender difference proves to be significant in all models. In Model 2.3, having focused time is associated with a 20 percentage point greater probability of an appraisal of better subjective quality of parenting for fathers, while the average marginal effect size for mothers is 11 percentage points in the same model.

With regard to enrichment activities, they do not influence the subjective quality of parenting of fathers, but have an increasing significant negative effect for mothers. In the last model with demographic control variables, for mothers who spend 'too much' time on enriching activities there is a 17-percentage point lower probability of an appraisal of better subjective quality of parenting.

Concerning parental mediation, active mediation has a strong effect in all models in the case of mothers, while it has no impact for fathers. Restriction does not matter at all. Mother's active mediation of teenager's technology use increases the probability of an appraisal of better subjective quality of parenting by 19 percentage points.

Furthermore, maternal subjective quality of parenting is also affected by the amount of time, controversially. An increase in the estimated amount of time mothers and their children spend together on a weekday decreases the probability of the better subjective quality of parenting by 16 percentage points, while the amount of time on a weekend day is associated with a higher subjective appraisal of subjective quality of parenting (18 percentage point).

The average marginal effects of demographic variables are displayed in Appendix 6. The highest educational level in both cases for mothers and fathers is associated with a better subjective quality of parenting, although the effect is significant only at the significance level of ten percent. With regard to fathers, having more children also increases the probability of the better subjective quality of parenting.

Table 9. Average marginal effects of parental time and active and restrictive mediations on subjective quality of parenting by gender of parent

Panel A: Average marginal effects – Subsample models						
	Model 2.1		Model 2.2		Model 2.3*	
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
Focused time	0.11*	0.23***	0.12*	0.22***	0.11*	0.20***
Average enrichment time	0.02	0.07	0.00	0.08	-0.02	-0.06
Too much enrichment time	-0.11+	0.03	-0.12+	0.03	-0.17*	0.00
Active mediation	0.20***	0.04	0.19***	0.04	0.19***	-0.02
Restrictive mediation	0.10	0.08	0.10	0.03	0.07	0.04
Amount of time (weekday)			-0.17**	0.03	-0.16**	0.07
Amount of time (weekend)			0.20***	-0.04	0.18***	-0.08
N	*489*	*403*	*488*	*400*	*455*	*373*
Pseudo R	*0.07*	*0.09*	*0.12*	*0.10*	*0.16*	*0.21*

Panel B: p-values of interaction terms in the *whole* sample			
Focused time	0.000	0.000	0.000
Average enrichment time	0.151	0.112	0.320
Too much enrichment time	0.710	0.640	0.990
Active mediation	0.448	0.400	0.783
Restrictive mediation	0.273	0.253	0.617
Amount of time (weekday)		0.492	0.224
Amount of time (weekend)		0.400	0.121
N	*892*	*888*	*828*
Pseudo R	*0.09*	*0.12*	*0.19*

Note. Statistically significant estimates appear as ***p<.0.001, **p<0.01, *p<0.05, +p<0.1.
*(controlled for demographic variables) (see p-values of subsample models & confidence intervals in Appendix 6)

To examine socioeconomic differences I ran two models also on subsamples based on the parents' type of occupation. I compare two groups: blue-collar workers (1) with white-collar workers and the self-employed and managers (2),[21] assuming that quality time and parental mediation have larger effects on the subjective quality of parenting of parents of higher status (*H2.b.*).

The estimates in Table 9 show that focused time has a significant positive effect on the subjective quality of parenting in both groups, although the size of its marginal effect is somewhat bigger among parents of higher status in the first two models. In the controlled model, having focused time increases the probability of better subjective quality of parenting to a similar extent (14 and 13 percentage point). The differences in the effects of focused time are significant in all models.

Concerning the other aspect of quality time, we conclude that more enrichment activities strengthen the significant negative effect among lower status parents. In the controlled model, in terms of having too many compared to too few enrichment activities there is an 18 percentage points smaller probability of an appraisal of the better subjective quality of parenting of lower status parents. With regard to higher status parents, there is also a negative effect of too much enrichment time in the third model, although the effect is rather weak. Moreover, the difference in the effect size between parents of diverse social status is not significant.

The more remarkable differences between the diverse group of parents based on their type of occupation appear in terms of the impact of parental mediation. Parental mediation matters only among higher status parents: active mediation increases the probability of the better subjective quality of parenting by 16 percentage points. A restriction approach also has a significant positive effect but only at the significance level of ten percent in the second and third model. However, none of the investigated parental mediation strategies influence the subjective quality of parenting among lower status families.

Concerning quantity time, we can see differences too. While the amount of time spent together on a typical weekend day has a positive effect among lower status parents, it negatively affects higher status parents' judgements of their parenting.

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[21] Although the self-employed and managers might have very specific patterns of time available for their children, this group is composed of very heterogeneous respondents and their sample size is small, therefore I merge them with white-collar workers and considered them to be similar according to their social position.

With regard to the socio-demographic variables that were incorporated, none of them have much significance in terms of influencing the subjective quality of parenting in either group.

Table 10. Average marginal effects of parental time and an active and restrictive mediation approach on subjective quality of parenting by parental occupation

	Panel A: Average marginal effects – Subsample models					
	Model 3.1		Model 3.2		Model 3.3*	
	White-collar& Entr	Blue-collar	White-collar& Entr	Blue-collar	White-collar& Entr	Blue-collar
Focused time	0.17***	0.11*	0.16***	0.13**	0.14***	0.13*
Average enrichment time	0.01	-0.00	0.02	-0.03	-0.00	-0.04
Too much enrichment time	-0.08	-0.12+	-0.06	-0.14*	-0.10+	-0.18*
Active mediation	0.16**	0.06	0.18***	0.04	0.16**	0.01
Restrictive mediation	0.09	0.10	0.11+	0.11	0.11+	0.05
Amount of time (weekday)			-0.03	-0.02	-0.00	-0.03
Amount of time (weekend)			-0.07	0.17**	-0.10*	0.13*
N	*495*	*396*	*495*	*392*	*459*	*368*
Pseudo R	*0.09*	*0.03*	*0.11*	*0.08*	*0.18*	*0.15*

	Panel B: p-values of interaction terms in the *whole* sample		
Focused time	0.000	0.000	0.000
Average enrichment time	0.224	0.209	0.338
Too much enrichment time	0.780	0.879	0.570
Active mediation	0.000	0.000	0.006
Restrictive mediation	0.117	0.111	0.353
Amount of time (weekday)		0.344	0.416
Amount of time (weekend)		0.771	0.964

Note. Statistically significant estimates appear as ***p<.0.001, **p<0.01, *p<0.05, +p<0.1.
*(controlled for demographic variables)
(see p-values & confidence intervals in Appendix 7)

In sum, when comparing the effects of quality time and parental mediation on subjective quality of parenting we can see significant differences according to parents' gender and their type of occupation.

With regard to mothers' active mediation, focused time – with the lowest marginal effect – and also the quantity of time spent together on weekends increases the probability of better subjective quality of parenting, while too many enrichment activities and the quantity of time spent on weekdays have a negative impact. However, for father only focused time has a significant strong positive effect, and its effect size is greater than for mothers.

Among higher status parents focused time and active mediation increase, but more time spent together on weekends decreases the level of subjective quality of parenting. Contrarily, lower status parents' subjective quality of parenting is influenced positively by the quantity of time spent together on weekends, while too much enrichment time have a negative subjective effect on their parenting – with the greatest effect size. Notwithstanding this, focused time positively influences the quality of parenting in both groups, yet the difference in the effect size is significant but not remarkable.

We conclude that the results support Hypothesis *H2.a* partially. In contrast to our assumption, focused time has a larger effect on the subjective quality of parenting of fathers than of mothers. Moreover, too many enrichment activities negatively influence mothers' subjective quality of parenting, while this has no effect on fathers. Concerning mediation, active mediation only influences mothers' subjective quality of parenting.

Similarly, Hypothesis *H2.b* is confirmed partially: focused time is important for both groups to a same extent in terms of their subjective quality of parenting; additionally, enrichment activities have negative effects in both groups, especially among blue-collar workers. However, parental mediation is influential only for higher status parents: both types of mediation – especially active mediation – increase the subjective quality of parenting.

6.1.4. Parents' and their children's perspectives of parental time

The last models compare parents' and adolescents' perspectives about the influence of parental time on subjective quality of parenting. Table 10 demonstrates the average marginal effects of parental time indicators and the cross-model differences. I applied generalized structural equation modelling, to jointly fit the models and test the differences. I assumed that there is a difference in the role of quantity time in terms of the subjective quality of parenting between children and parents (*H3.a*) and it matters for parents, while there are also diverse perceptions about the importance of quality time (*H3.b*)

We can see in Table 10 the strong significant positive effect of focused time for teenagers and parents too. Accordingly, those who can pay attention to their child more frequently and perceive parental time as calm are more likely to evaluate the subjective quality of parenting better. The perceived focused parental time increases the quality of parenting among adolescents even more. The marginal effect size is higher by nine percentage point for adolescents than for parents; however, the controlled model (4.3) shows only weak evidence ($p > 0.05$) of the significant difference.

Examining only quality time aspects in Model 4.1, average enrichment time compared to little enrichment leads to a somewhat greater probability (0.7) of better subjective quality of parenting, but this effect disappears when involving the amount of time into the model.

For parents, the negative effect of too much enrichment time with weak evidence time appears in Model 4.3 (-0.8). Enrichment time do not have any impact on children's assessment.

The quantity of weekend time first increases the probability of better parental self-evaluation; however, this estimate is also significant only at ten percent level in the controlled model, and the effect size is very small (0.4).

With regard to the socio-demographic variables, the results show that fathers are more likely to evaluate their parenting as worse than mothers, and well-off parents have a better subjective quality of parenting compared to parents with lower socioeconomic status. In the case of children, there is no other explanatory or control variable that leads to a difference in their assessment of parenting quality.

Table 11. Average marginal effects of parental time on subjective quality of parenting from parents and adolescents' perspective

	Model 4.1. (n=881)			Model 4.2. (n=877			Model 4.3. (n=818)		
	A	P	p-value of diff.	A	P	p-value of diff	A	P	p-value of diff
Focused time	0.26***	0.17***	0.027	0.25***	0.17***	0.067	0.26***	0.17***	0.057
Average enrichment time	0.05	0.07*	0.613	0.05	0.06	0.855	0.02	0.04	0.777
Too much enrichment time	0.07	-0.01	0.163	0.07	-0.02	0.131	0.03	-0.08+	0.079
Amount of time (weekday)				0.00	-0.02	0.476	0.01	-0.02	0.415
Amount of time (weekend)				0.02	0.06*	0.164	0.01	0.04+	0.299
Gender of parent (Father=1)							-0.02	-0.11**	
Gender of child (boy=1)							-0.01	-0.02	
Age of child (12-16)							-0.01	-0.03*	
Parental education: low secondary							-0.06	-0.02	
Parental education: high secondary							-0.02	0.03	
Parental education: tertiary							0.01	0.05	
Subjective material status: 2							0.03	-0.02	
Subjective material status: 3							0.07	0.08	

Subjective material status: 4	0.21*	0.24*
One-parent families	0.05	0.07
Number of children	0.02	0.04+
Type of settlement: county centre	0.00	0.01
Type of settlement: town	-0.02	-0.01
Type of settlement: village	-0.03	0.02

Note. Statistically significant estimates appear as ***p<.0.001, **p<0.01, *p<0.05, +p<0.1. Average discrete changes for continuous variables are for a standard deviation increase. Reference categories: gender of parent: mother, gender of child: girl; parental education: primary; subjective material status: well-off; type of settlement: Budapest. (see p-values & confidence intervals in Appendix 8)

In sum, focused time has a strong positive effect on parenting quality, especially in the case of teenage children, for whom having focused time is a highly important defining factor in terms of assessing parenting quality. For parents the greater amount of time on weekends also increases the level of the subjective quality of parenting in the non-controlled model. Therefore, the results support *H3.a.* about the different role of quantity time, but the evidence is rather weak. The results prove partly the assumption of *H3.b.*: although focused time has the biggest impact on subjective quality of parenting among parents, it is not that strong that in the case of children, but enrichment activities do not influence parental perceptions, as I had presumed. In contrast, too much enrichment time negatively influences the subjective quality of parenting, while it has no impact on children's assessment.

For teenagers, spending focused time with their parents defines their assessment of parenting quality to a greater extent, while the amount of parental time or other aspects of quality time does not shape parenting quality according to children.

6.1.5. Summary

The quantitative results of this study show that parents' perceptions of their subjective quality of parenting, parental time, and parental mediation differ remarkably according to the factors of social status and parents' gender. Generally, mothers and those with higher social status evaluate their subjective quality of parenting as better. Focused time is unequally distributed: it is more likely to be available for fathers, and for higher status parents. Enrichment activities are also more frequent among higher status parents. Surprisingly, among the enrichment activities playing digital games together significantly varies according to the parent's gender: mothers tend to more frequently play digital games with their children than fathers. Parental mediation also shows similar, unequal patters. The gender difference is significant in terms of a restriction approach: mothers are more likely to apply this strategy. Social status differences are rather observable in terms of active mediation.

With regard to the differences in perceptions of parents and children, we conclude that the descriptive results show very similar patterns. Small but significant deviations are observable in terms of parental attention and the frequency of playing together: children evaluate their parents better regarding their attention and perceive less frequent playing with their parents.

The results of the explanatory models demonstrate that having focused time with children and applying a strategy of active mediation are important factors in terms of defining

the subjective quality of parenting positively. There is especially strong evidence for the impact of focused time. In contrast, engaging in too many enrichment activities with adolescents is associated with a worse subjective quality of parenting.

Comparing parents' gender, we see that having focused time with children is a more relevant determinant of fathers' subjective quality of parenting than mothers'. However, among fathers focused time is the only influential factor, while mother's subjective quality of parenting is defined by all the aspects of parental time and by active mediation. Accordingly, mothers who perceive their parental time as rather calm and focused and who spend more time on weekends with their children and follow an active mediation strategy in terms of navigating their children's digital media use tend to have a better subjective quality of parenting. However, more time spent on the weekdays and participating in too many enrichment activities is associated with a lower level of parenting quality. Spending focused time with children is more significant for fathers, while for mothers applying an active mediation strategy and spending more parental time on weekends are especially relevant determinants of positive parenting quality. Similarly, spending more parental time on weekdays influenced the maternal quality of parenting to the same extent, but in a negative way.

With regard to social status differences, the role of parental mediation and quantity time spent on weekends differ remarkably between higher and lower status parents in terms of defining parenting quality. Higher status parents have a better subjective quality of parenting if they follow an active mediation or restriction strategy when navigating their child's technology use, while these practices do not matter for lower status parents. It is especially applying active mediation that there is stronger evidence for. Moreover, there is a controversial impact of the amount of parental time spent on weekends: those lower status parents who spend more time with their children evaluate their parenting quality as better, while for higher status parents this is associated with lower parenting quality. However, concerning quality time both aspects – focus and enrichment – influence parents with different types of occupation in a similar way and to the same extent: focused time positively, while too much enrichment time negatively correlates with the subjective quality of parenting. There is stronger evidence for the impact of enrichment time among lower status parents.

Comparing the perspectives of parents and children, having focused time is even more crucial for children in assessing their parent's quality of parenting. However, the amount of parental time and other aspects of quality time do not influence the children's evaluation.

In summary, parental time matters: it is especially important for parents to spend time with children in a calm and focused way to enjoy better subjective quality of parenting. However, interestingly, too much enrichment time has a negative influence. Additionally, the quantity of time has a controversial effect, and it is variable according to parents' gender and social status. Concerning parental mediation, especially following a strategy of active mediation plays a role in the evaluation of the subjective quality of parenting as positive. As expected, this was an important parenting practice of mothers and of higher status parents.

In the following section, the qualitative strand seeks to explore the mechanisms behind these results and tries to explain the conflicting findings above. Therefore, it will focus on parents' accounts of how they perceive their parenting practices – the time they spend together with children and their strategies – in their everyday lives. Additionally, I compare the perceptions of mothers and fathers and of higher and lower status parents to provide a richer and more nuanced understanding of the differences.

6.2. Qualitative research

In this section I elaborate on the qualitative findings. First, I discuss the parental perceptions of time spent with children: two approaches of time are differentiated and described in detail. Additionally, I analyse the diverse perceptions of parents according to their gender and socioeconomic status. The second part of this section is about parental mediation. This is structured in a similar manner: first, I elaborate on the patterns of mediation strategies that parents follow; afterwards, I discuss gender and SES differences alongside the research questions. Section 6.2.3. reviews the interrelations of the two domains of parenting practices that I have identified in the parental accounts. This is followed by a summary of the qualitative findings.

6.2.1. Quality time

The qualitative part of the study in relation to parental time seeks to explore what parents consider important in terms of time; how they differentiate diverse forms of time; and whether they use parental time purposefully in line with the assumptions of the intensive parenting model.

The context of spending time together is highly relevant for understanding the meanings of shared time. The very first question in the interview guide referred to the general perception of time parents spend together with their teenage children. The expressions used to describe time – *'everyday rush', 'everyone is running', 'hectic', 'hurried'* – indicate a feeling of time pressure and hurry in everyday life. It is important to note that the experience of arranging the interviews also strengthened the claim that families struggle with time squeeze. In most cases it was very difficult to make an appointment for the interviews since parents and children had to be at home at the same time. Therefore, most interviews were conducted late in the evening on weekdays and, with a very few exceptions, no one wanted to give an interview on the weekend. This clear distinction between ways of spending time on weekdays and on weekends appear in most interviews too. In line with this, the diversity of what is considered quality time was discovered in most cases, therefore I differentiated between two types of time: everyday rituals and quality moments (1) and enrichment activities (2). In general, this differentiation refers to weekday and weekend quality time, and these are also similar to the concepts of the quantitative analysis (focused and enrichment time). In the following sections, I describe these themes and patterns of quality time and the parental intentions in more detail.

Everyday rituals and quality moments

This section reviews the first pattern of quality time that I identified as everyday rituals and quality moments. I consider those shared activities or family habits everyday rituals which can be structured or spontaneous but are repetitive in the everyday lives of families such as family meals or evening routines. In contrast, quality moments are always created spontaneously and cannot be organised or planned previously. These moments typically require calm and focused togetherness. These activities are considered to be quality time because they create connections and promote a focus on each other.

In line with the above-mentioned experience of time pressure, parents in this sample typically express the feeling of spending too little parental time in day-to-day life. However, this insufficiency does not really refer to the quantity of time but rather the way of spending time. Fragmented and rushed days do not allow parents to focus on children properly. This feeling of deficiency is extremely common among parents. The following quote from a mother points out this issue explicitly:

> *It isn't enough (...) actually it's not so much that it is not enough, but a lot of it is all about routine tasks in connection with schoolwork and all those things, I don't know, what you need to do every day, go to take a bath, I will help you, I will get your clothes ready, all these everyday things – but this is my job, Bence's dad, he gets the better part, so for example the time he spends with him, that is more quality time* (Mother, 46; son, 13).

In connection with this, parents highly evaluate quality moments and those everyday family rituals or habits that enable connection and paying attention to each other. Parents consider these moments and activities quality time. Parents generally refer to this concept or use a synonym of quality time such as spending time *meaningful*, or *intensively* with each other. Paying attention to each other, creating a feeling of togetherness, or having an opportunity to have a deep conversation are the crucial elements of this everyday quality time.

Parents express these activities in various ways, but the most important and most frequently mentioned activity that also gives some structure to the weekdays is having family meals together. However, the patterns of family meals are very diverse: some have dinner together on a daily basis, and they have all their meals together on weekends; others have only lunch together on weekends and only a few families do not have any family meals together at all. Some parents even refer to this as an old and relevant family habit that comes from their childhood, and there are also examples of weekly regular meals with the extended family (e.g.

with grandparents). We can conclude that those who have family meal together regularly have strict arrangements about this, and they also consciously use such occasions to organise family life or to have an opportunity to bring together family members. The following quote is typical of this:

> *... We also did it when I was a child and it was important, we had dinner at 7, we have dinner whenever we're ready for it, but we do have dinner. So I think it is important for family cohesion, and also, at the weekend, when we are together we have breakfast, lunch and dinner together somehow* (Mother, 55; son, 12)

This habit and the importance of family meals is considered of high value even in most of the families who only eat together occasionally: the quote below demonstrates this:

> *... This is something I'm very sad about because when I grew up, my parents – actually even today – had breakfast, lunch and dinner together, so whoever was there, they all sat together at the table and had lunch or dinner together (...) When we visit them that's how we do it and I wanted to do it like that or at least be together in the evening, but unfortunately it's not happening now and we have got to the point now that everyone eats whenever they're hungry and we do not sit down together to have dinner* (Mother, 46; daughter, 13).

There are some other somewhat structured opportunities to connect to each other and talk on weekdays: walking the family dog together is an obvious event for all families that have a dog. Interestingly, tasks associated with other pets or playing with them also enable this connection.

Learning together with younger children can also be classified as this type of activity – it is intense and allows for a parent to pay attention only to one child. Nevertheless, it mainly appears to be a stressful burden – a further task that is to be completed in the short day. Therefore, parents typically considered this activity to be a routine task with one exception: one father referred to learning with their child as an intensive form of 'togetherness', underlining its positive meaning. This also proves that it is not the activity but the subjective meaning it is awarded – experiences and practices – that determines what parents define as quality time.

Last, the transportation of children to school or to extracurricular activities is also a structured opportunity to talk and be together in everyday life. This is greatly influenced by the age of child and the locations of any training events, therefore a few parents mentioned

this activity in this sample. Some even purposely take advantage of this time. However, the meaning of this shared time is also debatable; while it might allow parents to pay some exclusive attention to a child, these short journeys and the requirement to be somewhere at the right time make the perception of time even more rushed.

I try to take them to school, they are big kids, but at least that time, those 20 minutes, those are ours. (Mother, 48; daughter, 16)

…It is often very tight timewise, that we meet in these 15 minutes at home, and then we leave right away… the journey itself, not so much, that is quite calm, we talk, we listen to music, we normally talk, but it is organized in a hurry, as how we started today [the interview] (Father, 48; daughter, 16).

