Why Do Parents Become Involved? Research Findings and Implications

Kathleen V. Hoover-Dempsey
Joan M. T. Walker
Howard M. Sandler
Darlene Whetsel
Christa L. Green
Andrew S. Wilkins
Kristen Closson
Vanderbilt University

Abstract

A decade ago, Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler offered a model of the parental involvement process that focused on understanding why parents become involved in their children's education and how their involvement influences student outcomes. Since then, we and others have conducted conceptual and empirical work to enhance understanding of processes examined in the model. In this article (companion to Walker and colleagues' article about scale development on the model in this issue), we review recent work on constructs central to the model's initial question: Why do parents become involved in children's education? Based on this review, we offer suggestions for (1) research that may deepen understanding of parents' motivations for involvement and (2) school and family practices that may strengthen the incidence and effectiveness of parental involvement across varied school communities.

Whether construed as home-based behaviors (e.g., helping with homework), school-based activities (e.g., attending school events), or parent-teacher communication (e.g., talking with the teacher about homework), parental involvement has been positively linked to indicators of student achievement, including teacher ratings of student competence, student grades, and achievement test scores (e.g., Deslandes, Royer, Potvin, & Leclerc, 1999; Epstein & Van Voorhis, 2001; Fan & Chen, 1999; Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994; Henderson & Mapp, 2002; Hill & Craft, 2003; Miedel & Reynolds, 1999; Okagaki & Frensch, 1998; Shaver & Walls, 1998; Sui-Chu & Willms, 1996; Wang, Wildman, & Calhoun, 1996). Involvement has also been associated with other indicators of school success, including lower rates of retention in grade, lower

The Elementary School Journal
Volume 106, Number 2
© 2005 by The University of Chicago. All rights reserved.
0013-5984/2005/10602-0003$05.00

drop-out rates, higher on-time high school graduation rates, and higher rates of participation in advanced courses (e.g., Barnard, 2004; Ma, 1999; Marcon, 1999; Miedel & Reynolds, 1999; Trusty, 1999).

In addition to these outcomes, parental involvement has also been linked to psychological processes and attributes that support student achievement (e.g., Grolnick, Ryan, & Deci, 1991; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2001; Steinberg, Elmen, & Mounts, 1989). These attributes support achievement across groups of students, including students at risk for poorer educational or developmental outcomes (e.g., Grolnick, Kurowski, Dunlap, & Hevey, 2000; Miedel & Reynolds, 1999). These student motivational, cognitive, social, and behavioral attributes are particularly important because they are susceptible to direct parent and teacher influence. They include student sense of personal competence and efficacy for learning ("I *can* do this work"; e.g., Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara, & Pastorelli, 1996; Fantuzzo, Davis, & Ginsburg, 1995; Frome & Eccles, 1998; Ginsberg & Bronstein, 1993; Grolnick et al., 1991; Sanders, 1998); mastery orientation (e.g., Gonzalez, Holbein, & Quilter, 2002); perceptions of personal control over school outcomes (e.g., Glasgow, Dornbusch, Troyer, Steinberg, & Ritter, 1997; Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994; Trusty & Lampe, 1997); self-regulatory knowledge and skills ("I know *how* to do this work"; e.g., Brody, Flor, & Gibson, 1999; Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994; Xu & Corno, 2003); as well as attentive, adaptive school behavior, engagement in schoolwork, and beliefs about the importance of education ("I *want* to do this work"; e.g., Fantuzzo et al., 1995; Grolnick et al., 2000; Izzo, Weissberg, Kasprow, & Fendrich, 1999; Marcon, 1999; Sanders, 1998; Sheldon & Epstein, 2002; Shumow, 1998).

Although cautions about limitations in the parental involvement literature are warranted (e.g., much research to date has relied on correlational and nonexperimental methods: Mattingly, Prislin, McKenzie, Rodriguez, & Kayzar, 2002; White, Taylor, & Moss, 1992), an increasingly multidisciplinary body of research supports the assertion that parents' attitudes, behaviors, and activities related to children's education influence students' learning and educational success. This evidence underscores the importance of continued attention to improvements in research in this area, including careful delineation of conceptual and theoretical foundations, thoughtful selection of design and methodology, and systematic attention to the derivation of implications for sound and effective educational practice.

As part of this continuous improvement effort, we review recent empirical work related to the constructs included in Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's (1995, 1997) model of the parental involvement process as revised in work reported in Walker et al. (2005, in this issue). These constructs focus on parents' motivations for involvement and include (*a*) an active role construction for involvement (i.e., parents believe that they should be involved) and a positive sense of efficacy for helping the child learn; (*b*) perception of invitations to involvement from the school, teacher, and student; and (*c*) important elements of parents' life context that allow or encourage involvement.[1]

Before turning to the review, we briefly acknowledge two realities about parental involvement. First, not all parents need encouragement to become involved; as explicated well in a literature focused primarily on social class, culture, and family-school relations, some parents are heavily involved in their children's education and need few incentives for still further involvement. This literature suggests that such involvement is often accompanied by beliefs that schools should give priority to one's own child as well as one's own views, needs, and social perspectives, often to the implicit or explicit exclusion of other families' needs and perspectives (e.g., Brantlinger, 2003; Brantlinger, Majd-Jabbari, & Guskin, 1996; Graue, Kroeger, & Prager, 2001; Lareau, 1989, 2003;

Wells & Serna, 1996). Such involvement can create substantial difficulties for members of the school community. For example, overly involved parents may diminish students' opportunities to learn personal responsibility and may create debilitating pressures on schools' abilities to meet the educational needs of all students (i.e., parents may control not only their own children's educational choices and progress but the opportunities and choices available to all families served by the school: Brantlinger, 2003; Brantlinger et al., 1996; Graue et al., 2001; Lareau, 2003; Wells & Serna, 1996). Although such involvement may be explained by our model,[2] we focus here on understanding the involvement of most parents, especially those whose children may benefit from increased, or increasingly effective, involvement.

The second reality about parental involvement that frames this review is developmental in nature. Evidence suggests that parental involvement tends to decline, for several reasons, in students' later middle school and high school years (e.g., Adams & Christenson, 2000; Griffith, 1998; Grolnick et al., 2000; Izzo et al., 1999; McCaslin & Murdock, 1991; Simon, 2004). It also suggests clearly that developmentally appropriate parental involvement continues to be associated with positive student outcomes across elementary, middle, and high school years (e.g., Dornbusch, Ritter, Liederman, Mont-Reynaud, & Chen, 1987; Gronick et al., 2000; Simon, 2004; Steinberg et al., 1989; Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch, & Darling, 1992). However, because most of the research related to model constructs has centered on students in the elementary and middle school grades, we have focused this review on parental involvement during these years.

In the sections that follow, we review recent work on the three major sets of contributors to parents' involvement: parents' motivational beliefs, parents' perceptions of invitations to involvement, and parents' life-context variables that are likely to influence involvement. Within each section below, we offer construct definitions and review findings from recent research. We then offer recommendations for school strategies and practices based on this theoretical and empirical work. We conclude the article with observations and recommendations for next steps in research on the parental involvement process.

Parents' Motivational Beliefs

Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's (1995, 1997) model suggests that parents' involvement is motivated by two belief systems: role construction for involvement, and sense of efficacy for helping the child succeed in school. Parental role construction includes a sense of personal or shared responsibility for the child's educational outcomes and concurrent beliefs about whether one should be engaged in supporting the child's learning and school success. Parental sense of efficacy for helping the child succeed in school includes the belief that personal actions will help the child learn. Both constructs are defined more fully and a sample of recent research on each is reviewed below.

Parental Role Construction

Parental role construction is defined as parents' beliefs about what they are supposed to do in relation to their children's education and the patterns of parental behavior that follow those beliefs (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995, 1997; Hoover-Dempsey, Wilkins, Sandler, & O'Connor, 2004; Walker et al., 2005, in this issue). Role construction for involvement is influenced by parents' beliefs about how children develop, what parents should do to rear their children effectively, and what parents should do at home to help children succeed in school. Role construction is also shaped by the expectations of individuals and groups important to the parent about the parent's responsibilities relevant to the child's schooling.

Because role construction is shaped by

the expectations of pertinent social groups and relevant personal beliefs, it is constructed socially. It is created from parents' experiences over time with individuals and groups related to schooling. These often include the parent's personal experiences with schooling, prior experience with involvement, and ongoing experiences with others related to the child's schooling (e.g., teachers, other parents). Because it is socially constructed, parents' role construction for involvement is subject to change. It changes in response to variations in social conditions, and it may change in response to intentional efforts to alter role construction (e.g., Biddle, 1979, 1986; Chrispeels & Rivero, 2001; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997).

Recent work on role construction offers considerable support for its importance to parents' decisions about involvement. For example, Drummond and Stipek (2004), who studied parents of African American, Caucasian, and Latino elementary students, reported that role construction motivated parents' involvement practices. Consistent with theoretical work on stability and change in role construction (e.g., Biddle, 1979, 1986), they also observed that parents' ideas about appropriate roles in children's education were subject to social influence: when teachers offered recommendations about parental help with learning in specific areas, parents' beliefs about the importance of their help in those areas increased. Sheldon's (2002) study of the parents of elementary students from urban and suburban schools showed that role construction predicted parents' home- and school-based involvement activities. Grolnick, Benjet, Kurowski, and Apostoleris (1997) also reported positive links between parents' beliefs that they should take an active role in their children's education and their engagement in intellectually stimulating activities with their children.

Similar evidence has been found in studies of varied cultural groups. Chrispeels and Rivero (2001), for example, reported that Latino immigrant parents' ideas about appropriate roles in children's education influenced their thinking about how they should be involved, how much they should be involved, and how they should interpret school invitations to involvement. Participation in a parent education program strengthened their role beliefs and involvement. Gonzalez and Chrispeels (2004) subsequently reported that parental role construction was the strongest predictor of involvement among Latino parents of elementary and secondary students prior to participation in a parent education intervention program. (Participation in the program increased parents' knowledge of the schools and strengthened parents' active role construction.) Other investigators have reported evidence that parents of high-performing secondary students from Latino migrant families hold active role construction for involvement in their children's education (Trevino, 2004). Still others have reported positive links between school emphases on collaborative relationships with parents and parents' construction of active roles in children's schooling (Scribner, Young, & Pedroza, 1999).

This sample of recent work underscores the power of role construction as a motivator of parents' involvement in their children's education at the elementary and secondary levels and across ethnic and cultural groups. It also supports the observation that role construction is influenced by school attributes and well-designed intervention programs.

