Over-Parenting

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Today the child is king. Child rearing practices have changed significantly over the last two decades. Contemporary parents engage in Intensive Parenting. Parents devote their time to actively enriching the child, ensuring the child’s individual needs are addressed and that he is able to reach his full potential. They also keep abreast of the newest child rearing knowledge and consistently monitor the child’s progress and whereabouts. Parents are expected to be cultivating, informed, and monitoring. To satisfy these high standards, parents utilize a broad array of technological devices, such as the cellular phone and the Internet, making Intensive Parenting a socio-technological trend.

Many legal doctrines aim at defining the scope of parental responsibilities; yet, courts, legislatures, and scholars alike have ignored this significant change in child rearing practices. Unattended, the law already plays an important role in enhancing the socio-technological trend of Intensive Parenting. In the area of custody disputes, legislatures and courts effectively enforce Intensive Parenting norms. Other recent legal developments, such as the constriction of the Parental Immunity Doctrine and recurring transformation of preferred child rearing practices into

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legal standards, open the door to the incorporation of additional Intensive Parenting norms into the law.

This Article underscores that despite its advantages, Intensive Parenting can become over-parenting. First, the Article shows that Intensive Parenting is not a universal trend. It is dependent on class, race, ethnicity, and culture. Enforcement of Intensive Parenting in a multicultural society would increase existing biases in the child welfare system and force Intensive Parenting on those who may be financially unable or ideologically unwilling to adopt it. Second, the Article reveals that although Intensive Parenting carries important advantages, it can disrupt healthy psychological development in children. The Article, therefore, cautions against hasty incorporation of Intensive Parenting norms into the law.

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INTRODUCTION

In the early 1990s, the “Mozart Effect” swept the country. French researcher, Dr. Alfred A. Tomatis, in his 1991 book titled Pourquoi Mozart?, argued that a baby who listens to Mozart's music may improve his mental and cognitive skills.¹ In 1993, the prestigious journal Nature published research backing Tomatis’s claim. The research demonstrated that students who listened to Mozart have enhanced mental skills.² In 1994, New York Times columnist Alex Ross wrote that Tomatis’s research had “determined that listening to Mozart actually makes you smarter.”³

In subsequent years, different books, such as Don Campbell’s, The Mozart Effect for Children: Awakening Your Child’s Mind, Health, and Creativity with Music,⁴ spread the notion that parents should invest effort in exposing their babies to music in order to enhance their development. A multitude of commercial products followed. These products included videotapes and DVDs such as “Baby Mozart,” which was part of the “Baby Einstein” series,⁵ classical music DVDs and CDs for babies,⁶ books,⁷ and even specially designed music players.⁸

³ Alex Ross, Listening to Prozac . . . Er, Mozart, N.Y. TIMES, Aug. 28, 1994, at 223.
⁵ The “Baby Einstein” series includes numerous titles based on Mozart’s music and music by other classical composers whose music is presumed to generate the same effect. See, e.g., BABY BACH: MUSICAL ADVENTURE (Walt Disney Video 2000); BABY BEETHOVEN: SYMPHONY OF FUN (Walt Disney Video 2002); BABY MOZART: MUSIC FESTIVAL (Walt Disney Video 2000).
⁶ Some of the above-mentioned DVDs have accompanying CDs. See, e.g., BABY BEETHOVEN: CLASSICAL MUSIC TO STIMULATE AND DELIGHT YOUR BABY (Buena Vista 2002); BABY MOZART: A SOOTHING CLASSICAL MUSIC EXPERIENCE FOR BABIES (Buena Vista 2002). Don Campbell’s books (see supra note 4) also have accompanying music CDs. See, e.g., THE MOZART EFFECT: MUSIC FOR BABIES VOLUME 1: FROM PLAYTIME TO
Additional research showed that to the extent that a Mozart Effect exists, it is limited only to short-term benefits, while other research demonstrated that the Mozart Effect is no more than a myth. Ultimately, The Walt Disney Company offered refunds for all purchases of “Baby Einstein” videos. Despite all this, since the 1990s, parents methodically expose their children to classical music to ensure that they develop to their full potential.

Interestingly, the Mozart Effect not only transformed child rearing practices, but also carried political and legal effects. In 1998, Zell Miller, Governor of Georgia, pledged to allocate $105,000 a year for providing every newborn in Georgia with a tape or CD of classical music. Similarly, in 1999, the state of Florida enacted a law


See CAMPBELL, AWAKENING YOUR CHILD’S MIND, supra note 4; CAMPBELL, MUSIC FOR MOMS, supra note 4; CAMPBELL, TAPPING THE POWER OF MUSIC, supra note 4; MICHIE, supra note 4; SHAW, supra note 4.


9 See, e.g., Kenneth Steele et al., Failure to Confirm the Rauscher and Shaw Description of Recovery of the Mozart Effect, 88 PERCEPTUAL & MOTOR SKILLS 843, 843 (1999) [hereinafter Failure to Confirm]; Kenneth Steele et al., Listening to Mozart Does Not Enhance Backwards Digit Span Performance, 84 PERCEPTUAL & MOTOR SKILLS 1179, 1182-83 (1997) [hereinafter Listening to Mozart].

10 See, e.g., Steele et al., Failure to Confirm, supra note 9, at 847; Steele et al., Listening to Mozart, supra note 9, at 1182-83; Kenneth Steele et al., The Mystery of the Mozart Effect: Failure to Replicate, 10 PSYCHOL. SCI. 366, 366 (1999); Kenneth Steele et al., Prelude or Requiem for the ‘Mozart Effect’?, 400 NATURE 826, 826-27 (1999).


As you know, the brain has two lobes. The studies show that music engages both hemispheres of the brain — its creativity and emotion engage the right lobe, while rhythm and pitch engage the left. So people who receive musical exposure at a young age develop a bundle of nerves that connects those two halves.
mandating state-run schools and daycares to play classical music daily in order to expose toddlers to the music and its benefits.14

The Mozart Effect is not an isolated phenomenon. It is part of a child rearing trend, which has dominated parenting in the last two decades. Since the mid-1980s, parents have been increasingly involved in their children's lives. The media and popular writers have described this practice as: “helicopter parenting,” “smothering mothering,” “alpha parenting,” or “child-centered parenting.”15 We will use the term “Intensive Parenting” to describe the dominant contemporary parent.16 This parent is an intensive parent who actively cultivates her child, acquires sophisticated knowledge of best child rearing practices, and utilizes this knowledge to closely monitor the child’s development and daily activities.

Legal scholars have written about parental responsibilities in different contexts. Some scholars considered the scope of parents’ liability in tort for their child’s injury.17 Other scholars considered basic parental obligations and diverse parenting styles in the context of abuse and neglect proceedings.18 Many scholars discussed parental responsibility upon divorce.19 Yet, surprisingly, despite the striking

Heath, supra note 12, at 609.


15 Lisa Belkin, Let the Kid Be, N.Y. TIMES, May 31, 2009, at MM19.


transformation of the child-parent relationship over the past two decades and the existing and potential legal effects of this change, legal scholars have failed to address the implications of Intensive Parenting.

In this Article, we present the practice of Intensive Parenting. The dominant contemporary parents are intensive parents: they are cultivating, knowledgeable, and monitoring. We demonstrate that Intensive Parenting is enhanced by parental use of new technologies, such as the Internet and cellular phone. These technologies enable access to vast amounts of information about child rearing and facilitate the monitoring of children. Indeed, Intensive Parenting carries important advantages, including improved academic achievements and enhanced ability to negotiate with institutions.20 Yet, Intensive Parenting can be excessive and detrimental to the psychological well-being of children. Intensive Parenting’s position as the dominant parenting style disadvantages classes and cultures that do not share the middle class ideal of Intensive Parenting. Turning to the law, certain norms of Intensive Parenting have already been incorporated, particularly in the area of custody disputes. Furthermore, the law contains enabling structures that can facilitate the integration of the high standards of Intensive Parenting into legal standards. While we do not criticize parental involvement per se, we argue that Intensive Parenting can be harmful when practiced without moderation and coerced on those who espouse different parenting styles. We, therefore, argue that the norms of Intensive Parenting should not be hastily incorporated into the law.


20 See ANNETTE LAREAU, UNEQUAL CHILDHOODS: CLASS, RACE AND FAMILY LIFE 5-6 (2003); Wendy S. Grolnick & Richard M. Ryan, Parents Styles Associated with Children’s Self-Regulation and Competence in School, 81 J. EDUC. PSYCHOL. 143, 143 (1989) (indicating that involved mothers produced children with higher grades); Timothy Keith et al., Does Parental Involvement Affect Eighth-grade Student Achievement?: Structural Analysis of National Data, 22 SCH. PSYCHOL. REV. 474 (1993) (showing that increased parental involvement had direct impact on children’s motivation, achievement, and time spent completing homework).
We begin by describing the social practice of Intensive Parenting. Today's parents are much more involved in their children's lives than were parents of previous generations. The intensive parents are on a constant quest to obtain updated knowledge of the best child rearing practices and use this information actively to cultivate their child and monitor all aspects of the child's life. \(^\text{21}\) Intensive Parenting begins as early as pregnancy, when the pregnant mother accesses an ever increasing amount of information instructing her on how to achieve an optimal pregnancy. \(^\text{22}\) When the child is born, Intensive Parenting continues as parents rely on a multitude of monitoring devices, such as “nanny cams,” and safety devices, such as helmets and knee pads for bicycle riding. \(^\text{23}\) As the child enters school, parents monitor him by organizing and regularly participating in a growing number of school and after-school activities. \(^\text{24}\) Finally, parental involvement does not end as the child leaves home. This generation of parents, in a sense, accompanies its children to college. Colleges have recently adjusted to accommodate a new generation of parents who insist on being in direct contact with college administrators and professors to monitor their children's lives. \(^\text{25}\)

\(^{21}\) See infra Part I.


\(^{24}\) See Judith Warner, Perfect Madness: Motherhood in the Age of Anxiety 115-16 (2005).

We posit that Intensive Parenting is not confined to social child rearing norms. Intensive Parenting norms are significantly reinforced by available technologies making Intensive Parenting a socio-technological trend.\textsuperscript{26} New information technologies provide parents with sophisticated options to improve the monitoring of their children.\textsuperscript{27} Two technologies are particularly important for the intensive parent: the cellular phone and the Internet. Parents use the cellular phone to exercise remote parenting and stay in constant contact with their children.\textsuperscript{28} In the words of one mother: “I can’t be a mom and not have a phone.”\textsuperscript{29} As intensive parents use the cellular phone to communicate with their college-aged children over the smallest anecdotes of life, some have called the cellular phone “the world’s longest umbilical cord.”\textsuperscript{30} The Internet is another important tool for the intensive parent. The intensive parent spends many hours online researching his child’s development to assess potential developmental problems and to learn of new safety risks, such as recalled items.\textsuperscript{31}

The law has an important role in enhancing the socio-technological trend of Intensive Parenting.\textsuperscript{32} First, we reveal that it is during divorce

\textsuperscript{26} We tend to create technologies in our image. Our technologies reflect our social values, but in turn as they are used they also enforce the values that created them. See \textit{David Elliott & Ruth Elliott, The Control of Technology} 10 (1976) (describing a two-way process in which values affect technologies and technologies affect values); \textit{Andrew Feenberg, Alternative Modernity: The Technical Turn in Philosophy and Social Theory} 227-28 (1995) (describing the relationship between society and technology as reciprocal, that is, our way of life is also affected by our technologies).

\textsuperscript{27} Doubtless society as a whole has become more monitoring, as is evident by the ubiquity of surveillance cameras, companies collecting personal information on the Internet, and large government databases. See generally \textit{David Brin, The Transparent Society} (1998). Parental monitoring in a sense reflects this societal trend but is also enhanced by the social pressure of the movement of Intensive Parenting.


\textsuperscript{29} Id.


\textsuperscript{31} See infra Part II.B.

and specifically during custody disputes that the law already actively enforces Intensive Parenting norms. Custody laws in effect enhance Intensive Parenting through laws tying custody determinations to past parental caretaking roles and laws reducing child support payments when additional time is spent with the child.33

Secondly, we uncover legal enabling structures that can facilitate the incorporation of Intensive Parenting norms into legal standards. We discuss the constriction of the Parental Immunity Doctrine. The Parental Immunity Doctrine traditionally held that children cannot bring tort actions against their parents.34 Yet, over the last three decades, courts have significantly narrowed the scope of the Doctrine, thereby exposing parents to additional sources of liability based on their functioning as parents.35 We also analyze the way in which novel cultivation and monitoring norms based on new child rearing knowledge are incorporated into the law, thereby creating new legal duties. We examine parental liability for children’s lead-based injuries; legislative measures against women who consume alcohol during pregnancy; and child obesity as a cause for child removal from parents and as a factor in determining custody allocation. These are illustrations of legal standards based on norms that are derived from newly acquired knowledge of preferred or safe child rearing practices.36 This Article’s goal is not to challenge the appropriateness

33 See infra Part III.
34 The Supreme Court of Mississippi created the Parental Immunity Doctrine in 1891. In Hewellette v. George, the Court ruled that a minor daughter could not bring a false imprisonment claim against her mother for putting the daughter away in an insane asylum. 9 So. 885, 886-87 (Miss. 1891), abrogated by Glaskox v. Glaskox, 614 So. 2d 906 (Miss. 1992).
36 See infra Part V.
of these measures in the context of lead, alcohol, or obesity, but to reveal the existence of enabling structures for future incorporation of the high standards of Intensive Parenting into legal monitoring duties. We caution that even desirable Intensive Parenting norms may be unsuitable as legal standards.