Beside the structured and definite meeting points, there are other less systematic rituals that are defined as quality time by parents. The latter mostly underline that these are very intense and sometime intimate moments in their everyday lives. Two features of these can be highlighted: these activities are related to special places or time of the day, and they are spontaneous. It is mostly evening rituals or bedtime stories from younger childhood that are transformed into new activities that might create an intimate conversation. Therefore, this time is frequently associated with bedtime or to bathing. The following quotes illustrate these activities:

…In our family the upstairs bathroom is a central space, the entire family gathers there in the evening, for some reason that's how it is (…) I don't know how it became like this, it was the same in our old house, when they were really small, that the bathroom is a good place to sit down, I don't know, you have some time there. That's the time to calm down, but we still can talk a bit, and then everyone can go back to their rooms (Mother, 46; daughter, 16).

The other important characteristic of quality time that parents consider crucial is spontaneity. The above-mentioned intimate conversations also develop spontaneously but the constant time pressure of everyday life significantly hinders these moments. Generally, parents express that they lack these spontaneous activities, as this quote shows:

…I could imagine that we would have an afternoon when she wouldn't need to do so much school work, and we wouldn't just be at home, everyone doing his own thing, trying to survive the day, being dead tired, because we are all run down from things here and there and everywhere, but it would be good to go to the bank of the Danube

in the afternoon, without any consequences, to be lost in time, so to have like two hours for that, because of course we could do that, if we organized it ahead of time, but we don't have a lot of spontaneous things (Mother, 48; daughter, 16).

Consequently, everyday rituals and quality moments are manifestations of quality time in a hurried everyday life. These rituals are differentiated from routine tasks since these provide the opportunity to focus on each other and experience togetherness. Therefore, it is rather the family member's subjective perception that determines what they consider quality time, but there are some specific activities like family meals or other everyday family habits that have these characteristics. Quality moments also create this connection and attention – these are mostly spontaneously developed and very intense.

Enrichment activities

In the line with the quantitative analyses, I labelled this theme enrichment activities. These mostly refer to weekend programs that can be organized or spontaneous. In general, compensation, consciousness and the feature of enrichment characterize these activities.

As in the case of everyday rituals and quality moments, time deficiency represents a basis when referring to this quality time. Parents typically compensate the time deficit that they experience in everyday life by participating in enrichment activities. The belief in public discourse about the differentiation between quantity and quality time, and particularly the importance of spending quality time, is reflected in the interviews.

Very little, so little the time we spent together, but we try to make the best of it, with some meaning, some quality time, but of course everyone tries to do that (Mother, 46; daughter, 14).

Therefore, this type of quality time is similar to the above-described one in two ways: enrichment activities also might create a sense of togetherness, and they can also be spontaneous. Parental time on weekends is different not only because of organized programs but spontaneous moments are more likely to occur then as well. Examples including cooking and baking, playing board games, or watching a movie together show that weekend time is special because of the opportunity for spontaneity. The following example illustrates the approach to this kind of time very effectively:

*So we were coming home and then I noticed that the sun was going down and it was really cool, with the clouds and everything, and I said, why don't we just stop to play with the kite, because I always have a kite in the car and badminton and Frisbee, so when we stop with the car we have something to do. And then we stopped (...) and then we ended up taking one-and-a-half hours to come home, with a snack in between, and things like that, [we visited the] Garden of the Philosophers, and then we also hung out ... (*Father, 42; daughter, 14).

As we see in the quote above, besides the similarity in terms of spontaneity there are some important differences which we can identify regarding intentionality. These activities require some awareness and planning. This father purposely keeps a games set in the car so he can spend time usefully or enjoy rich experiences with his children. Among the investigated parents, one well-defined group do not only spend time together with children, but rather use this time for a purpose. They make available time for children or organise programs for them and they describe these activities as 'useful', 'meaningful', 'inspirational' or 'full of experience'. The following quote show this purposefulness:

(...) So we have some time together that I am consciously trying to structure very well. So, in order to inspire the kids, we have some sort of a contract – basically, that there are some activities that we do together, all four of us. For example, yesterday we went to Rose Hill to do a sightseeing tour at the tomb of Gül Baba, so I like to take them to do things like that, even if there is a bit of a resistance, but I insist (Mother, 46; boy, 13).

As with the latter example, in some families these programs have a somewhat mandatory characteristic: parents and children have arrangements or deals that ensure the participation of children.

...Sometimes I force them, I could even call it blackmailing, but a psychologist friend says this is not blackmailing, but a healthy deal – if you come with me to a Picasso exhibition, than tomorrow we can watch whatever you want at the cinema (Mother, 49; boy, 15).

There are frequently mentioned activities that parents consider enriching for children: playing board games, hiking, doing sports together, going to movies or the theatre, and going to exhibitions are recurring examples. Besides gaining experience, the element of teaching, enhancing children's development, or the goal of common understanding is also a typical element of these activities. In connection with this, parents frequently underscored the importance of watching movies and then discussing them together.

> *When we talk to each other, when we have topics we are both interested in, when for example, we watch a film then we discuss it afterwards, or when playing board games we play the kind of games that could develop her, too, and things like that* (Mother, 47; girl, 12)

> *I think quality time means that we really spend time together, when we pay attention to each other, and really do something we all enjoy, and we have a good time, and I think this is quality time, then it can be anything – like a nice walk or, as I said, ice skating, or it can be cuddling then, I don't know, watching a kids' movie, and then we can talk about it, or if you just cuddle on the floor and play board games, these are the sort of things* (Mother, 42; girl, 12).

To sum up, based on parents' perceptions, there is another aspect of quality time that can be identified as enriching (through enrichment activities). Besides its primary feature – creating togetherness and paying attention to each other – what differentiates these activities from everyday rituals is that parents consider this time to be a form of compensation for the time deficit on weekdays, and they also use it for the purpose of enriching children. In line with the intensive parenting model, there is an identifiable pattern of parents striving to improve their child's development by creating rich experiences.

External factors

The quantitative results showed that parental time patterns – both quality and quantity aspects – were associated significantly with external factors. In the following I review the most important aspects that parents perceived as influential: the period of adolescence, working patterns, and extracurricular activities.

First, the investigated children (12-16) are special in that this age is considered a transitional period. Very often parents emphasize that currently relations are changing, and the peer group of the teenager is becoming a priority in their life. Generally, at around 14 years of age there is shift that rearranges family life and thereby parental time; the amount of

time parents and children spend together decreases. These transitions are evaluated very differently. The following quote illustrates one example of a father respecting a teenagers' striving for autonomy:

...But that's what they think, too, but friends go with them for walks, but it's understandable now, of course, if you had asked me a year or two ago, it would have been completely different,... it is with her age, at this age, they need to build up their private life – I consider this normal (Father, 44; girl, 13).

Consequently, adolescence is understood as a period of detachment that also leads to certain difficulties in relationships. When they are not with friends, teenagers may prefer to be alone and do not talk much, therefore the connection desired by parents can hardly be built up. This also results in parents strongly appreciating those moments when their teenager is open to talking or to spending time with them, and then parents give them special attention. It is important to note that in two cases families struggled with their adolescents' psychological problems (an eating disorder, and problematic gaming), thus this exclusive attention was especially relevant. Furthermore, parents often used a strategy of considering adolescents' interests or offering them choices to convince them to spend time together. The following quotes refer to this characteristic of this age group:

He chooses the moment when it is OK – he keeps himself behind closed doors mostly, and if there are nice smells coming from the kitchen, then he comes out, or if he wants something from me, then he reappears (Mother, 48; boy, 16).

... this is the teenage time now, that's why I asked about the age, because in the past year it has been quite tough. Before that, I could have said lots of nice things, but now it's really hectic... now Zoé is in the category that we appreciate the little time she's willing to spend with her parents, and, as I said, it is quite hectic now, because sometimes it is the same as in the old times and she spends time with us and it's great, and at other times she doesn't even need us to talk to her, not even that (Mother, 43; girl, 16).

What he still really likes and what we still do – he really likes eating, and then we go somewhere to eat out, because during the week I normally cook, but not always at weekends (...) yesterday we went to an Italian restaurant, and then Máté was very satisfied, was really happy (Mother, 46; boy, 13).

Besides the age of children, the context of time pressure mentioned above does not affect the families to a similar extent. The employment characteristic of the parent is highly influential: those who are entrepreneurs, work in trade or are managers, and those who have two jobs at the same time report greater time pressure due to long working hours or hectic work. Those parents who are doing remote work or have a high level of flexibility tend to report the advantage of being able to manage their time according to their children's needs.

Last, adolescents' duties, like school assignments and extracurricular activities, have a further remarkable impact on parental time perceptions. Most teenagers were engaged in some extracurricular activities such as doing sports, dancing, playing music, or acting. It was common that they participated in such diverse activities, and there were four professional athletes and one dancer in the sample; among them one girl had temporarily interrupted this activity at the time of the interview. Accordingly, in most families teenagers had mandatory programs on almost all weekday until the late evening. Moreover, for professional athletes weekends are also full of training events and competitions, therefore family time on weekends is organised around these programs.

It is important to note that there were great differences in the perception of time squeeze between families who lived in villages and in Budapest. All teenagers who lived in a village went to a local school, and due to the proximity of school and fewer opportunities for extracurricular activities they had a more structured and less hectic rhythm.

Furthermore, gender and socioeconomic position also influence how parents perceive the time they spend with their children; however, parents rarely reflect on these dissimilarities. In the following section I reveal the diversity in the accounts of fathers and mothers and of parents in different social positions.

Gender and SES differences in parental time
Concerning gender, I underline two main differences in parental time perceptions. First, mothers are more likely to have routine tasks associated with children, while fathers mostly report about weekend programs. Their first associations of parental time clearly show this distinction. The following are very illustrative examples. These show some responses to the question how parents would describe the time they spend with their teenage child.

> *It's hectic. Hectic, he is a teenager and the majority of the time we spend together, he has to do something – we have to make him do something, this something is to put his shoes away, not leave his jumper in the middle of the room, pull up his fly, take a*

shower, brush his teeth, do his biology homework, or his piano practice, etc., etc. and…make him do all these things… (Mother, 55; boy, 12).

Useful, joyfully, at liberty, because I am his father, but I try to act as a mate, to be his mate but within a parental framework of course. When we are together we laugh a lot, we make jokes – thank God he inherited my sense of humour, so we really are on the same wavelength. I try to help him with studying, when I can see that he is struggling… (Father, 44; boy, 12).

It follows that mothers are more concerned about time pressure that also affects their parental time. Father are less likely to complain about long working hours or the effects of housework on their shared time. Mothers not only refer more frequently to the impact of their jobs, but they also complain about the requirements of the 'second shift', or the organisation of family life more often. Only one man mentioned the burden of garden work in relation to spending parental time.

The differences were highly remarkable in those households where mothers were inactive in the labour market and fathers were interviewed. These fathers particularly mentioned only typical weekend programs. The following quote is from a father who works in managerial position and spends time with his daughter in a very conscious and organized way, and does not talk much about the weekdays. This example is a short comment from him about spending time on weekdays:

That is why I like these things, like hiking for a full day for several days, because then I can pay attention – if she tells me something now, I can't concentrate… (Father, 42; girl, 14)

There were two one-parent families among the fathers in the sample. Both had shared custody – one of them was together with his son on weekdays, and the other changed weeks with the mother. Their accounts had some similarities with those of mothers, although a feeling of time squeeze was also not typical of them.

These patterns might explain how mothers are more dissatisfied with their parental time, and some of them also note the gender differences. The following is a typical quote of a mother:

The time we spend together is only good if it's not full of duties I have to do, so if I first have to make breakfast, and then right away start making lunch, and then afterwards,

while putting away things after lunch, one can start with the third meal, if it's not like that the whole day, then of course I can spend much more time with them. If it's just about that, that's too much. It's a bit difficult to comprehend how our mothers did it (Mother, 44; boy, 15).

With regard to the socioeconomic differences, the qualitative data also reflect the diverse accounts of the perceptions of parental time. Generally, parents with higher status spend more quality time with their children in this sample. On the one hand, they have more resources to participate in enrichment activities; on the other, they are more likely to refer to the value of spontaneous moments in their everyday life or to having family rituals than lower status parents.

Concerning less enrichment time, the data show that lower status families often have a different story about the weekends: it is very typical that spending time on the weekend means tasks at home and housework for them. Some of them have two jobs, they work in shifts or have long working hours; thus they are more concerned with the feeling of time pressure. This example demonstrates the exhaustion they usually express:

We are not the hiking types – my husband, he would like to go on walks, but I do my 18,000 steps a day anyway, because I do two houses, that's two times ten floors. By the time I am done with them, it's more than enough walking for me. Actually, I would like to see pretty things, sightseeing or things like that, but to be honest I don't have the energy for it… for me, if I have a bit of free time, half an hour, or an hour, yes, then I lay down and rest a bit (Mother, 46; girl, 13).

Contrarily, higher status parents often mention eating in a restaurant as a form of quality time. Although the greater material and time resources of higher status parents explain this inequality, there is also a difference in their attitudes. While weekend housework is a stressful burden for lower status parents (and generally the mother's job), some higher status parents define this time as an opportunity to spend meaningful time with their teenagers. They refer to grocery shopping or cooking for the weekend as a fun activity.

Furthermore, lower status parents are less likely to have regular family rituals such as family meals. In contrast to higher status parents, in their accounts spontaneous intimate moments do not appear. Quality time for them rather refers to organized programs like going

on a trip or having holiday. Consequently, their deficiency of this kind of parental time is more remarkable.

It is important to remark that parents often referred to the quality of their relationships when I asked them about their parental time. This also reflects that how parents spend time with their child is of great importance in parenting. Thus, when the parent's relation with their child is good, they are more satisfied with their time together – concerning both the quality and the quantity of time. However, higher status parents are more likely to express they face the unclear expectations of spending quality time with the child, leading to a feeling of guilt. The following example demonstrates this:

> *I have a sense of a deficit, as a father, or a parent (concerning) how much time I spend with Ági. I think it would be nice to do more, although we get on really well, but I still have this feeling that it would be nice to be together more intensely, so I have some of this feeling of missing out, but I don't really know the form or content – it is just a desire, but how we could realize it?, I'm not very creative, so I can't figure it out* (Father, 51; girl, 13).

In summary, the qualitative results also prove that parental time perceptions vary greatly according to external factors. In the case of teenagers, the factor of the age group is highly influential – additionally, parents' working patterns and children's extracurricular activities define how parents perceive their everyday life with children.

Concerning gender differences, mothers' time is more rushed and hectic, which also affects their parental time in a similar manner and results in a feeling of deficiency. In contrast, fathers typically refer to organized enrichment programs with their children and are more likely to have dedicated time for their children, thus the latter might be less rushed and more focused.

The qualitative results indicate that the resources for spending quality time with children are unequally distributed among parents by social status. Consequently, parents of lower status were less satisfied with the amount and quality of time they could spend with their children. They also had fewer opportunities. Moreover, their attitudes in relation to considering quality time also differ; higher status parents typically regard the time they can spend together with their child, regardless of the type of activity, as an opportunity to create quality time. However, this perspective also indicates that they attempt to rise to the high

expectations about spending parental time in a meaningful and useful way. This might further decrease their satisfaction with parental time.

6.2.2. Parental mediation

The quantitative results showed that it is primarily the active mediation of teenagers' technology use that is an important parenting practice in contemporary parenting – especially among mothers and higher status parents. This following section explores the mechanisms behind the parental mediation practices, thus provides a more nuanced understanding of these findings.

I focus on the question of how purposely parents mediate teenagers' technology use: the intentions and patterns of parental mediation applied by the parents in the qualitative sample will be described. First, I demonstrate the main forms of parental mediation. I identify two main features: the dominance of restrictive strategies (1) (I discuss threats and punishments as a subtheme), and a diverse mix of forms of parental mediation (2). Last, I discuss the gender and socioeconomic differences in these strategies and in parental intentions in relation to their overall perceptions of children's technology use.

The dominance of restriction

Restriction is the most dominant parental strategy aimed at controlling adolescents' use of technology in our sample. However, parents' restrictions showed great variability: their range, consistent application and effectiveness were very diverse. The mildest forms of restriction involved limiting the child's use of devices in the evening – for instance, ensuring that they leave their gadgets in the living room, or banning the use of smartphones during mealtimes. These practices are very typical among the families I investigated. This restriction-based approach also involves the constant disapproval of online activity.

In some cases, restrictions are only associated with playing video games, and parents do not tend to control smart devices. Playing video games is rather typical of boys, and defining gaming time is very common among parents who have sons. However, it is important to note that parents tend to restrict younger children's access to media devices. The most refined and rigorous case involved parents specifying times at which internet access is available at home, as the following example shows:

> *He can play for two hours, then stop for an hour, there is internet from 8 to 10, from noon to two, and from 3 to 5, but within this period he has training too, so, there are some limitations of ours, but also there is training when there is no access...*(Mother, 49; son, 15)

Additionally, when children's media use is more diverse, or their smart phone use is most

dominant – typically in the case of girls –, imposing restrictions might be rather challenging for parents. Restricting smart phone use requires a higher level of digital skill, involving the employment of technical controls. Also, some parents mentioned that they considered smart phone use to be a private matter.

> *... well, a phone is very difficult to take it away... because she thinks it's hers, so, I can't take it away what belongs to her, I have heard this several times (...) but I can limit the smart TV more easily because she doesn't say then that it belongs to her.* (Father, 42; daughter, 14)

Threats and punishment

In connection with restrictions, I defined a further subtheme: threats to restrict devices and punishment with restriction are also typical parental practices. However, in this case decreasing media use is only an instrument and not the goal of parental strategy: parents rather aim to increase learning time, or to convince children to complete chores such as cleaning their rooms:

> *...because he just had a maths test, and he got a two [a 'D' grade], so for now we have a deal with him, he that he cannot use the computer for a month...*(Mother, 31; son, 12)

However, concerning motivating other activities, most parents report that these practices do not achieve their goals. In other words, punishing children by prohibiting media use is not an effective strategy to inspire them to engage in other activities.

> *... we tried, but it didn't work, and then we took everything away, and then she was lying on her bed, and was watching the spider in the corner. And if she couldn't (use the internet) for three weeks, then for three weeks... it did not make her clean her room, or do more school work, or go out to the garden more...* (Mother, 46; girl, 14)

The effectiveness of restriction depends on the age of the child, on the authority figure of the parents, and their consistent application of these regulations. The following quote shows the role of authority in the enforcement of the rules:

> *'...that he does not obey – there is no such thing in the world... If he is restricted from using the computer, then he is restricted.'* (Father, 47; boy, 12)

Consequently, restrictions primarily concern the amount of time, and focus on video

gaming. Consistent restrictions on specific online content are not typical at all in relation to this age group. There is a central concern about privacy among parents, thus in some cases creating a Facebook account is forbidden for younger children, although they can use any other social media platforms.

Ensuring the consistency of restrictions is also very difficult, since these rules constantly change, showing the importance of negotiations involving children's desires and parents' goals. Therefore, parents are not always aware of their own rules. Moreover, despite the time restrictions, such rules need continuous surveillance for their effective enforcement.

> *We set up a clock with a beeper for him…. But there was always something, five more minutes, and then the five minutes was half an hour… and there was a period when we were constantly fighting,… so it's quite tortuous – it's damn hard, I think!* (Mother, 42; son, 13)

Mixed strategies

A restriction approach is very dominant, but is rarely applied alone; rather, it is combined with other forms of parental mediation. All the classical forms –co-use, active mediation, and monitoring – appear among the investigated families, but typically parents mix these forms and none of them are as significant as restriction.

The co-use of digital media was applied mostly to spending some quality time together and helping a child with school assignments. However, these patterns of co-use cannot be considered a purposeful strategy that is designed to influence children's digital media use.

Some of the parents had regular discussions with their children about the appropriate and effective use of digital media. Generally, these parents also referred to experts and scientific research about the effects of screen time, as the following quotes illustrate:

> *We also discuss it a lot, sometimes I share articles with her, we talk about the use of devices – what are the advantages and disadvantages.* (Father, 51; girl, 13)

In some families, monitoring was also adopted as a strategy, but rather occasionally. For instance, when a cyber-bullying incident occurred at school, parents checked their children's messages or browser history. Parents also typically checked their social media profiles when children registered on these sites for the first time. Additionally, monitoring was common when children went alone for the first time to school or to an extra-curricular activity. For this reason, parents typically used phones and applications to ensure that children are safe, not to monitor their technology usage.

It is worth underlining that most parents expressed disapproval about monitoring their child's media use. This is considered an intrusion into the teenager's private sphere that endangers the trust in their relationship.

> *... I don't want to intrude into her private sphere. So I think I can trust her and I don't want her to feel like I don't trust her.* (Mother, 42; daughter, 12).

We can conclude that, besides restrictions, parents might use a great variety of parental mediation forms. They rather mix these strategies, often with restriction. Active mediation and co-use are more typical among the investigated parents while monitoring – especially in this age group – might conflict with their parenting values.

Differences in parental mediation – parental intentions

This subchapter demonstrates the gender and socioeconomic differences in parental mediation strategies by discussing the diverse perceptions of technology use.

In general, parents perceive the intensive technology use of children as a risk to them: it is mainly the negative effects of such usage on physical and mental health and on social skills that are highlighted in the interviews. Therefore, it was primarily a risk narrative that defined parents' accounts of children's technology use and their choice of mediation approach. The pessimistic overall view of teenagers' technology use is illustrated in the following quote:

> *I consider every single minute using the phone to be too much, so if I could, I would destroy it, and mine too…. it is [phones are] necessary but bad in today's world.* (Father, 44; daughter, 13)

This overall risk awareness and parental concerns about children's digital media use – primarily related to their safety and privacy – creates the context of the choice of parental strategies and explains the dominance of restrictions. Therefore, parents typically intended to decrease the screen time of their children and mitigate the potential harm. Additionally, their own difficulties with digital media use also motivated them in their choice of strategies. Emphasis on the importance of effective usage was not typical of this sample, and the smart use of devices was mostly associated with completing school assignments.

Gender

In terms of gender, there were no remarkable differences between mothers and fathers concerning the choice or application of parental mediation. Although some parents reported

small deviations from their partner's practices, the enforcement of rules in the case of restriction was especially the mother's job. Besides this, parental mediation caused problems when the parents lived apart and applied different rules about the use of digital media devices. In one case, a mother even reported that the intensive gaming of her sons was a relevant issue that had emerged with her ex-husband, and they intended to handle the problem differently based on their diverse parenting values.