Parents' Sense of Efficacy for Helping the Child Succeed in School

Our model argues that a second personal motivator of parental involvement is self-efficacy, or belief in one's abilities to act in ways that will produce desired outcomes (Bandura, 1986, 1997). Self-efficacy is a significant factor in decisions about the goals one chooses to pursue as well as effort and persistence in working toward the accomplishment of those goals (Ban-

dura, 1997). Self-efficacy theory thus suggests that parents make their decisions about involvement in part by thinking about the outcomes likely to follow their actions (Bandura, 1997; Hoover-Dempsey, Bassler, & Brissie, 1992). It asserts also that parents develop behavioral goals for their involvement based on their appraisal of their capabilities in the situation (Bandura, 1989). Thus, parents high in efficacy will tend to make positive decisions about active engagement in the child's education; further, they are likely to persist in the face of challenges or obstacles and work their way through difficulties to successful outcomes. Relatively weak self-efficacy for involvement is often associated with lower parental expectations about outcomes of efforts to help the child succeed in school and relatively low persistence in the face of challenges (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997).

Self-efficacy, like role construction, is socially constructed. Bandura (1989, 1997) suggests that it is grounded in personal experiences in four major domains: personal mastery experiences (success in achieving goals in the given area), vicarious experiences (observing similar others' success in achieving goals in the area), verbal persuasion (encouragement from important others that one is capable of successful performance), and physiological arousal (physical and affective states that individuals process as information about the importance of given goals and personal ability to achieve them). These sources suggest strongly that schools and important others (family members, social groups) exert significant influence on parents' sense of efficacy for helping their children succeed in school.

Research has supported theoretically predicted relations between parental efficacy and several aspects of parental involvement. Bandura and colleagues (1996), for example, reported that parents with stronger efficacy for managing and promoting middle schoolers' academic development were more likely than were lower-efficacy parents to support children's educational activities and develop students' self-management skills for effective learning. Shumow and Lomax (2002), reporting on a national sample of middle and high school students, found that a broad measure of parental efficacy predicted parental involvement and parental monitoring of students. Parents' involvement and monitoring of student progress, in turn, predicted measures of students' academic success, including grades; use of remedial, regular, or advanced courses; and school behavior. Grolnick et al. (1997), who examined elementary parents' perceptions of personal efficacy in relation to children's education, reported higher involvement among parents with stronger efficacy across all three domains of involvement: behavioral (participating in school activities and helping the student at home), cognitive-intellectual (parents' engagement with children in intellectually stimulating activities), and personal (monitoring the child's school progress).

Other investigators who have examined parents in groups including African American, Hispanic, and Euro American families have also reported positive links between parents' efficacy and their involvement behaviors at home (e.g., Eccles & Harold, 1996; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1992; Sheldon, 2002) and at school (e.g., Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1992; Seefeldt, Denton, Galper, & Younoszai, 1998; Shumow & Lomax, 2002). Others among these investigators have suggested that parental efficacy influences involvement also because it is related to important parent attributes that also influence student learning, including aspirations for the child and confidence in the child's ability to succeed (e.g., Wentzel, 1998), parents' abilities to negotiate a reasonable path between involvement and employment demands (e.g., Weiss et al., 2003), and parents' sense of empowerment in supporting the child's educational interests in the school system (e.g., Soodak et al., 2002).

As with role construction, research on efficacy offers considerable support for its influence as a motivator of parental involvement. Similarly, these findings appear across

groups that vary in socioeconomic circumstance, ethnicity, student school level, and type of student educational program, thus underscoring the power of both constructs as motivators of parental involvement in children's education.

Invitations to Involvement from Others

Invitations to involvement from important others are often key motivators of parents' decisions to become involved (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997). Although strong role construction and efficacy may precipitate involvement, invitations to involvement from members of the school community also serve as an important motivator of involvement because they suggest to the parent that participation in the child's learning is welcome, valuable, and expected by the school and its members. These invitations may be particularly significant for parents whose role construction is relatively passive and whose sense of efficacy is relatively weak. Invitations from important others at school may contribute significantly to more active parental beliefs about personal role and increasingly positive beliefs about the effect of one's actions.

The most important invitations to involvement come from three sources: the school in general (school climate), teachers, and students. Invitations generated by positive school climate are significant because they suggest strongly that parents are welcome at school and that their involvement is important, expected, and supported. Invitations from teachers are important because they underscore the value of parents' engagement in the child's learning and the power of parental action to affect student learning. Invitations from the student are also uniquely important because they motivate parental responsiveness to learning needs.

Of course, invitations to involvement must be perceived by parents if the invitations are to influence their decisions. In this section, we focus on the pragmatic perspective that invitations must be developed and offered before they can be perceived. (In our consideration of life-context variables that follows, we discuss ways in which schools and teachers can frame invitations to maximize the likelihood that parents will indeed perceive them and respond.)

General Invitations from the School: School Climate

Investigators have often suggested that the school environment, or school climate, influences parents' ideas about involvement (e.g., Griffith, 1996, 1998; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997). Qualities of the school environment, including school structure and management practices, may enhance several aspects of parent-school relationships, including parents' knowledge that they are welcome in the school, that they are well informed about student learning and progress, and that school personnel respect them, their concerns, and their suggestions (e.g., Adams & Christenson, 1998; Christenson, 2004; Comer, 1985; Griffith, 1996, 1998; McNamara, Telzrow, & DeLamatre, 1999; Soodak & Erwin, 2000).

Comer and colleagues' considerable work (e.g., Anson et al., 1991; Comer, 1985; Comer & Haynes, 1991) on improving the education of children in low-income and socially marginalized families suggested that positive school staff attitudes toward students' families and communities are particularly important to parental empowerment and involvement. School commitment to working effectively with families (e.g., engaging parents in meaningful roles; offering substantive, specific, and positive feedback on the importance of parents' contributions) was also identified as a critical component of effective school invitations. In an investigation of public elementary schools serving ethnically and socioeconomically diverse families, Griffith (1998) found school climate essential in enhancing involvement. For example, parents who consistently characterized their children's schools as empowering and welcoming re-

ported more involvement than did those in other schools. Others have reported similar findings for Head Start parents (e.g., Seefeldt et al., 1998) and Hispanic parents of elementary, middle, and high school students (e.g., Lopez, Sanchez, & Hamilton, 2000; Scribner et al., 1999).

Of particular note is the role of the school principal in developing, supporting, and maintaining a fully welcoming school climate. Griffith (2001), for example, reported principal practices critical to a positive school climate: these included clear principal efforts to meet the needs of all school members (students, staff, parents), regular visits to classrooms, and consistent public advocacy for school improvements. He noted that these practices appeared especially important in creating a positive climate in schools serving families from lower-socioeconomic circumstances and those whose children are enrolled in English-as-a-second-language programs. Haynes, Emmons, and Woodruff (1998), Sanders and Harvey (2002), and Sheldon (2003) offered additional evidence that a principal's practices, including those identified by Griffith, are also linked to improvements in student learning, an ultimate goal of parental involvement in education.

Overall, school climate sets a strong contextual foundation for involvement, and school principals have a critical role in creating and maintaining a positive, welcoming climate. These practices appear especially important in schools serving families of children at higher risk for poor educational outcomes.

Invitations from the Teacher

Just as qualities of the school climate influence parents' decisions about involvement, so too do individual teachers' practices of parental involvement. Epstein and colleagues' considerable work on teacher invitations (e.g., Epstein, 1986, 1991; Epstein & Van Voorhis, 2001), for example, has suggested strongly that teacher attitudes about parents and teacher invitations to involvement play a significant role in parents' decisions to become involved. Dauber and Epstein (1993) reported that teacher invitations and school programs to encourage involvement were the strongest predictors of home- and school-based involvement in the elementary and middle schools they studied. Of particular note is the strong suggestion that teacher invitations for parents' involvement encourage more student time on homework and improved student performance (Epstein & Van Voorhis, 2001).

Teacher invitations are especially powerful because they are responsive to many parents' expressed wishes to know more about *how* to support children's learning (e.g., Corno, 2000; Epstein, 1991; Epstein & Van Voorhis, 2001; Hoover-Dempsey, Bassler, & Burow, 1995). Teacher invitations also enhance parents' sense of being welcome to participate in school processes, knowledge of their children's learning, and confidence that their involvement efforts are useful and valued (e.g., Patrikakou & Weissberg, 2000; Soodak & Erwin, 2000). Invitations also contribute to the development of trust in the parent-teacher relationship, a quality of effective parent-school partnerships (Adams & Christenson, 1998, 2000). Although trust and empowerment in the partnership require two-way communication across time, invitations offer an effective starting point for the creation of a partnership.

Teacher invitations to involvement are effective in supporting parental involvement across elementary, middle, and high school and with varied school populations. For example, Kohl, Lengua, and McMahon (2002), reporting on a sample of high-risk elementary students, found strong positive links between consistent teacher contacts with parents and parents' decisions about involvement. Critical components of the invitation-involvement connection included parents' reports that they enjoyed talking with the teacher, were comfortable asking questions, and believed that the teacher really cared about their child and was interested in their suggestions and ideas about

the child's learning. Closson, Wilkins, Sandler, and Hoover-Dempsey (2004) studied parents of fourth through sixth graders and found that teacher invitations were particularly strong predictors of involvement among the Latino families in their sample. Simon (2004), who analyzed a national database on high school students, reported similarly positive connections between teacher invitations and parent involvement.

Other investigators have focused on teacher invitations to parental involvement in student homework. As a group, the findings suggest that invitations—when specific, targeted, and within the range of activities that parents can reasonably manage—promote productive involvement. Balli and her colleagues (Balli, Demo, & Wedman, 1998; Balli, Wedman, & Demo, 1999), for example, examined the effect of teacher invitations on parents' involvement in middle schoolers' homework. Basing their approach on an interactive homework program (Teachers Involve Parents in Schoolwork [TIPS]; Epstein, Salinas, & Jackson, 1995), the researchers had middle school teachers invite parental involvement in one of two ways. Students whose parents received student prompts (requests for specific parental help or involvement) plus direct teacher requests for parental involvement reported notably higher completion rates than parents in the group that received student-prompts only (90% vs. 51%). Both groups recorded significantly more parental involvement than a control group. Epstein and Van Voorhis (2001) reported similar findings for others using the TIPS interactive homework program.

Other studies have examined teacher invitations offered in parent workshop formats. Starkey and Klein (2000), for example, reported that invitations to involvement through a series of family math classes for Head Start parents were positively related to levels of parental involvement and student knowledge gains. Shaver and Walls (1998) examined the effect of teacher-led invitational workshops for elementary and middle school parents. Students of parents who were involved in more of these workshop sessions recorded stronger math and reading gains than students of less involved parents (Pratt, Green, MacVicar, & Bountrogianni [1992] and Shumow [1998] also offer excellent examples of specific, programmatic invitations focused on parents' homework involvement).

Invitations from teachers have thus been offered in a number of formats: specific invitations to a variety of activities, invitations grounded in use of interactive homework programs, and invitations implemented in workshops for parents. Findings in each area underscore the power of teacher invitations across a wide range of school populations and grade levels.

