

Barriers to School Involvement: Are Immigrant Parents Disadvantaged?

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ABSTRACT. Parental involvement at school offers unique opportunities for parents, and this school-based involvement has important implications for children's academic and behavioral outcomes. The authors used data from the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study–Kindergarten Cohort (National Center for Education Statistics, 2001) to examine race and immigrant differences in barriers to parental involvement at school. Minority immigrant parents, compared with native-born parents, reported more barriers to participation and were subsequently less likely to be involved at school. Among immigrant parents, time spent in the United States and English language ability were positively associated with involvement, but these associations differed by race. Barriers to involvement serve as another source of disadvantage for immigrant parents and their children.

Keywords: children of immigrants, immigrants, language, parental involvement, parenting

The United States attracts more immigrants than any nation in the world, with 1.2 million individuals entering the country in 2000, and 20 million entering since the passage of the 1965 Hart-Cellar Act (1965); which reduced restrictions on non-European immigration (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001). This post-1965 wave of immigrants has been diverse in terms of both (a) SES and (b) race, ethnicity, and national origin. However, there are some commonalities in the experiences of immigrant parents, especially as they navigate through the school system and interact with teachers.

Examining the educational achievement of immigrants and their children is one way to gauge how these ethnic minorities are adapting in the United States because educational achievement has substantial consequences for future SES (Blau & Duncan, 1967). This is more important than ever because almost one in four school-aged children has at least one immigrant parent (O'Hare, 2004). Studying children of immigrants is especially important among Hispanic and Asian populations because nearly 60% of Hispanic youth and 90% of Asian youth are immigrants or children of immigrants (Zhou, 1997). Although there is growing

attention to the adolescent second generation, researchers know relatively little about the early childhood experiences of young children of immigrants. Researchers know even less about the child-rearing practices of immigrant parents.

It is particularly important to understand the correlates of the child-rearing practices of this growing population. Elementary school is an important part of the life course because it is a critical period for long-term educational outcomes (Alexander, Entwisle, & Dauber, 2002; Entwisle, 1995; Entwisle & Alexander, 1989). Children's experiences in kindergarten and Grade 1 lay a fundamental foundation, and—though schools and teachers are important—parents are key in determining their children's experiences. In addition, research finds that parental involvement in children's education is linked to academic or behavioral success in elementary school (Domina, 2005; Englund, Luckner, Whaley, & Egeland, 2004) and adolescence (Falbo, Lein, & Amador, 2001; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1995; Jeynes, 2007; Muller, 1993; Sui-Chi & Willms, 1996). This involvement has a lasting influence (Keith et al., 1998). Most researchers have found that the advantages of parental involvement are consistent across different race groups (Fan, 2001; Sui-Chi & Willms), although there is some evidence that the effectiveness of involvement varies by race (Kao, 1995; McNeal, 1999). Most central to our analyses, research has shown that children of immigrants benefit from such involvement (Kao, 2004; Kim, 2002). Parental involvement is also important from a policy perspective because increasing parental involvement in elementary school is one of the goals of the Bush Administration's No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (2002).

We add to studies of early childhood education by looking at race and immigrant differences in barriers to parental involvement and parents' involvement at their children's schools. Studies of racial, ethnic, and immigrant differences in parental involvement have typically

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examined adolescents. Hence, researchers know little about elementary school children. We used data from the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study–Kindergarten Cohort (ECLS-K; National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2001) a nationally representative sample of children in kindergarten in 1998–1999. In this article, we first review past research about parental involvement in children’s education, focusing most of our attention on how race and immigrant status are associated with involvement. After reporting descriptive statistics, we present multivariate analyses that show race and immigrant differences in the barriers that prohibit parents from contact with their children’s teachers and schools. We then look at race and immigrant status differences in the involvement of kindergarteners’ parents and finally focus solely on immigrant parents to explore factors that may moderate the negative association between race and involvement. We conclude by discussing the implications of our findings.