> *My marriage broke up because of that, if you are interested – or partially, this was one of the main battlefields… how much the kids can play on the computer. Because the older one also played a lot on the computer, but he's more cooperative… and you can limit him, you can set rules for him, but not for Ati. In his case, we came up with rules, but he didn't keep them, and he fought, he sabotaged them, and ended up at the computer… and after a while, my husband thought, Oh my God, that's the end of the world, there will be nothing of this child, and we should figure out some rules together and I should make him keep them…"* (Mother, 48; son, 16)

In contrast, the perceived risk of media use and thus the choice of parental mediation can be differentiated by the child's gender. These dissimilarities are reflected in the different patterns of usage mentioned above: boys are more likely to play video games while girls tend to use their smart phones – especially to chat on social media sites – more frequently. The perceived risks relate to these diverse patterns of technology use.

In the case of boys – especially in relation to video gaming – the concern about children's mental health was thematized. Accordingly, parents of boys worried more about addiction to video gaming. In addition, they reported about their negative experiences of their child's media use and the direct effect of gaming on their son's mood. For instance, boys get upset, arrogant, or distracted after playing. Therefore, it was typical among these interviewees that they controlled gaming for the sake of their children's mental health, as the following quote illustrates:

> *I: And apart from the time limits, do you have any other strategies?*
> *R: Yes, to take it away – if he is arrogant, or tired, or grumpy, then I normally tell him that if you're being grumpy, I can't reach your soul, and when we feel it in his voice, in his intonation, that it's vibrating, that he has reached a certain point, then no. And then we explain what he can't do and why, but obviously he can't hear it, he can't understand it…*(Mother, 49; son, 15)

Moreover, parents' – most often mothers' – perception[22] of video gaming was very bad. The following expressions usually mentioned when mothers spoke about this activity: it was described as 'stupid' or 'bullshit' activity.

Similarly, father's disapproval and incomprehension of girls' social media use or watching videos was remarkable in the interviews.

Concerns about social skills were a very typical motivation for parental mediation: parents worry that smart devices and online gaming are isolating their children – they do not meet their friends and talk offline with them. In turn, in most cases children used technology to connect with their friends. Typically, girls used diverse social platforms to chat with their friends and boys played video games together with their classmates online. This contradiction is reflected even in parental reports: they address the fact that teenagers feel that they are socially isolated when parents control their media use.

> *...the screen itself doesn't disturb me, if it connects us, it disturbs me if it separates us. And the mobile phone almost always separates us. That's why I allow the TV and Xbox more.* (Father; 42; girl, 14)
>
> *... And then, even without us noticing, he started to play Fortnite, and that's what he plays now, because the whole class does. And the other thing is that this is for community [this is a social activity] – he told me when he couldn't play for a couple of days, that 'mom then I can't play with my friends'.* (Mother, 46; boy, 13)

Socioeconomic status

The use of restrictions, and even more frequently threats and punishment are typical, regardless of the social status of the families. However, higher status parents are more conscious in terms of their navigation of teenagers' media use, whereas lower status parents' practices are rather inconsistent. Accordingly, they restrict technology use occasionally – for instance, as a form of punishment, or they reprimand their children for spending too much time with a screen (or for inappropriate use, such as during mealtimes). The above-mentioned rigorous restriction systems are typical of higher status parents.

Moreover, among higher status parents restrictions – especially threats and punishment – can conflict with parental values. On the one hand, the latter strategy questions

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[22] It is important to note, however, that only mothers whose sons played video games intensively participated in the interviews.

support for self-regulation; on the other hand, it is inconsistent with the desired parenting style. Therefore, doubt about the appropriate form of parental mediation is very typical among these parents.

> *…it's a fact that it's effective: we achieve a limited amount of video gaming. But whether this is the best educational strategy in the long run, I'm not sure…but I don't have a better idea, honestly.* (Mother, 55; son, 13)
>
> *Now the phone works as a [form of] sanction – again, that conflicts with my parental values, as long as I could, I tried to apply sanctions that directly concern the activity, but now I see that in some cases [it is] only the phone [sanctioning phone use] that can restrain her, not motivate her, but at least restrain her."* (Father, 51; girls, 13)

There are differences in the level of digital literacy: higher status parents are more liable to know of applications and programs that can be used to control or monitor teenager's media use. They may also participate in workshops or read scientific articles about the effects of digital media use. They share these pieces of knowledge with their children. Therefore, they combine a typical strategy of restrictions with active mediation and co-use or monitoring, while regular active mediation was not mentioned by parents in lower status families.

Potential benefits – such as obtaining information, creating content, or improving English skills – were also mentioned more often by higher status parents. Moreover, in some cases these parents also showed open-mindedness and curiosity about the related changes or about the new social habits of teenagers. The following quotes illustrate this attitude, which was not typical among the lower status families I interviewed. Lower status parents were more likely to be pessimistic about the new technologies; they typically compared their children's lives with their own tech-free childhood in a nostalgic way.

> *I think here there really is a generational gap, the form of communication has changed so much, so we think that those are the good methods that we use, and they live in a completely different world.* (Mother, 41; girl, 16)
>
> *I don't think that it is only damaging, I can see all the practical benefits as well – how good he is at it, he downloads a lot of applications, and helps me to edit videos, and he knows so much, he's really interested in history and politics, and he watches these videos, so he also uses it for getting information, and that's a really good thing.* (Mother, 46; son, 13)

However, the benefits of digital media use were mostly associated with the importance of school assignments. Digital media use appeared as an enrichment activity, in the form of co-

use. The goal of the shared interpretation of content (mostly videos or films) or a common experience of co-playing was important among higher status respondents.

> *When we watch a movie, I really, really try to make sure that it is meaningful – to download something that has any meaning whatsoever. And then we should watch it together.* (Father, 42; girl, 14)

Notwithstanding this, the parental responsibility of maximizing opportunities was not an issue among the parents I investigated. Interestingly, one mother pointed to the need to teach children to manage technologies effectively, since she had already experienced the disadvantage her daughter had encountered because of her severe restrictions on screen time.

> *It's [the current strategy is] more about not using screens than about what and how to use them. I think first, we need to step forward, so we can be one step ahead of them – that there [we should recognize that there] is this program, this is… I do not know what…. There is also an ostrich policy in this – that [with a restriction strategy] you don't have to deal with it much now, and later we'll go after them [you can address the problems].* (Mother, 43; daughter, 13)

Furthermore, higher status parents reported that they shared their concerns with other parents; they could discuss the intensive screen use of their children, and they had also adopted similar practices. Further, the schools attended by their children – prestigious schools or alternative institutions – were also supportive in relation to this issue.

> *Well yes, he has some friends,… whose parents also limit it [the use of devices], and then we know, that OK he went over there, but they did not sit in front of the computer for three hours, but went into the garden, or had a bike ride, or whatever, we do talk a lot about these things with the other parents.* (Mother, 42; boy, 13)

There is a further difference in parents' digital media use: higher status parents were more likely to be using digital devices for work, and they expressed their difficulty with managing media in their lives in terms of their own health or limiting their own screen time. Therefore, their own experiences motivated them to control their children's use.

It was also an interesting experience that, when searching for interviewees, higher status parents were recurrently motivated to participate in the research in the hope it would

justify the relevance of this topic to their children. This also shows how much parents struggle with the issue of parental mediation in everyday life.

One group of parents in the sample – most of the lower status parents and older children's parents belong to this group – are permissive concerning parental mediation. These parents often explain their 'no mediation' approach by referring to the trust in the relationship they have with their child, or they argue that their child is well-raised and does not behave inappropriately on online forums. The following quotes are typical from them:

> *As I mentioned, I only reprimand her, and phones have to be forgotten at the dinner table, but otherwise I don't care.* (Father, 44; daughter, 13)

> *I definitely like it when first he does his duties. And then I don't care, he can play.* (Mother, 42; son, 15)

Parents' permissiveness might also be influenced by the fact that the enforcement of rules is a time-intensive activity – as discussed above – that requires parents' continuous surveillance and availability. Both groups struggle with this, but lower status parents might lack these resources to a greater extent.

> *… Unfortunately, it might be, or certainly is, my weakness. I don't have the energy and patience…every time I go into her room, the phone is always there, and I always have to listen [to her telling me] that only it was required for the lesson. Well, it also creates extra conflict, quarrels – she is addicted, addicted!* (Mother, 46; girl, 13)

In relation to this, the teenagers' better digital skills were mentioned by many parents (accordingly, children often teach parents how to use smart phones). However, higher status parents also refer to their desire to be role models in terms of technology use, especially when their children are too old for restrictions on their technology use. Additionally, they seemed to be more confident with their permissiveness because of their earlier purposeful navigation of digital device use.

Last, the fear that children – especially girls – might contact strangers in online spaces emerged in the interviews, but parents rather consider this risk a general one and they do not think it affects them particularly. In connection to this, they mainly refer to the trust they have in their children.

... There are a lot of bad things you can hear right? But as I say, I do not have to pay attention to what he watches because I know he's in this computer world right now, watching these Youtubers. (Mother, 42; boy, 15)

In connection with this, lower status parents tended to refer to the safety of private accounts on social media sites, or to the importance of not contacting any strangers, or the fear of addiction.

I think they still can't judge what they share, what they ask [other people about] and unfortunately that is a problem ....and very often they recklessly ask things and share things with the world that they should not. (Mother, 41; daughter, 14)

However, subjects of fear included the intensive use of social media and the passive activity of watching videos among higher status parents – the following quote by a father is a good example of this. The latter considered such activities uncreative and a waste of time.

...so, I don't really like this introverted, passive, very passive activity. Because we also talked about it – that if she used [her phone] actively, so for educational programs, or she also made videos on TikTok, we could talk about it – it wouldn't count towards her time limit.... (Father, 51; daughter, 13)

To sum up, I found diverse parental mediation patterns and mechanisms primarily according to the gender of child and social status of parents. The diverse patterns of mediation related to the gender of child might result in different strategies since computer-based activities can be controlled more easily than smart devices. Risk perception is also related to the most typical online activities of the child. In addition, mothers are more likely to be responsible for these parenting practices.

Higher status parents' more conscious and concrete perception of risk might be considered an indicator of a more thoughtful parental approach that has the primary goal of decreasing screen time, not increasing smart use. Therefore, the latter used diverse forms of parental mediation with the dominance of a strategy of restriction. However, higher status parents' control strategies conflict with their parental values. Moreover, higher status parents used strategies more purposely, while lower status parents' mediation was rather inconsistent and occasional. There were also parents who were rather permissive in terms of mediation: typically those with older children and with lower status.

6.2.3. The parental time and screen-time relationship

In this final section on empirical results, I underscore the interrelations of two parenting domains. I have identified the relations between parental time and parental mediation in parents' accounts, and in the following, I elaborate on two typical aspects of this.

In terms of parental time, the influential role of technology on family time is a common element of parental reports. There are diverse forms and outcomes of this influence. Accordingly, in some case screen-time rules structure leisure activity. The following quote shows how gaming time can constrain family leisure activities.

> *So, when they have computer time, and this is Friday, Saturday and Sunday, so at weekends, and after 5:00 o'clock in the afternoon, for 2-3 hours, depending when they start or finish playing, I organize other activities around it, so I try to leave this period open, I wouldn't try to take them to the cinema on Saturday at 5, because I know they really wouldn't want it.* (Mother, 55; boy, 13)

In other cases, no internet access at a summer house (a second home) induces the opposition of teenagers related to spending time together with family at weekends. Therefore, the latter had to compromise and have mobile internet at the house. Similarly, one father preferred to organise weekend programs together with his daughter with the goal of spending quality time. He also reported that it was his job to deal with the constant smart phone use of his daughter, and that he could expect her to participate in these programs only if sometimes he also let her chat her friends or watch videos.

Additionally, media use – especially intensive use – has an impact on everyday practices in families. When families have no screen rules related to family meals, media use significantly influences this time: families might watch TV together at this time, or use their phones at the table. There are also examples of when family meals together were pushed into the background when technology use became more intense as the child grew.

> *... We had the tradition of always having dinner together, but when Marci* [an elder brother] *was growing up, he just didn't want to be away from his computer. What we did was – when he was small, and he didn't want to come to dinner because his favourite program was on TV, and back then he was smaller – then we bought a TV for the kitchen, so this wouldn't be an excuse. He had to come out and be with us during dinner. And then when he grew older, we couldn't take out his computer [to the*

kitchen], and then he always took his dinner into his room, so we stopped eating together, the four of us. (Mother, 46; girl, 14)

I identified a further theme concerning the interrelation of parental time and mediation: the parental strategy of decreasing screen time, which focuses not on media use directly, but is related to the effective or enriching or developmental use of children's time. Accordingly, some parents regard parental time – especially family time – as an alternative to screen use. Some parents in the sample – generally those with a high level of education – perceive such activities or household tasks as a conscious parental strategy for decreasing their teenager's screen time.

> *...if there are no programs [external activities]... I would rather take them somewhere, where they do not bring it [the phone]. There can be no such thing as sitting here all day using the phone!* (Mother, 44; boy, 15)
>
> *In our family, the alternative is that she has to do more chores around the house now that she's bigger, she has to help with hanging up clothes, doing laundry, and sometimes we cook together, she helps a bit, but mainly it's about talking. Once or twice a week, we cook or bake together, she really likes it, I think, because of the talking part. And also, when we go to the countryside, then she run outside a bit, she likes to go out to the garden, even if we are just sitting around, we have a small walk, at least we do something different.* (Mother, 42; girl, 15)

Therefore, this strategy works as form of reverse time displacement: if teenagers' time is filled up with alternative programs, they cannot spend too much time with technological gadgets.

Similarly, if teenagers have a lot of extracurricular activities, or their parents consider that they are spending a great amount of time on enrichment activities, they do not strive to control their usage significantly. The following quote on the one hand illustrates a mother's uncertainty about their teenager's screen time, and on the other represents a very typical attitude when adolescents are busy on weekdays:

> *So I think that's too much time, but if I consider that she goes to school in the meantime, she has training for two hours,... why not let her chat with her friends in the evening? Well, and she reads a lot of books..., so I don't think I should restrict her... But obviously, well, I don't have a problem with that, I don't think it's too much.* (Mother 46, girl 14)

6.2.4. Summary

In summary, consistent with the quantitative findings which showed that focused time is of great importance in parenting for both parents and teenage children, the qualitative data also prove that focus and attention are those features of parental time that parents most appreciate. In addition, parents lack this quality of parental time.

I identified two aspects of quality time based on parents' accounts. First, I termed the everyday rituals and quality moments parental quality time. These times are mainly associated with everyday practices on weekdays and enable parents and children to focus on each other and to experience intimate moments and connections. Spontaneous moments are most appreciated since these enable intensive connections with each other. The other type of quality time is termed enrichment activity, which typically refers to organized time on weekends, and includes the purpose of enriching children's outcomes.

The data demonstrate that mothers have a greater burden due to the organisation of the everyday lives of children that might hinder them from having this kind of quality time with their children. In contrast, fathers rather consider organized programs and enrichment activities as an important time with their children.

Concerning the social status of parents, I found that lower status parents in the sample are less likely to have family traditions – such as shared family meals, or the routines of the everyday life of the family that allow an experience of togetherness. They are also more rushed and have fewer resources for organizing programs or having holidays. It is important to note that they also consider these quality times important in parenting. However, there is a difference in their attitudes towards parental time: higher status parents regard routine activities as an opportunity to create quality time with children.

With regard to parental mediation, the risk perception of children's technology use dominates parental considerations, thus they prefer a restriction strategy because their primary goal is not to teach effective use but rather to decrease screen time. In addition, there are other classical forms of strategies which are applied together with restrictions by those who intend to navigate their children in the online world. However, these strategies are rather occasional.

In terms of gender, the enforcement of rules is rather a maternal responsibility, but more remarkable differences are associated with the gender of children. Their diverse patterns of media use influence what strategies parents follow. Since boys are more likely to play

video games on computers, parents can control this form of usage more effectively. Navigating smart device use – including of their own smart phones – is a great challenge for parents.

A permissive or no-mediation strategy also appears in the sample. There are different explanations for this strategy. First, parents respect older adolescents' striving for their autonomy. This emerges typically in relation to monitoring: this strategy conflicts with parental values. In addition, there are also parents who do not have knowledge about how to control their children's device use, or they do not have the time and energy to enforce rules or renegotiate agreements, etc. This relates to the social status of parents: lower status parents are more likely to lack these resources. There is one other difference – namely, that higher status parents try to implement strategies more consciously and consistently: applying active mediation and discussing the effects of usage are also more typical among them. Yet higher status parents rather view their own strategies critically since they are not compatible with their own modern perceptions about good parenting values.

Last, the qualitative data showed that the screen-time patterns of adolescents influence how and when families can spend family time together. When severe restrictions are applied, parents consistently respect the time allowed for screen usage or intend to foster a balance between letting children use their smart device and involving them in family activities. Additionally, higher status parents also consider and use family leisure activities purposely to provide alternatives to screen time as a strategy for decreasing teenager's device use.

7. DISCUSSION

This section discusses the empirical findings of the quantitative and qualitative strands jointly. First, I elaborate on parenting practices and focus on how these define the subjective quality of parenting and specify what the important features and mechanisms of these practices are for parents. In this part I also review the quantitative results about adolescents' perspective of parental time and highlight the differences between parents and children. The second subsection focuses on gender differences. Last, I discuss socially unequal patterns in parenting.

7.1. Intensive parenting practices

7.1.1. Quality time as focused time

As parental time with children older than seven years has decreased in the long term in Hungary (Harcsa 2014), while the importance of spending sufficient time with children is intensifying, I argue that the exploration of subjective perceptions behind these mechanisms is of crucial significance. This decrease in shared time might be compensated by spending quality time – accordingly, the growing relevance of quality time is reflected in some previous Hungarian results (Takács 2015; Nagy 2016).

The findings of this thesis show that focusing on and paying intensive attention to children is of the greatest importance in the contemporary parenting of adolescents among Hungarian parents. This result is consistent with prior empirical research about concepts of quality time and children's perceptions (Galinsky 1999; Bittmann et al. 2004; Christensen 2002; McKee et al. 2003; Näsmen 2003). I found the largest effect of focused time on the subjective quality of parenting: when parents perceive that time with their teenager is calm, and they can generally focus on their child when they are together, they consider their subjective quality of parenting to be better.

Additionally, consistent with prior qualitative studies (Daly 2001; Ashbourne – Daly 2012) the qualitative data also point to the importance of everyday rituals or habits; in terms of quality time, parents value the significance of paying attention. Moreover, spontaneous time is also especially highly valued, and can create the opportunity to focus more easily, whereas an experience of hectic time hinders the experience of this quality of time. Consequently, quality time has rather a nondirective feature that is about experiencing togetherness and creating deep connections between children and their parents.

In contrast, the other aspect of quality time that I termed enrichment time is associated with subjective quality of parenting negatively. Those parents who spent the most time on shared enrichment activities – such as playing together, doing sport together, hiking or attending cultural programs, etc. – scored their subjective quality of parenting as worse than parents whose enrichment time was average or below average. This finding contradicts our previous assumption that the normative pressure of spending quality time with children accentuates the importance of enrichment activities and improves children's outcomes (Snyder 2007; StGeorge – Fletcher 2012; Kalil – Mayer 2016).

Moreover, the conscious parental strategy of spending quality time fostering children's talent is rather rare among parents in the qualitative sample: the developmental goal of parental time appears particularly among higher status parents. Consequently, our results found weak evidence for the importance of enrichment activities in contrast to studies that approach parental time from the developmental perspective (Bittmann et al. 2004; Gracia – García-Román 2018; Fomby – Musick 2018).

Although the negative effect of 'too frequent' enrichment activities contradicts previous empirical experience and theoretical assumptions about parental time (Gracia – García-Román 2018; Fomby – Musick 2018; Lareau 2003), we can interpret this finding as a result of a high standard of parenting. Moreover, this is true only of parental perceptions: 'too frequent' enrichment activities do not influence teenagers' perceptions of their parents' parenting quality. The widely held belief about the importance of enrichment activities and meeting this requirement might be burdensome or stressful for parents, leading to a poorer appraisal of the subjective quality of parenting.

This result might especially concern adolescents, as previous empirical results show the negative effect of adolescents on parental mental health (Nomaguchi 2012; Meier et al. 2018; Pollmann-Schult 2014). Specifically, Meier and her colleagues (2018) found that parental time with teenagers is associated with a decline in happiness, while Nomaguchi's (2012) results demonstrated the lower level of self-esteem of teenagers' parents. Similarly, as adolescents prefer their peer relations and aim to build their autonomy (Nomaguchi 2012), parental pressure to spend time together on enrichment activities might result in a conflicting relationship that might be reflected in the current finding of negative effect.

The qualitative results of this study support the thesis of teenagers' endeavours to expand their autonomy and the difficulties of this transition in life that defines family leisure and parental time. Accordingly, parental accounts of the dilemma associated with weekend programs – such as the difficulty of convincing a child to participate, or sabotage of activities

by the teenager due to their attitude – also reinforce the importance of quality moments and spontaneous activities when a special connection can be created between parents and their children.

The findings of this thesis also highlight that the cultivation of children's talent as a contemporary parenting practice in adolescence might be reflected not in parental time but rather in participating in out-of-school activities, as previous studies show (Lareau 2003; Aurini et al. 2020). For instance, learning together is perceived as an important task in parental accounts in the interviews, but this is not a part of devoting quality time to children, thus I assume that there are other forms of cultivating adolescents. In connection with this, Kremer-Sadlik and Fatigante (2015) found that parents in Rome rather allow children to build their autonomy and freedom and they tended to view childrearing as less of a project than parents in Los Angeles. Thus, I might also conclude that fostering children's cognitive and social outcomes might be a less crucial part of Hungarian parenting culture than it is in the US.

The relevance of focused time in parenting points to the experience of hurriedness and the time squeeze of Hungarian families. The qualitative data included in this study also strengthen prior findings that labour market conditions – such as long working hours or precariousness – (Hobson et al. 2013) and the overscheduled lives of children (Harcsa 2014) negatively influence parental time. Furthermore, these findings contradict the dichotomous approach to parental time: availability and engagement (Milkie et al. 2015). Focused time emphasise both features simultaneously. It includes the importance of 'being there' for the children in line with contemporary parenting ideals. However, it points not to the type of activity rather the ability to intimately relate to the child, in other words, the level of engagement.