Invitations from the Child

The literature also suggests that student invitations prompt parental involvement. Invitations from students are important because they activate many parents' wishes to be responsive to their children's developmental needs (e.g., Baumrind, 1971, 1991) and their desires for their children's school success (e.g., Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1995). The findings are consistent with developmental literature suggesting that children's attributes influence parents' socialization practices, including parenting behaviors related to schooling (e.g., Collins, Maccoby, Steinberg, Hetherington, & Bornstein, 2000; Grusec, 2002; Ng, Kenney-Benson, & Pomerantz, 2004; Pomerantz & Eaton, 2001).

Children's invitations to involvement may be implicit; that is, they may emerge from parents' observations of the student's experience with learning and may not involve direct requests for help. For example, parents' knowledge that a child is having difficulty often elicits increased involvement, as parents make themselves available to help by monitoring schoolwork and offering direct teaching (e.g., Clark, 1993; Cooper, Lindsay, & Nye, 2000; Dauber & Epstein, 1993; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2001; Pomerantz & Eaton, 2001). Student experiences during homework may also yield im-

plicit invitations to parental involvement. For example, Xu and Corno (1998; see also Xu & Corno, 2003) observed relatively spontaneous parental responses to often unspoken student needs (e.g., parents created homework routines to deal with student frustration over getting started with homework).

Child invitations may also be explicit, of course; these may include a broad range of requests for help with learning, help with situations at school, or participation in school events (e.g., Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1995). They may be spontaneous, emerging from something as simple as the student's enjoyment of the parent's involvement or from the student's difficulty with work. As is true of implicit student invitations, the power of explicit invitations appears to draw on parents' general wishes to respond to children's needs and their valuing of children's developmental and educational success (e.g., Baumrind, 1991; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1995). Student invitations, of course, may also be prompted by teachers; when requests are clear and ask for specific and manageable involvement, parents tend to respond positively (e.g., Balli et al., 1997, 1998). Students who act on teacher requests to seek parents' involvement have also reported their own positive responses to the opportunity to share current learning with parents and suggest that these interactions support their learning success (Balli et al., 1998; Epstein & Van Voorhis, 2001).

Student invitations may also be prompted by school efforts to increase the relevance of school learning to student and family lives. For example, Moll and his colleagues offered an excellent model of teacher-student-parent engagement that enables the use of families' "everyday concepts" as context for students' learning in varied academic areas (e.g., Gonzalez, Andrade, Civil, & Moll, 2001, p. 128; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992). In a similar effort, Epstein and Van Voorhis (2001, p. 190; Epstein, 2001) described teacher invitations to "homemade homework" as means of engaging students and families in development of homework assignments drawing on normal family activities (e.g., writing a letter to a grandparent) with associated parent knowledge and student interest.

Taken together, these findings for invitations suggest that they are powerful contextual motivators of parental involvement. A welcoming school climate conveys general invitations through the message that parents' involvement is valued as a critical component of student learning and performance. Specific, well-crafted, and sensitive teacher invitations to involvement appear to meet many parents' expressed wishes for ideas about how they can help their children learn. Specific invitations from children, prompted by child needs or teacher suggestions, appear to activate many parents' wishes to be responsive to their children's needs and supportive of their educational success.

Parents' Life Contexts

Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler's model (1995, 1997 as modified; see Walker et al., 2005, in this issue) suggests that elements of parents' life context function as the third major motivator of their decisions about involvement. Elements of life context most important to understanding parents' involvement decisions are the knowledge, skills, time, and energy that they bring to the possibilities of involvement. Before discussing these, however, we offer observations on a life-context variable often included in studies of parental involvement: family socioeconomic status.

Family Socioeconomic Status

Family socioeconomic status (SES) has often been examined in relation to parental involvement. Although significant differences in involvement practices among SES groups have been reported (e.g., Griffith, 1998; Grolnick et al., 1997; Lareau, 1987; Sheldon, 2002), other findings suggest that SES is not routinely related to involvement (e.g., Grolnick et al., 1997; Simon, 2004).

Even in studies reporting variations across SES groups, SES does not generally explain why parents become involved, nor does it explain why parents in similar or identical SES categories often vary substantially in involvement practices or effectiveness (e.g., Clark, 1983; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; Griffith, 1998; Scott-Jones, 1987, 1995; Shaver & Walls, 1998; Xu & Corno, 2003).

We have suggested for some time (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995, 1997) that differences in involvement patterns often associated with SES are more productively examined in relation to variation in resources that often accompanies SES (e.g., Desimone, 1999; Horvat, Weininger, & Lareau, 2003; Lareau, 1989). The advantage of focusing on resources is that teachers, schools, and families—each of whom can seldom hope to influence the broad status characteristic of SES over the course of a school year or longer—can take steps to accommodate variations in many associated resources. Specifically, they can target and create involvement opportunities that are responsive to differences in parental knowledge, skills, time, and energy.

The power of such an approach is underscored by brief consideration of resources often associated with SES; for example, a parent's time and energy for involvement are influenced by the fact that lower-SES parents' work often involves inflexible schedules and long or unpredictable hours (Collignon, Men, & Tan, 2001; Garcia Coll et al., 2002; Griffith, 1998; Machida, Taylor, & Kim, 2002; Weiss et al., 2003). Lower-SES parents' school-related knowledge and skills are also often influenced by less schooling and lower access to extrafamilial or professional support systems (Horvat et al., 2003). Time, energy, knowledge, and skills may be limited also by disparities in physical and mental health often associated with SES (e.g., greater susceptibility to debilitating stress and depression among lower-SES families: Grolnick et al., 1997, 2000; Kohl et al., 2002; Weiss et al., 2003). Finally, lower-SES families may find access to involvement more difficult than do higher-SES families because schools sometimes make assumptions that effectively make school-based resources for involvement less available to lower-SES families. For example, tendencies to assume that lower-SES families are not likely to be involved because they lack requisite ability, interest, skill, time, motivation, or knowledge (e.g., Collignon et al., 2001; Eccles & Harold, 1993; Gonzalez et al., 2001; Griffith, 1998; Hoover-Dempsey, Walker, Jones, & Reed, 2002; Horvat et al., 2003; Moll et al., 1992; Pang & Watkins, 2000; Pena, 2000; Weiss et al., 2003) in effect deny parents access to the resources that schools are capable of bringing to families' involvement decisions (e.g., support for parents' active role construction, feedback offering support for personal sense of efficacy for helping the child learn, focused and effective invitations to involvement, respect for and accommodation of variations in family resources).

We do not suggest that schools can respond effectively to all circumstances that may limit lower-SES families' involvement. However, with many others (e.g., Comer, Haynes, Joyner, & Ben-Avie, 1996; Delgado-Gaitan, 2004; Epstein, 2001), we do suggest that schools have considerable power to respond effectively to many of these circumstances. We briefly review research on the role and function of parental knowledge, skill, time, and energy in parents' involvement decisions below.

Parents' Knowledge, Skills, Time, and Energy

Parents' perceptions of their personal skills appear to shape their thinking about the kinds of involvement activities that may be possible for them to undertake with a reasonable likelihood of achieving success (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995). Hoover-Dempsey et al. (1995), for example, reported that elementary parents reflected on their knowledge and skills when confronted with specific demands of helping their children

with work. If they perceived their skills to be adequate, they tended to be positive about engaging in the activity, a finding clearly consistent with parental tendencies to value their children's school success (Baumrind, 1991). If they believed their skills were inadequate, parents tended to ask others in the family to help, ask the child to get more information at school, or seek additional help themselves (e.g., call the teacher or knowledgeable family member or friend; see also Delgado-Gaitan, 1992). It is in the latter area especially that parents with fewer family resources may experience difficulty, because less knowledgeable support systems may offer fewer suggestions for addressing any given involvement issue.

In general, parents' self-perceived skills and knowledge appear to figure heavily in parents' decisions about some kinds of involvement as their children progress from elementary through middle and high school. Parents' help with homework particularly seems to decline as children's subject matter moves closer to or supersedes parents' knowledge (e.g., Adams & Christenson, 2000; Chen & Stevenson, 1989; Dauber & Epstein, 1993; Drummond & Stipek, 2004; Garcia Coll et al., 2002; Grolnick et al., 2000; Levin et al., 1997). The frequently observed decline in parental involvement across the grades is linked in part to parents' perceptions that their own knowledge base is not sufficient as their children move into more complex schoolwork; it is also related at times to feedback that their methods of helping do not meet child or school expectations (e.g., Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1995; Kay, Fitzgerald, Paradee, & Mellencamp, 1994). Many parents' lower involvement in the higher grades is linked to issues other than personal knowledge and skills, however (e.g., parents' sensitivity to developmental changes in children's needs for autonomy [Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1995; Kay et al., 1994; Simon, 2004]; changes in school structure [bigger schools, fewer invitations to involvement: Eccles et al., 1993; Izzo et al., 1999]).

Parents' perceptions of demands on their time and energy, too, particularly as related to work and other family responsibilities, are often related to their thinking about involvement in their children's education (e.g., Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1995; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995; Lareau, 1989). Parents whose employment involves relatively inflexible scheduling, parents who work at more than one job, and parents whose work is characterized by instability or heavy time demands tend to be less involved, especially at school, than parents with more flexible jobs and more reasonable work hours (e.g., Garcia Coll et al., 2002; Griffith, 1998; Machida et al., 2002; Pena, 2000; Weiss et al., 2003). Parents with multiple child-care, elder-care, or related family responsibilities may also be less involved, again perhaps most notably at school. Of particular importance is the finding that parents often seek opportunities for involvement that fit within the demands they routinely experience (e.g., Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995; Trevino, 2004; Weeden, 2001) and are consistent with their beliefs about the importance of involvement in their children's education (role construction) and perceptions of their own efficacy for helping the child learn.

Thus, the time, energy, skills, and knowledge that parents bring to the possibilities of involvement influence their choices and activities related to their children's education. These life-context variables may influence parents' personal motivators of involvement (role construction and efficacy); they may also function more directly as resources that limit or enhance the range of involvement options that parents believe they may choose.

These life-context resources are often set within another element of parents' and students' lives: family culture. Although patterns of resources may characterize varied cultural groups in the United States, family culture per se is a construct warranting considerable attention as schools and families seek the benefits that effective parental in-

volvement holds for students and teachers. In the section below, we consider some of the implications of family culture for understanding parental involvement.