Parental Involvement as Social Capital

Parents’ involvement in their children’s schooling is most often conceptualized as a form of social capital (Lee, 1993; McNeal, 1999; Yan & Lin, 2005). Social capital consists of networks and connections, “the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures” (Portes, 1998, p. 6). With respect to parental involvement in their children’s education, there are at least three mechanisms through which children can benefit, as articulated by Domina (2005). First, parental involvement socializes children; parents who are involved send a message to their children that education is important, and these children are more likely to value education themselves. Second, parental involvement provides parents with a means of social control; involved parents get to know other parents, teachers, and administrators who may then discuss their children’s performance with them. Last, involved parents are privy to information about their children; if teachers tell parents their children are struggling, parents are in a better position to intervene.

However, parental involvement is a multidimensional construct (Domina, 2005; Epstein, 1987; Sui-Chi & Willms, 1996). Researchers most commonly operationalize parental involvement in their children’s education by looking at parents’ direct contact with their children’s schools, but there is substantial variation in how this school-based involvement is measured. Examinations of attendance at parent–teacher conferences, participation in parent–teacher organizations (PTOs), attendance at school events, and volunteering at school are common ways to capture parental involvement. Other research is more specific. For example, Lareau (2000) looked at the processes through which parents intervene in educational activities at their children’s schools, and Muller (1995) included both direct measures of involvement and more indirect measures (e.g., how parents manage their adolescents’ careers and provide them with encouragement).

Race and Immigrant Status as Predictors of Parental Involvement

There is some evidence of racial and ethnic differences in parental involvement at school. Even after controlling for educational attainment, Black and Hispanic parents have higher levels of involvement with PTOs, compared with White parents, and Asian parents have lower levels of involvement (Muller & Kerbow, 1993). However, these findings are inconsistent with more recent research (Crosnoe, 2001; Desimone, 1999). For example, Crosnoe found that race differences in parental involvement are mediated by students’ academic performance. Black high school students have more involved parents than do their White counterparts, but this difference is only significant among students in the remedial track. In addition, Asian high school students in the remedial track have more involved parents than do their White counterparts, but Asian students in the college preparatory and general tracks have less involved parents (Crosnoe).

Findings about racial and ethnic differences in parental involvement are fairly inconsistent, and few studies systematically look at parental involvement among immigrant parents. Foreign-born parents are less likely to talk to their adolescents about school but more likely to talk to them about college, compared with their native-born counterparts (Kao, 2004). This is consistent with Nord and Griffin’s (1999) work that found that Hispanic and Asian immigrant parents are less likely than native-born White parents to have high levels of involvement in their children’s schools. In addition, Hispanic immigrant parents are less likely than Hispanic native-born parents to have high levels of involvement in their children’s schools. Descriptive statistics suggest there is substantial variation in the different forms of involvement. For example, immigrant parents are much less likely than native-born parents to volunteer at their children’s schools, but they are just as likely as native-born parents to attend parent–teacher conferences (Nord & Griffin). Carreon, Drake, and Barton’s (2005) qualitative examination of Hispanic immigrant parents found that these parents want to be engaged in their children’s schools but have limited involvement because of cultural challenges. Finally, immigrant parents may simply not know that they are expected to be involved at school.

Additional Correlates of Parental Involvement

In addition to the stratification of parental involvement along racial and ethnic lines, parents’ involvement in their children’s schooling is shaped by the resources and opportunities that parents have (Muller & Kerbow, 1993). To begin, parents’ SES is positively associated with parental involvement in school. Parents with higher income and greater educational attainment are more involved than parents of lower SES (Baker & Stevenson, 1986; Crosnoe, 2001; Desimone, 1999; Hoover-Dempsey, Bassler, & Brissie,

1987; Lareau, 2000; for contradictory findings, see Sui-Chi & Willms, 1996). Time availability is also a crucial predictor of involvement; mothers who work part-time hours, compared with their full-time counterparts, are most likely to get involved in their children's school (Muller, 1995). In addition, family structure matters. Living with two parents predicts higher levels of parental involvement in high school (Crosnoe). Parents who live in multigenerational households may have greater opportunities for involvement because grandparents can provide important resources such as child-care assistance (Bengtson, 2001). However, the resource dilution theory suggests that the presence of siblings may be negatively related to parental involvement (Downey, 1995, 2001).