7.1.1.1. Different perspectives

The quantitative results suggest that the level of engagement and perception of attention are notably important for teenagers: adolescents score the quality of parenting as best when they consider that they have focused parental time – its effect is even stronger than it is for parents – and there was no other significant factor that defined their perceptions. However, the amount of time matters from the parents' viewpoint: those parents who spend more time with their teenage children on weekend days have a better subjective quality of parenting. I interpret this as strengthening the idea that for contemporary parents spending time with children is an expectation of good parenting; additionally, weekends might compensate for the

hurriedness and time deficit of weekdays. The trend to a decrease in time that parents and adolescents spend together (Harcsa 2014) might also explain the relevance of devoting time to children on the weekend. Additionally, from the teenagers' perspective the quantity of time does not matter, which contradicts previous empirical result (Galinsky 1999) that teenagers feel the lack of the amount of parental time.

7.1.2. Restrictions involving active mediation of screen time

As the amount of parental time decreases during the period of adolescence, and focused time gains importance, the increasing amount of children's screen time (Aarsand 2007) becomes a relevant issue in parenting. Since teenagers spend a significant amount of time with digital devices (Gardner – Davis 2013), parents might have dilemmas concerning how to best handle their technology use. Therefore, I argue that strategies of parental mediation might be considered and investigated as intensive parenting practices.

The quantitative results show that it is especially the active mediation of teenagers' digital media use that is part of the contemporary parenting ideal as it positively influences how parents assess their subjective quality of parenting: those parents who employed active mediation were more likely to score their subjective quality of parenting as better. Restrictions were also associated with better subjective quality of parenting, but only in the non-controlled model: when control variables were involved, the effect of restriction disappeared. In contrast to our expectations, those parents who primarily apply restrictions when navigating their child's technology use do not consider their quality of parenting to be better than parents who employ other forms of mediation.

The positive impact of active mediation strengthens our suggestion that active mediation is a normative practice of intensive parenting, since it addresses the management of technology effectively primarily through discussions, negotiations, and explanations. However, qualitative data provide a more nuanced understanding of these findings. Accordingly, parents were more aware of risks than opportunities – as is consistent with some previous findings (Daneels – Vanwynsberghe 2017; Bartau-Rojas et al. 2018). In line with this, parents typically aim at decreasing screen time and minimizing the potential harm of usage, while maximizing the opportunities of technology use was not a goal. Some of the benefits of digital media use were mentioned, but rather to justify parents' lack of mediation, not to encourage the effective use of digital media.

Therefore, since parents' perceptions are dominated by their risk awareness, the results of this study – in line with Shin (2015) findings – show that restriction is the preferred form of

parental mediation in the qualitative sample. Parents especially use time restrictions, and often restrict the media use of children as a form of punishment. Similar to Bartau-Rojas and her colleagues' (2018) findings, I found that inappropriate behaviour – mostly in relation to school performance – might result in prohibition. The threats and punishment that I identified are rather reactive strategies.

Contrarily, the current qualitative data also show that restrictions might work in the form of mutually pre-agreed conditions of use (i.e. a consciously applied strategy), and are typically employed by higher status parents. Parents take this approach because of its effectiveness at decreasing screen time and exposure to media-related risks, as is consistent with the results of previous studies (Livingstone – Helsper 2008; Vittrup 2009). However, I argue that, despite the effectiveness of restrictions at mitigating risks, this strategy – especially threats and punishment – contradicts contemporary parenting values, particularly in the case of supporting the autonomy of adolescents and reinforcing their capacity for self-regulation (Steinfeld 2021) or building their digital literacy (Mascheroni et al. 2018). The current qualitative data supported these assumptions. Therefore, similarly to Shin's (2015) finding, our results also show that parents struggle with the conflict of 'what strategies they should follow' and 'what they think they should do'. In connection with this, parents also report that they need guidance and information about how to teach their children about the smart use of devices. This reflects Blum-Ross and Livingstone's (2018) critical views of screen-time guidelines, which are considered insufficient for helping parents or promoting children's opportunities. This conflict between beliefs based on contemporary parenting standard and practices might explain the lack of a positive effect of restriction on subjective quality of parenting.

The contradiction that the qualitative results rather show the dominance of a strategy of restrictions, while based on the representative data active mediation was the most frequently used form of mediation among parents with teenagers in Hungary can be explained by the diverse operationalization of the forms of mediation. The quantitative section of the research applied a measure of active mediation that is a result of a cluster analysis (Nagy et al. 2021). Active mediation in the representative sample refers to those parents who primarily follow and control their child's use of digital devices, sometimes reading their online messages, but not to the extent that it results in regular conflict. Additionally, they also discuss the preferred online behaviour. Similarly, those parents who use restrictions according to the quantitative section have even more frequent discussions; however, they also punish children more often by restricting access to devices or the internet, and they have also more

conflict around these arrangements (see Figure 1-6 in Appendix 4) – which might explain the restriction's lack of impact on subjective quality of parenting. Consequently, because of the feature of cluster analyses these groups do not form ideal types, but rather unveil the great variety of practices associated with one dominant approach. In contrast, in the qualitative analyses I considered practices more rigorously based on previously generated typologies (i.e. Symons et al. 2017b; Talves – Kalmus 2015; Zaman et al. 2016). Therefore, considering the diverse approaches, the findings from the two methodological strands are rather consistent with each other. Similarly, Ságvári (2019) also found that restrictions and active mediation were the most dominant strategies among Hungarian parents who intended to navigate their children's media use in some way.

Monitoring as a classical form of parental mediation was not typical. Generally, many parents disapproved of monitoring, as it was perceived to conflict with their parental values related to trusting children and supporting their autonomy, consistent with Nelson's finding (2010) – especially concerning the secret monitoring of teenagers. It was more typical that parents used devices to monitor younger children than for them to control their online behaviour this way.

Consistent with these prior findings from Hungary (Ságvári 2019) permissiveness or passivity was also very typical among parents – mostly among older children's parents and those with lower social status. A study of cross-national variation also showed that parents in Eastern Europe practice all forms of parental mediation or they are passive in terms of navigating children's media use (Kirwil et al. 2009).

It is important to note that this permissiveness can be differentiated from a strategy of deference – as is thoroughly discussed in the literature (Zaman et al. 2016; Sasson – Mesch 2014; Padilla-Walker et al. 2012) – since parents apply the latter to help their children develop their autonomous digital media use. However, in our qualitative sample parents rather seemed to lack any tools for influencing their children, which is reflected in their overall perception of digital media, and in their resignation about their ability to influence their child's digital media usage. Furthermore, permissiveness was also typically combined with the reverse socialisation process in digital media use (Clark 2011; Riesmeyer 2021).

Consequently, the results of this study reinforce the claim that active mediation is a highly appreciated form of contemporary parenting in Hungary. However, restriction is very typical because it is an effective strategy for minimizing the potential risk of digital media use. Additionally, enforcing regulations about media use and controlling children's screen time are also very resource-intensive activities and require parents' constant surveillance.

Therefore, similarly to enrichment activities, restrictions might be also a challenging practice and might lead to a lot of conflict in the parent-child relationship during the period of adolescence.

7.2. Gendered parenting

Consistent with previous results (Craig et al. 2014; Kalil et al. 2014; Roxburgh 2012) and the last Hungarian time-use data (Harcsa 2014) mothers spend more time with children than fathers, and they also have more difficulty paying attention to children during parental time. The qualitative results echo these findings: mothers are more likely to associate hurriedness and time pressure with parental time. In line with this, similar to results of time-use data (Harcsa 2014) mothers are typically responsible for routine tasks, while fathers report about shared weekend programs. Mothers are also more likely to complain about the burden of the second shift and the mental work that is consistent with Daminger's findings (2019) about the unequal responsibilities involved in family management. These differences also lead to more frustration during parental time for mothers.

In contrast to previous findings that fathers are more likely to participate in leisure activities with children (Monna – Gauthier 2008; Craig et al. 2014), the results of this thesis show that among the enrichment activities the frequency of playing, participating in cultural events and doing sports or hiking together are not significantly different between mothers and fathers. However, the frequency of playing digital games differed significantly by the parent's gender: surprisingly, mothers are more likely to play video games together with their children. This difference might be explained by the diverse patterns of parental mediation: mothers are more likely to be responsible for negotiating children's technology use (de Haan et al. 2018; Kirwil et al. 2009; Symons et al. 2017a). In other words, since mothers more frequently mediate their children's media use, it might be also the mother's duty to co-play with them as the expectations of intensive parenting primarily concern women (Ishizuka 2019; Faircloth 2014).

Similarly, the survey data of the current study on parental mediation also demonstrate these gender differences: mothers tend to control the technology use of children more often than fathers do. Additionally, the qualitative results show that it is rather the mother's job to enforce the rules related to technology use, or to monitor children's device use. In contrast, there were no remarkable differences in the attitudes towards technology use of children or intentions to navigate their use in the qualitative inquiry.

The gender differences related to children were more remarkable in terms of parental mediation. Consistent with previous results (Bucksch et al. 2016; Talves – Kalmus 2015; Pew Research Center 2018), this study also found that screen-time patterns differ according to the child's gender, and this defines the form of parental mediation. This deviation in technology use was found to be outstanding in the qualitative section of the research: overall, boys tend to use computers to play video games while girls prefer smart devices, primarily phones, on which to use social media sites or watch videos. I found that the mediation of screen time on smart devices is more challenging for parents, while computers – video gaming – can be restricted more easily since the gaming device is stationary and parents and children do not consider these gadgets to be private ones, in contrast to smart phones. Smart phones and especially social media help maintain connections – girls tend to live out a significant part of their social lives on their phones, which may explain their attitudes and attachment toward these devices. This experience from the interviews also explains the survey result that girls' parents tend to follow an active mediation strategy, in contrast to boys' parents, similar to the findings of Talves and Kalmus (2015).

The explanatory models of gender differences demonstrate how diversely the investigated practices concern mothers and fathers and their subjective quality of parenting. Fathers' subjective quality of parenting is associated only with the perception of focused time: when they perceive parental time as calm and they can focus on their child during parental time the subjective quality of parenting is the highest. Additionally, focused time has the strongest effect on their subjective quality of parenting. However, the number of children is also positively related to fathers' subjective quality of parenting: when fathers have more children, they are more likely to evaluate their parenting as better. Since fathers with more children might be involved to a greater extent in parenting (Barnett – Baruch 1987), the positive impact of the number of children among fathers but not among mothers also accentuates that the responsibility of parenting is highly gendered.

In contrast, most of the aspects of the investigated practices have an impact on how mothers evaluate their parenting quality. The quality of time does not matter in the way that I expected. Although focused time has a positive effect on maternal subjective quality of parenting, its effect size is the weakest among other influential factors. In the subsample analysis we can see that the negative effect of too much enrichment time – as described above – concerns mothers: those mothers who engage in enrichment activities with their teenager more frequently have a lower level of parenting quality. Similarly, this finding might show that mothers are more concerned with the high expectations of contemporary parenting

(Ishizuka 2019), but that meeting this requirement might have a contrasting effect on maternal self-evaluation. Additionally, the quantity of time is also important for mothers. Weekend time increases, while more parental time on weekdays decreases the probability of the better parenting quality of mothers. On the one hand, this finding shows that the quantity of parental time is a relevant indicator of good parenting, in line with the intensive parenting ideal, even during the period of adolescence, as Milkie and her colleagues (2015) also highlight. Weekend parental time might compensate for the everyday rush that is also reflected in parental accounts of time in the interviews. Yet, more parental time on weekdays might also be associated with a greater burden in relation to the organisation of family life or more conflict with teenagers. These might have a negative impact on parental time and thus influence the maternal subjective quality of parenting negatively. In other words, the lower level of maternal self-evaluation might also be caused by the greater burden of the everyday parental time of mothers.

However, it is important to note that the descriptive statistics associated with the subjective quality of parenting show that it is generally fathers who evaluate their parental role as worse than mothers, which also strengthens the claim that parenting adolescents is gendered. It can be interpreted as meaning that the items that measure parenting skills and practices mostly refer to maternal responsibilities. Although there might be also other parental responsibilities that are important for fathers, this difference is reflected in the result that only the item 'raising the child with good values' scored higher among fathers than mothers.

In terms of parental mediation, the explanatory model proves that fathers do not feel responsible for navigating their child's technology usage: restriction and active mediation are not associated with their subjective quality of parenting. In contrast, following an active mediation strategy increases the maternal subjective quality of parenting. This result underlines that active mediation is part of the intensive parenting ideal, and mothers are more concerned with the responsibility of controlling and improving teenager's technology use.

These findings show that parenting adolescents is highly embedded in the Hungarian gender regime (Gregor 2016): the practices and perceptions of parental time and mediation differ among mothers and fathers, mothers experience s greater burden, and have less resources to spend quality time with their children. Mothers also are more likely define their own parental role in terms of meeting the norms of the intensive parenting ideal.

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7.3. Unequal parenting

Parenting, parental time practices, and perceptions and parental mediation are strongly associated with the social status variables. Most of our bivariate analyses demonstrated the unequal patterns of these practices according to the subjective material status and educational level of the parent. These findings are consistent with previous empirical results (Sayer et al. 2004; Kalil et al. 2014; Nomaguchi 2012; England – Strivastava 2013; Gee 2014; Livingstone et al. 2011): overall, we conclude that parents of higher status have a higher level of subjective quality of parenting, they spend more time together with their children, and they perceive the parental time as more likely to be calm; they can also more frequently focus on their child during their shared time and they are more liable to follow an active mediation strategy.

Focused time is important for parents to the same extent in relation to their subjective quality of parenting, regardless of their social status. However, too much enrichment activity has a negative effect on parenting quality among blue-collar workers, with stronger evidence. We can interpret this finding similarly to that of the gender difference above: for lower status parents meeting the requirement of a high standard of intensive parenting might be especially stressful, thus negatively influence their subjective quality of parenting. We can assume that too much enrichment time might be due to more conflict with children among lower status parents.

However, the amount of weekend parental time has a controversial effect: white-collar workers' and entrepreneurs' subjective quality of parenting is negatively associated with the amount of weekend time, while the amount of weekend time increases the level of subjective parenting quality among blue-collar workers. In terms of lower status parents, this contradiction between the negative effect of too much enrichment time but a positive effect of the amount of parental time highlights that parents value other features than enrichment activities during parental time.

Since the increase in the amount of time on weekends decrease the subjective quality of parenting of higher status parents, I assume that these parents might compensate for their hurriedness or lack of quality time on weekdays not only with enrichment activities but with other shared programs. This might conflict with the needs of adolescents and result in parents' worse subjective parenting quality. In other words, since generally higher status parents devote more time to their children, the expectation of spending large amount of time is more likely to involve higher status parents, but meeting this requirement of parenting might be counterproductive in terms of the subjective quality of parenting.

The results of this study – consistent with previous empirical evidence (Kalil et al. 2014; Hsin – Felfe 2014; Garcia 2015) – also demonstrate that higher status parents spend more quality time – of both types – with their children in this sample: they have more resources to participate in enrichment activities and they more are likely to value spontaneous moments or family rituals than lower status parents. These findings enrich our understanding of the survey data: that lower status parents have a bigger time deficit – both quantitatively and qualitatively. Moreover, their narratives about weekend time are also different: for lower status parents weekends mean working the second shift, which might explain the result of the regression model above: when blue-collar workers can devote more time on weekends to their children, this might increase their subjective quality of parenting. However, enrichment activities might be considered further responsibilities at weekends for blue-collar workers, which might result in the negative effect on the subjective quality of parenting.

In contrast, higher status parents have more resources to spend quality time with their children – for instance, going on trips and attending cultural programs –, but they also consider housework or garden work differently – as a form of quality time with children. The fact that there is a difference in attitudes towards the same activities might be explained by the opportunity of free choice. In other words, lower status parents cannot outsource these activities – for instance, they cannot afford to eat out at a restaurant, unlike higher status parents. In addition, this result might reflect the greater relevance of child-centredness – in line with the intensive parenting ideal (Hays 1996) – among higher status parents: they are more likely regard all interactions with children as opportunities to create quality time. On the other hand, as spending quality time is a marker of intensive parenting (Snyder 2007), parents might report on shared time from the quality time perspective to maintain their self-perception of good parenting.

In terms of the parental mediation of technology usage, beside the descriptive data the regression models also reinforce the differences according to the socioeconomic status of parents. Accordingly, restriction and active mediation do not affect the subjective quality of parenting of blue-collar workers, while active mediation and restriction play a role in the parenting practices of white-collar workers or entrepreneurs. In other words, we conclude that the responsibility of parental mediation – particularly active mediation that reflects the ideal of intensive parenting to the greatest extent – does concern only higher status parents. Our qualitative results strengthen this suggestion. Active mediation was typically applied by parents with a high level of education and economic resources – typically those who were

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self-employed or managers, which is consistent with previous quantitative findings (Gee 2014; Livingstone et al. 2011). Moreover, the latter not only discuss online risks and opportunities with their teenagers, but also co-use screens purposely for enrichment activities. In connection to this, digital media use is also considered an enrichment activity when co-playing or co-use is discussed, highlighting the socially diverse attitudes towards technology use. However – in line with the findings of Daneels and Vanwynsberghe (2017) –, co-use as a strategy was not typical with this age group.

Their active meditation is also expert-guided – consistent with the intensive parenting model (Hays 1996); such parents are comprehensively informed; they know of related scientific findings and experts. These parents also have the advantage of supportive educational institutions that organise workshops and thematic programs about proper online behaviour and parental mediation practices for both parents, and children.

However, the importance of school performance and enrichment activities in relation to screen time was remarkable. This supports the time-displacement hypothesis (Putnam 1995) that screen time is considered to risk eroding social capital. I found that higher status parents are more likely to provide alternative programs for teenagers and to increase enrichment activity or motivate creative offline activities instead. They use this approach as a proactive strategy for decreasing adolescents' screen time.

Restrictions were applied regardless of social status, similarly to in previous quantitative findings (Mascheroni et al. 2016), although the qualitative data for this study show that higher status parents followed this strategy more consistently and more frequently. In addition, higher status parents typically struggle with implementing restrictions while conforming to the norms associated with the ideals of the contemporary parenting standard that involve negotiations about proper behaviour and explanations. Further, higher status parents involve children in decisions about rules that constantly change and need to be renegotiated. This result strengthens our assumption that a strategy of restrictions is a specific component of intensive parenting, despite its conflicting nature.

The findings of this thesis support the hypothesis that the higher level of digital literacy and the patterns of technology use of higher status parents might motivate their strategy of proactive parental mediation, as previous empirical results show (Hollingsworth et al. 2011; Yuen et al. 2018). Notwithstanding this, higher status parents had more knowledge about the technical opportunities of this type of control (about new forms of monitoring) – similarly to the result of Daneels and Vanwynsberghe (2017), whereas among lower status

parents ad-hoc tactics – consistent with Naab's (2018) arguments – were more typical than consistent strategies.

However, it was a relevant difference that higher status parents seemed to be confident with their permissiveness because of the importance of show an examples to their children about technology management or their earlier purposeful navigation of digital device use. In other words, they can be confident because they consider they have already done their job teaching their children to engage in responsible online behaviour. On the other hand, as Shin (2015) argues, accepting that their own children are vulnerable to negative social influences threatens their self-perception of good parenting. Therefore, this confidence might maintain their own image as good parents.

8. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

After discussing the results of this thesis, this last section summarizes the main findings and makes some conclusions. First, I review the aims of this study and according to the research questions I elaborate on the empirical results. Second, I underline the contributions to the research on parenting, quality time and parental mediation. The thesis ends with the discussion of limitations and offers further suggestions for future research.

8.1. Objectives of the dissertation

The goal of this dissertation was to explore how the intensive parenting ideal shapes practices in the two domains – parental time, and parental mediation of technology use – of parenting adolescents in Hungary.

Given the shifts in cultural expectations associated with parenting (Hays 1996; Nelson 2010; Furedi 2001), growing importance is awarded to spending time with children – especially quality time – to enhance their positive outcomes concerning their mental health and cognitive development (Snyder 2007; StGeorge – Fletcher 2012). However, there is growing empirical evidence that parenting is associated with the feeling of parental time deficit (Milkie et al. 2019; Roxburgh 2006) and time pressure (Bianchi et al. 2006; Ruppanner et al. 2019). Moreover, parenting adolescents might be especially mentally burdensome for parents (Luthar – Ciciolla 2016; Meier et al. 2018; Pollmann-Schult 2014). Time-use data provide a rich picture about parental time; however, the subjective experience of time cannot be measured using these data.

On the other hand, teenagers spend a significant amount of time with digital devices (Gardner – Davis 2013), and it might be a dilemma for parents how to navigate their technology use to mitigate these risks but also to maximize the benefits of media use. Parental mediation describes these strategies (Clark 2011; Livingstone et al. 2017) yet this are relatively unexplored in the Hungarian sociological literature, I propose that restriction and active mediation might form part of intensive parenting ideals.

I suggest that parental time and parental mediation can be integrated together into the theoretical framework of intensive parenting, and that exploring these domains might provide a complex understanding of this cultural ideal. Research – particularly quantitative inquiry – into intensive parenting is still lacking in the international literature, thus I investigate this topic by applying a mixed-methods research design.

This study examines the relationship between the subjective quality of parenting and specific forms of parental time and of parental mediation. I propose a new form of quality time and involve the aspect of focus in the investigation. The goal of this study was also to integrate adolescents' perceptions of parental time in the debate about quality time, since according to the concept of intensive parenting, adolescence is also a significant period during which children's success and wellbeing may be established and supported (Nelson 2010). Additionally, by applying data collected from parent-child dyads, I compare the perceptions of family members to grasp the diverse significance of parental time.

Empirical literature demonstrates that the responsibility of parenting remains unequal according to parents' gender (Ishizuka 2019; Faircloth 2014). Parenting practices also differ by the socioeconomic status of parents (Nomaguchi – Milkie 2020); however, there are controversial findings about attitudes towards intensive parenting (Hays 1996; Ishizuka 2019; Calarco 2014; England – Strivastava 2013; Lareau 2003). Additionally, there is also a lack of knowledge about the determinants of parenting adolescents in Hungary. This dissertation seeks to fill these gaps and explore the mechanisms behind parenting, particularly focusing on unequal patterns based on the gender and socioeconomic status of parents.