Family Culture

With several others (e.g., Delgado-Gaitan, 2004; Epstein & Van Voorhis, 2001; Garcia Coll et al., 2000; Lawson, 2003; Okagaki, 2001), we are deeply convinced that schools must respect and respond to family culture and family circumstances in order to access the full power of parental support for student learning. Specifically, we suggest that schools must frame their efforts to support parents' personal motivations for involvement, their actions to invite involvement, and their responses to families' life-context issues within a broad understanding of family culture. This is perhaps particularly important in seeking the enhanced school outcomes often associated with parental involvement among families who are first- or second-generation immigrants or families who are marginalized with reference to mainstream U.S. society. Families in these circumstances often experience the resource limitations associated with lower SES (e.g., limited parental education, multiple jobs and family responsibilities: Collignon et al., 2001; Garcia Coll et al., 2002; Griffith, 1998), as well as difficulties associated with language barriers, limited understanding of school expectations and policies, clashes between family values or priorities and mainstream U.S. values, varied but sometimes debilitating perceptions of school-initiated barriers to involvement, and perceptions of very limited power to change ineffective school practices (e.g., Chrispeels & Rivero, 2001; Collignon et al., 2001; Garcia Coll et al., 2002; Gonzalez & Chrispeels, 2004; Griffith, 1998; Lawson, 2003; Lopez, 2001; Okagaki & Frensch, 1998; Pena, 2000; Reese, Balzano, Gallimore, & Goldenberg, 1995).

We argue that many parents, across cultural backgrounds and family circumstances, can be and are effectively involved in supporting students' school learning. Many seen by schools as uninvolved are in fact involved, but in ways that schools do not notice or recognize (e.g., Lawson, 2003; Lopez, Scribner, & Mahitivanichcha, 2001; Pena, 2000; Trevino, 2004). Steps that invite additional and more effective, collaborative involvement may include many practices beyond those many schools currently undertake (e.g., as noted earlier, use of families' "everyday concepts" or "homemade homework" as context for student learning [Epstein & Van Voorhis, 2001, p. 190; Gonzalez et al., 2001, p. 128]; provision for home visiting by teachers and child care for other children during school events; use of [compensated] evening and weekend time for parent-teacher conferences). However, their implementation appears critical to the support of all parents' effective involvement in children's education, teachers' ability to access the resources that families offer their children's school success, and students' ability to learn most effectively.

Suggestions for School and Teacher Practice

In this section we offer suggestions for school and teacher practices grounded in the constructs and literature we have reviewed. The strategies are divided into two major categories. The first focuses on strategies to enhance *school* capacities for inviting parental involvement; these include steps schools may take to increase school invitations, teacher invitations, and responsiveness to family life-context issues. The second includes strategies schools may enact to enhance *parents'* capacities to be effectively involved. We offer a table summarizing a full range of strategies in each section and briefly discuss a small sample of the suggestions with reference to supporting literature.

Increasing Schools' Capacities for Inviting Parental Involvement

Strategies to increase schools' capacities for involving parents emphasize creating

school conditions that enable dynamic, interactive school outreach and responsiveness to families and community. We offer several such strategies derived from the literature reviewed above in Table 1 and discuss two in more detail below: principal leadership in creating a positive school climate, and empowering teachers for involvement.

Principal leadership in creating a welcoming school climate. The creation of an inviting climate for parental involvement is grounded in strong principal leadership. Griffith's (2001) findings, for example, emphasized that school administrators set the tone for parental involvement and program implementation; others have underscored the principal's role in empowering teachers and parents for effective involvement (Soodak et al., 2002). The literature suggests overall that the more committed, visible, and active principals are in supporting parent-teacher relationships, the more likely schools are to develop strong programs of parent and community involvement.

One major goal and an outcome of a welcoming school climate is the creation of trust among members of the school community. Parents' trust in teachers influences their responses to involvement invitations, and parental perceptions that schools are safe, empowering, and trustworthy have been consistently associated with greater parental involvement (e.g., Adams & Christenson, 1998; Griffith, 1998; Lareau & Horvat, 1999; Lawson, 2003). School practices that support parents' trust in schools include establishing and maintaining respectful and collaborative attitudes toward families (e.g., Griffith, 1998; Lareau, 1989; Lawson, 2003) and frequent opportunities for two-way communications between parents and teachers (e.g., Adams & Christenson, 1998; Bandura, 1997; Sanders & Harvey, 2002; Scribner et al., 1999). The principal's role in creating school-family trust in relation to a welcoming school climate is especially important because sustainable improvements in school, family, and community relationships require continuous, active, and well-informed leadership that emphasizes meeting parent, teacher, and student needs over time (Griffith, 2001; Haynes et al., 1998).

Empowering teachers for parental involvement. Just as a principal's leadership is a key contributor to schools' involvement practices, so too are school actions that empower teachers for effective involvement. Many teachers hold generally positive attitudes about involving families in students' education (e.g., Lawson, 2003), but few receive training in how to develop collaborative, family-responsive involvement practices (Graue & Brown, 2003; Morris & Taylor, 1998). School in-service support for teachers' development of parental involvement skills thus is an important strategy for enhancing the incidence and effectiveness of involvement.

One key contributor to effective teacher invitations is teachers' sense of efficacy for involving parents (Garcia, 2004; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1992; Pang & Watkins, 2000), which can be enhanced by dynamic, school-based in-service programs. Particularly effective are in-service programs offering experiences related to involvement practices, including open discussion of positive and negative experiences with involvement, sharing suggestions for improved parental involvement, collaboration with colleagues in developing and implementing school-specific involvement plans, and ongoing group evaluation and improvement of involvement practices (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2001).

Schools may also empower teachers for involvement by making parental involvement a routine part of staff thinking and planning. Regular school attention to involvement is enhanced by a welcoming school climate (e.g., Sanders & Epstein, 2000), in large part because an inviting school climate increases parental presence in the school, which in turn generates more opportunities for parent-teacher conversation. Attention to involvement may also be

Table 1. Strategies to Increase Schools' Capacities for Inviting Parental Involvement

Create an inviting, welcoming school climate

- Create visual displays in school entry areas and hallways reflective of all families in the school (photos, artifacts, pictures, history); focus on creating a strong sense that "this is *our* school; *we* belong here."
- Attend to the critical role of central factors in the creation of positive school climate: principal leadership; long-term commitment to improving and maintaining positive school climate; creation of trust through mutually respectful, responsive, and communicative teacher-parent relationships
- Develop strong, positive office-staff skills with a consumer orientation; create habitual attitudes of respect toward parents, students, and visitors
- Create multiple comfortable spaces for parents in the school, supportive of parent-teacher conversations and parent networking
- Hire parents or seek parent volunteers who can provide other parents with information on how the school works, translations as needed, advocacy as needed, a friendly presence

Empower teachers for parental involvement; create dynamic, systematic, and consistent school attention to improving family-school relationships:

- Develop routine school practices focused on discussion and development of positive, trusting parent-school relationships; make family-school relationships and interactions a part of the school's daily life and culture, e.g.:
  - Systematically seek parent ideas, perspectives, opinions, questions about school and family roles in student learning
  - Allocate regular faculty meeting time to discuss parental involvement, involvement practices that have been successful in the school, information from other sources on new ideas
  - Develop and maintain an active school file of teacher and parent ideas on what is helpful and effective in inviting parental involvement; raise public awareness of family-school relations in the school; allow development of a school-specific resource bank to support teacher skills and capacities for improved parent-teacher relations
- Develop dynamic in-service programs that support teacher efficacy for involving parents and school capacities for effective partnership with families; programs should:
  - Offer teachers opportunities to collaborate with and learn from colleagues and parents
  - Create opportunities for practice and revision of strategies suggested
  - Enable school development of involvement plans responsive to teacher, family, and community needs

Learn about parents' goals, perspectives on child's learning, family circumstances, culture:

- Offer suggestions for support of child's learning consistent with parents' circumstances
- Focus on developing two-way family-school communication (asking questions, listening well to responses)
- Seek parents' perspectives on the child and child's learning; seek parent suggestions and follow through on them
- Adapt current involvement approaches as needed to enhance the fit between invitations and family circumstances; craft new strategies to enhance opportunities for communication

Join with existing parent-teacher-family structures to enhance involvement:

- Use after-school programs to increase family-school communication: include after-school staff in in-house communications, faculty meetings, professional development opportunities
- Use current parent groups (e.g., PTA/PTO) to invite *all* families' participation; work with parent leaders to ensure open access; encourage varied activities of interest to diverse family groups within the school
- In middle and high schools, create advisory structures that allow parents to check in with one adviser for general information on child progress, program planning, etc.
- Seek district and community support for creation of new structures to support family-school interactions and communication (e.g., parent resource room, telephone and e-mail access in classrooms, staff position dedicated to parent-school relationships, school-based family center)

Offer full range of involvement opportunities, including standard approaches (e.g., parent-teacher conferences, student performances) **and new opportunities unique to school and community** (e.g., first-day-of-school celebrations, parent workshops, social/networking events):

- Offer *specific* invitations to specific events and volunteer opportunities at school; schedule activities at times that meet the needs of families with inflexible work schedules
- Advertise involvement opportunities clearly, attractively, repeatedly, using methods targeted to interests and needs of school families

Invite teachers, parents, principal, and staff to student-centered events at school:

- Increase opportunities for informal parent-teacher-staff communications and interactions
- Use these events to seek parent comments and suggestions for involvement
- Use the events as venues for distributing brief, attractively formatted information in appropriate languages on issues in parental involvement (e.g., developmentally appropriate, easy-to-implement suggestions for supporting student learning; information on effects of parental involvement; information on school policies and upcoming events)

enhanced by regular discussion of identified issues, resources, plans, and ideas that work during faculty and department meetings.

Enhancing Parents' Capacities to be Involved Effectively

Strategies to enhance parents' capacities for being involved focus on explicit school support for parents' active role construction, positive sense of efficacy, and positive perceptions of school and teacher invitations to involvement. In general, school strategies intended to enhance parents' capacities for involvement are most effective when built on a strong foundation of school and teacher capacity for involvement, as noted above. A sample of the strategies summarized in Table 2 is discussed below.

Communicate that all parents have a role in children's school success. When parents know, as a function of their own experiences and their interactions with the school, that their involvement is expected and valued, they are more motivated to assume an active role in helping their children succeed in school (e.g., Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997; Lawson, 2003; Sanders & Epstein, 2000). This motivation should be paired with ready access to appropriate and specific invitations to parents.

Schools and teachers convey the value of parents' active support of child learning when they invite involvement, support skills that enable effective involvement, and respect life-context variables that may influence parents' abilities to be involved. Well-developed invitations targeted to all parents must include a full range of involvement suggestions (including suggestions for parents whose own education and skills may lead them to conclude that their influence is minimal, especially as their children move into higher grades). School invitations that offer empowering information (e.g., "Here are specific things you can do") are particularly critical in supporting more active role construction (e.g., Chrispeels & Rivero, 2001; Epstein & Van Voorhis, 2001; Gonzalez & Chrispeels, 2004; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997; Simon, 2004); they also support a positive sense of efficacy about the value of one's involvement for children's school success (Bandura, 1997; Shumow & Lomax, 2002). Schools should use multiple approaches to offering invitations (e.g., written invitations in appropriate languages sent home with students; information about home- and school-based involvement opportunities distributed at orientation sessions, mailed home, or perhaps advertised in local media; follow-up invitations and requests by phone, e-mail, or home visits: Hoover-Dempsey & Walker, 2002).