Furthermore, parents are more involved in their daughters' schools than in their sons' schools (Carter & Wojkiewicz, 2000) and become less involved as their children age (Crosnoe, 2001; Drummond & Stipek, 2004; Eccles & Harold, 1996; Stevenson & Baker, 1987). Although much of the parental involvement literature is based on cross-sectional studies, some work suggests that involvement depends on children's achievement; parents modify and adjust their involvement on the basis of their children's needs (Crosnoe; Englund et al., 2004; Muller, 1995).

Although a burgeoning literature has examined predictors of parental involvement in children's education, in the present study we were able to extend this literature in three important ways. First, we utilized recent data from a nationally representative sample of kindergarteners, which allowed us to focus on parental involvement when children are young. Despite the fact that parental involvement declines as children age (Crosnoe, 2001; Drummond & Stipek, 2004), little attention has been given to parental involvement in elementary school (for a noteworthy exception, see Domina, 2005). Second, even though immigrants and children of immigrants compose a substantial and growing proportion of the school-aged population, few researchers have examined how these young children and their parents are adapting to the educational system of the United States. Immigrant parents face unique challenges associated with a lack of free time and an unfamiliarity with English language and American culture (Zhou, 1997). Third, we consider some of the barriers that parents may face when contacting their children's schools.

Method

Participants

We used data from the ECLS-K (NCES, 2001). These data were collected in a multistage sampling frame in which students were nested in about 1,000 schools in 100 counties. Data were collected from parents and each child's school, and children were given a battery of standardized tests in mathematics, reading, and general knowledge. All students were enrolled in kindergarten in the first wave

of data collection in the fall of 1998. We focused on the transition to kindergarten because this also marked the entry of parental interaction with schools.

Our analytic sample included the 12,954 parents of kindergarteners who participated in the first, second, and fourth waves of data collection. We deleted observations that were missing data on parent involvement at school, barriers to parent involvement, and race or immigrant status, because these variables were crucial to our analyses. We also deleted data on children of Pacific Islander, Native American, and multiracial mothers, because these groups were too small to analyze separately. Relatively few observations were missing covariates, and we imputed these data with a regression-based approach. Though the differences were negligible, the full ECLS-K sample was slightly more advantaged than our analytic sample. For example, the full sample had slightly higher SES. The parents in the analytic sample also reported slightly higher levels of involvement, and their children scored higher on the achievement and behavioral measurements.

These data were well suited to answer our research questions for several reasons. ECLS-K is one of the only nationally representative data sources of students' experiences in elementary school. In addition, researchers oversampled for minority students and children of foreign-born parents, two populations neglected in the beginning school transition and parental involvement literatures. Last, the longitudinal design allowed us to extend prior analyses of race and immigrant differences in parental involvement by controlling for students' prior academic and behavioral performance.

Measures

Parental involvement. The main dependent variable in our analyses was an index of parental involvement, which captured the depth of parents' involvement at their children's schools. During the spring of students' kindergarten year, parents were asked if they or another adult in their household had participated in activities since the beginning of the school year as follows: (a) attended an open house or a back-to-school night; (b) attended a meeting of a PTA, PTO, or parent-teacher student organization; (c) gone to a parental advisory group or policy council; (d) attended a regularly scheduled parent-teacher conference; (e) attended a school or class event (e.g., a play, sports event, science fair); (f) volunteered at the school or served on a committee; or (g) participated in fundraising for the school (Cronbach's $\alpha = .59$). Our index was a sum of these items and ranged from 0 to 7. Higher values indicated more involvement.