8.2. Summary of empirical findings

8.2.1. Intensive parenting

First, I found evidence that focused time is the most important aspect of parental time, and one that affects the subjective quality of parenting positively. Similarly, the qualitative results show that paying attention to children, having spontaneous moments or sharing family habits that enable a feeling of togetherness and create deep connections were crucial for parents. Therefore, we conclude that when parents perceive time as calm and can pay attention to their children when they spend time together they have a higher level of parenting quality. In other words, in terms of parental time, Hungarian parents of teenagers consider focused time quality time, and this defines their quality of parenting to a great extent.

In contrast, the results show that the other aspect of quality time – enrichment time – can affect the subjective quality of parenting negatively. The survey data demonstrate that when parents spend time playing, attending sports or cultural events too frequently they evaluate themselves as worse in terms of their parenting. The qualitative data demonstrate that the primary goal of these activities is similar to focused time – such us creating a feeling of togetherness and connection –; however, these activities are also aimed at compensating for the time deficit on weekdays and enriching children's outcomes.

In terms of parental mediation, I found that parents who actively mediate their teenager's technology use have a higher level of subjective quality of parenting. In contrast, the assumed positive impact of applying restrictions on the subjective quality of parenting is less strongly supported – and it involves white-collar workers and entrepreneurs. The qualitative results demonstrate that restriction is the most dominant strategy among parents because it is an effective means of decreasing screen time and parents' general perceptions of technology use are influenced by risk awareness. However, it is important to note that a restriction strategy contradicts contemporary parenting values since it does not enable self-regulation and discussions and threatens the child's agency. Although restriction is also a resource-intensive practice of parenting, I identified patterns of active mediation that also reflected the features of intensive parenting – such as the provision of expert guidance or constant negotiations. Moreover, active mediation is considered to be an ideal strategy.

Consequently, providing focused time for children and following an active mediation strategy of technology use are considered highly important and appreciated practices among parents of adolescents in Hungary. Enrichment activities might be counterproductive in terms of the subjective quality of parenting, since they might result in conflict with teenagers who are striving for autonomy. Last, restriction is widely used to control younger teenagers' media use, but contradicts with the contemporary parenting values that might explain the lack of association with the subjective quality of parenting.

8.2.2. Gender and SES differences

The current results show that parenting and the perceptions of parental time and parental mediation are premised on gender and class.

In terms of gender differences, the father's quality of parenting is associated only with focused time, while maternal parenting quality is connected to the quantity and quality of parental time and to active mediation. Accordingly, focused time, more time on weekends and active mediation increase the probability of the better subjective quality of parenting of mothers. However, too much enrichment time and more parental time on weekdays are associated negatively with mothers' subjective quality of parenting. The qualitative findings also prove the gender differences: mothers are more likely to report about time pressure, time deficit with children, and the greater burden of housework. In addition, mothers are typically responsible for enforcing the rules of media use or monitoring children's online behaviour.

This study points to the mechanisms behind parenting practices and highlights the relevance of intensive parenting ideals among more educated and wealthier parents. The most

remarkable deviations concern enrichment activities, parental mediation, and the amount of shared time on weekends. The negative effect of 'too many' enrichment activities was more strongly supported among blue-collar workers, while active mediation was associated positively with higher status parents' subjective quality of parenting. Further, I found the opposite effects for the amount of weekend time: more parental time on weekends increases the probability of better parenting quality among lower status parents, while it decreases the quality of parenting of higher status parents. The qualitative data strengthen these findings: lower status parents have fewer resources for spending quality time with their children; moreover, they are rather passive in terms of the parental mediation of technology use. In addition, white-collar parents with a higher level of education also purposely organize enrichment activities to create alternatives to screen time for their children, thus decrease their exposure to digital media risks.

Consequently, mothers are more concerned with the responsibility of parenting –for instance, with spending enough and sufficient (focused) time with their children and mediating their media use. In addition, parents' educational and income level and (typically in connection with these) their digital literacy and beliefs about technology significantly determine how they navigate their children's technology use and the amount and quality of time they spend together. Moreover, the diverse attitudes towards spending parental time on weekend time according to social status point to the greater time deficit of lower status parents and to the high expectations of parenting among higher status parents.

8.2.3. Comparison of parents' and adolescents' perspectives

The results of this thesis about parents' and children's time perception comparisons are consistent with our expectations. Focused time has a stronger effect on adolescents' assessment of parenting quality; however, the evidence is rather weak. However, the models do not show any other significant factor that is related to teenagers' assessments of parenting quality. In terms of subjective quality of parenting, however, I find weak evidence that the amount of time is also correlated with parenting: when parents can spend more time with their children, they have a better subjective quality of parenting. Therefore, the results of teenager's perceptions reinforce the assumption that children might perceive and consider parental time differently to parents.

In summary, the intensive parenting ideal shapes parental time in the way that spontaneous, focused time is highly appreciated among Hungarian parents and teenage children as well, while cultivating children's talent does not comprise part of spending quality time with children. With regard to parental mediation and following the norms of intensive parenting, parents typically use a high level of control and a conscious mediation strategy – with active mediation the desired form –, and provide alternative programs to screen time to protect their children from harm and cultivate their development while fostering their autonomy and independence. Moreover, as higher status parents have more quality time for their children and typically employ these mediation strategies, the results of this thesis indicate that these practices are a resource-demanding fields of parenting, and competencies and resources are unequally divided according to the social status of parents. The findings show evidence that these practices are primarily maternal responsibilities – in other words, the high standard of intensive parenting involves mothers to a greater extent. Adolescents' different perception of time also underlines how much social expectations influence parenting behaviours.

8.3. Contribution

This study makes contributions to the emerging international literature on contemporary parenting (Faircloth et al. 2013; Ennis 2014; O'Brien et al. 2020; Gauthier et al. 2021) in three ways.

First, the approach and the target group of the research broadens the debate about intensive parenting. On the one hand, applying mixed methods reveals the features of parenting practices in Hungary in a complex way and enhances the deeper understanding of this cultural model in an Eastern European context. On the other hand, linking two fields of parenting – parental time and the parental mediation of technology use – together in one theoretical framework widens the scope of intensive parenting practices. Our findings show that meeting the requirements of intensive parenting – e.g. the widely held beliefs about the importance of enrichment activities – might be an additional burden for parents, particularly for blue-collar workers and women. Moreover, the study reveals how parental mediation of technology usage forms a new domain of parenting practices, and it is especially active mediation and restriction that form part of this ideal in the case of teenagers.

Further, a focus on adolescents in the context of contemporary parenting models is still lacking in the empirical literature (Waldfogel 2016; Milkie et al. 2015), thus this study also improves our knowledge about this field and contributes to comprehending the lower level of parental self-esteem and happiness when raising teenagers (Pollmann-Schult 2014; Meier et

al. 2018; Nomaguchi 2012). Moreover, our findings highlight the important features of quality time with adolescents – the latter value the attention they get from parents and no rushing of parental time.

Second, the remarkable social differences in these practices show the mechanisms of how compliance with this contemporary norm can reinforce pre-existing inequalities associated with adolescence and may generate new kinds of social inequalities in children's later outcomes. The research proves that parental time and especially access to spending quality time is also unequally distributed according to the social status of parents (Kalil et al. 2014; Hsin – Felfe 2014), and the reproduction of social inequality might be transmitted through these different patterns of time use (Coleman 1988). Additionally, the findings unveil the great pressure on parents, and the lack of resources of lower status parents to meet the expectations related to the intensive parenting ideal.

Further, it highlights that digital inequity is more liable to involve knowledge about technology management. Moreover, this study highlights the interrelation of screen time and enrichment activities: a strategy of decreasing screen time by providing alternative programs might also reinforce the reproduction of social capital.

Last, this study improves the comprehension of the concept of quality time and grasps how diverse aspects of quality time might be beneficial for subjective parenting quality and the parenting evaluations of teenagers. The research also broadens the debate about whether quantity or quality time matters, and underlines the importance of parental time in adolescence. Further, the analysis of data from parent-child dyads highlights the significance of differences in parents' and adolescents' evaluations of shared time. The different perspective of teenagers reinforces the suggestion that involving children's considerations in the debate about parenting and parental time is crucial (Christensen 2002). The qualitative results concerning the parental considerations about quality time and the significant impact of focused time in the quantitative analyses show that the aspects of focus and attention and the overall perception of time might grasp the effect of quality time in a more appropriate way than concentrating on specific activities. Consequently, it is crucial to involve this element when researching quality time.

8.4. Limitations and suggestions for future research

The present results are not without limitations. This study investigates cross-sectional data, thus we cannot explore the causality between parental practices and the subjective quality of parenting. With regard to the amount of time parents and children spend together, I used

subjective estimations, but time-use data are more reliable, thus caution should be applied when interpreting the results of this study. Since I focus on adolescents, I have no insight into the important developmental stages of early childhood, at which parental time is more intense, and regarding when there is empirical evidence that the difference in children's outcomes appears and determines later opportunities (Kalil – Mayer 2016).

Moreover, the variable of diverse family structures is not included in the analyses, although parental time with children can differ significantly according to the various forms of family (Kalil et al. 2014) and the disadvantaged position of single parents has been demonstrated in empirical literature (Kendig – Bianchi 2008).

Future research could improve the current study in several ways. A more complex approach to grasping parental time may further enhance our understanding of what role parental time plays in parenting. Including some other specific aspects of parental time, such as eating together at home, talking with a parent, or applying other indicators of togetherness and connection would be one approach. Further, focusing on the quality of the parent-child relation might allow us to comprehend the complexity of parental time.

The potential negative effect of enrichment activities indicates that during the period of adolescence other leisure or educational activities might be used to grasp intensive parenting practices more efficiently – for instance, research into participation in extracurricular activities might reveal the goal of stimulating children's development. In addition, further research could focus on the national context and, in connection with this, the broader institutional level, since parenting behaviours are socially embedded in these structures (Aurini et al. 2020).

Further study could involve an examination of the impact of technology on parental time. In adolescence, the time parents and children spend apart increases, but technology can facilitate interaction between family members and may thereby contribute to maintaining quality time and mediate the benefits of parental time (Vaterlaus et al. 2019).

Additionally, it would be interesting to integrate the perception of children about parental mediation into a qualitative inquiry. In terms of parenting, it is also a relevant finding of the empirical literature that parents' and their children's perception of applied parental mediation strategies differ significantly, and children perceive strategies much less than parents report (Vaterlaus et al. 2014; Symons et al. 2017a).

Finally, investigating parental technology usage may enable better comprehension of the role of parents in influencing adolescents' screen-time patterns, digital skills, and screen management strategies (Vaala – Bleakley 2015; Lauricella et al. 2015). Additionally, further

study could involve parents with a high level of digital expertise who may have a very different perception of technology use, thus may employ specific strategies (Mascheroni et al. 2016) which could enhance our understanding of the reproduction of digital inequity.

9. References

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10. Appendices

The survey and the interview guidelines of this research in Hungarian are available at the website of Zenodo (https://zenodo.org/record/5070215#.YbcmydDMLcv).

1 Subjective quality of parenting

Figure 1. Distribution of the mean value of parenting skills – Parental responses
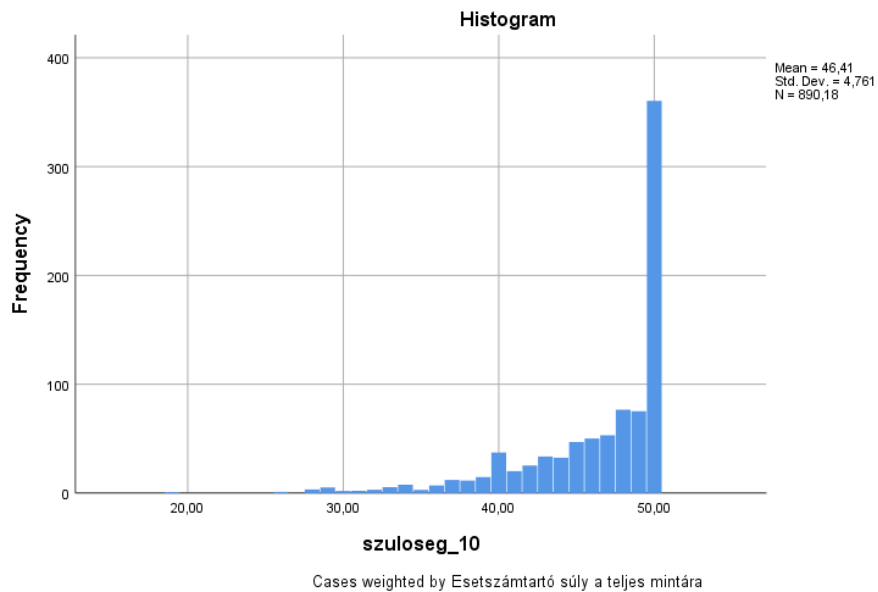
Figure 2. Distribution of the mean value of parenting skills – Adolescents' responses
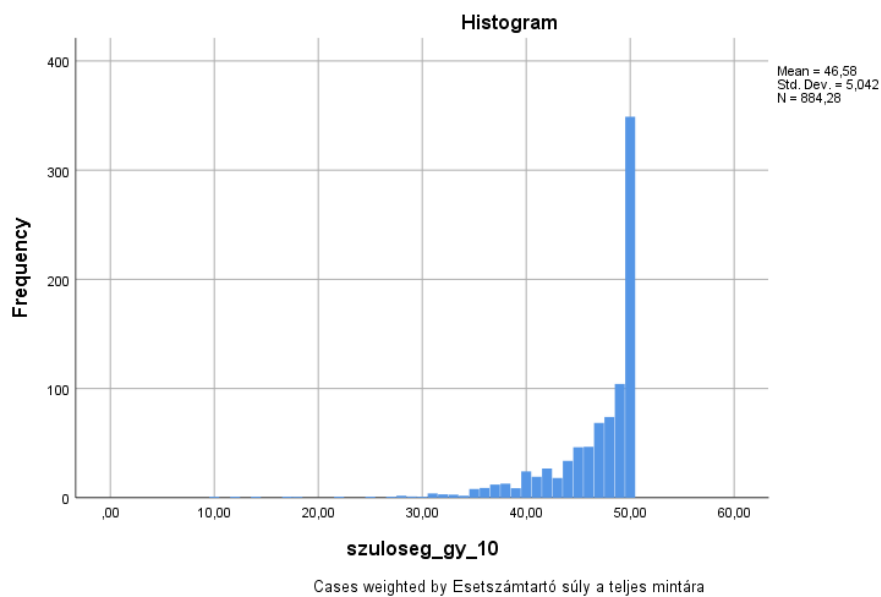
Figure 3. Distribution of parental responses regarding the parenting skills items
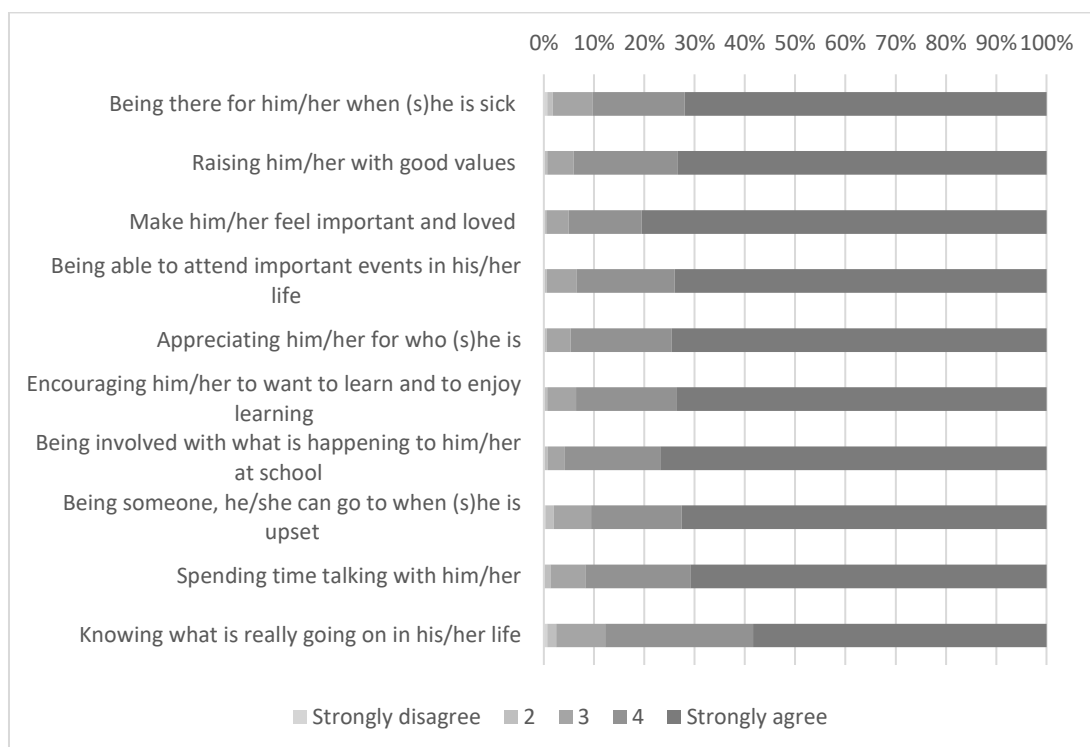
Figure 4. Distribution of adolescents' responses regarding the parenting skills items
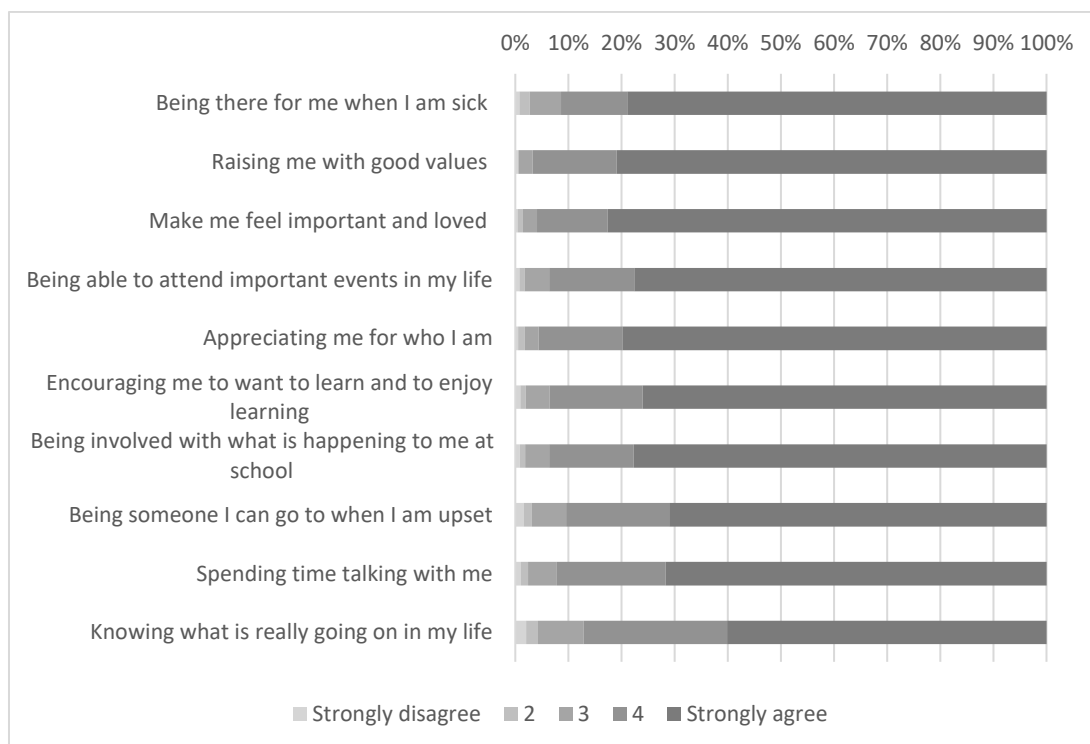
Table 1. Subjective quality of parenting – bivariate associations

	Mean		ANOVA F-test statistic /Pearson'R		p-value	
	A*	P**	A	P	A	P
Gender of parent	-	-	5.620	10.784	0.018	0.001
Father	4.61	4.58			-	-
Mother	4.70	4.69			-	-
Subjective material status			3.531	6.194	0.015	0.000
1 Poor	4.57	4.62				
2	4.61	4.57				
3	4.68	4.69				
4 Well-off	4.81	4.80				
Educational level			3.783	4.114	0.010	0.007
Primary	4.54	4.52				
Low sec. / vocational	4.60	4.60				
High sec.	4.71	4.67				
Tertiary	4.69	4.73				
Type of occupation			4.216		0.015	-
Blue-collar	4.60					
White-collar	4.69					
Self-employed or manager	4.72					
Age of child			-0.122	-0.105	<0.01	<0.01
Number of children				0.068	-	<0.05

*Adolescents; **Parents

Table 2. Mean values of parenting skills according to parent's gender

	Father			Mother			F	p-value
	Mean	N	Std. Dev.	Mean	N	Std. Dev.		
Being there for him/her when (s)he is sick	4,44	402	0,843	4,73	491	0,610	37,335	0,000
Raising him/her with good values	4,68	403	0,601	4,65	488	0,623	0,436	0,509
Make him/her feel important and loved	4,71	403	0,578	4,79	491	0,526	4,580	0,033
Being able to attend important events in his/her life	4,58	403	0,674	4,74	490	0,568	15,241	0,000
Appreciating him/her for who (s)he is	4,67	403	0,600	4,70	490	0,585	0,692	0,406
Encouraging him/her to want to learn and to enjoy learning	4,66	403	0,617	4,67	490	0,625	0,005	0,944

	Mean	N	Std. Dev.	Mean	N	Std. Dev.	F	p-value
Being involved with what is happening to him/her at school	4,68	403	0,601	4,74	491	0,558	2,177	0,140
Being someone, he/she can go to when (s)he is upset	4,53	403	0,815	4,68	490	0,630	9,902	0,002
Spending time talking with him/her	4,56	403	0,714	4,66	490	0,648	4,472	0,035
Knowing what is really going on in his/her life	4,34	403	0,848	4,51	491	0,734	10,392	0,001

Table 3. Mean values of parenting skills according to parent's material status

	Poor			Average			Well-off				
	Mean	N	Std. Dev.	Mean	N	Std. Dev.	Mean	N	Std. Dev.	F	p-value
Being there for him/her when (s)he is sick	4,83	42	0,543	4,57	297	0,766	4,62	540	0,718	2,527	0,080
Raising him/her with good values	4,53	41	0,714	4,58	296	0,660	4,75	539	0,537	8,687	0,000
Make him/her feel important and loved	4,77	42	0,577	4,69	297	0,600	4,81	540	0,474	4,591	0,010
Being able to attend important events in his/her life	4,75	42	0,543	4,61	296	0,684	4,71	540	0,566	2,767	0,063
Appreciating him/her for who (s)he is	4,61	42	0,741	4,65	296	0,622	4,73	540	0,548	2,350	0,096
Encouraging him/her to want to learn and to enjoy learning	4,60	42	0,712	4,61	296	0,643	4,72	540	0,569	3,439	0,033
Being involved with what is happening to him/her at school	4,71	42	0,643	4,64	297	0,631	4,78	540	0,488	6,000	0,003
Being someone, he/she can go to when (s)he is upset	4,58	42	0,815	4,49	296	0,834	4,70	540	0,604	8,229	0,000
Spending time talking with h/im/her	4,44	42	0,877	4,54	296	0,722	4,68	540	0,611	5,789	0,003
Knowing what is really going on in his/her life	4,27	42	0,783	4,36	297	0,821	4,51	540	0,754	4,618	0,010

2 Quality time

Focused time

Table 1. Distribution of focused time items in the sample

	Adolescents		Parents	
*Parent cannot play full attention**	n	%	n	%
Never	75	8.3	89	9.6
Seldom	214	23.7	160	17.8
Sometimes	383	42.5	378	41.9
Often	209	23.2	248	27.5
Always	20	2.3	29	3.2
Perception of shared time in the last 3 months				
Very calm	108	12.0	105	11.7
Rather calm	425	47.1	431	47.8
Somewhat calm, somewhat rushed	301	33.4	301	33.4
Rather rushed	51	5.7	56	6.2
Very rushed	9	1.0	8	0.9

*For *'Parent cannot play full attention'* the paired t-test statistic is 3.407 (df = 999), p-value = 0.001.