Offer specific suggestions about what parents can do. Specific suggestions from teachers, support program personnel, and parent leaders about how to help and what to do when helping also offer considerable support for parents' active role construction and positive sense of efficacy (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1995; Gonzalez & Chrispeels, 2004; Patrikakou & Weissberg, 2000). Suggestions may include relatively simple ideas for parent activities that help students focus attention during homework (e.g., Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2001) or use of approaches to homework that elicit parent-student interaction (e.g., TIPS: Epstein & Van Voorhis, 2001). Suggestions may highlight more complex efforts to support student understanding of homework concepts (Pratt et al., 1992) or suggestions to help parents balance direct involvement with support for developmentally appropriate student autonomy (Ng et al., 2004).

Invitations and suggestions grounded in clear respect for parents' life contexts are also important (Griffith, 1998; Okagaki, 2001). These may include plans for identifying family strengths, preferences, and resources (e.g., Christenson, 2004; Collingnon et al., 2001; Machida et al., 2002; Scribner et al., 1999), offering all information to parents in appropriate languages, or adapting assignments (e.g., Garcia Coll et al., 2002; Okagaki, 2001; Pena, 2000). If families have limited understanding of the educational

Table 2. Strategies to Enhance Parents' Capacities for Effective Involvement

Communicate clearly that *all* parents have an important role to play in children's school success:
- Create explicit, positive school assumptions about the importance of parents' contributions to student success
- Emphasize that all parents, regardless of education level, can support students' school success
- Note that even when student learning tasks surpass parents' knowledge, parents' interest in child's schooling, encouragement, reinforcement for learning, and modeling continue to support student learning and school success
- In all communications (including those below), offer information in multiple formats (e.g., written information that is clear, succinct, in appropriate languages; meetings at school or in community centers; by phone); give clear ideas about where to get more or repeated information

Give parents specific information about *what* they can do to be involved:
- Offer information about what parents do when they are involved, emphasizing the wide range of activities different families employ (e.g., talking about the value of education, discussing the school day, communicating with teachers, coming to school, offering positive reinforcement for learning effort and accomplishment, attending child's school events, creating home practices that support students' schoolwork)
- Listen to parents' ideas about involvement and offer encouragement for those likely to be helpful with the particular child or developmental/grade level
- Give parents suggestions for helping their children targeted to current assignments and learning goals
- Offer time-limited suggestions and learning assignments that require or encourage parent-student interaction; where possible, target suggestions to parents' knowledge, skills, time, and energy
- Draw on published programs of interactive homework (e.g., TIPS: Epstein et al., 1995) in making homework assignments
- Draw on families' "funds of knowledge" (e.g., Moll et al., 1992) in creating home learning tasks; create assignments for "homemade homework" that focus on family routines and tasks (Epstein & Van Voorhis, 2001)
- Seek support for parent workshops that offer training and practice in how to help children learn

Give parents specific information about the general *effects* of involvement on student learning:
- Offer information about the behavioral effects of parental involvement (e.g., students spend more time on school tasks, are more attentive in class, pay increased attention to homework and related assignments, do better in school)
- Offer information about the attitudinal effects of parental involvement (e.g., students have more positive attitudes about learning, have a stronger sense of personal ability to learn, are more likely to believe that learning outcomes are related to their effort and work)
- Ask parents for feedback on their perceptions of their involvement activities' influence on their child (e.g., influence on child's behavior, attitudes, learning content, or processes in assignments)

Give parents specific information on *how* their involvement activities influence learning:
- Encouragement supports student motivation for schoolwork
- Communication about the value and importance of education models parents' commitment to schooling
- Positive reinforcement gives information about expected learning behaviors and outcomes
- Creating home practices that support student homework encourages more focused attention to learning tasks

Give parents specific information about curriculum and learning goals:
- Offer information (by grade or course level) on learning goals for a specific period; this enables parents to know what is expected of their children and offers a context for understanding links between learning tasks and learning goals
- Allow time for parent-teacher interactions that clarify learning goals (by phone, in meetings, in conferences); hear parents' concerns, ideas, and goals for children

Offer parents positive feedback on the effects of their involvement:
- Focus on individual parent activities and steps in student progress
- Create multiple opportunities for success (begin with small steps, offer clear notes and comments of thanks for parental help; express clearly that parents' activities are making a difference for the student)

Create and support parent and parent-teacher networks in the school:
- Seek and share information on school, grade-level learning goals
- Share ideas about parent involvement activities that have worked
- Interact in ways that support the development of trust among parents and school staff

system (e.g., the meaning of grades, policies regarding retention, preparing for college), related information in appropriate formats can be helpful (e.g., Chrispeels & Rivero, 2001; Okagaki, 2001; Sanders & Epstein, 2000). Schools may also increase the effectiveness of invitations by offering workshops designed to increase parents' understanding of learning goals across curriculum areas (e.g., Gonzalez & Chrispeels, 2004; Shaver & Walls, 1998; Starkey & Klein, 2000).

Future Research

Consideration of the literature above suggests several next steps for continued research. We offer a sample of suggestions below, focused primarily on increased understanding of constructs that influence parents' decisions about involvement.

Understanding of role construction and its function in motivating parental involvement would benefit from more longitudinal investigation of its development across a school year or sequential years. Most work on role construction to date has been cross-sectional. This approach has yielded useful information on links between role construction and involvement practices but has not offered empirically grounded information on its development over time. Theoretically, role construction develops as a function of parents' experiences related to their own schooling, observations of other parents' involvement, and experiences and interactions with school personnel related to their children's schooling. Focused examination of parents' role construction across varied school populations as related to school invitations, teacher invitations, and parent participation in programs designed to strengthen role construction (e.g., Chrispeels & Rivero, 2001) would offer valuable information about conditions under which role construction may be actively supported by school, parent, and community action. Examining naturally occurring changes in role construction using longitudinal or cohort sequential designs would offer additional information on how these changes are related to developmental changes in children and structural changes in school organization.

There is sound theoretical and empirical support for the function of efficacy as a motivator of behavior in many domains of life; there is also strong evidence that efficacy in any given domain is influenced by mastery experiences, vicarious experiences, verbal persuasion, and physiological or affective arousal pertinent to the domain (Bandura, 1997). Consistent with this information, parents' sense of efficacy for helping children succeed in school has been related to variations in involvement, and its strength has been related to variations in relevant mastery, vicarious, and persuasion experiences (e.g., Grolnick et al., 1997; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1992; Sheldon, 2002; Shumow & Lomax, 2002). Understanding of efficacy as a motivator of parental involvement would be enhanced by attention to the effects of parents' experiences with the four sources of efficacy (e.g., Is verbal persuasion alone likely to increase efficacy for helping children succeed in school? Is direct mastery experience necessary for increases in parent efficacy? If so, what kinds of experiences are most effective?). Also useful would be examination of the consequences of well-designed experimental manipulations of the four sources of efficacy. Results should offer schools and parents guidance on how parents' efficacy for helping children succeed might best be supported across the school years and varied school communities.

Several investigators have reported that school and teacher invitations are closely related to parents' decisions about involvement (e.g., Closson et al., 2004; Dauber & Epstein, 1993; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1995; Kohl et al., 2002; Simon, 2004). However, questions about schools' and teachers' framing of invitations and questions about parents' perceptions of invitations and response options would benefit from more systematic analysis of parent and teacher perspectives on invitations to involvement.

For example, Lareau and Horvat (1999) reported that parents and teachers often hold different perceptions of invitations (e.g., the teachers they studied believed their invitations were effective in engaging parent support of student achievement, but parents reported that the invitations simply sought parent approval of teacher judgments). Continued research should seek teacher and parent evaluations of varied aspects of invitations with an eye toward increasing their effectiveness in supporting student learning (e.g., for teachers, How effective are your invitations in eliciting specific parent support for student learning? for parents, Are the invited activities feasible?). Examination of the effects of invitations on parental role construction and efficacy may also offer valuable information. Grolnick et al. (1997) suggested, for example, that teacher invitations have their strongest effects when parents hold a more active role construction and stronger efficacy. Assuming that the finding is replicable, research assessing the attributes of invitations most effective for parents with varying levels of role construction or efficacy would offer important guidelines for refining and targeting invitations.

Looking more broadly at implications of the research reviewed for enhancing parental involvement, three further suggestions emerge. First, much of the research on parental involvement has examined frequency and types of involvement behaviors. Although these are important initial indicators of involvement, they do not allow answers to more theoretically and pragmatically interesting questions about quality of involvement and student-parent interaction during or related to involvement. These would be well addressed by closer examination of elements of parental involvement and attention not only to what parents are doing but how they are doing it across a range of involvement activities (e.g., What qualities of parent and child affect are associated with a parent's involvement activities? [for examples, see Pomerantz & Eaton, 2004; Scott-Jones, 1987]).

Second, much research on parental involvement to date has relied on single-source reports of involvement activities, most often the parent (see Grolnick et al., 2000). Parent reports are clearly warranted because the person whose behavior is the focus of interest is often in the best position to know what he or she is doing; similarly, student reports are warranted because student perceptions of the involvement actions often shape students' responses to involvement (e.g., Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994; Steinberg et al., 1989). The use of multiple sources and measures would allow triangulation of essential perspectives on involvement (e.g., parent self-reports, student reports, observer reports) and would allow more precise determination of its influence on student outcomes. Similarly, the consistent use of multiple reporters across variables included in studies (e.g., parents and students as reporters of involvement; parents, students, and teachers as reporters of outcomes of interest) would help avoid difficulties associated with interpretation of data when only a single source is used.

Third, a major reason for studying *why* parents become involved is to obtain a more accurate and useful understanding of *what* parents do, having chosen to be involved, and *how* what they do influences student outcomes (e.g., Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2001). Thus, the research base on parental involvement would be enhanced considerably by closer and more detailed analyses of the mechanisms through which parents' involvement influences student outcomes. For example, rather than resting in the finding that involvement is related to varied student outcomes, researchers could design studies that examine how parents' involvement activities create a context for learning that has a discernable influence on student attitudes about self and learning, student learning behaviors, or student learning products. Such studies should allow examination of what goes on between

parent and child during involvement and close study of critical developmental and educational outcomes believed to be associated with involvement (e.g., student attributes that support learning such as self-regulation skills and academic self-efficacy, and student educational outcomes such as grades and achievement test scores).