Barriers to parental involvement. We also explored barriers to parental involvement at their children's schools. Parents were asked during the second wave of data collection if they experienced the following challenges that made it difficult for them to participate in activities at their children's

schools: (a) inconvenient meeting times, (b) no child care, (c) problems with safety going to school, (d) not feeling welcomed by school, (e) problems with transportation, (f) problems because they speak a language other than English and meetings are conducted only in English, (g) not hearing about interesting things, and (h) family members not getting time off from work (Cronbach's $\alpha = .42$). These barriers are not strongly correlated, which suggests they do not capture the same construct. Thus, most of our analyses focused on the individual barriers separately, and the variables were coded as follows: 0 (*does not face barrier*) or 1 (*faces barrier*). In addition, for simplicity in some of our analyses, we constructed an index of barriers that captured the total number of barriers that parents faced. This index ranged from 0 to 8, and higher levels signified greater obstacles to parental involvement at school.

Race and immigrant status. Mother's race and immigrant status was represented by a series of dummy variables: White native born (reference category), White foreign born, Black native born, Black foreign born, Hispanic native born, Hispanic foreign born, Asian native born, and Asian foreign born. Data limitations precluded us from making more fine-grained racial and ethnic distinctions. We measured parents' immigrant status by the mother's country of birth reported in the fourth wave of data collection. If a mother reported having been born outside of the United States, we considered her an immigrant. We used mother's race and immigrant status instead of the child's race and immigrant status because parent immigrant status is more important for determining the pattern of parent-child relationships (Kao, 2004). In a majority of cases (92%), mothers—as opposed to fathers or other family members—completed the survey. In our multivariate analyses, we included a dummy variable, indicating whether the respondent was not the mother.

Covariates. Our multivariate analyses included controls for many factors that, on the basis of past literature, we expected to be correlated with both (a) race and immigrant status and (b) parental involvement at school. First, we included a dummy variable for child's gender (0 = *female*, 1 = *male*). Additionally, we controlled for four measures of family environment. Family structure was represented by a dummy variable (0 = *parents married*, 1 = *parents not married*). Number of siblings was a continuous variable ranging from 0 to 11, and number of adults in household was a continuous variable ranging from 1 to 9. Mothers' age (in years) at first birth was represented by a continuous variable ranging from 12 to 46.

Our multivariate analyses included several controls for SES. The ECLS-K dataset provides a five-category composite family-SES measure that takes into account mother's education, father's education, mother's occupational prestige, father's occupational prestige, and household income. Each of these five categories was standardized ($M = 0$, $SD = 1$). The composite measure is an average of the available categories, as some children had fewer than five available categories because of an absent

parent (NCES, 2001). We restandardized this composite variable for our analytic sample, and measures ranged from -6.01 to 3.42 . Additionally, we controlled for mother's employment status to approximate the amount of time that mothers had available to get involved in their children's school. We included dummy variables indicating whether mothers were employed part-time (i.e., working fewer than 35 hr per week) or unemployed, with mothers employed full-time serving as our reference category.

Prior research suggests parents may make involvement decisions—or modify their involvement—on the basis of their children's academic performance and behavior. First, we controlled for children's mathematics test score at the beginning of kindergarten, which evaluated students' understanding of numbers, properties, operations, and measurement. This evaluation was based on item response theory (NCES, 2001), which places each student on a continuous scale according to the difficulty, discriminating ability, and guessability of each question. This method also uses the pattern of right, wrong, and omitted responses to all questions administered to estimate the score a child would have received if he or she had answered all questions (NCES, 2001). Mathematics test score was a continuous variable ranging from 6.16 to 97.70. Additionally, we included two controls for teachers' reports of student behavior at the beginning of kindergarten: Child's self-control and interpersonal skills were continuous variables ranging from 1 to 4. Child's self-control was a scale that comprised child's abilities to (a) respect the property rights of others, (b) control his or her temper, (c) accept peer ideas for group activities, and (d) respond appropriately to pressure from peers (Cronbach's $\alpha = .80$). The scale of child's interpersonal skills comprised the child's skills in (a) forming and maintaining friendships; (b) getting along with people who are different; (c) comforting or helping other children; (d) expressing feelings, ideas, and opinions in a positive way; and (e) showing sensitivity to the feelings of others (Cronbach's $\alpha = .89$).