Table 2. Distribution of parental responses regarding how often they cannot pay full attention to their child according to parent's subjective material status

		Poor	Average	Well-off	Total
Never	Count	2	25	58	85
	%	4,80%	8,30%	10,60%	9,60%
Seldom	Count	7	73	80	160
	%	16,70%	24,30%	14,70%	18,00%
Sometimes	Count	16	109	244	369
	%	38,10%	36,30%	44,80%	41,60%
Often	Count	17	77	150	244
	%	40,50%	25,70%	27,50%	27,50%
Always	Count	0	16	13	29
	%	0,00%	5,30%	2,40%	3,30%
Total	Count	42	300	545	887
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 25,153 (df = 8), p-value = 0.001.

Table 3. Mean values of the number of children in the household according to responses of how often they cannot pay full attention to their child

	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Never	1,37	86	0,594
Seldom	1,55	160	0,781
Sometimes	1,62	378	0,747
Often	1,66	248	1,035
Always	1,72	29	1,132
Total	1,6	902	0,846

Anova F-test statistics: 2,321. p-value=0.055

Parental perception of shared time in the last 3 months

Table 4. Distribution of the parental perception of shared time in the last 3 months according to type of settlement

		Capital	County center	Town	Village	Total
Calm	Count	67	103	174	192	536
	%	49,6%	67,8%	54,9%	64,6%	59,5%
In between	Count	55	40	124	82	301
	%	40,7%	26,3%	39,1%	27,6%	33,4%
Rushed	Count	13	9	19	23	64
	%	9,6%	5,9%	6,0%	7,7%	7,1%
Total	Count	135	152	317	297	901
	%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 19,187 (df = 6), p-value = 0.004.

Table 5. Distribution of the parental perception of shared time in the last 3 months according to parent's gender

		Father	Mother	Total
Calm	Count	259	278	537
	%	63,60%	56,20%	59,50%
In between	Count	118	183	301
	%	29,00%	37,00%	33,40%
Rushed	Count	30	34	64
	%	7,40%	6,90%	7,10%
Total	Count	407	495	902
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 6,435 (df = 2), p-value = 0.040.

Table 6. Distribution of parental perception of shared time in the last 3 months according to subjective material status

		Poor	Average	Well-off	Total
Calm	Count	14	152	365	531
	%	33,30%	50,70%	67,10%	59,90%
In between	Count	23	116	152	291
	%	54,80%	38,70%	27,90%	32,80%
Rushed	Count	5	32	27	64
	%	11,90%	10,70%	5,00%	7,20%
Total	Count	42	300	544	886
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 37,180 (df = 4), p-value = 0.000.

Children' perception of shared time in the last 3 months

Table 7. Distribution of adolescents' perception of shared time in the last 3 months according to subjective material status

		Poor	Average	Well-off	Total
Calm	Count	16	156	355	527
	%	38,10%	52,50%	65,60%	59,90%
In between	Count	22	119	152	293
	%	52,40%	40,10%	28,10%	33,30%
Rushed	Count	4	22	34	60
	%	9,50%	7,40%	6,30%	6,80%
Total	Count	42	297	541	880
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 22,893 (df = 4), p-value = 0.000.

Table 8. Mean age of children according to their parental time perception in the last 3 months

	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Calm	14,08	532	1,503
In between	14,17	301	1,517
Rushed	14,60	60	1,355
Total	14,14	894	1,502

Anova F-test statistics: 3,368. p-value=0.035

Enrichment time

Figure 1. Distribution of the mean value of the computed frequencies of enrichment activites –
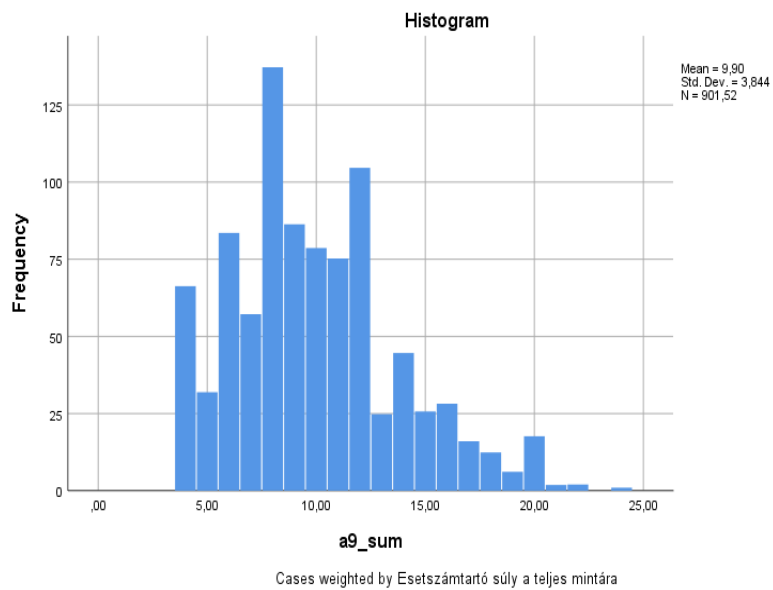
Parental responses

Figure 2. Distribution of the mean value of the computed frequencies of enrichment activites – Adolscents' responses
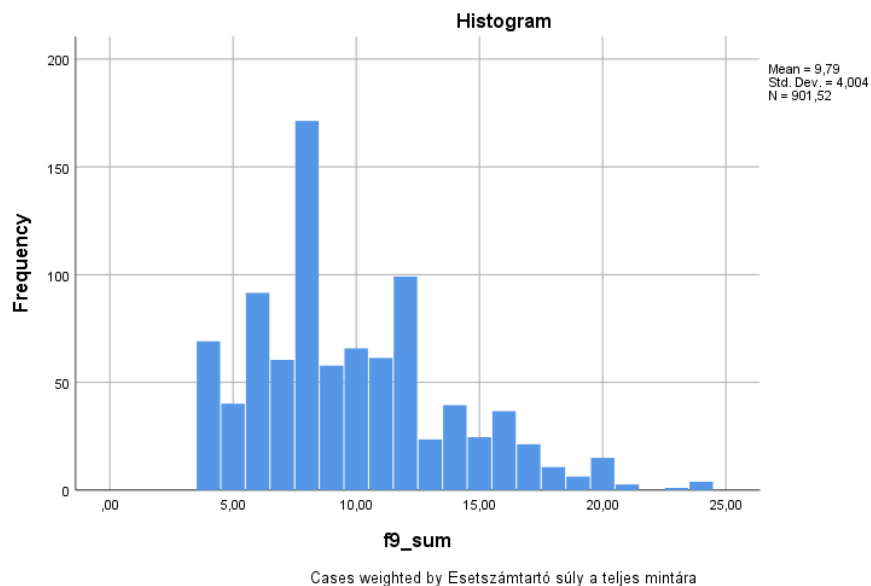
Table 9. Distribution of frequencies of enrichment activites in the sample (%)

Enrichment activities	Playing together***		Playing digital game		Cultural event		Sports, hiking	
	A*	P**	A	P	A	P	A	P
Never	22.1	18.9	41.7	41.5	15.0	16.2	13.9	12.7
Once a month	32.2	29.9	28.5	27.7	49.5	50.5	45.7	45.1
Several times a month	15.7	16.8	12.5	12.8	23.4	22.0	23.2	25.7
Once a week	14.2	17.2	7.9	8.7	7.8	6.8	10.9	10.6
Several times a week	12.4	14.3	7.2	7.4	3.5	4.2	5.0	5.2
Daily	3.3	2.9	2.2	1.8	0.8	0.2	1.3	0.6

Note. *Adolescents; **Parents. ***For the playing together the paired t-test statistic is 4.234 (df = 999), p-value = 0.000.

Table 10. Mean age of children according to the frequencies of enrichment activities

	Playing together	Playing digital game	Cultural event	Sports, hiking
Never	14.82	14,42	14.51	14.70
Once a month	14.36	14,13	14.21	14.26
Several times a month	13.94	13,84	13.96	13.92
Once a week	13.71	13,81	13.60	13.76
Several times a week	13.62	13,72	13.70	13.66
Daily	13.67	13,32	12.48	12.82
Total	14.14	14,14	14,14	14.14
Anova F- test statistics	15.936	6.442	5.495	8.180
p-value	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Table 11. Distribution of frequencies of playing together according to type of settlement

Panel A: Parents		Budapest	County center	Town	Village	Total
No more than once a month	Count	54	79	145	163	441
	%	40,00%	51,60%	45,70%	54,90%	48,90%
Several times a month	Count	17	27	57	50	151
	%	12,60%	17,60%	18,00%	16,80%	16,70%
At least once a week	Count	64	47	115	84	310
	%	47,40%	30,70%	36,30%	28,30%	34,40%
Total	Count	135	153	317	297	902
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%
Panel B: Adolescents						
No more than once a month	Count	56	81	169	184	490
	%	41,50%	53,30%	53,30%	62,20%	54,40%
Several times a month	Count	19	25	56	41	141
	%	14,10%	16,40%	17,70%	13,90%	15,70%
At least once a week	Count	60	46	92	71	269
	%	44,40%	30,30%	29,00%	24,00%	29,90%
Total	Count	135	152	317	296	900
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

Parents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 17,805 (df = 6), p-value = 0.007.
Adolescents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 22,332 (df = 6), p-value = 0.001

Table 12. Distribution of frequencies of playing together according to subjective material status – Parental responses

		Poor	Average	Well-off	Total
No more than once a month	Count	244	165	23	432
	%	44,80%	55,20%	54,80%	48,80%
Several times a month	Count	100	45	5	150
	%	18,30%	15,10%	11,90%	16,90%
At least once a week	Count	201	89	14	304
	%	36,90%	29,80%	33,30%	34,30%
Total	Count	545	299	42	886
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 9,379 (df = 4), p-value = 0.052.

Table 13. Distribution of frequencies of playing together according to parent's educational level

Panel A: Parents		Primary	Low sec./ vocational	High sec.	Tertiary	Total
No more than once a month	Count	30	177	181	53	441
	%	57,70%	52,70%	49,60%	35,60%	48,90%
Several times a month	Count	5	58	54	34	151
	%	9,60%	17,30%	14,80%	22,80%	16,70%
At least once a week	Count	17	101	130	62	310
	%	32,70%	30,10%	35,60%	41,60%	34,40%
Total	Count	52	336	365	149	902
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%
Panel B: Adolescents						
No more than once a month	Count	30	206	190	65	491
	%	57,70%	61,50%	51,90%	43,60%	54,40%
Several times a month	Count	4	45	59	34	142
	%	7,70%	13,40%	16,10%	22,80%	15,70%
At least once a week	Count	18	84	117	50	269
	%	34,60%	25,10%	32,00%	33,60%	29,80%
Total	Count	52	335	366	149	902
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

Parents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 17,296 (df = 6), p-value = 0.008.
Adolescents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 19,036 (df = 6), p-value = 0.004

Table 17. Distribution of frequencies of playing together according to parent's type of occupation

Panel A: Parents		Self-employed or manager	White-collar	Blue-collar	Total
No more than once a month	Count	36	184	216	436
	%	36,70%	46,10%	54,00%	48,60%
Several times a month	Count	19	64	67	150
	%	19,40%	16,00%	16,80%	16,70%
At least once a week	Count	43	151	117	311
	%	43,90%	37,80%	29,30%	34,70%
Total	Count	98	399	400	897
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%
Panel B: Adolescents					
No more than once a month	Count	42	198	246	486
	%	42,90%	49,60%	61,50%	54,20%
Several times a month	Count	18	61	63	142
	%	18,40%	15,30%	15,80%	15,80%
At least once a week	Count	38	140	91	269
	%	38,80%	35,10%	22,80%	30,00%
Total	Count	98	399	400	897
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

Parents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 13,218 (df = 4), p-value = 0.010.
Adolescents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 21,249 (df = 4), p-value = 0.000

Table 18. Distribution of frequencies of playing together according to type of household – Parental responses

		Two parents families	Single parent families	Total
No more than once a month	Count	379	38	417
	%	48,50%	52,80%	48,90%
Several times a month	Count	139	3	142
	%	17,80%	4,20%	16,60%
At least once a week	Count	263	31	294
	%	33,70%	43,10%	34,50%
Total	Count	781	72	853
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 9,285 (df = 2), p-value = 0.010.

Table 19. Distribution of frequencies of playing together according to parent's gender – Parental responses

	Father	Mother	Total
Never	23,20%	22,20%	22,60%
Once a month	35,00%	28,90%	31,60%
Several times a month	15,30%	15,20%	15,20%
Once a week	13,00%	14,80%	14,00%
Several times a week	9,30%	15,90%	13,00%
Daily	4,20%	3,00%	3,50%
Total	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 12,722 (df = 5), p-value = 0.026.

Table 20. Distribution of frequencies of playing digital games together according to type of settlement

	Budapest	County center	Town	Village	Total
Never	54,40%	42,50%	31,40%	45,80%	41,50%
Once a month	19,90%	26,10%	26,70%	33,00%	27,70%
Several times a month	8,10%	15,00%	15,70%	10,80%	12,80%
Once a week	10,30%	5,20%	12,30%	6,10%	8,70%
Several times a week	6,60%	7,80%	10,70%	4,00%	7,40%
Daily	0,70%	3,30%	3,10%	0,30%	1,90%
Total	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 54,664 (df = 15), p-value = 0.000.

Table 21. Distribution of frequencies of playing digital games together according to parent's gender – parental responses

	Father	Mother	Total
Never	40,30%	42,70%	41,60%
Once a month	30,70%	25,30%	27,70%
Several times a month	14,00%	11,70%	12,80%
Once a week	5,20%	11,50%	8,70%
Several times a week	8,60%	6,30%	7,30%
Daily	1,20%	2,40%	1,90%
Total	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 17,401 (df = 5), p-value = 0.004.

Table 22. Distribution of frequencies of playing digital games together according to subjective material status

Panel A: Parents	Poor	Average	Well-off	Total
no more than once a month	83,30%	73,00%	66,10%	69,20%
several times a month	4,80%	9,30%	15,60%	13,00%
at least once a week	11,90%	17,70%	18,30%	17,80%
Total	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%
Panel B: Adolescents				
no more than once a month	76,20%	74,70%	67,10%	70,10%
several times a month	11,90%	8,00%	15,10%	12,50%
at least once a week	11,90%	17,30%	17,80%	17,40%
Total	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

Parents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 11,673 (df = 4), p-value = 0.020.
Adolescents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 10,340 (df = 4), p-value = 0.035.

Table 23. Distribution of frequencies of playing digital games together according to parent's type of occupation

Panel A: Parents	Self-employed or manager	White-collar	Blue-collar	Total
no more than once a month	58,40%	67,40%	75,90%	69,10%
several times a month	19,50%	12,00%	10,80%	12,80%
at least once a week	22,10%	20,60%	13,40%	18,10%
Total	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%
Panel B: Adolescents				
no more than once a month	63,60%	66,40%	77,30%	70,10%
several times a month	16,20%	14,30%	8,70%	12,50%
at least once a week	20,10%	19,30%	14,00%	17,40%
Total	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

Parents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 18,577 (df = 4), p-value = 0.001.
Adolescents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 14,760 (df = 4), p-value = 0.005.

Table 24. Distribution of frequencies of playing digital games together according to parent's educational level

Panel A: Parents	Primary	Low sec./ vocational	High sec.	Tertiary	Total
Never	55,90%	43,00%	40,60%	42,00%	43,10%
Once a month	22,60%	25,50%	29,10%	26,50%	26,70%
Several times a month	4,30%	11,00%	14,90%	12,30%	12,10%
Once a week	4,30%	9,30%	7,30%	13,60%	8,80%
Several times a week	11,80%	8,50%	6,00%	5,60%	7,40%
Daily	1,10%	2,70%	2,10%	0	1,90%
Total	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%
Panel B: Adolescents					
Never	55,90%	47,50%	38,70%	37,70%	43,40%
Once a month	21,50%	22,00%	31,70%	32,10%	27,30%
Several times a month	2,20%	10,20%	13,60%	18,50%	12,10%
Once a week	8,60%	8,00%	7,30%	7,40%	7,70%
Several times a week	9,70%	10,20%	5,50%	3,10%	7,20%
Daily	2,20%	2,20%	3,10%	1,20%	2,40%
Total	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

Parents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 30,395 (df = 15), p-value = 0.011.
Adolescents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 44,585 (df = 15), p-value = 0.000.

Table 25. Distribution of frequencies of attending cultural events according to type of settlement

Panel A: Parents		Budapest	County center	Town	Village	Total
No more than once a month	Count	81	96	207	218	602
	%	59,60%	63,20%	65,30%	73,40%	66,70%
Several times a month	Count	39	37	61	62	199
	%	28,70%	24,30%	19,20%	20,90%	22,10%
At least once a week	Count	16	19	49	17	101
	%	11,80%	12,50%	15,50%	5,70%	11,20%
Total	Count	136	152	317	297	902
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%
Panel B: Adolescents						
No more than once a month	Count	71	98	197	216	582
	%	52,20%	64,50%	62,10%	72,70%	64,50%
Several times a month	Count	47	35	64	65	211
	%	34,60%	23,00%	20,20%	21,90%	23,40%
At least once a week	Count	18	19	56	16	109
	%	13,20%	12,50%	17,70%	5,40%	12,10%
Total	Count	136	152	317	297	902
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

Parents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 21,156 (df = 6), p-value = 0.002.
Adolescents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 34,876 (df = 6), p-value = 0.000

Table 26. Distribution of frequencies of attending cultural events according to subjective materal status

Panel A: Parents		Poor	Average	Well-off	Total
No more than once a month	Count	334	219	40	593
	%	61,40%	73,00%	95,20%	66,90%
Several times a month	Count	148	44	1	193
	%	27,20%	14,70%	2,40%	21,80%
At least once a week	Count	62	37	1	100
	%	11,40%	12,30%	2,40%	11,30%
Total	Count	544	300	42	886
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%
Panel B: Adolescents					
No more than once a month	Count	324	210	38	572
	%	59,40%	70,00%	90,50%	64,50%
Several times a month	Count	156	49	3	208
	%	28,60%	16,30%	7,10%	23,40%
At least once a week	Count	65	41	1	107
	%	11,90%	13,70%	2,40%	12,10%
Total	Count	545	300	42	887
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

Parents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 33,993 (df = 4), p-value = 0.000.
Adolescents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 29,333 (df = 4), p-value = 0.000

Table 27. Distribution of frequencies of attending cultural events according to parent's educational level

Panel A: Parents		Primary	Low sec./ vocational	High sec.	Tertiary	Total
No more than once a month	Count	45	239	238	79	601
	%	86,50%	71,30%	65,00%	53,40%	66,70%
Several times a month	Count	5	53	86	55	199
	%	9,60%	15,80%	23,50%	37,20%	22,10%
At least once a week	Count	2	43	42	14	101
	%	3,80%	12,80%	11,50%	9,50%	11,20%
Total	Count	52	335	366	148	901
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%
Panel B: Adolescents						
No more than once a month	Count	41	240	230	71	582
	%	78,80%	71,40%	62,80%	47,70%	64,50%
Several times a month	Count	6	49	94	62	211
	%	11,50%	14,60%	25,70%	41,60%	23,40%
At least once a week	Count	5	47	42	16	110
	%	9,60%	14,00%	11,50%	10,70%	12,20%
Total	Count	52	336	366	149	903
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

Parents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 37,150 (df = 6), p-value = 0.000.
Adolescents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 48,739 (df = 6), p-value = 0.000

Table 28. Distribution of frequencies of attending cultural events according to parent's type of occupation

Panel A: Parents		Self-employed or manager	White-collar	Blue-collar	Total
No more than once a month	Count	48	241	309	598
	%	49,50%	60,40%	77,10%	66,70%
Several times a month	Count	34	105	59	198
	%	35,10%	26,30%	14,70%	22,10%
At least once a week	Count	15	53	33	101
	%	15,50%	13,30%	8,20%	11,30%
Total	Count	97	399	401	897
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%
Panel B: Adolescents					
No more than once a month	Count	43	230	303	576
	%	44,30%	57,60%	75,80%	64,30%
Several times a month	Count	37	118	56	211
	%	38,10%	29,60%	14,00%	23,50%
At least once a week	Count	17	51	41	109
	%	17,50%	12,80%	10,30%	12,20%
Total	Count	97	399	400	896
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

Parents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 39,879 (df = 4), p-value = 0.000.
Adolescents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 50,960 (df = 4), p-value = 0.000

Table 29. Distribution of frequencies of doing sport or hiking according to the type of settlement