Finally, we argue against hasty incorporation of the norms of Intensive Parenting into legal standards. We posit that although Intensive Parenting has important advantages it is not an innocuous practice. Intensive Parenting can be excessive and has the potential of becoming over-parenting. We advocate caution in incorporating Intensive Parenting norms into legal standards because such integration can carry adverse social and individual ramifications. Furthermore, some commentators have recently pointed to the beginning of a social backlash against Intensive Parenting. The incorporation of Intensive Parenting norms into legal standards would prevent a social evolution away from Intensive Parenting. Specifically, Intensive Parenting is a culture and class dependent practice of child rearing, originating from the American middle class, and affecting particularly women. This trend is resisted among members of other cultures and members of social classes that lack the resources or the desire to engage in this practice. Furthermore, we argue that incorporation of Intensive Parenting standards could enhance the existing bias in the child welfare system against minority child rearing practices. Moreover, we discuss new psychological research suggesting that Intensive Parenting carries adverse ramifications for children’s psychological well-being. Studies find that Intensive Parenting contributes to higher rates of anxiety, depression, and substance abuse and, furthermore, impairs children’s sense of independence.

This Article proceeds as follows. Part I examines the social practice of Intensive Parenting, demonstrating that the contemporary intensive parent is exceedingly cultivating, monitoring, and knowledgeable. Part II shows that the norms of Intensive Parenting are reinforced by new technologies, focusing specifically on the intensive parents’ use of the cellular phone and the Internet. Part III reveals that the law in the area

38 See infra Part V.A.1.
39 See infra Part V.B.
of custody disputes already reinforces Intensive Parenting norms. Part IV uncovers legal structures that can further facilitate the transformation of Intensive Parenting norms into legal standards. Part V reveals the adverse ramifications of Intensive Parenting, arguing against the hasty incorporation of Intensive Parenting norms into the law, which would amplify these detrimental effects.

I. THE SOCIAL TREND OF INTENSIVE PARENTING

“I wish my parents had some hobby other than me.”

Parental involvement in children’s lives has changed dramatically throughout history. Parental care began from virtually no involvement in the infant’s life in antiquity. This lack of involvement later transformed into increased but carefully measured involvement in the first half of the twentieth century, finally becoming intense and ongoing supervision in many contemporary cultures, including American culture. Current parenting standards have been dubbed “helicoptering,” “smothering mothering,” “alpha parenting,” or “child-centered parenting.”

Some commentators and parents practicing Intensive Parenting believe that the philosophy of Intensive Parenting stems from the writings of attachment theorists who held that intensive maternal or parental love is crucial to meet the complex needs of children. They assert that Intensive Parenting aims at producing a securely attached child. At the same time, Intensive Parenting is also the result of the

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40 Marano, supra note 25, at 64 (quoting an anonymous patient).
41 In Roman society, for example, the parents would not see the child until the age of two due to the high rates of infant mortality. For a review of parental duties and rights in Roman law and society, see Jane F. Gardner, Women in Roman Law and Society 137-61 (1995).
42 This approach was advocated by Dr. Spock’s theory. See generally Benjamin Spock, The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care (1946).
44 For attachment theorists, see generally Mary Ainsworth, Patterns of
competitiveness of contemporary society. Parents want to assure their children's prospects of success in order to ensure that as adults they will not be deprived of the lifestyle in which they have grown up.  

The practice of Intensive Parenting is comprised of three main components. First, parents acquire sophisticated knowledge of what experts consider proper child development in order to recognize and respond to every stage of the child's emotional and intellectual development. Second, parents engage in “Concerted Cultivation”: parents actively foster and assess the child's talents, orchestrate multiple child leisure activities, and regularly intervene in institutional settings on the child's behalf. Third, to fulfill the same goals, parents closely monitor many aspects of the child's life.

Intensive Parenting begins at pregnancy and continues into young adulthood. The pregnant woman accesses vast amounts of information instructing her on how to assure an optimal pregnancy. The pregnant woman reads about the importance of abstaining from major hazards for the well-being of her baby, such as alcohol and cigarettes. She also reads of the need to avoid a long list of other potential risks, such as raw fish that may cause an abdominal infection or chemicals contained in hair color. The pregnant woman obtains information that informs her that certain activities are beneficial yet hazardous at the same time. For example, she reads that exercise is important, yet she should avoid over-strenuous exercise.


46 See HAYS, supra note 16, at 8.
47 See LAREAU, supra note 20, at 31.
49 MURKOFF & MAZEL, WHAT TO EXPECT WHEN YOU ARE EXPECTING, supra note 22, at 113-17.
51 See MURKOFF & MAZEL, WHAT TO EXPECT WHEN YOU ARE EXPECTING, supra note 22, at 224-31.
Once the baby is born, safety and monitoring are paramount. Parents can use baby monitors that alert them if the baby cries or, more importantly, if the baby ceases to breathe. Some parents who hire a nanny equip their home with “Nanny Cams.” These cameras secretly monitor the nanny’s behavior and alert the parents in case of any misconduct. In addition, unlike previous generations, parents assure that their children play in rubber-cushioned playgrounds, use sanitizing gel, sit in car seats, and wear helmets and knee pads while riding their bicycles.

During the kindergarten and school years, parents regularly participate in an increasing number of school activities. In a sense, conventional teaching is progressively outsourced, and parents find themselves sharing in and performing tasks that were traditionally the teachers’ responsibility. Parents actively monitor their children’s progress. One mother whose two girls barely missed the cutoff IQ score for the Gifted and Talented program at their school took prompt action. She studied the regulation, appealed the result, arranged for her daughters to be privately tested and succeeded in having them both admitted to the program. Volunteering in academic and nonacademic settings is a widespread norm among working and nonworking parents. Indeed, one Montessori school recently had no choice but to cancel a field trip because too many parents volunteered to chaperon. The school could not accommodate such a large number of chaperons, and since no parent agreed to withdraw, it was cancelled.

53 “Nanny Cams” are cameras that are hidden inside another object, such as a teddy bear.
55 See Marano, supra note 25, at 61.
56 Critics of the safety devices trend argue that the corporations inventing and manufacturing these devices nurture parental panic, regardless of the significance of the actual threat, in order to increase their profits. See Lenore Skenazy, Free-Range Kids: Giving Our Children the Freedom We Had Without Going Nuts with Worry 31-40 (2009).
57 LAREAU, supra note 20, at 176.
58 WARNER, supra note 24, at 29.
59 Id.
Beyond direct involvement in their children's activities, parents have additional ways to monitor their children's daily lives. Parents can ensure that their children are eating healthily, preferably organic meals, by monitoring their children's lunch menu through special websites. Furthermore, some schools provide parents with the option of using specialized record-keeping software to access the schools' websites and monitor their children's grades and class attendance.

Parental involvement in their children's school activities coexists with a decline in teachers' authority over children during school time. Parents have become increasingly involved in activities and decisions that were previously within the teachers' absolute discretion and control. For example, teachers require parents actively to participate in their children's homework, through questions specifically targeted at parents. In addition, parents are increasingly involved in school governance and decision-making regarding curricular and extracurricular activities. Some commentators attribute the decline in teachers' authority to the increase in lawsuits by parents against schools and educators for a broad range of injuries experienced by their children.

Parental involvement extends beyond academic activities. Parents organize multiple extra-curricular activities for their children and actively participate in them, despite the toll on finances and parental work schedules. Parents regularly intervene on their children's behalf in their extra-curricular activities to ensure that their children's

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61 Id. Some of these tracking tools might cost up to a $100 a month. Id.


63 SKENAZY, supra note 56, at 45; James Fanelli & Mike Scholl, Base Accusation: Injured Kid's Mom Sues 'Slide Fool' Coach, N.Y. POST, May 20, 2007, at 7; AM. TORT REFORM ASSN., SCHOOL PRINCIPAL SURVEY REVEALS FEAR OF LIABILITY LIMITS EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR AMERICA'S CHILDREN (Sept. 1, 2007), http://www.atra.org/show/91 (survey conducted by The American Tort Reform Association ("ATRA") in conjunction with National Association of Elementary School Principals and National Association of Secondary School Principals, finding that schools are eliminating activities and programs due to fear of lawsuits).

64 See, e.g., LAREAU, supra note 20, at 38-65 (describing hectic schedule of one middle-class family).
individual needs are addressed. The emergence of a full-time parent liaison in camps whose job is to answer concerned parents’ phone calls and emails is indicative of such interventions.

Overall it appears that Intensive Parenting has shaped a new standard of parenting: a move from “quality time” to “quality and quantity time.” There is a strong cultural demand of “being there.”

According to a recent public opinion poll, fifty-eight percent of mothers believe they are more involved in their children’s lives than their mothers were. Indeed, “in American families,” as one scholar has noted, “the child is king.” And the child remains king even after leaving home for college. Parental involvement extends well beyond the childhood years, sometimes even into early adulthood. The intensive parent continuously makes every effort to guide the child toward academic achievement rather than emphasizing the process of skill development, including the experience of trial and error.

Parents are known to call professors to protest their son’s or daughter’s grade. In one instance, a parent who is a judge sent a threatening letter to a professor who told his students he expected them to work hard. The letter, written on official judicial stationary, complained about the “mistreatment” of the students.

Many colleges currently dedicate part of their websites to parents. For example, on the New York University website, a parent can find information on the “Parent’s Guide” page about “Student Life & Health,” “visiting NYU,” and “Parent Services.” Parent Services include the full academic calendar, membership in a “Parents

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65 See, e.g., id. at 171-73 (describing resources invested by one middle-class mother in finding appropriate gym class for her daughter and mother’s follow up interventions to assure that her daughter’s gym experience was optimal).


67 WARNER, supra note 24, at 116.

68 Id.

69 Belkin, supra note 15, at MM19. The poll showed that thirty-seven percent of the mothers believed they were more involved in their children’s lives as much as their own mothers, and only four percent believed they were less involved than their own mothers. Id.


71 Id.

72 Marano, supra note 25.

Committee,” information about nutrition, and a Parents Helpline. 74 Parental involvement in college students lives is apparently on the rise. A comparison of the current New York University website to its 2002 version showed that the following items and links were added to the Guide: dining and housing information, banking, employment opportunities, and a link to the Registrar’s office. The website specifies that these links enable parents to access transcripts, grades, and enrollment verification. 75

II. TECHNOLOGIES AND INTENSIVE PARENTING

Our technologies are not accidental. We create our technologies in our image. Although it is often not readily apparent, society’s values and priorities guide the choice of one technology over another, the way a technology is designed, and the way it is used. 76 Intensive

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76 See ELLIOTT & ELLIOTT, supra note 26, at vii, 1-3 (describing the choice of one technology over another as based on a scheme of values and priorities in a given society); Claude Fischer, The Telephone Industry Discovers Sociability, in TECHNOLOGY & CHOICE 87 (Marcel C. Lafollette & Jeffrey K. Stine eds., 1991) (stating that while phone companies initially marketed the phone as a business instrument, it was individual users who decided to use it as social tool); Marcel C. Lafollette & Jeffrey K. Stine, Contemplating Choice: Historical Perspectives on Innovation and Application of Technology, in TECHNOLOGY & CHOICE, supra, at 1 (arguing that the creation of technology is accompanied by choice even when choice is not apparent). But cf. JACQUES ELLUL, THE TECHNOLOGICAL ORDER, in PHILOSOPHY AND TECHNOLOGY: READINGS IN THE PHILOSOPHICAL PROBLEMS OF TECHNOLOGY 86, 88 (Carl Mitchum & Robert Mackey eds., 1972) (arguing that man is enveloped by his technologies and does not exercise choice). See also literature discussing the need to design technologies to reflect social values, for example, Batya Friedman & Peter H. Kahn, Jr., Human Agency
Parenting values influence parents’ use of information technologies. Parents use these technologies effectively to monitor their children and gain knowledge of beneficial child rearing practices. Yet, technologies are not only designed and used to reflect social values, they also play a role in enhancing these values. Technology plays an important role in reinforcing the trend of Intensive Parenting. This Part argues that the trend of Intensive Parenting has not only influenced the prominence and use of information technologies among parents, but that the use of these technologies enhances the social trend of Intensive Parenting.

In this Part we will focus on two technologies that play an important role in Intensive Parenting: the cellular phone and the Internet. Parents use the cellular phone to stay in constant touch with their children or their children’s caregivers. They use the Internet to research potential child hazards and to study their child’s development. Although both the cellular phone and the Internet are popular technologies irrespective of the trend of Intensive Parenting, we argue that Intensive Parenting enhanced their prominence among parents and influenced the way parents use these technologies. Parents aided by the cellular phone and the Internet can monitor more effectively and be better informed than ever before. But by doing this, they reinforce the trend of Intensive Parenting by raising the standards of how involved an intensive parent can be.

A. The Cellular Phone as a Monitoring Device

Parents use the cellular phone to exercise “remote parenting” while being away from their children. Today’s children are raised in a hothouse, which, thanks to the cellular phone, no longer has any geographical or temporal limits. Parents view the cellular phone as an effective tool in exercising their parental responsibility. Parents’ use of the cellular phone depends on their children’s age.

77 See Elliott & Elliott, supra note 26, at 10 (describing the two-way process in which values affect technologies and technologies affects values); Feenberg, supra note 26, at 227-28 (describing the relationship between society and technology as reciprocal, that is, our way of life is also affected by our technologies).