Finally, we note that strategies for increasing involvement summarized in Tables 1 and 2 also offer broad hypotheses that may be defined in more specific terms and tested in research. Thus, implementation of any suggestion included there may be targeted to one or more major motivators of parental involvement and the effect of the intervention (i.e., enactment of the strategy within a given school or set of schools) on the identified motivator assessed. Such research would require:

- selection and operationalization of one or more strategies (e.g., "develop strong, positive office-staff skills with a consumer orientation; create habitual attitudes of respect toward parents, students, and visitors" [Table 1]);
- identification of involvement motivators to be targeted by the strategy (e.g., parent perceptions of school climate, parent reports of general school invitations to involvement);
- development of a plan or intervention to implement the strategy (e.g., training and practice in relevant procedures for office staff);
- implementation of the strategy in school(s), with ongoing documentation of implementation;
- assessment of target and corollary variables among participants (e.g., participating staff members' attitudes and behaviors toward parents, students, and visitors) and intended beneficiaries of the strategy (e.g., parent, student, and visitor perceptions of school climate; parent reports of general school invitations to involvement; parent reports of role construction; parent and teacher reports of parents' school-based involvement).

Although the list is basic and suggestive only, it describes a process that might be applied to any of several efforts to increase the incidence and effectiveness of parental involvement through systematic implementation of theoretically and empirically grounded interventions.

Conclusion

Overall, the literature reviewed suggests that parents' decisions about becoming involved in their children's education are influenced by role construction for involvement, sense of efficacy for helping the child succeed in school, perception of invitations to involvement (from school, teacher, and student), and life-context variables (skills and knowledge, time and energy); in addition, the research suggests that involvement is influenced by school responsiveness to life-context variables.

One of the most important findings in this literature is that parents' decisions about involvement are influenced by schools. Specifically, the research suggests that schools may take steps to enhance parents' active role construction and sense of efficacy for helping children learn; enact practices that support school, teacher, and student invitations to involvement; and adapt involvement requests and suggestions to the circumstances of parents' life contexts. Because motivators of involvement are influenced by elements of the social context, school actions (or inactions) influence parents' involvement whether or not schools intend to influence involvement (i.e., just as school action may enhance parents' involvement motivation, school inaction or negative action may diminish motivation for many parents).

Across the findings and suggestions here are themes of empowerment for all participants in children's schooling and all concerned with respecting and enhancing parents' contributions to children's school success. With particular reference to our focus here on parents, there are thus strong suggestions that school attention to parents' personal motivations for involvement, contextual motivations for involvement, and

family life-context variables pertinent to involvement can support personal motivation and positive influence on student outcomes. These broad empowerment goals for parents include learning that personal behavior is related to desired outcomes (e.g., my child's success is related to my behavior); personal action enables achievement of desired outcomes (e.g., my involvement helps my child succeed in school); personal decisions emerge from personal choice (e.g., I can make the decision to be effectively involved); and personal effectiveness is connected to personal relationships (e.g., I can learn about effective involvement from others; I can contribute to others' knowledge of effective involvement).

In concluding, it is important to note that we have taken a primarily psychological perspective in this review and in our suggestions for practice and research. We have done so with great respect for other disciplinary perspectives (e.g., educational, sociological, anthropological) because we want to learn more about what parents do with their children that contributes to children's learning and educational success. Consistent with this goal, we have focused here on personal and contextual constructs that may explain why parents become involved; consistent with our full theoretical model (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995, 2005), we are equally interested in and continue to explore how parents' involvement activities influence student outcomes.

We note also that in pursuing these goals we have focused on parents who *are* involved, in whatever degree, in their children's education. Our broader interests, of course, include all parents, because parents are an integral, usually primary, part of the social context that influences their children's educational outcomes. In fact, we suggest that the model itself offers strong support for theory- and research-based interventions designed to test approaches to encouraging parents who have not been involved in their children's education to become so. However, to learn more about our interest in parents' motivations for involvement and the mechanisms that might explain their influence on students, we began with parents who were involved. This limits the generalizability of review findings, but our hope is that identification of principles and mechanisms characterizing the motivations of currently involved parents will enable enhancement of all parents' motivations for involvement.

Overall, when schools take steps to motivate parental involvement, they support parents' effectiveness in helping their children learn. Similarly, when school systems attempt to promote teacher and principal contributions to effective parental involvement, they support schools' effectiveness in educating children. The public mandate for the effective education of all citizens would seem to require nothing less than strong school and community efforts to enable the many contributions that parents can make to their children's educational success.

Notes

We gratefully acknowledge support for this work from the Institute for Education Sciences (formerly Office of Educational Research and Innovation), U.S. Department of Education (*Parental Involvement: A Path to Enhanced Achievement, 2001–2004,* no. RR305T010673-02). Many thanks also to James Dallaire and Kate Raser of the Peabody Family-School Partnership Lab at Vanderbilt University. We may be contacted at Department of Psychology and Human Development, Peabody College Box 512, 230 Appleton Place, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN 37203; e-mail: Kathleen.V.Hoover-Dempsey@Vanderbilt.edu.

1. In this review, we focus on constructs motivating parental involvement that are included in the model. As Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997) noted, a number of other factors related to these constructs may also motivate parents' involvement (e.g., child-rearing beliefs, attributions about the causes of school success, theories of intelligence). Research in still other arenas has suggested the importance of other variables to parents' involvement motivation and effectiveness, for example, parents' educational aspirations and expectations for their children (e.g., Entwisle & Alexander, 1990; Jeynes, 2003; McCaslin

& Murdock, 1991; Seginer, 1983), parents' mental health (e.g., Kohl et al., 2002), and the presence of stressful events and social support in parents' lives (e.g., Gronick et al., 1997; Izzo, Weiss, Shanahan, & Rodriguez-Brown, 2000). We acknowledge and appreciate that such variables likely contribute to parents' involvement decisions and effectiveness but have chosen to this point in our work to focus on constructs that (*a*) offer among the theoretically strongest examples of psychological, contextual, and life context contributors to parental involvement and (*b*) are reasonably subject to influence by parent, teacher, school, and community action.

2. The model would suggest, for example, that such parents likely hold very active role construction, and strong efficacy for helping the child succeed in school, and are characterized by life context variables that allow and propel strong involvement. Although the model also suggests that perceptions of invitations from the teacher, child, and school are often central to many parents' decisions about involvement, parents who tend to be heavily involved may feel undaunted by low levels of contextual invitations from teacher, school, or child.

References

Adams, K. S., & Christenson, S. L. (1998). Differences in parent and teacher trust levels: Implications for creating collaborative family-school relationships. *Special Services in the Schools*, **14**(1/2), 1–22.

Adams, K. S., & Christenson, S. L. (2000). Trust and the family-school relationship: An examination of parent-teacher differences in elementary and secondary grades. *Journal of School Psychology*, **38,** 447–497.

Anson, A. R., Cook, T. D., Habib, F., Grady, M. K., Haynes, N., & Comer, J. P. (1991). The Comer School Development Program: A theoretical analysis. *Urban Education*, **26,** 56–82.

Balli, S. J., Demo, D. H., & Wedman, J. F. (1998). Family involvement with children's homework: An intervention in the middle grades. *Family Relations*, **47**(2), 149–157.

Balli, S. J., Wedman, J. F., & Demo, D. H. (1997). Family involvement with middle-grades homework: Effects of differential prompting. *Journal of Experimental Education*, **66**(1), 31–48.

Bandura, A. (1986). *Social foundations of thought and action: A cognitive theory.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Bandura, A. (1989). Regulation of cognitive processes through perceived self-efficacy. *Developmental Psychology*, **25**(5), 729–735.

Bandura, A. (1997). *Self-efficacy: The exercise of control.* New York: W. H. Freeman.

Bandura, A., Barbaranelli, C., Caprara, G. V., & Pastorelli, C. (1996). Multifacted impact of self-efficacy beliefs on academic functioning. *Child Development*, **67,** 1206–1222.

Barnard, W. M. (2004). Parent involvement in elementary school and educational attainment. *Child and Youth Services Review*, **26,** 39–62.

Baumrind, D. (1971). Current patterns of parental authority. *Developmental Psychology Monographs*, **4**(1, Part 2).

Baumrind, D. (1991). Parenting styles and adolescent development. In R. M. Lerner, A. C. Petersen, & J. Brooks-Gunn (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of adolescence* (Vol. **2,** pp. 746–758.) New York: Garland.

Biddle, B. J. (1979). *Role theory: Expectations, identities, and behavior.* New York: Academic Press.

Biddle, B. J. (1986). Recent developments in role theory. *Annual Review of Sociology*, **12,** 67–92.

Brantlinger, E. (2003). *Dividing classes: How the middle class negotiates and rationalizes school advantage.* New York: Routledge Falmer.

Brantlinger, E., Madj-Jabbari, M., & Guskin, S. L. (1996). Self-interest and liberal educational discourse: How ideology works for middle-class mothers. *American Educational Research Journal*, **33**(3), 571–598.

Brody, G. J., Flor, D. L., & Gibson, N. M. (1999). Linking maternal efficacy beliefs, developmental goals, parenting practices, and child competence in rural single-parent African-American families. *Child Development*, **70**(5), 1197–1208.

Chen, C., & Stevenson, H. W. (1989). Homework: A cross-cultural examination. *Child Development*, **60,** 551–561.

Chrispeels, J., & Rivero, E. (2001). Engaging Latino families for student success: How parent education can reshape parents' sense of place in the education of their children. *Peabody Journal of Education*, **76**(2), 119–169.

Christenson, S. L. (2004). The family-school partnership: An opportunity to promote the learning competence of all students. *School Psychology Review*, **33**(1), 83–104.

Clark, R. (1983). *Family life and school achievement: Why poor black children succeed or fail.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Clark, R. (1993). Homework parenting practices that positively affect student achievement. In N. F. Chavkin (Ed.), *Families and schools in a pluralistic society* (pp. 53–71). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Closson, K. E., Wilkins, A. S., Sandler, H. M., & Hoover-Dempsey, K. V. (2004, April). *Crossing cultural boundaries: Latino parents' involve-*

ment in their children's education. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Diego, CA.

Collignon, F. F., Men, M., & Tan, S. (2001). Finding ways in: Community-based perspectives on southeast Asian family involvement with schools in a New England state. *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk,* **6**(1 & 2), 27–44.

Collins, W. A., Maccoby, E. E., Steinberg, L., Hetherington, E. M., & Bornstein, M. (2000). Contemporary research on parenting: The case for nature and nurture. *American Psychologist,* **55,** 218–232.

Comer, J. P. (1985). Empowering black children's educational environments. In J. P. McAdoo & J. L. McAdoo (Eds.), *Black children: Social, educational, and parental environments* (pp. 123–138). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Comer, J. P., & Haynes, N. M. (1991). Parent involvement in schools: An ecological approach. *Elementary School Journal,* **91,** 271–277.