Panel A: Parents		Budapest	County center	Town	Village	Total
No more than once a month	Count	73	82	182	185	522
	%	53,70%	53,90%	57,20%	62,10%	57,70%
Several times a month	Count	40	38	70	85	233
	%	29,40%	25,00%	22,00%	28,50%	25,80%
At least once a week	Count	23	32	66	28	149
	%	16,90%	21,10%	20,80%	9,40%	16,50%
Total	Count	136	152	318	298	904
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%
Panel B: Adolescents						
No more than once a month	Count	72	84	182	200	538
	%	52,90%	54,90%	57,20%	67,30%	59,50%
Several times a month	Count	39	38	67	67	211
	%	28,70%	24,80%	21,10%	22,60%	23,30%
At least once a week	Count	25	31	69	30	155
	%	18,40%	20,30%	21,70%	10,10%	17,10%
Total	Count	136	153	318	297	904
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

Parents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 19,650 (df = 6), p-value = 0.003
Adolescents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 20,883 (df = 6), p-value = 0.002

Table 30. Distribution of frequencies of doing sport or hiking according to subjective material status

Panel A: Parents		Poor	Average	Well-off	Total
No more than once a month	Count	288	193	32	513
	%	52,90%	64,50%	76,20%	58,00%
Several times a month	Count	163	55	8	226
	%	30,00%	18,40%	19,00%	25,50%
At least once a week	Count	93	51	2	146
	%	17,10%	17,10%	4,80%	16,50%
Total	Count	544	299	42	885
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%
Panel B: Adolescents					
No more than once a month	Count	295	202	30	527
	%	54,10%	67,30%	71,40%	59,40%
Several times a month	Count	148	55	6	209
	%	27,20%	18,30%	14,30%	23,60%
At least once a week	Count	102	43	6	151
	%	18,70%	14,30%	14,30%	17,00%
Total	Count	545	300	42	887
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

Parents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 21,531 (df = 4), p-value = 0.000
Adolescents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 17,129 (df = 4), p-value = 0.002

Table 31. Distribution of frequencies of doing sport or hiking according to parent's educational level

Panel A: Parents		Primary	Low sec./ vocational	High sec.	Tertiary	Total
No more than once a month	Count	44	207	201	69	521
	%	84,60%	61,80%	54,90%	46,30%	57,80%
Several times a month	Count	4	69	107	52	232
	%	7,70%	20,60%	29,20%	34,90%	25,70%
At least once a week	Count	4	59	58	28	149
	%	7,70%	17,60%	15,80%	18,80%	16,50%
Total	Count	52	335	366	149	902
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%
Panel B: Adolescents						
No more than once a month	Count	39	218	214	67	538
	%	75,00%	65,10%	58,50%	45,00%	59,60%
Several times a month	Count	7	56	95	51	209
	%	13,50%	16,70%	26,00%	34,20%	23,20%
At least once a week	Count	6	61	57	31	155
	%	11,50%	18,20%	15,60%	20,80%	17,20%
Total	Count	52	335	366	149	902
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

Parents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 31,219 (df = 6), p-value = 0.000
Adolescents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 29,264 (df = 6), p-value = 0.000

Table 32. Distribution of frequencies of doing sport or hiking according to parent's type of occupation

Panel A: Parents		Self-employed or manager	White-collar	Blue-collar	Total
No more than once a month	Count	45	206	267	518
	%	45,90%	51,60%	66,60%	57,70%
Several times a month	Count	32	114	85	231
	%	32,70%	28,60%	21,20%	25,70%
At least once a week	Count	21	79	49	149
	%	21,40%	19,80%	12,20%	16,60%
Total	Count	98	399	401	898
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%
Panel B: Adolescents					
No more than once a month	Count	47	204	282	533
	%	48,50%	51,10%	70,50%	59,50%
Several times a month	Count	28	114	67	209
	%	28,90%	28,60%	16,80%	23,30%
At least once a week	Count	22	81	51	154
	%	22,70%	20,30%	12,80%	17,20%
Total	Count	97	399	400	896
	%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

Parents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 25,151(df = 4), p-value = 0.000
Adolescents: For the chi-squared test of independence, the test statistic is 36,761 (df = 4), p-value = 0.000

3 Quantity time

Table 1. Estimated amount of parental time (min) on a typical weekday – bivariate associations

	Mean		ANOVA F-test statistic /Pearson'R		p-value	
	A*	P**	A	P	A	P
Parents' gender	-	-	12,403	25,841	0.000	0.000
Father	200,88	211,59				
Mother	225,93	252,31				
Type of settlement	-	-	10,217	3,014	0.000	0.029
Budapest	197,19	225,98				
County center	184,31	211,58				
Town	236,80	245,90				
Village	214,58	236,34				
Age of child			-,155	-,124	0.000	0.000

*Adolescents; **Parents

Table 2. Estimated amount of parental time (min) on atypical weekend day – bivariate associations

	Mean		ANOVA F-test statistic /Pearson'R		p-value	
	A*	P**	A	P	A	P
Parents' gender	-	-	14,758	19,899	0.000	0.000
Father	395,14	433,28				
Mother	456,734	505,85				
Age of child			-,157	-,149	0.000	0.000

*Adolescents; **Parents

4 Active mediation & Restriction

Figure 1. Do you restrict access to digital devices as a form of punishment?
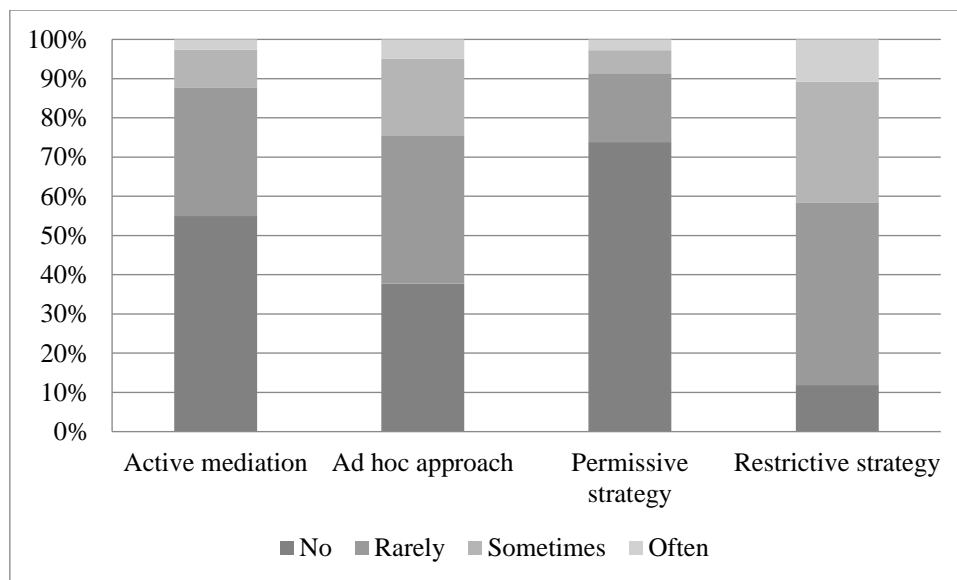
Figure 2. How closely do you follow the use of technology of your child?
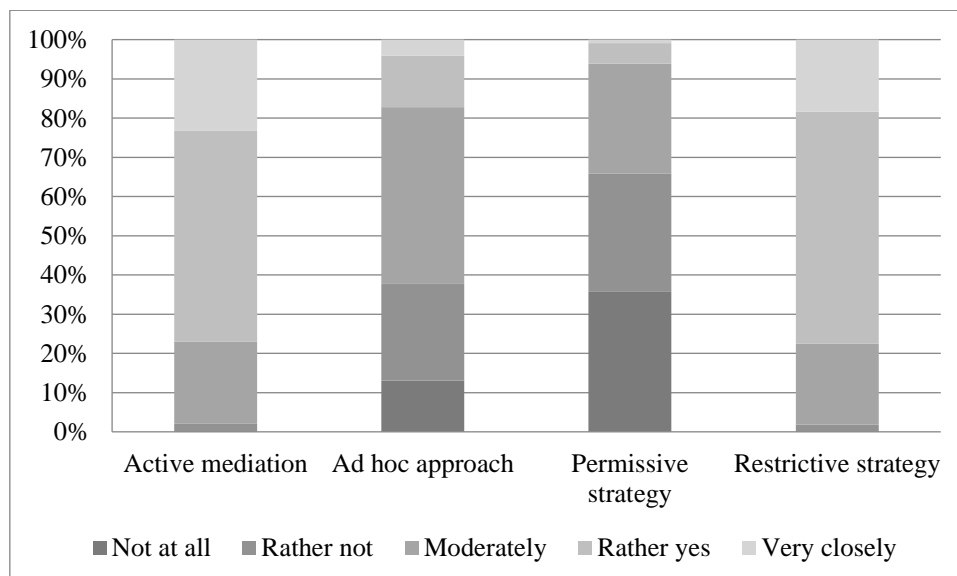
Figure 3. Do you check what your child uses their digital devices for?
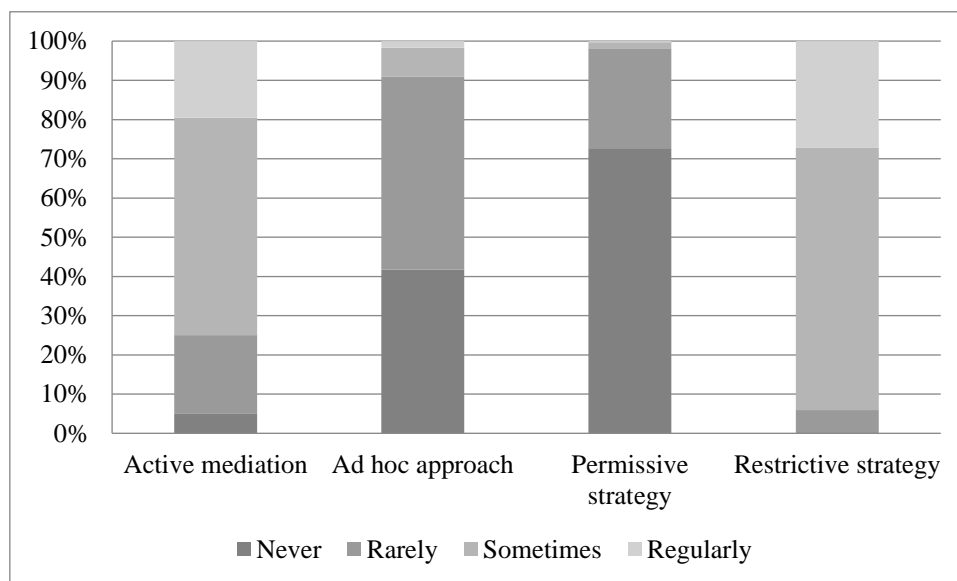
Figure 4. Do you read the messages your child sends/receives?
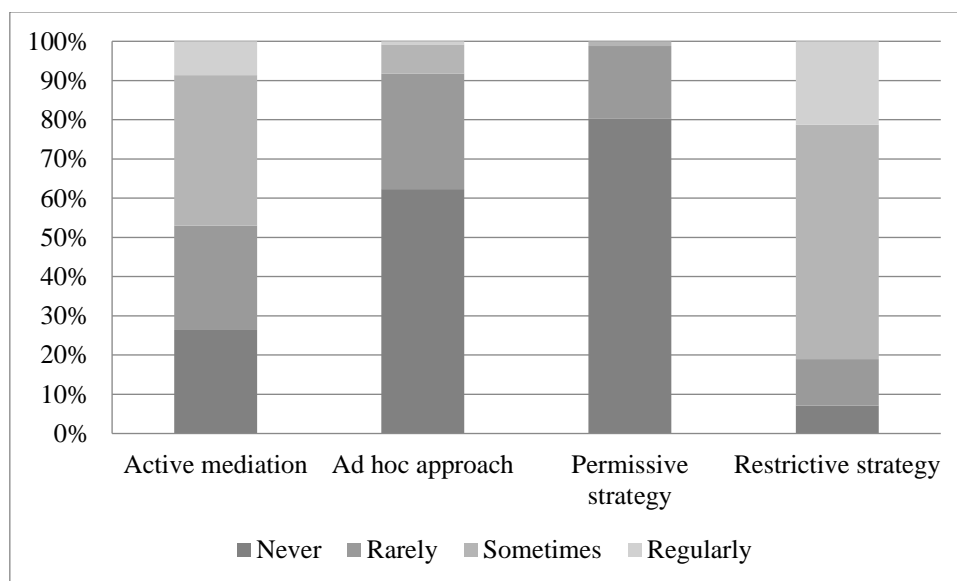
Figure 5. How often do you quarrel with your child over the use of digital devices?
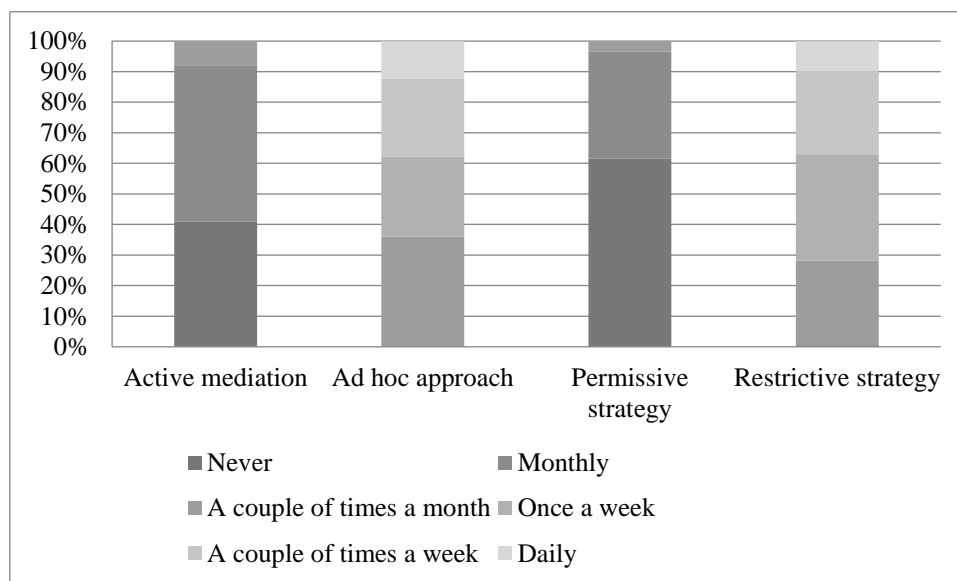
Figure 6. How often do you discuss the appropriate use of digital devices with your child?
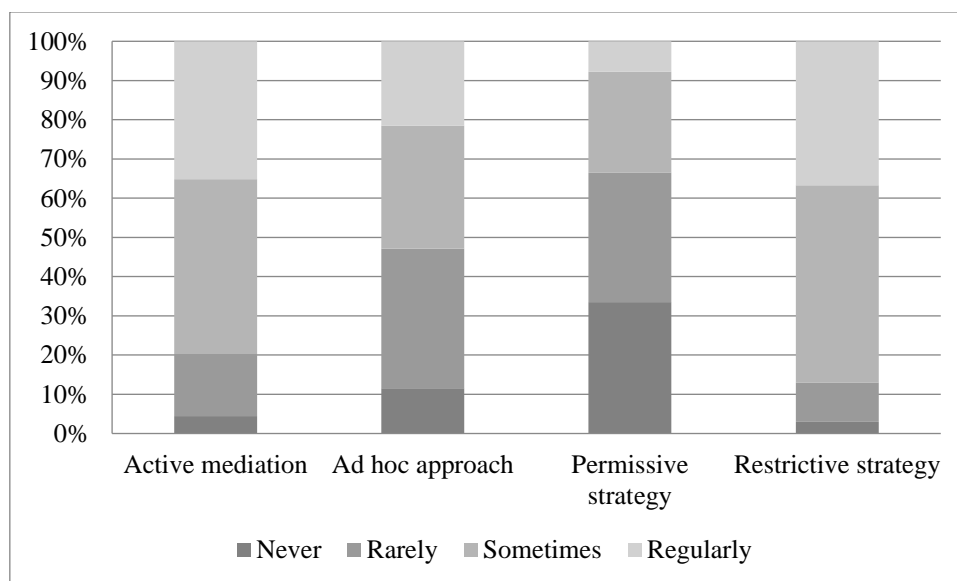
Table 1. Distribution of parental mediation strategies

Strategy	N	%
Active mediation	**349**	**38.7%**
Ad hoc approach	111	12.3%
Permissive strategy	292	32.4%
Restrictive strategy	**150**	**16.6%**

Table 2. Active mediation – bivariate associations

	Mean/ Distribution of frequencies		Std Dev.		ANOVA F-test statistic /Pearson'R	p-value
	Active mediation	Other parents				
Gender of child					7,711	0.005
Boy	33,40%	66,60%				
Girl	42,60%	57,40%				
Subjective material status					13,083	0.004
1 Poor	26,20%	73,80%				
2	31,70%	68,30%				
3	42,50%	57,50%				
4 Well-off	45,20%	54,80%				
Educational level					13,656	0.003
Primary	19,20%	80,80%				
Low sec. / vocational	35,50%	64,50%				
High sec.	42,10%	57,90%				
Tertiary	44,60%	55,40%				
Type of occupation					6,302	0.043
Blue-collar	34,50%	65,50%				
White-collar	41,40%	58,60%				
Self-employed or manager	45,90%	54,10%				
Age of child	13,93	14,27	1,476	1,511	11,121	0.001

Table 3.Restriction – bivariate associations

	Mean/ Distribution of frequencies		Std Dev.		ANOVA F-test statistic	p-value
	Restrictive parents	Other parents	R. p.	O. p.		
Gender of parent					5,673	0.017
Father	13,30%	86,70%				
Mother	19,20%	80,80%				
Type of occupation					7,214	0.027
Blue-collar	14,50%	85,50%				
White-collar	20,30%	79,70%				
Self-employed or manager	11,20%	88,80%				
Age of child	13,45	14,27	1,384	1,492	39,034	0.000

5 Model1

Table 1. Variables in the multivariate analyses

focus	Focused time
kat_enrich2	Average enrichment time
kat_enrich3	Too much enrichment time
Strat_1	Active mediation
Strat_4	Restrictive mediation
A1log	Amount of time (weekday)
A2log	Amount of time (weekend)
father	Gender of parent (Father=1)
boy	Gender of child (boy=1)
S6_age	Age of child (12-16)
S142	Parental education: Low sec./ vocational
S143	Parental education: High sec.
S144	Parental education: Tertiary
S12_rec2	Subjective material status: 2
S12_rec3	Subjective material status: 3
S12_rec4	Subjective material status: 4
one-parent	One-parent families
S9	Number of children
S22	Type of settlement: county centre
S23	Type of settlement: town
S24	Type of settlement: village

Model 1.1

factor	AME	SE	z	p	lower	upper
focus	0.1538	0.0312	4.9307	0.0000	0.0927	0.2150
kat_enrich2	0.0345	0.0379	0.9120	0.3617	-0.0397	0.1088
kat_enrich3	-0.0519	0.0458	-1.1348	0.2564	-0.1416	0.0378
Strat_1	0.1257	0.0361	3.4820	0.0005	0.0549	0.1965
Strat_4	0.0944	0.0493	1.9144	0.0556	-0.0022	0.1911

Model 1.2

factor	AME	SE	z	p	lower	upper
A1log	-0.0389	0.0369	-1.0546	0.2916	-0.1113	0.0334
A2log	0.0849	0.0347	2.4474	0.0144	0.0169	0.1528
focus	0.1594	0.0312	5.1036	0.0000	0.0982	0.2206
kat_enrich2	0.0237	0.0380	0.6224	0.5337	-0.0509	0.0982
kat_enrich3	-0.0606	0.0458	-1.3219	0.1862	-0.1504	0.0292
Strat_1	0.1209	0.0365	3.3102	0.0009	0.0493	0.1925
Strat_4	0.0932	0.0492	1.8926	0.0584	-0.0033	0.1897

Model 1.3

factor	AME	SE	z	p	lower	upper
A1log	-0.0445	0.0390	-1.1429	0.2531	-0.1209	0.0318
A2log	0.0670	0.0360	1.8602	0.0629	-0.0036	0.1376
boy	-0.0145	0.0338	-0.4282	0.6685	-0.0808	0.0518
one-parent	0.0580	0.0615	0.9430	0.3457	-0.0625	0.1785
father	-0.1114	0.0345	-3.2241	0.0013	-0.1791	-0.0437
focus	0.1577	0.0329	4.7993	0.0000	0.0933	0.2221
kat_enrich2	0.0129	0.0396	0.3252	0.7450	-0.0647	0.0905
kat_enrich3	-0.1049	0.0470	-2.2352	0.0254	-0.1970	-0.0129
S12_rec2	-0.0274	0.0834	-0.3290	0.7422	-0.1910	0.1361
S12_rec3	0.0732	0.0847	0.8638	0.3877	-0.0928	0.2391
S12_rec4	0.2189	0.1053	2.0793	0.0376	0.0126	0.4251
S142 -	0.0366	0.0750	-0.4884	0.6252	-0.1837	0.1104
S143	0.0083	0.0765	0.1089	0.9133	-0.1417	0.1583
S144	0.0207	0.0845	0.2454	0.8061	-0.1449	0.1864
S22	0.0053	0.0575	0.0921	0.9266	-0.1074	0.1180
S23	-0.0106	0.0526	-0.2008	0.8408	-0.1136	0.0925
S24	0.0093	0.0519	0.1783	0.8585	-0.0925	0.1110
S6_age	-0.0234	0.0116	-2.0161	0.0438	-0.0462	-0.0007
S9	0.0408	0.0203	2.0055	0.0449	0.0009	0.0806
Strat_1	0.0940	0.0382	2.4593	0.0139	0.0191	0.1689
Strat_4	0.0422	0.0514	0.8209	0.4117	-0.0586	0.1430

6 Model2

Model 2.1 - Mother

factor	AME	se	z	p	lower	upper
focus	0.1093	0.0452	2.4181	0.0156	0.0207	0.1978
kat_enrich2	0.0180	0.0532	0.3391	0.7345	-0.0862	0.1223
kat_enrich3	-0.1107	0.0598	-1.8522	0.0640	-0.2278	0.0064
Strat_1	0.1966	0.0488	4.0271	0.0001	0.1009	0.2923
Strat_4	0.0995	0.0652	1.5260	0.1270	-0.0283	0.2273