78 See Marano, supra note 25, at 64-65; Palen & Hughes, supra note 28, at 340.
Parents of young children, who are under caregiver supervision, use the cellular phone to be attentive and vigilant of their children. Commentators described this trend as the “parallel shift.” Primary caregivers use the phone to care for children while at work. The cellular phone offers parents the capability of working while parenting. Working parents always make sure their phones are nearby. They take care to adjust the ringer to suit the environment so they can continue to monitor their children. For example, a parent in a meeting will change her ringer status to vibrate to remain available in case of need with only minimal disruption to the meeting. Nonparent caregivers know they can reach the working parent. Remote parenting was described as “what happens when the parent pervasively monitors the phone that hardly ever rings.” Only when in the presence of their children do these parents indicate fewer instances of “phone attachment.” Specifically, parents are more inclined to turn the phone off, leave it at home, or be less likely to know whether the ringer is on or off when with their children.

Parents of older school-age children and teenagers use the phone to communicate with them throughout the day. These parents are adamant about using cellular phones to remain in constant communication with their children. Recently, parents in New York sued the City’s Board of Education to strike down a provision prohibiting students from bringing cellular phones to school. The parents argued that this prohibition affects their ability to communicate with their children on their way to and from school. Parents insist on continuing to use cellular phones to remain in constant touch with their children, even when sending their children off to camp. Some parents give their child two cellular phones, telling the child that if a camp counselor confiscates one phone the child will still be able to use the other one to stay in touch with his parents.

Parents of older children and teenagers are starting to use the cellular phone to monitor their children not only through oral communications but through the phone’s Global Positioning System (“GPS”) function, which indicates the location of the person carrying

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79 Lana F. Rakow & Vija Navaro, Remote Mothering and the Parallel Shift: Women Meet the Cellular Phone, 10 CRITICAL STUD. MEDIA COMM. 144, 153 (1993).
80 See Palen & Hughes, supra note 28, at 345.
81 See Palen & Hughes, supra note 28, at 343.
83 Kelley, supra note 66, at A-1.
the cellular phone. One company advertised its services as follows: “Just give the cellular phone to your child. Log in to our secure website to see the exact location the child is currently at. If the child changes location, you will be able to track and see the movements on the map.”84 Some companies offer an additional feature, which lets a parent know, if a child is in a car, at what speed the car is traveling.85 A parent can also arrange for a notification email from the system if the child does not turn up at school or another location.86 In addition, some services incorporate a flashing light on the phone that notifies the child that she is being located.87

The cellular phone plays an important role in the relationships of parents and their children who are going off to college. In that context, the cellular phone was called “the world’s longest umbilical cord,”88 and the parents using it to hover over their adult children were described as “helicopter parents.”89 Even in college parental contact continues on a daily basis, often a couple of times a day.90 Many college students report to their parents every flicker of experience. In one overheard cellular phone conversation, which was held on a cross-campus walk, a student was telling her mother: “Hi Mom, I just got an ice-cream cone. Can you believe they put sprinkles on the bottom as well as on the top?”91 An education professor at Syracuse University reported that college students tell her they are late to class because their mothers did not call to wake them up that morning. She also recounted that she had students call their parents from the classroom on a cellular phone to complain about a bad grade and then pass the phone over to her, in the middle of the class,

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85 GUARDIAN ANGEL TECH., supra note 84.
88 Shellenbarger, supra note 30, at D1.
89 Hunt, supra note 30, at 10-11.
91 Marano, supra note 25, at 64-65.
because the parent wanted to intervene.\textsuperscript{92} Similarly, another report described students at the University of Georgia, who got frustrated during registration, taking out cellular phones, speed dialing their parents, and handing the phone to the adviser, saying “talk to my mom.”\textsuperscript{93}

\textbf{B. Information Seeking on the Internet}

The Internet enhances the social trend of Intensive Parenting by providing vast information about child rearing.\textsuperscript{94} Parents have always consulted external sources, whether books, relatives, or friends on child rearing; yet, as the Internet became popular, parents gained access to vast amounts of parenting information. Furthermore, this information is now available at all times and in an interactive form, through discussion forums. Hence, today, parents routinely take advantage of the Internet to research child rearing information to ensure their children's health and well-being.

Parents are motivated by awareness that early detection of developmental problems improves outcomes for parents and children.\textsuperscript{95} They regularly research popular parenting websites to ensure that their children are accomplishing the milestones of normal development. Parenting websites are replete with information


\textsuperscript{93} Shellenbarger, supra note 30, at D1.


Certain groups of parents are particularly active gatherers of information online. One such group is pregnant women and their partners.\footnote{Jay M. Bernhardt & Elizabeth Felter, Online Pediatric Information Seeking Among Mothers of Young Children: Results from a Qualitative Study Using Focus Groups, 6 J. MED. INTERNET RES. e7 (2004); Kristian Daneback & Lars Plantin, Research on Parenthood and the Internet: Themes and Trends, CYBERPSYCHOLOGY: J. PSYCHOSOCIAL RES. ON CYBERSPACE, Nov. 2008, at 1 (reporting on Yahoo marketing study, which found that eighty-six percent of parents-to-be use the Internet to search information about pregnancy).} Parenting websites are replete with guidelines and advice on behavior and nutrition that aim to help women maximize the chances of giving birth to a healthy child. For example, BabyCenter.com provides expert answers to a list of queries regarding safety during pregnancy. These queries include: “Is it safe to drink caffeinated sodas when I am pregnant?”; “Is it safe to drink milk from cows that were given BST while pregnant?”; “Is it safe to eat deli meat when I am pregnant?” Pregnant mothers today regularly follow these and many other guidelines to improve pregnancy outcomes.
III. THE LAW AS AN ENFORCER OF INTENSIVE PARENTING NORMS

The social trend of Intensive Parenting influences the ways in which parents use technologies. These technologies, in turn, enable better monitoring and information seeking, thereby enhancing the norms of Intensive Parenting. At the same time, the law also plays a role in enhancing the socio-technological trend of Intensive Parenting. Specifically, it is during divorce, when custody disputes arise, that the law is particularly powerful in its ability to exert pressure and mold parental trends of child rearing. Unsurprisingly, the laws created to govern custody disputes play a particularly important role in augmenting the social trend of Intensive Parenting.

In this Part we will focus on two legal doctrines, which are used in resolving custody disputes: (i) consideration of past parental caretaking roles in custody allocation decisions; (ii) parenting time as a factor in determining child support payments. While some states adopted these doctrines expressly to encourage parental involvement, other states had other goals in mind. Nevertheless, in practice, whether intended or not, the implementation of these doctrines enforces Intensive Parenting norms. Furthermore, in both cases of custody allocation decisions and child support payments, enforcement of Intensive Parenting can backfire resulting in unintended consequences.

A. The Role of Past Parental Caretaking in Custody Determinations

Courts often face difficult decisions in determining whether to grant custody of the couple's children solely to one parent, whether to grant joint custody, and how to divide the child's time between the parents. Since the mid-1990s, courts have looked to parents' pre-divorce caretaking roles and division of labor in the home as a factor in making custody determinations. States generally use the best

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101 For discussions of the way the law affects social norms in the family context, see generally NOCK, supra note 32, at 23; Bishop, supra note 32; Maldonado, supra note 19; Posner, supra note 32, at 259-62; Scott, Legal Construction of Norms, supra note 32; Waldeck, supra note 32. For discussions of the law's ability to influence the design and use of new technologies, see generally Bernstein, supra note 32; Koren, supra note 32; Noveck, supra note 32.

interests of the child test to determine custody allocation. Currently, the majority of states, whether through statutes or case law, incorporated past parental caretaking into the best interests of the child test. Courts evaluating the best interests of the child in custody determinations increasingly consider the quantity and quality of time each parent spent with the child prior to divorce. The parent who was more involved in the child’s life before divorce would have an advantage in custody resolutions.

The rationale for considering past caretaking roles is that it promotes stability and continuity in the child’s life. Furthermore, it reflects each parent’s emotional attachment and parenting skills, thereby serving the child’s best interests while not violating the autonomy interests of the parent. The child can continue to maintain, as much as possible, the same relationship he had with each parent before the divorce.

103 Elizabeth Scott has proposed that courts take into account in custody allocations the quality and quantity of time each parent spends with the child prior to divorce (“The Approximation Rule”). See Scott, Pluralism, supra note 19, at 617. In 2002 the American Law Institute published its influential Principles of the Law of Family Dissolution in which it endorsed the Approximation Rule. See generally AM. LAW INST., PRINCIPLES OF THE LAW OF FAMILY DISSOLUTION: ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS (2002). While states have not adopted the Approximation Rule itself, many have incorporated past-parental caretaking as one of the factors considered in the best interests of the child test. See id. § 2.08, REPORTER’S NOTES ON cmt. a (listing states that incorporated past parental caretaking as factor in determining custody disputes). See specific examples, N.J. STAT. ANN. § 9:2-4(c) (West 2001) (requiring courts to consider extent and quality of time spent with child prior to or subsequent to separation); WASH. REV. CODE ANN. § 26.09.187(3)(a)(i) (West 2007) (requiring courts to make “residential provisions” for children at divorce to give “greatest weight” to “the relative strength, nature, and stability of the child’s relationship with each parent, including whether a parent has taken greater responsibility for performing parenting functions relating to the daily needs of the child”); Lamb v. Wenning, 600 N.E.2d 96, 98 (Ind. 1992) (“One of the most significant elements of stability in a child’s life is the child’s primary caretaker — the person who cooks his meals, puts him to bed, and cares for him on a daily basis.”); Roen v. Roen, 438 N.W.2d 170, 174 (N.D. 1989) (“Continuity in a child’s relationship with the closest, nurturing parent is . . . a very important aspect of stability.”); see also Charlene E. Depner et al., Report 4: Mediated Agreements on Child Custody and Visitation, 1991 California Family Court Services Snapshot Study, 33 FAM. & CONCILIATION CTS. REV. 87, 101 (1995) (describing a 1991 study of mediated agreements in California, which concluded that the factor with the greatest bearing on mediated agreements was the de facto time allocation already in place in the family).

In a series of interviews with family law attorneys who regularly represent clients in custody disputes, practitioners revealed the way in which the consideration of past caretaking roles exerts pressure on parents on the eve of divorce to engage in Intensive Parenting. In a sense, the time period before custody determinations becomes a race for involvement, particularly for the parent who was not originally the primary caregiver. Since courts look to pre-divorce parental roles in determining custody after divorce, lawyers representing clients on the eve of divorce encourage their clients to become as involved as possible in their child's life. As one attorney explained, it is important to get the case early in order to create a paper trail of parental involvement.

Lawyers advise parents, particularly the parent who is not the primary caregiver, to create an appearance of involvement by participating in all aspects of the child's life. Suggestions include: taking the child to school and picking her up (this is especially important in settings where a sign-up sheet would create a written record of parental involvement); ensuring that their phone number is the school or care-center primary contact number; going to parent-teacher conferences; being involved in the child's homework preparation; knowing the child's teachers; knowing the child's friends and their parents; calling or texting the child at least once a day; taking the child to doctor's appointments; coaching the child's sports team; and participating in child and parent classes.

These interviews uncovered the unfortunate drawbacks of considering past-parental caretaking in a world in which norms of Intensive Parenting prevail. First, attorneys acknowledged that despite warning parents to avoid getting strategically over-involved in their children's lives in a way that may appear controlling and insincere to the judge, many parents tend to go over-board. Parents often call and

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105 The lawyers we have interviewed were not randomly selected. We did not utilize survey methodology, but instead conducted extensive interviews with four lawyers who have substantial expertise in the area of custody disputes and were willing to talk reflectively about their practice. We interviewed lawyers who practice in New York, New Jersey, and California. Interestingly, all lawyers interviewed described similar trends in the effects of Intensive Parenting and the advice offered as a reaction to this trend. The identity of the lawyers was kept anonymous in order to protect the interests of their clients.

106 Telephone Interview with A.B., Lawyer (May 30, 2009).

107 Id.; Interview with C.D., Lawyer (June 11, 2009); Telephone Interview with E.F., Lawyer (June 12, 2009).
text their child multiple times a day.\textsuperscript{108} Some take photos of cellular phones with their text messages to show as evidence in court because phone companies normally delete text messages after a certain period.\textsuperscript{109} Parents also tend to become extremely involved in their children’s sports activities, taking over the practice sessions.\textsuperscript{110}

Secondly, attorneys acknowledged issuing advice based on their clients’ social class. As one attorney explained, lower income parents tend to be less controlling and monitoring of their children, partly because they do not have the resources to become more involved. The attorney explained that she advises her lower income clients to act more like their higher income counterparts, that is, to become more monitoring and involved. Specifically, she advises them to become involved in a way that produces a written record of involvement. Instead of leaving the child with a relative, she suggests enrolling the child in a community day care (where parents have to sign in as they pick up the child) or taking the child to the library to borrow books (where a record is maintained).\textsuperscript{111}

Hence, while the consideration of past parental caretaking serves important goals, its application in a society in which Intensive Parenting norms prevail can backfire. For one, parents eager to gain custody become overly dominating in their interaction with their children. For example, some may take over sport practices and leave their children with no independent outlet. Others may overwhelm their children by constant phone calls and text messages. In addition, disruption of stable and potentially deep ties between a child and a kin member caretaker in order to establish involvement in an institutional setting disrupts stability and continuity in the child’s life. This could undermine the very goals that the consideration of past parental caretaking seeks to accomplish.