Comer, J. P., Haynes, N. M., Joyner, E. T., & Ben-Avie, M. (Eds.). (1996). *Rallying the whole village: The Comer process for reforming education.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Cooper, H., Lindsay, J. J., & Nye, B. (2000). Homework in the home: How student, family, and parenting style differences relate to the homework process. *Contemporary Educational Psychology,* **25,** 464–487.

Corno, L. (2000). Looking at homework differently. *Elementary School Journal,* **100**(5), 529–551.

Dauber, S. L., & Epstein, J. L. (1993). Parents' attitudes and practices of involvement in inner-city elementary and middle schools. In N. F. Chavkin (Ed.), *Families and schools in a pluralistic society* (pp. 53–71). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Delgado-Gaitan, C. (1992). School matters in the Mexican-American home: Socializing children to education. *American Educational Research Journal,* **29**(3), 495–513.

Delgado-Gaitan, C. (2004). *Involving Latino families in schools: Raising student achievement through home-school partnerships.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin.

Desimone, L. (1999). Linking parent involvement with student achievement: Do race and income matter? *Journal of Educational Research,* **93**(1), 11–30.

Deslandes, R., Royer, E., Potvin, P., & Leclerc, D. (1999). Patterns of home and school partnership for general and special education students at the secondary level. *Exceptional Children,* **65**(4), 496–506.

Dornbusch, S. M., Ritter, P., Liederman, P., Mont-Reynaud, R., & Chen, Z. (1987). The relation of parenting style to adolescent school performance. *Child Development,* **58,** 1244–1257.

Drummond, K. V., & Stipek, D. (2004). Low-income parents' beliefs about their role in children's academic learning. *Elementary School Journal,* **104**(3), 197–213.

Eccles, J. S., & Harold, R. D. (1993). Parent-school involvement during the early adolescent years. *Teachers College Record,* **94,** 568–587.

Eccles, J. S., & Harold, R. D. (1996). Family involvement in children's and adolescents' schooling. In A. Booth & J. F. Dunn (Eds.), *Family-school links: How do they affect education outcomes?* (pp. 35–44). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Eccles, J. S., Midgley, C., Wigfield, A., Buchanan, C. M., Reuman, D., Flanagan, C., & Mac Iver, D. (1993). Development during adolescence: The impact of stage-environment fit on young adolescents' experiences in schools and families. *American Psychologist,* **48**(2), 90–101.

Entwisle, D. R., & Alexander, K. L. (1990). Beginning school math competence: Minority and majority comparisons. *Child Development,* **61,** 454–471.

Epstein, J. L. (1986). Parents' reactions to teacher practices of parent involvement. *Elementary School Journal,* **86,** 277–294.

Epstein, J. L. (1991). Effects on student achievement of teachers' practices of parent involvement. In S. Silvern (Ed.), *Advances in reading/language research: Vol.* **5.** *Literacy through family, community and school interaction* (pp. 261–276). Greenwich, CT: JAI.

Epstein, J. L. (2001). *School, family and community partnerships: Preparing educators and improving schooling.* Boulder, CO: Westview.

Epstein, J. L., Salinas, K. C., & Jackson, V. E. (1995). *Manual for teachers and prototype activities: Teachers Involve Parents in Schoolwork (TIPS) language arts, science/health, and math interactive homework in the middle grades.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University, Center on School, Family, and Community Partnerships.

Epstein, J. L., & Van Voorhis, F. L. (2001). More than minutes: Teachers' roles in designing homework. *Educational Psychologist,* **36**(3), 181–193.

Fan, X., & Chen, M. (1999). Parental involvement and students' academic achievement: A meta-analysis. *Educational Psychology Review,* **13,** 1–22.

Fantuzzo, J. W., Davis, G. Y., & Ginsburg, M. D. (1995). Effects of parent involvement in iso-

lation on student self-concept and mathematics achievement. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, **87**(2), 272–281.

Frome, P. M., & Eccles, J. S. (1998). Parents' influence on children's achievement-related perceptions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, **74,** 435–452.

Garcia, D. C. (2004). Exploring connections between the construct of teacher efficacy and family involvement practices: Implications for urban teacher preparation. *Urban Education*, **39**(3), 290–315.

Garcia Coll, C., Akiba, D., Palacios, N., Bailey, B., Silver, R., DiMartino, L., & Chin, C. (2002). Parental involvement in children's education: Lessons from three immigrant groups. *Parenting: Science and Practice*, **2**(3), 303–324.

Ginsberg, G. S., & Bronstein, P. (1993). Family factors related to children's intrinsic/extrinsic motivational orientation and academic performance. *Child Development*, **64,** 1461–1474.

Glasgow, K. L., Dornbusch, S. M., Troyer, L., Steinberg, L., & Ritter, P. L. (1997). Parenting styles, adolescents' attributions, and educational outcomes in nine heterogeneous high schools. *Child Development*, **68,** 507–529.

Gonzalez, A. R., Holbein, M. F. D., & Quilter, S. (2002). High school students' goal orientations and their relationship to perceived parenting styles. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, **27,** 450–470.

Gonzalez, M., & Chrispeels, J. (2004, April). *Do educational programs increase parenting practices at home? Factors influencing Latino parent involvement.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Diego, CA.

Gonzalez, N., Andrade, R., Civil, M., & Moll, L. (2001). Bridging funds of distributed knowledge: Creating zones of practice in mathematics. *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk*, **6**(1–2), 115–132.

Graue, E., & Brown, C. P. (2003). Preservice teachers' notions of families and schooling. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, **19,** 719–735.

Graue, M. E., Kroeger, J., & Prager, D. (2001). A Bakhtinian analysis of particular home-school relations. *American Educational Research Journal*, **38**(3), 467–498.

Griffith, J. (1996). Test of a model of the organizational antecedents of parent involvement and satisfaction with public education. *Human Relations*, **49**(12), 1549–1571.

Griffith, J. (1998). The relation of school structure and social environment to parent involvement in elementary schools. *Elementary School Journal*, **99**(1), 53–80.

Griffith, J. (2001). Principal leadership of parent involvement. *Journal of Educational Administration*, **39**(2), 162–186.

Grolnick, W. S., Benjet, C., Kurowski, C. O., & Apostoleris, N. H. (1997). Predictors of parent involvement in children's schooling. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, **89**(3), 538–548.

Grolnick, W. S., Kurowski, C. O., Dunlap, K. G., & Hevey, C. (2000). Parental resources and the transition to junior high. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, **10**(4), 465–488.

Grolnick, W. S., Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (1991). Inner resources for school achievement: Motivational mediators of children's perceptions of their parents. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, **87**(4), 508–517.

Grolnick, W. S., & Slowiaczek, M. L. (1994). Parents' involvement in children's schooling: A multidimensional conceptualization and motivational model. *Child Development*, **64,** 237–252.

Grusec, J. E., (2002). Parenting socialization and children's acquisition of values. In M. H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of parenting: Vol.* **5.** *Practical issues in parenting* (pp. 143–167). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Haynes, N. M., Emmons, C. L., & Woodruff, D. W. (1998). School Development Program effects: Linking implementation to outcomes. *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk*, **3**(1), 71–85.

Henderson, A. T., & Mapp. K. L. (2002). *A new wave of evidence: The impact of school, family, and community connections on student achievement.* Austin, TX: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory.

Hill, N. E., & Craft, S. A. (2003). Parent-school involvement and school performance: Mediated pathways among socioeconomically comparable African American and Euro-American families. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, **95**(1), 74–83.

Hoover-Dempsey, K. V., Bassler, O. C., & Brissie, J. S. (1992). Explorations in parent-school relations. *Journal of Educational Research*, **85**(5), 287–294.

Hoover-Dempsey, K.V., Bassler, O. C., & Burow, R. (1995). Parents' reported involvement in students' homework: Strategies and practices. *Elementary School Journal*, **95,** 435–450.

Hoover-Dempsey, K. V., Battiato, A. C., Walker, J. M. T., Reed, R. P., DeJong, J. M., & Jones, K. P. (2001). Parental involvement in homework. *Educational Psychologist*, **36,** 195–210.

Hoover-Dempsey, K.V., & Sandler, H. M. (1995). Parental involvement in children's education: Why does it make a difference? *Teachers College Record*, **97**(2), 310–331.

Hoover-Dempsey, K.V., & Sandler, H. M. (1997). Why do parents become involved in their children's education? *Review of Educational Research*, **67**(1), 3–42.

Hoover-Dempsey, K. V., & Sandler, H. M. (2005, March). *The social context of parental involvement: A path to enhanced achievement.* Final performance report for the Office of Educational Research and Improvement (Grant No. R305T010673). Presented to Project Monitor, Institute of Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education.

Hoover-Dempsey, K. V., & Walker, J. M. T. (2002, March). *Family-school communication: A report for the Metropolitan Nashville Public Schools.* Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University, Department of Psychology and Human Development. (http://www.nashville.k12.tn.us/general_info_folder/HooverDempsey_Walker.pdf).

Hoover-Dempsey, K.V., Walker, J. M., Jones, K. P., & Reed, R.P. (2002). Teachers Involving Parents (TIP): An in-service teacher education program for enhancing parental involvement. *Teaching and Teacher Education,* **18**(7), 843–867.

Hoover-Dempsey, K.V., Wilkins, A. S., Sandler, H. M., & O'Connor, K. P. J. (2004, April). *Parental role construction for involvement: Interactions among theoretical, measurement, and pragmatic issues in instrument development.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Diego, CA.

Horvat, E. M., Weininger, E. B., & Lareau, A. (2003). From social ties to social capital: Class differences in the relations between schools and parent networks. *American Educational Research Journal*, **40**(2), 319–351.

Izzo, C., Weiss, L., Shanahan, T., & Rodriguez-Brown, F. (2000). Parental self-efficacy and social support as predictors of parenting practices and children's socioemotional adjustment in Mexican immigrant families. *Journal of Prevention and Intervention in the Community*, **20**(1/2), 197–213.

Izzo, C. V., Weissberg, R. P., Kasprow, W. J., & Fendrich, M. (1999). A longitudinal assessment of teacher perceptions of parent involvement in children's education and school performance. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, **27**(6), 817–839.

Jeynes, W. H. (2003). A meta-analysis: The effects of parental involvement on minority children's academic achievement. *Education and Urban Society*, **35**(2), 202–218.

Kay, P. J., Fitzgerald, M., Paradee, C., & Mellencamp, A. (1994). Making homework work at home: The parents' perspective. *Journal of Learning Disabilities*, **27,** 550–561.

Kohl, G. W., Lengua, L. J., & McMahon, R. J. (2002). Parent involvement in school: Conceptualizing multiple dimensions and their relations with family and demographic risk factors. *Journal of School Psychology,* **38**(6), 501–523.

Lareau, A. (1987). Social class differences in family-school relationships: The importance of cultural capital. *Sociology of Education*, **60,** 73–85.

Lareau, A. (1989). *Home advantage: Social class and parental involvement in elementary education.* New York: Basic.