Model 2.2 -Mother

factor	AME	SE	z	p	lower	upper
A1log	-0.1716	0.0548	-3.1329	0.0017	-0.2789	-0.0642
A2log	0.1953	0.0473	4.1324	0.0000	0.1027	0.2880
focus	0.1164	0.0445	2.6167	0.0089	0.0292	0.2036
kat_enrich2	0.0031	0.0524	0.0597	0.9524	-0.0996	0.1059
kat_enrich3	-0.1162	0.0591	-1.9670	0.0492	-0.2319	-0.0004
Strat_1	0.1926	0.0486	3.9594	0.0001	0.0972	0.2879
Strat_4	0.0985	0.0645	1.5274	0.1267	-0.0279	0.2248

Model 2.3 - Mother

factor	AME	SE	z	p	lower	upper
A1log	-0.1587	0.0570	-2.7844	0.0054	-0.2704	-0.0470
A2log	0.1792	0.0490	3.6598	0.0003	0.0832	0.2752
boy	0.0264	0.0469	0.5637	0.5729	-0.0655	0.1184
one-parent	0.0480	0.0698	0.6870	0.4921	-0.0888	0.1847
focus	0.1069	0.0468	2.2848	0.0223	0.0152	0.1987
kat_enrich2	-0.0172	0.0549	-0.3136	0.7538	-0.1249	0.0904
kat_enrich3	-0.1653	0.0623	-2.6550	0.0079	-0.2874	-0.0433
S12_rec2	0.0690	0.1049	0.6574	0.5110	-0.1367	0.2746
S12_rec3	0.1537	0.1063	1.4457	0.1483	-0.0547	0.3622
S12_rec4	0.2453	0.1379	1.7789	0.0753	-0.0250	0.5155
S142	-0.1246	0.1006	-1.2386	0.2155	-0.3218	0.0726
S143	-0.0718	0.0997	-0.7195	0.4718	-0.2672	0.1237
S144	-0.0818	0.1110	-0.7376	0.4608	-0.2993	0.1356
S22	-0.1032	0.0777	-1.3286	0.1840	-0.2554	0.0490
S23	-0.0617	0.0706	-0.8740	0.3821	-0.2002	0.0767
S24	-0.0302	0.0724	-0.4163	0.6772	-0.1721	0.1118
S6_age	-0.0182	0.0163	-1.1116	0.2663	-0.0502	0.0139
S9	0.0025	0.0246	0.1007	0.9198	-0.0456	0.0506
Strat_1	0.1877	0.0520	3.6136	0.0003	0.0859	0.2896
Strat_4	0.0674	0.0670	1.0056	0.3146	-0.0640	0.1987

Model 2.1 - Father

factor	AME	SE	z	p	lower	upper
focus	0.2324	0.0419	5.5440	0.0000	0.1502	0.3146
kat_enrich2	0.0747	0.0520	1.4364	0.1509	-0.0272	0.1765
kat_enrich3	0.0261	0.0702	0.3721	0.7098	-0.1115	0.1638
Strat_1	0.0391	0.0515	0.7592	0.4477	-0.0618	0.1400
Strat_4	0.0806	0.0734	1.0982	0.2721	-0.0633	0.2246

Model 2.2 - Father

factor	AME	SE	z	p	lower	upper
A1log	0.0346	0.0517	0.6689	0.5036	-0.0668	0.1360
A2log	-0.0434	0.0515	-0.8431	0.3991	-0.1444	0.0576
focus	0.2245	0.0424	5.2932	0.0000	0.1414	0.3076
kat_enrich2	0.0848	0.0531	1.5978	0.1101	-0.0192	0.1888
kat_enrich3	0.0341	0.0714	0.4781	0.6326	-0.1058	0.1741
Strat_1	0.0438	0.0522	0.8401	0.4009	-0.0584	0.1461
Strat_4	0.0840	0.0734	1.1447	0.2523	-0.0598	0.2278

Model 2.3 - Father

factor	AME	SE	z	p	lower	upper
A1log	0.0658	0.0551	1.1948	0.2322	-0.0421	0.1737
A2log	-0.0844	0.0541	-1.5607	0.1186	-0.1903	0.0216
boy	-0.0580	0.0468	-1.2394	0.2152	-0.1497	0.0337
one-parent	-0.0236	0.1623	-0.1453	0.8844	-0.3418	0.2946
focus	0.2023	0.0443	4.5689	0.0000	0.1155	0.2890
kat_enrich2	0.0560	0.0551	1.0157	0.3097	-0.0520	0.1640
kat_enrich3	0.0020	0.0721	0.0281	0.9776	-0.1393	0.1434
S12_rec2	-0.1004	0.1231	-0.8156	0.4147	-0.3417	0.1409
S12_rec3	0.0146	0.1251	0.1166	0.9072	-0.2306	0.2598
S12_rec4	0.1843	0.1527	1.2073	0.2273	-0.1149	0.4836
S142	0.1141	0.0897	1.2725	0.2032	-0.0617	0.2899
S143	0.1554	0.0973	1.5964	0.1104	-0.0354	0.3461
S144	0.1896	0.1098	1.7274	0.0841	-0.0255	0.4048
S22	0.1427	0.0802	1.7790	0.0752	-0.0145	0.2998
S23	0.0665	0.0751	0.8859	0.3756	-0.0807	0.2138
S24	0.0688	0.0694	0.9904	0.3220	-0.0673	0.2049
S6_age	-0.0269	0.0162	-1.6596	0.0970	-0.0587	0.0049
S9	0.1196	0.0290	4.1182	0.0000	0.0627	0.1765
Strat_1	-0.0157	0.0546	-0.2884	0.7730	-0.1227	0.0912
Strat_4	0.0370	0.0772	0.4798	0.6314	-0.1142	0.1883

7 Model 3

Model 3.1 – White-collar

factor	AME	SE	z	p	lower	upper
focus	0.1669	0.0388	4.3041	0.0000	0.0909	0.2430
kat_enrich2	0.0118	0.0510	0.2314	0.8170	-0.0882	0.1118
kat_enrich3	-0.0815	0.0558	-1.4608	0.1441	-0.1909	0.0279
Strat_1	0.1570	0.0467	3.3587	0.0008	0.0654	0.2485
Strat_4	0.0908	0.0640	1.4185	0.1560	-0.0347	0.2163

Model 3.2 – White-collar

factor	AME	SE	z	p	lower	upper
A1log	-0.0256	0.0496	-0.5157	0.6061	-0.1229	0.0717
A2log	-0.0686	0.0444	-1.5447	0.1224	-0.1557	0.0185
focus	0.1627	0.0388	4.1929	0.0000	0.0866	0.2388
kat_enrich2	0.0240	0.0507	0.4733	0.6360	-0.0754	0.1234
kat_enrich3	-0.0637	0.0561	-1.1359	0.2560	-0.1737	0.0462
Strat_1	0.1796	0.0472	3.8052	0.0001	0.0871	0.2721
Strat_4	0.1063	0.0639	1.6643	0.0961	-0.0189	0.2315

Model 3.3 – White-collar

factor	AME	SE	z	p	lower	upper
A1log	-0.0029	0.0550	-0.0521	0.9585	-0.1107	0.1050
A2log	-0.0958	0.0486	-1.9729	0.0485	-0.1910	-0.0006
boy	0.0113	0.0436	0.2593	0.7954	-0.0741	0.0966
one-parent	0.1338	0.0724	1.8487	0.0645	-0.0081	0.2757
father	-0.0388	0.0448	-0.8673	0.3858	-0.1266	0.0489
focus	0.1443	0.0418	3.4546	0.0006	0.0624	0.2262
kat_enrich2	-0.0040	0.0543	-0.0731	0.9417	-0.1104	0.1024
kat_enrich3	-0.1040	0.0598	-1.7384	0.0821	-0.2213	0.0133
S12_rec2	-0.1366	0.1574	-0.8679	0.3855	-0.4450	0.1719
S12_rec3	0.0117	0.1583	0.0737	0.9412	-0.2987	0.3220
S12_rec4	0.1360	0.1713	0.7938	0.4273	-0.1998	0.4717
S142	0.1122	0.1328	0.8449	0.3982	-0.1481	0.3724
S143	0.1936	0.1273	1.5204	0.1284	-0.0560	0.4432
S144	0.1966	0.1292	1.5213	0.1282	-0.0567	0.4498
S22	0.0026	0.0627	0.0419	0.9666	-0.1203	0.1256
S23	-0.0331	0.0621	-0.5335	0.5937	-0.1549	0.0886
S24	-0.0185	0.0605	-0.3052	0.7602	-0.1369	0.1000
S6_age	-0.0054	0.0146	-0.3693	0.7119	-0.0340	0.0232
S9	0.0219	0.0302	0.7270	0.4672	-0.0372	0.0811
Strat_1	0.1648	0.0499	3.3040	0.0010	0.0670	0.2625
Strat_4	0.1140	0.0674	1.6932	0.0904	-0.0180	0.2461

Model 3.1 – Blue-collar

factor	AME	SE	z	p	lower	upper
focus	0.1141	0.0482	2.3683	0.0179	0.0197	0.2086
kat_enrich2	-0.0030	0.0546	-0.0556	0.9557	-0.1100	0.1039
kat_enrich3	-0.1214	0.0714	-1.6999	0.0891	-0.2614	0.0186
Strat_1	0.0566	0.0539	1.0511	0.2932	-0.0490	0.1622
Strat_4	0.0971	0.0749	1.2971	0.1946	-0.0496	0.2438

Model 3.2 – Blue-collar

factor	AME	SE	z	p	lower	upper
A1log	-0.0235	0.0530	-0.4428	0.6579	-0.1274	0.0804
A2log	0.1723	0.0509	3.3837	0.0007	0.0725	0.2721
focus	0.1285	0.0478	2.6849	0.0073	0.0347	0.2222
kat_enrich2	-0.0305	0.0538	-0.5663	0.5712	-0.1359	0.0750
kat_enrich3	-0.1403	0.0701	-2.0013	0.0454	-0.2777	-0.0029
Strat_1	0.0433	0.0536	0.8085	0.4188	-0.0617	0.1484
Strat_4	0.1065	0.0737	1.4454	0.1483	-0.0379	0.2509

Model 3.3 – Blue-collar

factor	AME	SE	z	p	lower	upper
A1log	-0.0335	0.0533	-0.6285	0.5297	-0.1380	0.0710
A2log	0.1308	0.0507	2.5809	0.0099	0.0315	0.2302
boy	-0.0600	0.0502	-1.1968	0.2314	-0.1584	0.0383
one-parent	-0.0400	0.1015	-0.3941	0.6935	-0.2389	0.1589
father	-0.0859	0.0522	-1.6465	0.0997	-0.1881	0.0163
focus	0.1286	0.0502	2.5620	0.0104	0.0302	0.2271
kat_enrich2	-0.0372	0.0556	-0.6684	0.5039	-0.1462	0.0718
kat_enrich3	-0.1773	0.0696	-2.5470	0.0109	-0.3138	-0.0409
S12_rec2	0.0518	0.0955	0.5425	0.5875	-0.1354	0.2390
S12_rec3	0.0921	0.0980	0.9400	0.3472	-0.0999	0.2842
S12_rec4	0.3189	0.2002	1.5925	0.1113	-0.0736	0.7113
S142	-0.0629	0.0837	-0.7524	0.4518	-0.2269	0.1010
S143	0.0367	0.0935	0.3930	0.6943	-0.1465	0.2199
S144	0.1825	0.2875	0.6348	0.5256	-0.3811	0.7461
S22	-0.1287	0.1164	-1.1052	0.2691	-0.3568	0.0995
S23	-0.1039	0.1039	-1.0006	0.3170	-0.3075	0.0996
S24	-0.0500	0.1037	-0.4818	0.6299	-0.2532	0.1533
S6_age	-0.0330	0.0174	-1.8948	0.0581	-0.0672	0.0011
S9	0.0303	0.0246	1.2317	0.2181	-0.0179	0.0785
Strat_1	0.0128	0.0557	0.2298	0.8182	-0.0964	0.1220
Strat_4	0.0491	0.0774	0.6345	0.5258	-0.1025	0.2007

8 Model4

Model 4.1

Panel A: Parents	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Focused time	.6888497	.139612	4.93	0.000	.4152153	.9624841
Average enrich.	.3087791	.1542435	2.00	0.045	.0064675	.6110908
Too much enrich.	-.0278848	.1927249	-0.14	0.885	-.4056187	.3498491
_cons	-.810656	.1263009	-6.42	0.000	-1.058201	-.5631107
Panel B: Adolescents						
Focused time	1.096343	.143717	7.63	0.000	.8146629	1.378023
Average enrich.	.2239683	.1631838	1.37	0.170	-.0958661	.5438027
Too much enrich.	.3081358	.1894483	1.63	0.104	-.063176	.6794476
_cons	-1.119981	.1289422	-8.69	0.000	-1.372703	-.8672584

	Parents		Adolescents		Difference	
	AME	p-value (Std. Err.)	AME	p-value (Std. Err.)	AME	p-value (Std. Err.)
Focused time	0.17	0.000 (0.03)	0.26	0.000 (0.03)	-0.09	0.06 (0.05)
Average enrich.	0.07	0.05 (0.04)	0.05	0.17 (0.04)	0.02	0.61 (0.05)
Too much enrich.	-0.01	0.89 (0.04)	0.07	0.11 (0.04)	-0.08	0.16 (0.05)

Model 4.2

Panel A: Parents	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Focused time	.7201347	.1415278	5.09	0.000	.4427452	.9975241
Average enrich.	.2558513	.1577459	1.62	0.105	-.053325	.5650277
Too much enrich.	-.0796619	.1952304	-0.41	0.683	-.4623065	.3029826
Weekday parental time	-.1440781	.1581686	-0.91	0.362	-.4540828	.1659267
Weekend parental time	.3808732	.1519593	2.51	0.012	.0830385	.6787079
_cons	-2.316315	.7714435	-3.00	0.003	-3.828317	-.8043136
Panel B: Adolescents						
Focused time	1.086053	.1442292	7.53	0.000	.8033695	1.368737
Average enrich.	.2155773	.1656815	1.30	0.193	-.1091526	.5403071
Too much enrich.	.2963214	.1920292	1.54	0.123	-.0800489	.6726917
Weekday parental time	.0061216	.166971	0.04	0.971	-.3211356	.3333787
Weekend parental time	.1212603	.151242	0.80	0.423	-.1751687	.4176892
_cons	-1.874368	.7344529	-2.55	0.011	-3.313869	-.4348668

	Parents		Adolescents		Difference	
	AME	p-value (Std-Err.)	AME	p-value (Std-Err.)	AME	p-value (Std-Err.)
Focused time	0.17	0.000 (0.03)	0.25	0.000 (0.03)	-0.08	0.05 (0.04)
Average enrich.	0.06	0.11 (0.04)	0.05	0.2 (0.04)	0.01	0.8 (0.05)
Too much enrich.	-0.02	0.68 (0.04)	0.07	0.13 (0.04)	-0.08	0.13 (0.06)
Weekday parental time	-0.02	0.36 (0.02)	0.00	0.97 (0.02)	-0.02	0.48 (0.03)
Weekend parental time	0.06	0.01 (0.02)	0.02	0.43 (0.02)	0.04	0.16 (0.03)

Model 4.3

Panel A: Parents	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Focused time	.7339868	.1554118	4.72	0.000	.4293853	1.038588
Average enrich.	.1622555	.1733542	0.94	0.349	-.1775126	.5020235
Too much enrich.	-.3825079	.2169384	-1.76	0.078	-.8076994	.0426835
Weekday parental time	-.1633554	.1772582	-0.92	0.357	-.5107751	.1840643
Weekend parental time	.3003524	.1657415	1.81	0.070	-.0244949	.6251997
father	-.4780466	.1606577	-2.98	0.003	-.7929298	-.1631633
boy	-.0872391	.1538147	-0.57	0.571	-.3887103	.2142321
S6_age	-.1239885	.0521493	-2.38	0.017	-.2261993	-.0217777
Low sec./ vocational	-.0757185	.3430911	-0.22	0.825	-.7481647	.5967278
High sec.	.1447861	.3477661	0.42	0.677	-.5368228	.8263951
Tertiary	.2076901	.3818253	0.54	0.586	-.5406739	.956054
Poor	-.0873342	.3967518	-0.22	0.826	-.8649535	.690285
Average	.3772592	.3985294	0.95	0.344	-.403844	1.158362
Well-off	1.040399	.4826327	2.16	0.031	.0944565	1.986342
S9	.1736323	.092795	1.87	0.061	-.0082426	.3555073
one-parent	.3160226	.2831059	1.12	0.264	-.2388548	.8709
County center	.062019	.2571169	0.24	0.809	-.441921	.5659589
Town	-.0588564	.2400224	-0.25	0.806	-.5292917	.4115788
Village	.080758	.2346403	0.34	0.731	-.3791287	.5406446
_cons	-.2863256	1.279906	-0.22	0.823	-2.794895	2.222244

Panel B: Adolescents						
Focused time	1.127072	.153653	7.34	0.000	.8259176	1.428226
Average enrich.	.0954725	.179248	0.53	0.594	-.2558471	.4467921
Too much enrich.	.1403616	.2056174	0.68	0.495	-.2626411	.5433643
Weekday parental time	.0424825	.1816017	0.23	0.815	-.3134502	.3984152
Weekend parental time	.05948	.1673388	0.36	0.722	-.2684981	.387458
father	-.0729081	.160272	-0.45	0.649	-.3870355	.2412193
boy	-.0413517	.1559257	-0.27	0.791	-.3469605	.264257
S6_age	-.0325343	.0524259	-0.62	0.535	-.1352871	.0702185
Low sec./ vocational	-.3025834	.3446737	-0.88	0.380	-.9781314	.3729646
High sec.	-.084036	.3485476	-0.24	0.809	-.7671768	.5991047
Tertiary	.0008819	.3839543	0.00	0.998	-.7516547	.7534184
Poor	.1390313	.4022047	0.35	0.730	-.6492755	.9273382
Average	.3489059	.4026131	0.87	0.386	-.4402013	1.138013
Well-off	.9474317	.4868411	1.95	0.052	-.0067593	1.901623
S9	.0897185	.0877141	1.02	0.306	-.0821979	.2616349
one-parent	.2306134	.2875082	0.80	0.422	-.3328923	.794119
County center	.0127521	.258651	0.05	0.961	-.4941946	.5196987
Town	-.1144284	.2410157	-0.47	0.635	-.5868104	.3579536
Village	-.1195044	.2358889	-0.51	0.612	-.5818383	.3428294
_cons	-1.391728	1.295016	-1.07	0.283	-3.929913	1.146456

	Parents		Adolescents		Difference	
	AME	p-value (Std-Err.)	AME	p-value (Std-Err.)	AME	p-value (Std-Err.)
Focused time	0.17	0.000 (0.03)	0.26	0.000 (0.03)	-0.09	0.06 (0.05)
Average enrich.	0.04	0.35 (0.04)	0.02	0.60 (0.04)	0.02	0.78 (0.06)
Too much enrich.	-0.08	0.07 (0.05)	0.03	0.50 (0.05)	-0.11	0.08 (0.06)
Weekday parental time	-0.02	0.35 (0.02)	0.01	0.82 (0.02)	-0.03	0.42 (0.03)
Weekend parental time	0.04	0.07 (0.02)	0.01	0.72 (0.02)	0.03	0.30 (0.03)

11. The author's publication on the topic

Articles in peer-reviewed journals:

Kutrovátz, K. – Balogh, T. – Wittinger, B. – Király, G. (2018): A technológiával kapcsolatos szülői mediáció. Szisztematikus empirikus áttekintés a 2007 és 2017-es évek között megjelent tanulmányok alapján. *socio.hu. Társadalomtudományi Szemle* 8(4) DOI: 10.18030/socio.hu.2018.4.47 47-69.

Kutrovátz, K. (2017): Conducting qualitative interviews with children: methodological and ethical challenges. *Corvinus Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 8 (2). pp. 65-88. DOI http://dx.doi.org/10.14267/cjssp.2017.02.04

Kutrovátz, K. (2017): Parental time from the perspective of time pressure: The idea of intensive parenting. *Review of Sociology* 27:(4) pp. 20-39.

Kutrovátz, K. (2016): Kvalitatív interjúzás kamaszokkal: Módszertani és etikai kihívások a gyerekek kutatásában. *Prosperitas*, 3 (2). pp. 88-110.

Kutrovátz, K. (2021): Parental mediation of adolescents' technology use – Unequal parenting practices. *Intersections. Special Issue* [Accepted Manuscript]

Nagy, B. – Kutrovátz, K. – Rakovics, M. – Király, G. (2021): Parental mediation in the age of mobile technology. *Children & Society* [Accepted Manuscript]

Book review:

Kutrovátz, K. (2016): Book review: Barbara Hobson (ed.) (2013) Worklife balance: The agency and capabilities gap. Oxford: Oxford University Press. *Intersections: East European Journal of Society and Politics* 2(3): 148-152.

Manuscripts:

Kutrovátz, K. – Geszler, N. (2021): Quality Time as Focused Time? The Role of Focused Parental Time on the Wellbeing of Adolescents [Manuscript submitted for publication.]

Others:

Conference paper:

Kutrovátz, K. (2019): The inequality of parental time – the role of socioeconomic status. In Örkény, A. – Csepeli, Gy. – Frank, T. Zs. (eds.): *Hyphens (kötő-jelek). Selected conference papers from the International Doctoral Student Conference on the Social Sciences.* pp. 73-84.

Conference presentations:

Kutrovátz Kitti (2020): Intensive Parenting – Parents' perspective on parental time and parental mediation of technology use, Kutatók Éjszakája 2020. nov. 27, Budapesti Corvinus Egyetem, 2020

Kutrovátz Kitti (2019): A közös időtöltéssel kapcsolatos percepciók - szülők és kamaszok perspektívája, Magyar Tudomány Ünnepe, BCE 2019. november 15, 2019

Kutrovátz, K. – Nagy, B. (2019): A kamaszok képernyő előtt töltött ideje és a szülői mediálási stratégiák. A Magyar Szociológiai Társaság 2019. évi vándorgyűlése, Budapest, 24-26. October 2019.

Nagy, B. – Kutrovátz, K. (2019): How parents mediate adolescents' use of technology? 8th International Community, Work & Family Conference, Valletta, 23-25. May 2019.

Kutrovátz, K. (2018): Using Mixed Methods in Family Research. Parental time and the technology usage in families with adolescents. Mixed Methods International Research Association International Conference. Vienna, 22-24. August 2018.