B. Parenting Time and Child Support Payments

Another area in which custody laws enhance Intensive Parenting norms is child support guidelines. The 1983–87 National Support Guidelines Panel recommended that states adopt child support guidelines that encourage the involvement of both parents in the

\textsuperscript{108} Telephone Interview with A.B., supra note 106; Telephone Interview with E.F., supra note 107.
\textsuperscript{109} Telephone Interview with E.F., supra note 107.
\textsuperscript{110} Id.
\textsuperscript{111} Telephone Interview with A.B., supra note 106.
child’s life by considering the financial support provided directly by parents during visitation or shared physical custody.\footnote{Jane C. Venohr & Tracy E. Griffith, Child Support Guidelines: Issues and Reviews, 43 Fam. Ct. Rev. 415, 423 (2005).} The majority of states, mostly through statutory guidelines but at times through case law, consider the amount of time a child spends with each parent as a relevant factor in determining child support. States vary in the ways they account for parenting time; yet, the general principle is that the more time a parent spends with a child the less he or she will be required to pay in child support.\footnote{See ALM, Consolidation of Cases Child Support Guidelines II (D)(2) (201108) (actual parenting time may be considered in adjusting child support); Alaska R. Civ. P. 90.3(a)(3) (2009) (providing that noncustodial parent payment may be reduced by up to seventy-five percent for any period for which he extended visitation over twenty-seven consecutive days); Ariz. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 25-999(11) (2000) (providing table adjusting child support in accordance with days of parenting time noncustodial parent spends with child); Ark. Code Ann. tit. 9: App. Admin. Order No. 10: Child Support Guidelines App. § VI (2008) (providing that where child spends more than fourteen days [excluding weekends] with noncustodial parent, child support may be reduced by amount not to exceed fifty percent); Cal. Fam. Code § 4055 (West 2008) (providing that time each parent spends with child shall be a factor in child support calculation formula); Colo. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 14-10-115(8)(b) (West 2008) (providing that each parent’s share of child support shall be multiplied by percentage of time child spends with other parent); Del. Fam. Ct. Civ. R. 505 (2009) (providing that where child spends more than 109 annual overnights but less than 175 annual overnights, child support will be adjusted according to number of overnights); D.C. Code § 16-916.01(q) (2006) (calculating child support in relation to time child spends with each parent where child spends thirty-five percent or more time with each parent); Fla. Stat. § 61.3011(b)(8) (2009) (providing for child support adjustment where child spends at least forty percent of the overnights per year with each parent); Ga. Code Ann. § 19-6-15(g), (k)(i) (2009) (providing that child support may be changed due to extended parenting time); Idaho R. Civ. P. (6)(c)(6) (2009) (10)(c) (providing that child support will be adjusted where child spends more than twenty-five of overnights a year with each parent or where parent has child for fourteen consecutive days or more); Iowa Ct. R. 9.9 (2009) (providing table for adjusting child support where noncustodial parental visitation exceeds 127 days per year); Kan. Sup. Ct. Admin. Order No. 128 (IV)(E.2(a)) (2007) (providing table for adjusting child support payments where child spends more than thirty-five percent of his time with parent who does not have primary residence); Md. Code Ann., Fam. Law § 12-204(m)(1)(2) (West 2010) (providing that time spent with child will be included as a factor in calculating child support in shared physical custody cases); Mo. Rev. Stat. § 452.340(1)(5) (2009) (providing that time each parent spends with child will be included in determining child support); Neb. Ct. R. § 4-210 (providing that child support may be adjusted where parenting time substantially exceeds alternating weekend, holidays, and twenty-eight days or more in any ninety-day period); Nev. Rev. Stat. Ann. § 125B.080(9)(j) (West 2009) (providing that amount of time child spends with each parent shall be factor in adjusting child support); N.M. Stat. Ann. § 40-4-11.1 (F)(2), (G) (2008) (providing that child support will be calculated on the
New York State statute, which explicitly describes forms of involvement in a child’s life that could warrant an adjustment of child support. These include: time spent with the child by accompanying her to school and other activities; consultations with doctors, teachers, and therapists; time spent playing with the child; home education; trips; homework assistance; and personal and professional sacrifices made by parents.114

Some states provide a monetary rationale for connecting parenting time to payments. These states explain that since a parent who spends more time with the child incurs additional expenses, the parent should pay less in child support.115 Yet, some states indicate that the significance of parental involvement in a child’s life also plays a role in

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114 See 1-10 N.Y. CIVIL PRACTICE: FAMILY COURT PROCEEDINGS § 10.05 9(f).

allowing the adjustment of child support payments where additional time is spent with the child.\footnote{See, e.g., ALM Consolidation of Cases Child Support Guidelines II (D)(2)(2008) (stating that these guidelines recognize that children must be allowed to enjoy society and companionship of both parents to greatest extent possible); Mo. Rev. Stat. § 452.340(7) (2009) (“The public policy of this state is that frequent, continuing and meaningful contact with both parents . . . is in the best interest of the child.”) Venohr & Griffith, supra note 112, at 415, 423.} Dr. Jane Venohr was involved in the drafting of over twenty state child support guidelines and in developing the appropriate formulas to adjust payments for shared parenting time. She explains that social trends, including research finding that involvement of both parents improves children’s welfare, influenced the drafting of these statutes.\footnote{See ELEANOR E. MACCOBY & ROBERT H. Mnookin, DIVIDING THE CHILD: SOCIAL AND LEGAL DILEMMAS OF CUSTODY 100, 102 (1992); Karen Czapanskiy, Child Support, Visitation, Shared Custody and Split Custody, in CHILD SUPPORT GUIDELINES: THE NEXT GENERATION 43, 44 (Margaret Campbell Haynes ed., 1994); Marygold S. Melli & Patricia R. Brown, The Economics of Shared Custody: Developing an Equitable Formula for Dual Residence, 31 Hous. L. Rev. 543, 546 (1994); Interview with G.H., Lawyer (Aug. 17, 2009).}

Parental involvement of both parents is no doubt important to the welfare of the children of divorced parents. Tying money to parental time can be an effective tool in increasing such involvement. However, in many cases, the father who requests additional parenting time in order to reduce his child support payments fails to fulfill his obligation to spend time with the child. Although the statutes allow continued adjustments of child support payments, the mother rarely returns to court to seek an adjustment.\footnote{Venohr & Griffith, supra note 112, at 415, 423.} Hence, coerced enforcement of Intensive Parenting norms on those unwilling or unable to abide by them results in depriving children of the resources to which they are legally entitled.

IV. ENABLING LEGAL STRUCTURES FOR TURNING INTENSIVE PARENTING NORMS INTO LEGAL STANDARDS

While the law already reinforces Intensive Parenting through custody laws, other legal doctrines contain enabling structures that can facilitate the creation of new legal standards that will reinforce the socio-technological trend of Intensive Parenting. Enabling legal structures do not currently enforce Intensive Parenting norms, but provide avenues for legal enforcement of these norms.\footnote{We are using the term enabling structures differently from its use by corporate law scholars. Corporate law scholars use the term enabling structures to depict default
identifies two enabling structures. First, we examine the constriction of the Parental Immunity Doctrine, which traditionally protected parents from liability in torts for injuries inflicted on their children. As most states constricted the Parental Immunity Doctrine, parents were increasingly sued for inappropriate care of their children. Second, we underscore the ways in which the law repeatedly incorporates knowledge about best child rearing practices into legal monitoring duties. Specifically, we examine legal measures imposing parental responsibility for child injuries caused by exposure to lead and fetal injuries caused by exposure to alcohol. We then turn to examine a recent legal development, in which courts consider child obesity in determining neglect and abuse cases and custody allocations. We argue that the constriction of the Parental Immunity Doctrine and the likely incorporation of additional knowledge of preferred child rearing practices into legal standards are likely to enhance the socio-technological trend of Intensive Parenting.

A. The Constriction of the Parental Immunity Doctrine

For years the Parental Immunity Doctrine, which holds that children cannot bring tort actions against their parents, was the prevailing law. The Doctrine sought to safeguard the family relationship by preserving harmony and trust in domestic relations. Another rationale for the Doctrine was to prevent collusion between parent and child to defraud insurance companies. See Dennis v. Walker, 284 F. Supp. 413, 417 (D.D.C. 1968) (holding that the existence of liability insurance actually supported the need for immunity because of the heightened risk of collusion to defraud insurers); Haley, supra note 17, at 579.
In the past three decades, however, courts have significantly narrowed down the Doctrine's scope and applicability. Some states abolished the Parental Immunity Doctrine completely. Other states constricted the scope of the Doctrine. Currently, states that constricted the Doctrine deny immunity where parental behavior is "outside the scope of what is inherent to the fundamental right to parent." Accordingly, in most jurisdictions, courts inquire whether the parental act inflicting the child's injury was within the parent's scope of authority over the child. Another way in which courts narrowed the Doctrine was by constricting the scope of behavior that is inherent to the fundamental rights of the parent to discipline his child. Moreover, some courts adopted a reasonably prudent parent standard, which allows them to assign liability even in cases in which

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123 Social changes played an important role in inducing the constriction of the Parental Immunity Doctrine. The Doctrine was conceived in the late nineteenth century, at a time when the father was the absolute master of the home and parents sternly disciplined their children. Hence, the law recognized absolute parental authority and the unlimited obligation of respect owed by the child to his parents. Irene Hansen Saba, *Parental Immunity from Liability in Tort: Evolution of a Doctrine in Tennessee*, 36 U. MEM. L. REV. 829, 834 (2005). Recent changes in the social legitimacy of parental autonomy and state intervention within the family influenced the constriction of the doctrine. Two sources of influence were the feminist movement and its critique of the family's immunity from state interference, and the children's rights movement, which sought to recognize the full humanity of children. On the feminist critique, see for example Susan Moller Okin, *Justice, Gender, and the Family* 25-40 (1989). On children's rights discourse, see generally John Eekelaar, *The Emergence of Children’s Rights*, 6 OXFORD J. LEGAL STUD. 161 (1986).


125 The first case to constrict the Parental Immunity Doctrine and to carve out exceptions to that doctrine was *Goller v. White*. The Court in *Goller* held that a parent would be immune from a tort action only if the tort involved "an exercise of parental authority . . . [or] ordinary parental discretion with respect to the provision of food, clothing, housing, medical and dental services, and other care." *Goller v. White*, 122 N.W.2d 193, 198 (Wis. 1963). Other states followed. See, e.g., Silesky v. Kelman, 161 N.W.2d 631 (Minn. 1968), overruled by Anderson v. Stream, 295 N.W.2d 595 (Minn. 1980). For a full survey of post-*Goller* case law constricting the Parental Immunity Doctrine, see Haley, supra note 17, at 580-83.

126 See Saba, supra note 123, at 830.

127 The scope of immunity varies from state to state. For the most recent overview of the modified Parental Immunity Doctrine, see id. at 846-54.

128 See id. at 830.
the parents acted within their scope of authority. Hence, as states abolished or constricted the Parental Immunity Doctrine, parents have become increasingly exposed to lawsuits filed by their children.

The constriction of the Parental Immunity Doctrine is an important enabling structure for the incorporation of the practices of Intensive Parenting. Courts have narrowed the Parental Immunity Doctrine, thereby exposing the parent to additional sources of liability based on his or her functioning as a parent. Specifically, critics of this legal development explained that it discourages novel child rearing practices and creates potential for judgments discriminating against parents whose conduct does not conform to prevailing community standards. At the same time, the trend of Intensive Parenting requires more of the parent in terms of supervision and knowledge. As the two trends coalesce, parents are more likely to be sued for allegedly inadequate parental supervision.

B. Incorporating Child Rearing Practices into Legal Standards

Today’s dominant parent is cultivating, monitoring, and knowledgeable. The three characteristics of the contemporary parent are closely related. As new knowledge of child rearing practices becomes common, it is incorporated into routine parental monitoring norms. The law, at times, incorporates these monitoring norms and

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129 Haley, supra note 17, at 595. See, e.g., Gibson, 479 P.2d at 653 (adopting the reasonably prudent parent standard for determining parental liability); Anderson, 295 N.W.2d at 599 (adopting the reasonably prudent parent standard); Hartman v. Hartman, 821 S.W.2d 852, 857 (Mo. 1991) (abolishing parental immunity and adopting the reasonably prudent parent standard).

130 Despite the constriction of the Parental Immunity Doctrine, courts are less likely to bar parental immunity for claims of negligent supervision. Courts explain that parental supervision is part of parental authority. They mostly allow children’s lawsuits against parents if parents’ failure to properly supervise is intentional rather than negligent. Haley, supra note 17, at 589-90. But see cases in which courts allowed claims for negligent supervision, Anderson, 295 N.W.2d at 601 (allowing child’s negligent supervision cause of action when child wandered into driveway and was hit); Andrews v. Cnty. of Otsego, 446 N.Y.S.2d 169, 172 (N.Y. App. Div. 1982) (allowing child’s cause of action for neglectful supervision against foster parent); Thoreson v. Milwaukee & Suburban Transp. Co., 201 N.W.2d 745, 753 (Wis. 1972) (allowing child’s cause of action for negligent supervision where child was left alone and unsupervised in house, wandered off and was hit).

131 See Anderson, 295 N.W.2d at 603 (Rogosheske, J., dissenting) (specifically criticizing the adoption of the reasonably prudent parent standard for determining whether to apply the Parental Immunity Doctrine).

132 See MARIANA VALVERDE, LAW’S DREAM OF A COMMON KNOWLEDGE 169-72, 178
transforms them into legal duties. Once legal entrenchment occurs, parents are legally required to monitor their children in a way that incorporates this knowledge. This section uses three examples to illustrate the way the law routinely incorporates new knowledge about best child monitoring practices into legal standards. First, we examine counterclaims alleging parental liability, where parents sued landlords or paint manufacturers for their children's lead-caused injuries. Second, we look at legislative measures aimed at preventing alcohol consumption by pregnant women in order to protect the fetus. Finally, we discuss a recent development, which considers parental responsibility for child obesity as a factor in neglect and abuse proceedings and custody determinations.