Lareau, A. (2003). *Unequal childhoods: Class, race, and family life.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lareau, A., & Horvat, E. M. (1999). Moments of social inclusion and exclusion: Race, class, and cultural capital in family-school relationships. *Sociology of Education,* **72**(1), 37–53.

Lawson, M. A. (2003). School-family relations in context: Parent and teacher perceptions of parent involvement. *Urban Education,* **38**(1), 77–133.

Levin, I., Levy-Shiff, R., Appelbaum-Peled, T., Katz, I., Komar, M., & Meiran, N. (1997). Antecedents and consequences of maternal involvement in children's homework: A longitudinal analysis. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology,* **18,** 207–227.

Lopez, G. R. (2001). The value of hard work: Lessons on parent involvement from an (im)migrant household. *Harvard Educational Review,* **71**(3), 416–437.

Lopez, G. R., Scribner, J. D., & Mahitivanichcha, K. (2001). Redefining parental involvement: Lessons from high-performing migrant-impacted schools. *American Educational Research Journal*, **38**(2), 253–288.

Lopez, L. C., Sanchez, V. V., & Hamilton, M. (2000). Immigrant and native-born Mexican-American parents' involvement in a public school: A preliminary study. *Psychological Reports*, **86,** 521–525.

Ma, X. (1999). Dropping out of advanced mathematics: The effects of parental involvement. *Teachers College Record,* **101**(1), 60–81.

Machida, S., Taylor, A. R., & Kim, J. (2002). The role of maternal beliefs in predicting home learning activities in Head Start families. *Family Relations,* **51**(2), 176–184.

Marcon, R. A. (1999). Positive relationships between parent school involvement and public school inner-city preschoolers' development and academic performance. *School Psychology Review,* **28**(3), 395–412.

Mattingly, D. J., Prislin, R., McKenzie, T. L., Rodriguez, J. L., & Kayzar, B. (2002). Evaluating evaluations: The case of parent involvement programs. *Review of Educational Research,* **72**(4), 549–576.

McCaslin, M., & Murdock, T. (1991). The emergent interaction of home and school in the development of students' adaptive learning. In M. Maehr & P. Pintrich (Eds.), *Advances in motivation and achievement: Vol.* **7.** *Motivation-enhancing environments* (pp. 213–259). Greenwich, CT: JAI.

McNamara, K., Telzrow, C., & DeLamatre, J. (1999). Parent reactions to implementation of intervention-based assessment. *Journal of Educational and Psychological Consultation,* **10**(4), 343–362.

Miedel, W. T., & Reynolds, A. J. (1999). Parent involvement in early intervention for disadvantaged children: Does it matter? *Journal of School Psychology,* **37**(4), 379–402.

Moll, L., Amanti, C., Neff, D., & Gonzalez, N. (1992). Funds of knowledge for teaching: Using a qualitative approach to connect homes and classrooms. *Theory into Practice,* **31,** 132–141.

Morris, V. G., & Taylor, S. I. (1998). Alleviating barriers to family involvement in education: The role of teacher education. *Teaching and Teacher Education,* **14**(2), 219–231.

Ng, F. F., Kenney-Benson, G. A., & Pomerantz, E. M. (2004). Children's achievement moderates the effects of mothers' use of control and autonomy support. *Child Development,* **75**(3), 764–780.

Okagaki, L. (2001). Triarchic model of minority children's school achievement. *Educational Psychologist,* **36**(1), 9–20.

Okagaki, L., & Frensch, P. A. (1998). Parenting and children's school achievement: A multiethnic perspective. *American Educational Research Journal,* **35**(1), 123–144.

Pang, I. W., & Watkins, D. (2000). Towards a psychological model of teacher-parent communication in Hong Kong primary schools. *Educational Studies,* **26**(2), 141–163.

Patrikakou, E. N., & Weissberg, R. P. (2000). Parents' perceptions of teacher outreach and parent involvement in children's education. *Journal of Prevention and Intervention in the Community,* **20**(1–2), 103–119.

Pena, D. C. (2000). Parent involvement: Influencing factors and implications. *Journal of Educational Research,* **94**(1), 42–45.

Pomerantz, E. M., & Eaton, M. M. (2001). Maternal intrusive support in the academic context: Transactional socialization processes. *Developmental Psychology,* **37,** 174–186.

Pratt, M. W., Green, D., MacVicar, J., & Bountrogianni, M. (1992). The mathematical parent: Parental scaffolding, parenting style, and learning outcomes in long-division mathematics homework. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology,* **13,** 17–34.

Reese, L., Balzano, S., Gallimore, R., & Goldenberg, C. (1995). The concept of educacion: Latino family values and American schooling. *International Jouranl of Educational Research,* **23,** 57–81.

Sanders, M. G. (1998). The effects of school, family, and community support on the academic achievement of African-American adolescents. *Urban Education,* **33,** 385–409.

Sanders, M. G., & Epstein, J. L. (2000). Building school-family-community partnerships in middle and high school. In M. G. Sanders (Ed.), *Schooling students placed at risk: Research, policy and practice in the education of poor and minority adolescents* (pp. 339–361). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Sanders, M. G., & Harvey, A. (2002). Beyond the school walls: A case study of principal leadership for school-community collaboration. *Teachers College Record,* **104**(7), 1345–1386.

Scott-Jones, D. (1987). Mother-as-teacher in the families of high- and low-achieving low-income black first graders. *Journal of Negro Education,* **56**(1), 21–34.

Scott-Jones, D. (1995). Parent-child interactions and school achievement. In B. A. Ryan, G. R. Adams, T. P. Gullotta, R. P. Weissberg, & R. L. Hampton (Eds.), *The family-school connection: Theory, research, and practice* (*Vol.* **2,** pp. 75–107). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Scribner, J. D., Young, M. D., & Pedroza, A. (1999). Building collaborative relationships with parents. In J. D. Scribner & A. Paredes-Scribner (Eds.), *Lessons from high-performing Hispanic schools: Creating learning communities* (pp 36–60). New York: Teachers College Press.

Seefeldt, C., Denton, K., Galper, A., & Younoszai, T. (1998). Former Head Start parents' characteristics, perceptions of school climate, and involvement in their children's education. *Elementary School Journal,* **98**(4), 339–349.

Seginer, R. (1983). Parents' educational expectations and children's academic achievements: A literature review. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly,* **29,** 1–23.

Shaver, A. V., & Walls, R. T. (1998). Effect of Title I parent involvement on student reading and mathematics achievement. *Journal of Research and Development in Education,* **31**(2), 90–97.

Sheldon, S. B. (2002). Parents' social networks and beliefs as predictors of parent involvement. *Elementary School Journal,* **102**(4), 301–316.

Sheldon, S. B. (2003). Linking school-family-community partnerships in urban elementary schools to student achievement on state tests. *Urban Review,* **35**(2), 149–165.

Sheldon, S. B., & Epstein, J. L. (2002). Improving student behavior and school discipline with family and community involvement. *Education and Urban Society,* **35**(1), 4–26.

Shumow, L. (1998). Promoting parental attunement to children's mathematical reasoning through parent education. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology,* **19**(1), 109–127.

Shumow, L., & Lomax, R. (2002). Parental efficacy: Predictor of parenting behavior and adolescent outcomes. *Parenting: Science and Practice,* **2,** 127–150.

Simon, B. S. (2004). High school outreach and family involvement. *Social Psychology of Education,* **7,** 185–209.

Soodak, L. C., & Erwin, E. J. (2000). Valued member or tolerated participant: Parents' experiences in inclusive early childhood settings. *Journal of the Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps,* **25**(1), 29–41.

Soodak, L. C., Erwin, E. J., Winton, P., Brotherson, M. J., Turnbull, A. P., Hanson, M. J., & Brault, L. M. J. (2002). Implementing inclusive early childhood education: A call for professional empowerment. *Topics in Early Childhood Special Education,* **22**(2), 91–102.

Starkey, P., & Klein, A. (2000). Fostering parental support for children's mathematical development: An intervention with Head Start families. *Early Education and Development,* **11**(5), 659–680.

Steinberg, L., Elmen, J. D., & Mounts, N. S. (1989). Authoritative parenting, psychosocial maturity, and academic success among adolescents. *Child Development,* **60,** 1424–1436.

Steinberg, L., Lamborn, S. D., Dornbusch, S. M., & Darling, N. (1992). Impact of parenting practices on adolescent achievement: Authoritative parenting, school involvement, and encouragement to succeed. *Child Development,* **63,** 1266–1281.

Sui-Chu, E. H., & Willms, J. D. (1996). Effects of parent involvement on eighth-grade achievement. *Sociological Quarterly,* **69**(2), 126–141.

Trevino, R. E. (2004, April). *Parent involvement and remarkable student achievement: A study of Mexican-origin families of migrant high achievers.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Diego, CA.

Trusty, J. (1999). Effects of eighth-grade parental involvement on late adolescents' educational experiences. *Journal of Research and Development in Education,* **32**(4), 224–233.

Trusty, J., & Lampe, R. E. (1997). Relationship of high-school seniors' perceptions of parental involvement and control to seniors' locus of control. *Journal of Counseling and Development,* **75,** 375–384.

Walker, J. M. T., Wilkins, A. S., Dallaire, J. P., Sandler, H. M., & Hoover-Dempsey, K. V. (2005). Parental involvement: Model revision through scale development. *Elementary School Journal,* **106,** 85–104.

Wang, J., Wildman, L., & Calhoun, G. (1996). The relationships between parental influence and student achievement in seventh-grade mathematics. *School Science and Mathematics,* **96,** 395–399.

Weeden, C. (2001). *Parental involvement in education: Why parents do what they do.* Undergraduate honors thesis in child development, Department of Psychology and Human Development, Peabody College, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN.

Weiss, H. B., Mayer, E., Kreider, H., Vaughan, M., Dearing, E., Hencke, R., & Pinto, K. (2003). Making it work: Low-income working mothers' involvement in their children's education. *American Educational Research Journal,* **40**(4), 879–901.

Wells, A. S., & Serna, I. (1996). The politics of culture: Understanding local political resistance to detracking in racially mixed schools. *Harvard Educational Review,* **66**(1), 93–118.

Wentzel, K. R. (1998). Parents' aspirations for children's educational attainments: Relations to parental beliefs and social address variables. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly,* **44**(1), 20–37.

White, K. R., Taylor, M. J., & Moss, V. T. (1992). Does research support claims about the benefits of involving parents in early intervention programs? *Review of Educational Research,* **62,** 91–125.

Xu, J., & Corno, L. (1998). Case studies of families doing third-grade homework. *Teachers College Record,* **100,** 402–436.

Xu, J., & Corno, L. (2003). Family help and homework management reported by middle school students. *Elementary School Journal,* **103**(5), 503–536.