Some commentators argue that although alcohol, lead, and obesity can pose hazards for children's health, the imposition of legal liability is inappropriate. This critique underscores the difficulty inherent in turning parenting norms into legal standards. At the same time, our main goal in this section is not to assess the appropriateness of the legal measures directed at parents whose fetuses consume alcohol, whose children digest lead, or whose children are obese. Instead, our objective is to reveal an additional enabling structure for the incorporation of Intensive Parenting into the law. Intensive Parenting imposes a high standard of knowledge of best child monitoring practices on the parent. In this section we show that the law already contains the channels through which it can turn knowledge about best child monitoring practices into law. The obesity cases are the latest example, but unlikely the last instance, in which knowledge about

(2003) (discussing how common knowledge is incorporated into the legal duty to know).

See, e.g., Shireen Arani, Case Comment: State Intervention in Cases of Obesity-Related Medical Neglect, 82 B.U. L. REV. 875, 876 (2002) (contending that state intervention should only be permitted when obesity is so severe that child's life is in imminent danger or in order to enable child to lead a normal life). See generally Sue Thomas & Lisa Rickert, The Meaning, Status and Future of Reproductive Autonomy: The Case of Alcohol Use During Pregnancy, 15 UCLA WOMEN'S L.J. 1 (2006) (arguing for need for new strategy to enhance women's reproductive freedom, which is eroded by pregnancy alcohol consumption laws); Jennifer Tiller, Easing Lead Paint Laws: A Step in the Wrong Direction, 18 HARV. ENVTL. L. REV. 265 (1994) (arguing that parents should be granted immunity because they already have incentive to protect their children from injury).

On the channeling function of law in the area of parenthood, see Carl E. Schneider, The Channeling Function in Family Law, 20 HOFSTRA L. REV. 495, 502-03 (1992) (demonstrating how laws channel men and women toward certain models of parenthood and distance them from other possible models through a system of legal prohibitions and requirements).
best child monitoring practices crystallizes into a legal standard. Specifically, we argue that not all forms of child rearing knowledge deserve the same deference. While some safety measures should be incorporated into legal standards, other parenting norms should not be elevated into legal standards. We end this section by providing examples of Intensive Parenting practices that, while desirable as social norms, should not be hastily incorporated into legal standards.

1. Parental Liability for Child’s Lead-Caused Injuries

Young children are particularly vulnerable to the dangers of lead. Most often children are exposed to lead by consuming paint chips in badly maintained premises in which the walls were painted with lead-based paint. Lead consumption can lead to both physical impairment and decreased intelligence. While medical professionals knew of the dangers of lead since the late 1920s, the first laws prohibiting use of lead paint and requiring landlords to protect tenants from lead paint came into force only in the 1970s. The dangers of lead poisoning became common knowledge after 1990. Currently, different sources have effectively publicized the dangers of lead poisoning to the general public. The dangers of lead poisoning appear in child rearing books, parenting websites, and warnings that landlords are legally required to issue to their tenants.

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136 CHRISTIAN WARREN, BRUSH WITH DEATH: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF LEAD POISONING 31 (2000) (reporting that in the late 1920s and in the 1930s, frequency of reports of childhood lead poisoning in medical journals increased dramatically).
137 The first federal law, the Lead Based Paint Poisoning Prevention Act, was enacted in 1971. 42 U.S.C. § 4822 (2006) (prohibiting use of lead paint in federal government or federally assisted residential structures).
138 While the dangers of lead became known to the public during the mid-1960s, lead was considered to be a problem of the poor. It was only since the late 1980s to early 1990s that the public became aware that lead exposure endangers all children. See WARREN, supra note 136, at 152, 222-43.
139 HEIDI E. MURKOFF & SANDEE E. HATHWAY, WHAT TO EXPECT THE FIRST YEAR 337 (2008).
141 For laws requiring landlords to issue warnings about a potential lead hazard, see for example 24 C.F.R. §§ 35.88, 35.92 (2008) (requiring that seller or lessor
Soon after parents whose children suffered lead-based injuries began suing landlords, a landlord raised a counterclaim charging that a mother’s negligent supervision of her child was the proximate cause of the child’s injuries. Following this lawsuit, different versions of the parental liability counterclaim appeared. In all these cases, parents sued the landlord or paint manufacturer for lead injuries suffered by their children, and the defendant counterclaimed that the parents were also at least partly liable.

At first, courts rejected these claims. However, since 1990, while some courts continued to reject counterclaims against parents, other


142 Lawsuits against landlords for lead inflicted injuries began in the 1960s. See, e.g., Weaver v. Arthur A. Schneider Realty Co., 381 S.W.2d 866, 866-67 (Mo. 1964) (infant sued landlord for lead inflicted injuries); Acosta v. Irdank Realty Corp., 238 N.Y.S.2d 713, 714 (N.Y. Sup. Ct. 1963) (explaining how infant and father sued realty corporation for damages due to lead poisoning).

143 See Davis v. Royal-Globe Ins., 223 So. 2d 912, 918-19 (La. Ct. App. 1969), rev’d on other grounds, 223 So. 2d 839 (La. 1970) (explaining how defendant argued that the mother’s conduct was the proximate cause of her child’s lead injuries).

144 See, e.g., Caroline v. Reicher, 269 Md. 125, 128 (Md. 1973) (summarizing how parents sued landlord for child’s lead poisoning and landlord’s argument that parents were contributorily negligent); Morales v. Moss, 44 A.D.2d 687, 688 (N.Y. App. Div. 1974) (summarizing how parent sued landlord and paint manufacturer for injuries caused to child who ate lead containing paint chips; defendants counterclaimed against the father for apportionment of damages).

145 See, e.g., Jackson v. Wilmington Hous., No. 81C-MR-31, 1986 Del. Super. LEXIS 1143, at *5-6 (Del. Super. Ct. Apr. 10, 1986) (rejecting claim that intervening negligence of parents in failing to protect their children was a superseding cause of any harm to the child); Davis, 223 So.2d at 918-19 (rejecting claim that the mother’s behavior in this case was the proximate cause of her child’s injury); Caroline, 269 Md. at 129-31 (finding that the mother’s actions were insufficient to warrant a superseding negligence instruction); Morales, 44 A.D. 2d at 688 (dismissing claim against the father for apportionment of damages).

courts began admitting these claims. In the period between 1990 and 2009, courts admitted forty percent of defendants' counterclaims alleging some form of parental responsibility. Some courts refused to bar claims for negligent supervision. Other courts allowed parental liability claims for contribution. At the same time, some courts, particularly in states where parental immunity protection remained stronger, would admit claims against parents in cases where parental conduct included actions amounting to more than negligent supervision. Examples include parents who did not seek prompt medical attention, painted their apartment themselves, owned the premises, or oversaw or conducted the renovation. Through the last two decades, courts have shown an increasing willingness to admit counterclaims alleging parental monitoring

negligence of the landlord because the landlord owes an independent duty of care).

The first case was Ankiewicz v. Kinder, which allowed a claim for contribution against the mother of a child who suffered lead injuries. See Ankiewicz v. Kinder, 563 N.E.2d 678, 686-87 (Mass. 1990).

During the period between 1990 and March 2009, defendants raised counterclaims against parents in twenty-five cases and in ten of these cases, the courts admitted the claims. These results are based on a search of all federal and state cases conducted on Westlaw in March 2009. The search terms used were: “contribut! Negligen!” /p parent and lead /s paint; “comparat! Negligen!” /p parent and lead /s paint; “contribut! Negligen!” /p (father mother) and lead /s paint; “comparat! Negligen!” /p (father mother) and lead /s paint /100 child! and neglig! /s (parent mother father) /50 lead; lead /s paint /100 child! and contribut! /s (parent mother father); lead /s paint /100 child! and apportion! /s (parent mother father); lead /s paint /100 (infant minor) and neglig! /s (parent mother father) /50 lead; lead /s paint /100 (infant minor) and contribut! /s (parent mother father); lead /s paint /100 (infant minor) and lead /s paint /100 (infant minor).

This court noted that while parental immunity generally bars claims of negligent supervision, here there was parental failure to act even when the parent had actual knowledge of high lead levels and the means to reduce them. Cooper v. Cnty. of Rensselaer, 697 N.Y.S.2d 486, 491-92 (N.Y. Sup. Ct. 1999).


See Cantave, 266 A.D.2d. at 493; Alharb, 199 A.D.2d at 230.


liability. 155 This willingness correlates with the diffusion of knowledge among parents about the hazards of lead. As parents are repeatedly notified 156 of the hazards of lead and told to protect their children from lead consumption, courts are increasingly willing to consider imposing liability on parents who do not comply with existing monitoring norms. 157

2. Pregnant Women and Alcohol Consumption

In recent years, different sources warn pregnant women or women who are trying to conceive of the harms of alcohol consumption for the health of their fetuses. 158 Specifically, women are warned of the dangers of Fetal Alcohol Syndrome to the physical and mental well-being of their fetus. Fetal Alcohol Syndrome can cause mental

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155 It is important to note that these published cases do not indicate whether the parents were eventually found contributorily liable; they merely indicate that courts became increasingly willing to admit and allow these claims to be litigated. Yet, these opinions underscore an important evolution in courts’ attitudes toward a willingness to entertain the possibility of parental liability as the knowledge of the dangers of lead became common knowledge.

156 Only two court decisions treated the parents’ actual knowledge of the existence of lead in their premises and its effects as a factor in determining liability. See Richardson v. Schochat, No. LPLCV 9703982645, 1998 Conn. Super. LEXIS 255, at *1, 4-6, 6 n.2 (Conn. Super. Ct. Jan. 29, 1998) (stating that court will allow a claim against parent only where parent intentionally permitted child to ingest lead; mentioning that in this case lead condition was a latent defect beyond knowledge of parent); Cooper v. Cnty. of Rensselaer, 697 N.Y.S.2d 486, 491-92 (N.Y. Sup. Ct. 1999) (allowing a counterclaim where parents received results of child’s first lead blood test and failed to follow prescribed precautions, such as sweeping paint chips and washing child’s toys and hands).

157 The diffusion of knowledge about the dangers of lead was not the only factor affecting the acceptance of these claims. Another important factor was the constriction or abolition of the Parental Immunity Doctrine in many states. See infra Part IV.A.

158 Fetal Alcohol Syndrome was first identified in the United States in 1973. However, the flow of this knowledge to the general public occurred gradually. For one, it was only in 1989 that mandatory labeling of a birth defects message on alcohol beverages was implemented. Furthermore, it was in 1997 that the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists and American Academy of Pediatrics issued a statement on alcohol use and pregnancy, which was published in AM. ACAD. OF PEDIATRICS, GUIDELINES FOR PERINATAL CARE (4th ed. 1997), NATL. TASK FORCE ON FETAL ALCOHOL SYNDROME & FETAL ALCOHOL EFFECT, REDUCING ALCOHOL-EXPOSED PREGNANCIES 19 (2009), available at http://www.cdc.gov/ncbddd/fasd/documents/121972RedAlcohPreg+Cov.pdf (providing the timeline of the national efforts to prevent alcohol-exposed pregnancies); see also NATL. INST. ON ALCOHOL ABUSE & ALCOHOLISM OF THE NATL. INST. OF HEALTH, Alcohol Alert, No. 13 PH 297, NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF HEALTH, July 1991, http://pubs.niaaa.nih.gov/publications/aa13.htm.
retardation, defects of major organ systems, growth retardation, damage to the nervous system, and facial malformations.\textsuperscript{159} Popular pregnancy guide books such as \textit{What to Expect When You Are Expecting} and websites for expecting mothers usually caution that women should completely abstain from alcohol during pregnancy.\textsuperscript{160} Bars, restaurants, and liquor shops exhibit signs warning of the dangers of alcohol to pregnant women.\textsuperscript{161} Medical professionals caring for pregnant women routinely warn their patients of the dangers of consuming alcohol during pregnancy.\textsuperscript{162} Currently, the dangers of alcohol consumption appear to be common knowledge at least among pregnant women.\textsuperscript{163}


\textsuperscript{162} Medical organizations guidelines instruct prenatal caregivers to address alcohol consumption during pregnancy as part of their routine care. See, e.g., Am. Coll. of Obstetricians & Gynecologists, Committee Opinion No. 422: At Risk Drinking and Illicit Drug Use: Ethical Issues in Obstetric and Gynecologic Practice 2 (2008), available at http://www.acog.org/from_home/publications/ethics/co422.pdf (concluding that physician advice has been effective in reducing alcohol use during pregnancy and that physicians have an ethical obligation to screen and intervene to prevent alcohol use); Health & Ethics Policies of the Am. Med. Ass'n House of Delegates, Report I-98, reaff'd CSAPH Rep. 2, A-08, H-420.962, H-420.991 (encouraging physicians to inquire routinely about alcohol use in the course of providing prenatal care and inform their patients of the effects of alcohol consumption during pregnancy).

\textsuperscript{163} See Grace Chang et al., \textit{Alcohol Use by Pregnant Women: Partners, Knowledge, and Other Predictors}, 67 J. Stud. on Alcohol 245, 248 (2006) (explaining a survey
For years, state legislatures concerned about the health of fetuses have implemented different measures including civil commitment and criminal prosecution to prevent the use of illegal drugs among pregnant women. As the dangers of alcohol consumption during pregnancy became known not just among medical professionals but also among women of child-bearing years, state legislatures began implementing measures to prevent alcohol consumption during pregnancy.

Since 1989, but mostly in the 1990s and after the turn of the century, state legislatures began enacting statutes that ranged in the severity of their enforcement measures. At one end of the spectrum, some states adopted legislative pronouncements that support medical professionals who discover during a routine exam or conversation with a pregnant patient that she uses alcohol to encourage her to undergo treatment and facilitate such treatment. Other states went further, adopting reporting requirements statutes. These reporting

showing that about ninety-five percent of pregnant women and their partners displayed knowledge of the harmful effects of alcohol during pregnancy); Suzanne Tough et al., Do Women Change Their Drinking Behaviors While Trying to Conceive?: An Opportunity for Preconception Counseling, 4 CLINICAL MED. & RES. 97, 101 (2006) (explaining that ninety-nine percent of pregnant women surveyed knew that alcohol was not recommended during pregnancy). For court opinions, see for example State v. Zimmerman, No. 96-CF-529, 1996 WL 858398, at *4 (Wis. Cir. Ct. Sept. 18, 1996), rev’d, State v. Deborah J.Z., 596 N.W.2d 490 (Wis. Ct. App. 1999) (“A pregnant woman who consumes alcohol should know that it will enter her fetus. This also is common knowledge.”).


165 See, e.g., OR. REV. STAT. ANN. § 430.905 (West 2009).
requirements vary, often including both mandatory and voluntary reporting responsibilities. The mandatory reporting requirements focus mostly on medical professionals,\textsuperscript{167} while the voluntary reporting requirements encourage anyone who observes habitual and excessive consumption of alcohol by a pregnant woman to report to the relevant authorities who could offer treatment options.\textsuperscript{168} At the same time, some states adopted legislation authorizing medical professionals to compel a pregnant woman to undergo a test for alcohol use.\textsuperscript{169}

Legislation in some states featured more severe measures. These states incorporated alcohol consumption during pregnancy as a factor in neglect and abuse determinations. Under these statutes, consumption of alcohol during pregnancy combined with an adverse effect on the child could lead to a finding that the mother neglected and abused the child, and the state could take the child from the mother.\textsuperscript{170} Finally, at the farthest end of the spectrum, five jurisdictions currently provide for involuntary civil confinement and treatment of women who consume alcohol during pregnancy.\textsuperscript{171} In these states, a woman who consumes alcohol during pregnancy can be ordered against her will into a treatment facility to prevent additional alcohol consumption that may endanger her fetus.\textsuperscript{172}

Commentators arguing against imposing liability on pregnant women who consume alcohol expose the complexity of imposing parenting norms as legal standards.\textsuperscript{173} However, the imposition of


\textsuperscript{168} See, e.g., MINN. STAT. ANN. § 626.5561(1); N.D. CENT. CODE § 50-25.1-18(2); S.D. CODIFIED LAWS §§ 34-20A-70 (2010).

\textsuperscript{169} See, e.g., KY. REV. STAT. ANN. § 214.160(2) (West 2009).

\textsuperscript{170} See, e.g., ARIZ. REV. STAT. ANN. § 8-819 (2010); IND. CODE ANN. § 31-34-1-11 (2010); KY. REV. STAT. ANN. § 214.160(4) (West 2010).

\textsuperscript{171} These jurisdictions are Minnesota, Oklahoma, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. See MINN. STAT. ANN. § 626.5561(2) (West 2010); N.D. CENT. CODE § 50-25.1-18 (2009); OKLA. STAT. tit. 63, § 1-546.5 (West 2009); S.D. CODIFIED LAWS § 34-20A-63 (2008); WIS. STAT. ANN. § 51.46 (2009).


\textsuperscript{173} See generally Thomas & Rickert, supra note 133 (arguing for the need for a new strategy to enhance women’s reproductive freedom, which is eroded by pregnancy alcohol consumption laws); Judith Kahn, Note, Of Woman’s First Disobedience: Forsaking a Duty of Care to Her Fetus: Is This a Mother’s Crime?, 53 BROOK. L. REV. 807
alcohol consumption restraints on pregnant women particularly underscores the way in which knowledge of best child monitoring (or in this case fetus monitoring) practices is incorporated into the law. As information regarding the dangers of alcohol use became more commonplace, the legal regime became increasingly willing to enforce these practices on those who either remained ignorant or chose to ignore the information. As stated by one court: “What happens when a woman chooses to ignore the information and continues to consume substantial quantities of alcohol . . . throughout her entire pregnancy? Should society be forced to sit back, shrug its shoulders and pay for all the long-term medical and social costs associated with that irresponsible behavior?”174

3. Obesity as a Factor in Removal and Custody Proceedings

The prevalence of obesity among American children and adolescents from six to nineteen years of age tripled between 1980 and 2004.175 Obesity carries significant health risks for children, including elevated blood pressure, high cholesterol, type 2 diabetes, cancer, and heart disease.176 Obese children also suffer from higher rates of depression, anxiety, and obsessive-compulsive disorder.177 Furthermore, childhood obesity, particularly in adolescence, is a key predictor for obesity in adulthood.178

As the scope of the obesity epidemic and its dire ramifications became common knowledge, an increasing number of jurisdictions began incorporating this knowledge into parental care standards. In general, the new standard dictates that a responsible parent needs to

(1987) (arguing that enacting measures against pregnant women who consume alcohol violates constitutional law principles and the Parental Immunity Doctrine, and imposes fear rather than responsibility).


177 See O’Connor, supra note 176, at 137.

provide healthy nutrition and maintain a healthy lifestyle for his child to protect that child from the dangers of obesity. The incorporation of knowledge about the dangers of obesity into legal standards is occurring in two areas: neglect and abuse proceedings as well as custody determinations. First, states increasingly consider child obesity as a cause for removing a child and placing him in a foster home. Courts now order the removal of obese children from their homes where the parents over-feed the obese child, where the parents of an obese child lead an obese lifestyle themselves, or when parents of an obese child fail to address their child’s weight problem through a treatment program. Second, in divorce cases, courts prefer as the sole or main custodian the parent who is more attentive to the child’s obesity, by providing a healthy diet and exercise regime.

The incorporation of knowledge about the hazards of obesity for children into legal standards is a new development. Consequently, the


180 See, e.g., In re Marriage of Ostroy, No. B151432, 2002 WL 1352443, at *6 (Cal. Ct. App. June 20, 2002) (determining that it was in child’s best interest to remain in custody of her mother for a longer period during the week because mother kept child physically active, talked about nutrition, provided healthy diet, and supplied child with a healthy view of food); In re Marriage of Morales, 213 Or. App. 91, 98-99, 107 (Or. Ct. App. 2007) ( awarding custody of obese son to father, who took better care of him by promoting a healthy diet and exercise regime, while mother failed to endorse a healthy lifestyle).
media has given some of these cases extensive coverage. Commentators have criticized this trend by exposing the difficulties of transforming even desirable parenting norms into legal standards. At the same time, the entrenchment of knowledge about obesity into legal standards continues, as courts increasingly consider obesity in abuse and neglect proceedings and divorce custody cases.

4. Concerns About Enabling Structures and Intensive Parenting Norms

The critique charged at incorporating preferred child rearing practices related to obesity and lead and alcohol consumption into legal standards exposes the complexities of turning even desirable parenting norms into legal standards. Yet, our goal in this Part is not to criticize the appropriateness of these specific measures. We seek, instead, to reveal the effectiveness of the enabling structures that repeatedly turn new knowledge of preferred child-monitoring practices into legal standards. We expect increased pressure on courts and legislatures alike to turn additional forms of sophisticated child rearing practices adopted by intensive parents into legal standards.

While different Intensive Parenting norms may appear innocuous and unlikely to become law, the movement of Intensive Parenting carries significant social force. Many already believe that Intensive Parenting is the preferred, if not the only legitimate parenting style. Therefore, Intensive Parenting is effectively mandatory in many communities. The Intensive Parenting movement exerts pressure to

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181 See, e.g., Lisa Belkin, Watching Her Weight, N.Y. TIMES, July 8, 2001, Section 6 at 30 (reporting the removal of Anamarie, who at four weighed over 110 pounds, while the state filed child abuse charges against her parents for failure to manage her weight problems); Fat Child's Mother Guilty of Neglect, BBC NEWS, Jan. 10, 1998, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/46077.stm (reporting the trial of the mother of Christina, a morbidly obese teenager who died from obesity-related complications in 1996).

182 See generally Arani, supra note 133 (contending that state intervention should only be permitted when obesity is so severe that child’s life is in imminent danger or in order to enable child to lead a normal life); Deena Patel, Super-Sized Kids: Using the Law to Combat Morbid Obesity in Children, 43 FAM. CT. REV. 164 (2005) (discussing arguments for and against state intervention to remove obese children).

183 See generally Jo Bridgman, Parental Responsibility, Responsible Parenting and Legal Regulation, in RESPONSIBILITY, LAW AND THE FAMILY 233 (Jo Bridgman, Heather Keatige & Craig Lin eds., 2008) (discussing the transformation of parental responsibilities into legal obligations).

184 Similarly, although the law does not mandate breastfeeding, the social atmosphere coerces women to feel obligated to breastfeed their babies and feel guilty if they cannot or do not desire to do so. Hence, for many mothers baby feeding choices
invest all means to improve the well-being of children, thereby increasing the likelihood of hasty incorporation of child rearing practices into legal standards.

For example, women who are pregnant or expect to become pregnant are advised to take folic acid vitamin supplements. Folic acid vitamin is very effective in preventing grave birth defects. In some recent cases, women sued doctors for failing to advise them of the importance of taking folic acid, resulting in the birth of a disabled baby. Under Intensive Parenting norms, pregnant women are expected to be informed regarding the ways to achieve an optimal pregnancy. The importance of taking folic acid is becoming common knowledge and is featured on pregnancy websites and pregnancy and conception books. The existing enabling structures are likely to facilitate counter-claims similar to those raised in the lead cases. Physicians sued for failing to advise women to take folic acid would argue that the mother is contributorily liable because she should have known about the need to take folic acid from other sources. Similarly, the laws imposing liability on pregnant women who consume alcohol could open the door to the imposition of liability on women who do not take folic acid vitamins. While encouraging consumption of folic acid vitamins is a desirable social norm, its desirability as a legal standard is quite dubious.

The hasty incorporation of Intensive Parenting norms into legal standards carries an additional hazard. Not all forms of child rearing knowledge are made alike. Parents often discover that recommendations of best safety and child rearing practices change through the years. For example, Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (“SIDS”), which causes infants to stop breathing while asleep in their cribs, is the leading cause of death for infants under the age of one are limited because use of formula milk is consistently delegitimized. See Ellie Lee & Jeanie Bristow, Rules for Feeding Babies, in REGULATING AUTONOMY: SEX, REPRODUCTION AND FAMILY 72, 73-74 (Shelly Day Sclater et al. eds., 2009).

Until the 1990s, experts recommended that babies sleep on their abdomens in order to reduce the risk of SIDS. Yet, since the 1990s experts have cautioned parents that having infants sleep on their abdomen actually increases the risk of SIDS and have advised them to ensure that babies sleep on their backs.

Furthermore, the abundance of information on the Internet about best child rearing practices can, at times, be confusing or even contradictory. For example, experts warn that pregnant women should be careful when eating fish because the mercury contained in the fish could adversely affect their fetuses' developing nervous systems. Yet, in December 2008, the Food and Drug Administration published a draft recommendation for pregnant and breast-feeding women to consume up to two servings of fish per week (with the exception of four species) because of the benefit to fetal brain development.

Incorporation of any scientific knowledge into legal standards carries the dangers of contradictory evidence or later disproof. Yet, incorporation of parenting practices also carries the risk of abrogating parental decisional autonomy. Intensive Parenting has already become, in the eyes of many, the preferred, if not the only legitimate parenting style. Intensive Parenting is effectively, a mandatory social norm in many communities as parents engage in Intensive Parenting to avoid being viewed as bad parents. Since legal standards act to

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189 See SPock, supra note 42, at 150.
192 The report was made available online in January 2009. See Draft Report of Quantitative Risk and Benefit Assessment of Consumption of Commercial Fish, Focusing on Fetal Neurodevelopmental Effects (Measured by Verbal Development in Children) and on Coronary Heart Disease and Stroke in the General Population, FDA (2009), http://www.fda.gov/Food/FoodSafety/Product-SpecificInformation/Seafood/Methylmercury/ucm088794.htm. For media reports on the pending publication of the new recommendation, see for example Editorial, So Is Fish Safe To Eat or Not?, N.Y. TIMES, Dec. 23, 2008, at A28.
193 See Lee & Bristow, supra note 184, at 74.
enhance Intensive Parenting norms, whether directly through a specific legal mandate or indirectly through anxious defensive parenting,\textsuperscript{194} we caution against hasty incorporation of Intensive Parenting knowledge into the law. Beyond the dangers of turning confusing and impartial knowledge of best child rearing practices into law lie the hazards of endorsing child rearing norms, which are culture and class dependent as well as gender-biased.

V. INTENSIVE PARENTING AS OVER-PARENTING: POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Intensive Parenting standards are already embedded into the law, and the enabling structures exist to facilitate the evolution of additional legal standards that integrate the norms of Intensive Parenting. In this Part we caution against uncritical transformation of Intensive Parenting norms into legal standards. We argue that Intensive Parenting is not an innocuous child rearing practice. Instead, Intensive Parenting incurs the danger of turning into over-parenting.

As early as the 1930s, Clara Savage Littledale, the editor of a popular magazine for parents and the host of an NBC parenting radio program,\textsuperscript{195} cautioned against the hazards of over-parenting. Littledale, who was considered an “inventor” of American parenthood,\textsuperscript{196} helped promote the notion that parenthood is a science and that a good parent is an informed and an educated one.\textsuperscript{197} At the same time, Littledale endorsed moderation and sensibility in parenting. “One way to be a failure as a mother is to overplay the role,” she counseled an anxious mother on her radio show.\textsuperscript{198}

In this Part, we argue that although Intensive Parenting has important advantages, it also carries adverse social and individual ramifications. We caution against hasty incorporation of Intensive Parenting norms into legal standards because such incorporation is likely to intensify the trend of Intensive Parenting. Moreover, as the first signs of a social backlash against Intensive Parenting are


\textsuperscript{195} Clara Savage Littledale was the first editor of Children: The Magazine for Parents (which was renamed Parents Magazine in 1928). See Jill Lepore, Baby Talk: The Fuss About Parenthood, NEW YORKER, June 29, 2009, at 76. Parents Magazine today has more than 15 million subscribers. See id.

\textsuperscript{196} Id.

\textsuperscript{197} Id.

\textsuperscript{198} Id.
appearing,\textsuperscript{199} we contend that hasty incorporation of Intensive Parenting norms into legal standards will prevent a social evolution away from these parenting norms.

Specifically, we argue that Intensive Parenting is a culture, race, ethnicity, and class specific practice of parenting. Intensive Parenting is, in essence, an American middle-class parenting trend. Its demands of exceedingly sophisticated knowledge and extensive monitoring may be unsuitable, impractical, or simply undesirable to parents belonging to other cultures, races, ethnicities, or social classes. Furthermore, since to this day the primary caregiver is often the mother, the extensive demands of Intensive Parenting particularly affect women. Secondly, we will discuss new psychological research analyzing the effects of Intensive Parenting. As the first generation of children raised by intensive parents is reaching college, a growing body of psychological research indicates the ramifications of Intensive Parenting in terms of children’s independence and psychological well-being.

A. Social Ramifications

1. Intensive Parenting and Cultural and Ethnic Differences

On May 10, 1997, the New York City Administration for Children’s services placed Liv Sorensen, a fourteen-month-old toddler, in foster care for four days, after the police arrested her Danish parents for leaving her alone in her stroller outside an East Village restaurant while they had a meal.\textsuperscript{200} The parents later explained that they were following a Danish norm of leaving children unattended outside restaurants and shops and did not know this practice was unacceptable in New York City.\textsuperscript{201} The \textit{New York Times} reported that most parents interviewed in Manhattan about the incident said they believed the couple was negligent in leaving the child outside, although some believed that they carried no malicious intent.\textsuperscript{202} The \textit{New York Times} also published an op-ed piece sardonically criticizing

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{199} See Belkin, \textit{supra} note 15, at MM19 (arguing that the trend of Intensive Parenting is ending); Gibbs, \textit{supra} note 37 (describing a backlash against Intensive Parenting).
\item \textsuperscript{201} Marcano, \textit{supra} note 200, at B3.
\item \textsuperscript{202} \textit{Id.}
\end{itemize}
the baby’s parents. At the same time that Liv’s parents were charged in New York for endangering the welfare of a child, their arrest caused astonishment in Copenhagen. “Come on, we do this all the time,” Line Vang, a Danish mother told an AP correspondent. “We go in for a cup of coffee, sit so we can see the stroller, go out and check once in a while and that’s it.”

Childrearing practices vary considerably across cultures. Many alternative formats of childcare exist where it is not necessarily the mother, the parents, or even a particular adult providing the care. In many societies across the world, siblings play a central role in providing care and instruction. While European-American families rarely use a babysitter under the age of twelve, in many societies five to ten year olds care for toddlers. In some cultures, grandparents play a central role in child rearing. In other societies, the children of several mothers mingle, and whoever is free takes care of them, regardless of whether they are her children or not. In many cultures, the assumption is that “the mother is often too busy to tend to the child.” In some cultures, “a mother is chastised by peers if she is overly fond of her child.”

Parenting is a social construct, created by social and cultural contexts and norms. In a multicultural country such as the United States, the absorption into law of the current trend of Intensive Parenting might prove intolerant of the coexisting diverse child rearing methods. Diverse concepts of parenting endorse different values and embody different advantages for child rearing. For example, communities vary in their expectations of whether parents should serve as playmates of the young. Parents exercising Intensive Parenting are often their toddlers’ playmates. In contrast, in other communities, siblings or extended family members are toddlers’

204 Criminal charges were later dropped. John Sullivan, Charges Against Danish Mother Are Dropped, N.Y. TIMES, May 17, 1997, at 123.
205 Marcano, supra note 200, at B3.
207 Id. at 122-23; SKENAZY, supra note 56, at 80.
208 HEATHER MONTGOMERY, AN INTRODUCTION TO CHILDHOOD: ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON CHILDREN’S LIVES 107 (2008).
209 SKENAZY, supra note 56, at 81.
211 Id. at 114.
playmates. In these societies, toddlers and pre-school children benefit from learning early on to organize their own activities, settle disputes, avoid danger, and deal with injuries without adult supervision. Yet, among European-Americans, leaving children alone even for a short period of time may appear as neglect.

Race and ethnicity also account for differences in child rearing practices. Historical accounts indicate a prejudice in post-emancipation United States concerning the alleged parental incompetence of African-Americans. As African-Americans were presumed unfit for freedom and in need of supervision, they were also presumed incompetent to rear and socialize their own children. Prejudices based on differences in child rearing practices prevail to this day. For example, shared parenting, in which children move back and forth between households of close female relatives, is common among African-Americans; however, child welfare services often view these shared parenting arrangements as neglect, leading to the removal of children from their homes.

Intensive Parenting is a culture-specific norm of child rearing. Yet, fear of legal liability, child abuse charges, and other state interventions (such as removal of child by social services) may force parents and communities to alter their heritage and traditions. Furthermore, current biases in the child welfare system contribute to a

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212 ROGOFF, supra note 206, at 116 (reporting on communities including East African societies, a working class town in central Italy, and a Mayan town in Guatemala).

213 Id. at 124 (describing observations of preschool children and toddlers in Polynesia).


217 Id. at 150.


disproportionate representation of minority children in the foster-care system. Incorporation of Intensive Parenting norms into legal standards is likely to enhance this bias, as the gap between the practices of minorities and the legal standard will grow. Once child rearing norms are incorporated into law, courts often find it hard to take diverse practices into account.

Although certain safety practices warrant corresponding legal standards, other Intensive Parenting norms do not correlate to actual risk prevention nor do they create undisputed advantages to children. Many parents are increasingly incorporating defensive practices into their child rearing routines, often over-estimating risks and over-protecting their children. As indicated, many activities that Americans consider risky are considered natural and safe in other countries and cultures. Consequently, these Intensive Parenting norms do not justify the interruption of years of culture and traditions nor do they justify intensifying the existing bias in the child welfare system against diverse minorities.

2. Intensive Parenting and Class

Middle-class families have shaped the trend of Intensive Parenting and made it the prevalent parenting norm. Television, magazine articles, and movies have all helped in making middle-class lifestyle the reference point for the rest of America, encouraging every parent to aspire to those ideals they see in the media. Yet, sociological research indicates that child rearing practices vary also across social classes. While it is mainly middle-class parents who practice Intensive Parenting, parents of working and poor classes utilize a strikingly different form of child rearing characterized as “natural growth.” Under this child rearing practice, the parent cares for the child while allowing him to grow. The child spends a significant amount of spare time engaging in free play with kin. In addition, these parents do not share the interventionist approach of middle-class parents.

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220 See Fontes, supra note 214, at 19, 26; Roberts, supra note 18, at 8, 17.
221 Jeanne Louise Carriere, Representing the Native American: Culture, Jurisdiction and the Indian Child Welfare Act, 79 Iowa L. Rev. 585, 589-90 (1994) (showing that although the Indian Child Welfare Act was designed to end enforced acculturation of Native American children, dominant culture is resisting abandoning control).
222 Skenazy, supra note 56, at 44-47.
223 Id. at 82.
224 See Warner, supra note 24, at 20-21.
225 Lareau, supra note 20, at 31.
Instead, they expect educators and other professionals to take a leadership role. 226 While these practices differ significantly from Intensive Parenting, research shows that they also carry significant advantages for children. The “natural growth” practice grants children an autonomous world apart from adults. They develop important social competencies, such as learning how to be members of informal peer groups, how to manage their time, and how to strategize and negotiate open conflict during play. 227 Overall, these children tend to show more creativity, spontaneity, enjoyment, and initiative in their leisure time than middle class children. 228

Child rearing preferences aside, Intensive Parenting is often unfeasible for working class and poor parents whose resources are limited. 229 Staying consistently informed and monitoring is costly in terms of both finances and time. Families with two working parents, holding two or more jobs between them, are more constrained in their ability to volunteer at their children’s educational settings, participate in parent-child classes, or coach a child’s sports team. These parents are also less likely to have the time to engage in routine assessment of child development issues on the Internet or keep abreast of the latest recalled children’s items. 230 At the same time, middle-class parents, who set the standard for current parenting trends, are the target of child rearing literature and manufacturers because they can afford these products and will take all the measures they can to become better parents. 231 However, these technological monitoring gadgets, such as child GPS tracking devices, can be costly and beyond the means of many working families. 232

While members of lower socio-economic classes may not desire to endorse the values of Intensive Parenting and cannot afford its

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226 Id. at 163.
227 Id. at 67.
228 Id. at 83.
229 Appell, supra note 219, at 585-86 (describing the inappropriateness of evaluating poor mothers according to middle-class standards).
230 See for example the discussion in a popular parenting forum regarding the need to recall baby bottles that may be toxic, see Alisha, Baby Bottle Recall!!! They are Toxic, iParenting (Feb. 7, 2008, 20:48 CDT), http://interact.iparenting.com/boards/showthread.php?t=179348.
231 Lepore, supra note 195, at 76.
232 The costs of a GPS tracking service include both the initial service and a monthly service fee. See the Ultimate GPS Child Tracking Buyer’s Guide, GPS MAGAZINE (May 6, 2008), http://gpsmagazine.com/2008/05/the_ultimate_gps_child_trackin.php (discussing different GPS child tracking products).
practices, the law in the area of custody disputes is already compelling them to abide by the standards of Intensive Parenting. Specifically, as discussed, many states apply the past parental caretaking roles test, which grants custody to a parent in relation to the degree of his or her involvement prior to divorce.\textsuperscript{233} As our interviews indicate, lawyers advise their lower income clients, who approach them on the eve of divorce, to engage in Intensive Parenting in order to improve their standing in custody disputes.\textsuperscript{234} Hence, the law is coercing parents who belong to lower socio-economic classes to abide by the costly norms of Intensive Parenting.\textsuperscript{235} Furthermore, parents held legally accountable for obesity or lead and alcohol consumption are usually lower income parents.\textsuperscript{236} Thus, the enabling structures that incorporate child rearing knowledge into legal standards already target parents belonging to lower socio-economic classes.

3. Intensive Parenting and Women

Child rearing is still, by and large, the occupation of women. The strong connection between child bearing and child rearing is still the dominant cultural factor in mothers’ lives.\textsuperscript{237} The traditional patriarchal division of labor in the American family has not significantly changed: mothers remain the primary caregivers.\textsuperscript{238}

\textsuperscript{233} See supra note 103 and accompanying text.
\textsuperscript{234} See supra Part III.A.
\textsuperscript{235} See generally June Carbone, Has the Gender Divide Become Unbridgeable? The Implications for Social Equality, 5 J. GENDER RACE & JUST. 31, 32 (2001–2002) (arguing that the new social mores are not responses to interests of the middle class, but aggravate class, gender, and race inequality).
\textsuperscript{236} See supra Part IV.B and accompanying notes; see also MICHE & CAHN, supra note 48, at 34-40 (arguing that poor women are main targets of pregnancy policing laws); Michele Goodwin, Prosecuting the Womb, 76 GEO. WASH. L. REV. 1657, 1663-64 (2008) (arguing that lethal drug laws target poor women of color).
Recent surveys show that the amount of child care women perform today has roughly remained the same as in the 1960s: women perform eighty percent of the childcare work, whereas men, on average, perform about twenty percent of that work. Incidentally, the public discourse on parenting tends to focus on “bad mothers” and not on “bad fathers.” Furthermore, companies promoting child safety target mainly women and many advertisements cater to the old-time fear of being “a bad mother.”

Some call the feminine version of Intensive Parenting “the New Momism.” Others call it “Intensive Mothering.” Endorsed and promoted by some mothers, “Momism” aggressively encourages women to perfect their motherhood as a means for self fulfillment. “Momism” requires mothers to be unselfish and devote their existence to promoting their children’s best interests. “Momism” holds the mother, not the father, responsible for any imperfections in their child’s development. Such demand for perfection does not skip monitoring, safety concerns and intense involvement in every aspect of the child’s life, including course choices and dealing with unsatisfactory grades in college.

Critics of “Momism” have commented that oftentimes this perfectionism is beyond most mothers’ reach. Specifically, Judith Warner has called the race to perfection that burdens mothers “a kind
of too-muchness.”249 This “too-muchness,” Warner argues, harms both mothers and children.250 Much of the pressure on mothers, as Warner describes it, is stirred towards constant monitoring, such as “attachment parenting,” baby-wearing, co-sleeping, long-term breast feeding, and signing the children up for “activities” (soccer, ballet, music classes, etc.).251 As she notes, there is “so much pressure to always be doing something with or for them.”252 Mothers are led to believe that “whatever was done at home was best”253 and that “institutional” activities were more or less unacceptable.254

Since women bear the brunt of child caretaking and are more affected by the norms of Intensive Parenting, we posit that incorporating the norms of Intensive Parenting into legal standards would disproportionately affect women. First, the norms of Intensive Parenting exert particular psychological pressure on women,255 placing them at higher risk for anxiety256 and depression (caused by, among other things, exhaustion).257 Research also indicates that women, more than men, are placed in an uncomfortable and anxiety-provoking situation at work, as they handle the influx of phone calls from children, schools, and caregivers.258 Furthermore, the lead and alcohol cases demonstrate that when child rearing knowledge is transformed to legal mandates, liability is mainly imposed on mothers.259

249 WARNER, supra note 24, at 4.
250 Id. at 15.
251 Id.
252 Id. at 25.
253 Id. at 26.
254 Id.
255 Id. at 34-44, 126; Arendell, supra note 238, at 1197-98.
256 WARNER, supra note 24, at 189-91, 197-214.
257 Id. at 126.
258 RODE & BARKHUUS, supra note 238, at 3 (study indicates that children tend to contact their mother rather than their father during the workday; hence, in case of need, it is the mother who is more likely to leave work midday to pick up child from school); Noelle Chesley, Blurring Boundaries?: Linking Technology Use, Spillover, Individual Distress and Family Dissatisfaction, 67 J. MARRIAGE & FAM. 1237, 1243-44 (2005) (study finds that, in the case of women only, cellular phone calls from family to work resulted in higher levels of distress); see also Arendell, supra note 238, at 1198-99 (surveying literature on mothers' experience of work-family conflict). But see Rakow & Navaro, supra note 79, at 153 (arguing that cellular phones help working women exercise remote mothering and, thus, enable them to join or stay in labor force).
259 See supra Part V.B and accompanying notes. See generally TSACHI KEREN-PAZ, TORTS, EгалITARIANISM AND DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE 52-53, 60, 74, 78, 122-23, 134 (2007) (demonstrating that parental liability is accorded primarily to the mother, even when
Parents engaging in Intensive Parenting bestow important advantages on their children. Intensive Parenting originated from the desire to produce a securely attached child and evolved to respond to the needs of an increasingly demanding and competitive society. \(^{260}\) Research has shown that Intensive Parenting raises children who are better prepared to deal with institutions and know how to make rules work in their favor, while children raised under different child rearing practices tend to show a sense of constraint in their interactions with institutions. \(^{261}\) Other research has shown the positive effects of Intensive Parenting on academic motivation and achievement, \(^{262}\) behavior in school, \(^{263}\) likelihood of being injured, \(^{264}\) and satisfaction in college. \(^{265}\)

At the same time, as the first generation of children raised by intensive parents reaches college, new psychological research reveals that Intensive Parenting carries not only advantages but also adverse ramifications for children. In this section, we review these pioneering studies and argue that uncritical absorption of Intensive Parenting into legal standards might carry the risk of thwarting one of the most important roles of parents, namely, nurturing a sense of independence and separation from the parent. \(^{266}\)

“Every fall,” reports a University of Virginia professor, “parents drop off their well-groomed freshmen and within two or three days many have consumed a dangerous amount of alcohol and placed themselves both parents could potentially be found liable). \(^{260}\) HAYS, supra note 16, at 44 (discussing the relationship between contemporary Intensive Parenting norms and attachment theorists); Schaefer, supra note 45, at 336-37.

\(^{261}\) See LAREAU, supra note 20, at 5-6.

\(^{262}\) See Grolnick & Ryan, supra note 20, at 149-51 (indicating that involved mothers produced children with higher grades); Keith et al., supra note 20 (showing that increased parental involvement had direct impact on children’s motivation, achievement, and time spent completing homework).

\(^{263}\) See Grolnick & Ryan, supra note 20, at 143 (indicating children of involved mothers were less likely to be disruptive in school).


\(^{265}\) Sara Lipka, Helicopter Parents Help Students, Survey Finds, CHRON. HIGHER EDUC., Nov. 9, 2007, at A1 (citing a survey finding that college students whose parents intervene on their behalf are more active and satisfied with college).

\(^{266}\) Marano, supra note 25, at 64-66.
Over-Parenting

in harm’s way. These kids have been controlled for so long, they just go crazy.”

Intensive Parenting perceives children, irrespective of their age, as vulnerable and helpless. Consequently, Intensive Parenting engages in constant monitoring in order to protect children. It appears that while in the past the job of the parent was to expose the child to the outside world, today’s parents seek to protect their child from the outside world. An emerging body of research, in addition to significant anecdotal evidence, suggest that current trends of Intensive Parenting can in fact be harmful for children. Intensive Parenting does not allow children to develop a sense of independence, self-sufficiency, and coping skills to address life’s challenges. Children raised under Intensive Parenting fail to develop important competencies, including the ability to manage their time, strategize, and negotiate open conflict during play. Overall, they tend to show less creativity, spontaneity, enjoyment, and initiative in their leisure pastime than children raised under different child rearing practices. In addition, research conducted in recent years indicates that children of intensive parents tend not only to be less independent, but also less attentive and caring about others’ feelings. Many of these children

267 See id at 62.
269 Kelley, supra note 66.
270 See, e.g., WENDY S. GROLNICK & KATHY SEAL, PRESSURED PARENTS, STRESSED-OUT KIDS: DEALING WITH COMPETITION WHILE RAISING A SUCCESSFUL CHILD 21-38 (2008) (arguing that excessive control over every aspect of a child’s life actually diminishes the child’s motivation and competence); RICHARD WEISSBOARD, THE PARENTS WE MEAN TO BE: HOW WELL-INTENTED ADULTS UNDERMINE CHILDREN’S MORAL AND EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT 81-97 (2009) (illustrating that intensive closeness between parents and children impedes children’s ability to successfully separate from parents); Gill Valentine & John McKendrick, Children’s Outdoor Play: Exploring Parental Concerns About Children’s Safety and the Changing Nature of Childhood, 28 GEOFORUM 219, 220 (1997) (arguing that fewer children are playing outdoors than in the past, mainly because of their parents’ anxieties about safety, and that this trend is changing the nature of childhood).
271 See LAREAU, supra note 20, at 67; Hofer & Moore, supra note at 90, at 45-49 (reporting a study of college students showing that Intensive parenting is related to problems in self regulation, including time management, organization and other study skills).
272 Lareau, supra note 20, at 83.
273 JEAN M. TWENGE, GENERATION ME: WHY TODAY’S YOUNG AMERICANS ARE MORE
feel that adulthood starts only at thirty. Furthermore, compared to previous generations, they are more likely to suffer from low self-esteem, depression, anxiety, and stress.

Research shows that the children of intensive parents who leave home have perpetual access to their parents via the Internet and the cellular phone. However, this continuous communication infantilizes the young, keeping them in a constant state of dependency. Whenever the slightest complication occurs, they automatically refer to their parents for guidance. It appears that heightened parental involvement has contributed to a decline in students’ decision-making and coping skills. They cannot analyze important decisions associated with the high-school-to-college transition. These deficiencies place this generation of grown children at high risk, compared to previous generations, of making poor choices regarding alcohol, drug abuse, and sexual relationships. In addition, they are more prone to unresolved and escalating conflicts with roommates and academic dishonesty. University officials have observed that in their attempt to prevent their children from making mistakes, parents encourage

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274 See id. at 97.
275 Alvin Rosenfeld & Nicole Wise, The Over-Scheduled Child: Avoiding the Hyper-Parenting Trap, 17 CHILD & ADOLESCENT BEHAVIOR LETTER 1, 6 (2001).
276 TWENGE, supra note 273, at 104-05; Anna M. L. van Brakel et al., A Multifactorial Model for the Etiology of Anxiety in Non-Clinical Adolescents: Main and Interactive Effects of Behavioral Inhibition, Attachment and Parental Rearing, 15 J. CHILD FAM. STUD. 569, 570 (2006). To be sure, depression and anxiety rates have increased among other sectors of the population, but the increase in depression and anxiety levels has been particularly high in children and in students. TWENGE, supra note 273, at 107.
277 Marano, supra note 25, at 64-66. But see NAOMI CAHN & JUNE CARBONE, RED FAMILIES V. BLUE FAMILIES: LEGAL POLARIZATION AND THE CREATION OF CULTURE 50-52, 57-58 (2010); Email from June Carbone to Gaia Bernstein (Oct. 12, 2009) (arguing that in the past children, particularly women, went from parental supervision to being supervised by married men in marriage and workplaces, while now as adulthood is postponed, parental supervision replaces closely supervised structures of previous generations).
278 Marano, supra note 25, at 66. But see CAHN & CARBONE, supra note 277; Email from June Carbone to Gaia Bernstein, supra note 277.
279 HOFER & MOORE, supra note 90, at 39-40 (reporting a study of college students showing that students who have most frequent contact with their parents are less autonomous than other students); Darby Dickerson, Risk Management for the Modern Campus, CAMPUS ACTIVITIES PROGRAMMING MAG., Jan./Feb. 2007, at A12-13.
280 See sources cited supra note 279.
281 See sources cited supra note 279.
their children’s dependence. Consequently, universities are increasingly concerned that Intensive Parenting inhibits the development of students into independent adults.

Moreover, the risks of Intensive Parenting do not stem solely from the extension of this child rearing practice into young adulthood. The source of the problem lies in the style of parenting itself. Psychoanalyst Bruno Bettelheim explains that children’s inner world is impoverished without sufficient mental room for play. Play is a central mechanism through which children get acquainted with the surrounding world and develop a sense of independence and separation. Yet, Intensive Parenting mandates intense supervision, which significantly limits play. The separation process from parents is essential for healthy child development; yet, parents’ over-involvement might put that at risk.

Finally, while some children may be receptive to Intensive Parenting, others may conceive that parenting style as over-parenting. Intensive Parenting may simply prove too intense for some children. One mother, a newspaper editor, reported that in order to resolve her struggle between the pressure to spend time with her daughter and maintain her career, she decided to work at night; however, it was her daughter who “was after her to get a day job. It seemed she was finding that having Mom around most of the time wasn’t all it was cracked up to be, particularly if Mom was forever on the edge.” Indeed, “[t]he children are the center of the household and everything

282 Hunt, supra note 30, at 10.
283 Id.
285 See David Elkind, Thanks for the Memory: The Lasting Value of True Play, 58 YOUNG CHILDREN 46 (2003) (discussing the importance of free play).
286 Valentine & McKendrick, supra note 270, at 220-21; David Elkind, Playtime Is Over, N.Y. TIMES, Mar. 27, 2010, at A19 (reporting that schools are hiring “recess coaches” to supervise students during recess).
287 See WARNER, supra note 24, at 233, 237. See generally Mary D. Salter Ainsworth, Infant-Mother Attachment, 34 AM. PSYCHOLOGIST 932 (1979) (implying that healthy mother-infant attachment involves, among other things, nurturing the infant’s sense of security in the mother-child bond and, thus, the ability to separate without anxiety); Arlene Skolnick, The Myth of the Vulnerable Child, PSYCHOL TODAY, Feb. 1978, at 60 (on breeding children’s “learned helplessness” through parental overprotection); Kenneth Sullivan & Anna Sullivan, Adolescent-Parent Separation, 16 DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOL 93 (1980) (finding that separation is crucial in facilitating boys’ growth and healthy development as independent adults while retaining emotional ties to parents).
288 WARNER, supra note 24, at 4.
goes around them," observed a concerned mother, "[a]nd you can make your kids totally crazy in the process." 289

CONCLUSION

In this Article, we described the socio-technological trend of Intensive Parenting. We revealed that society expects the dominant contemporary parent to be cultivating, knowledgeable, and monitoring in order to be considered a good-enough parent. We focused on Internet and cellular phone technologies to illustrate that use of our technologies is influenced by Intensive Parenting, while at the same time enabling and encouraging this social trend. Both technologies increase parents’ abilities to be cultivating, knowledgeable, and monitoring. The Internet gives parents access to an unprecedented multitude of sources, whether scientific or popular, concerning child rearing techniques, methods, and dilemmas. The cellular phone enables parents to stay in constant contact with their children even when not in physical proximity, as well as track children down using the GPS feature.

The law has an important role in enhancing the socio-technological trend of Intensive Parenting. First, we showed that in the area of custody disputes, Intensive Parenting standards are already embedded into the law, as courts look to pre-divorce parenting practices to determine custody allocations and tie child support payment to parenting time. Secondly, we uncovered existing enabling structures that are likely to facilitate the evolution of additional legal standards that integrate the norms of Intensive Parenting. We pointed out that the constriction and partial abolition of the Parental Immunity Doctrine opens the door to lawsuits by children against parents for failing to abide by the high standards of Intensive Parenting. We also showed that new forms of knowledge regarding preferred child rearing practices are repeatedly incorporated into legal standards. We cautioned that the child rearing practices of Intensive Parenting are likely to be similarly incorporated.

While we support parental involvement in children’s lives and acknowledge that Intensive Parenting can carry important advantages, we argued against hasty and uncritical incorporation of such norms into the law. We showed that Intensive Parenting can be excessive and has the potential of becoming, at least for some, over-parenting. We also demonstrated that Intensive Parenting standards are class, race, 289 Id. at 6.
ethnicity, and culture dependent and are, furthermore, gender-biased. Therefore, legal enforcement to standardize parenting styles carries the risk of cultural coercion and is detrimental to minorities, historically disenfranchised communities, women, and people whose child rearing philosophies differ from the prevailing one. Finally, psychological research shows that when Intensive Parenting becomes over-parenting, it may carry adverse ramifications to children’s well-being.