Last, because of striking differences in English language ability between native- and foreign-born parents, we included three dummy variables that captured English language ability: (a) parents who self-reported that their primary language was English, (b) parents who reported that their primary language was not English but who completed the interview in English, and (c) parents who reported that their primary language was not English and who completed the interview in another language. In analyses that focused only on immigrant parents, we included an additional variable: mother's years spent in the United States. It is likely that parents who have not lived in the United States for a long time are less familiar with the educational system and, therefore, less likely to get involved. Similarly, those parents who speak a language other than English at home may be less comfortable at their children's schools (Zhou & Bankston, 1996).

Procedure

We analyzed the data as follows: First, we used logistic regression to examine race and immigrant differences in barriers to parental involvement. Next, we estimated ordinary least squares (OLS) regression models that predicted parental involvement in their children's kindergarten classrooms. In these models, we looked at how barriers to involvement were associated with parents' actual participation in their children's schools. Because important differences emerged between native- and foreign-born parents, we next estimated OLS models for immigrant parents to see how time in the United States and English language ability were associated with parental involvement.

We used the statistical package Stata 10.0 (StataCorp, 2007) in all of our multivariate analyses, and it allowed us to account for the complex sampling design of ECLS-K (Hahs-Vaughn, 2005). Consistent with other researchers using these data, we weighted our analyses to compensate for the unequal probabilities of selection into the sample and to adjust for nonresponse (see Burkam, Michaels, & Lee, 2007; Burkam, Ready, Lee, & LoGerfo, 2004; Glick & Hohmann-Marriott, 2007). Additionally, because children were clustered within schools, their data were not independent observations. We corrected for this by using the cluster option in Stata, which provided robust standard errors. It is particularly important to account for the sampling design in these analyses because parents may modify their involvement on the basis of the opportunities available to them by the school (Feuerstein, 2000). In supplementary analyses available from the authors on request, we included school-level variables that controlled for the involvement opportunities that parents had available to them and the percentage of other parents in the child's classroom who attended school activities. Although some of these school-level factors were positively associated with involvement, the inclusion of these variables did not substantively change our coefficients of interest.

Results

Description of Sample

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics for all variables used in the analyses. The majority of mothers (63%) were native-born Whites. Native-born Blacks and Hispanics were 12% and 6% of the sample, respectively. Immigrant parents composed a substantial proportion of the sample; foreign-born Whites and Asians each were 4% of the sample, and foreign-born Hispanics were about 10% of the sample.

Additionally, slightly more than half of the children (51%) were male. More than one fourth (27%) had unmarried parents. The majority of households comprised two adults, and children had, on average, 1.47 siblings ($SD = 1.14$). About 45% of mothers were employed full-time, 23% were employed part-time, and 32% were unemployed.

More than nine tenths (91%) of parents reported English as their primary language. Of those participants whose primary language was not English, about half completed the interview in English and about half completed it in another language.

The majority of parents reported some type of involvement, although the percentage of parents reporting involvement varied by the specific type. A substantial number of parents reported attending a parent-teacher conference (86%) or an open house (75%), but fewer reported attending a PTO or PTA meeting (36%) or a parental advisory group meeting (9%). Parents reported participating in an average of 3.90 ($SD = 1.62$) of the 7 items available throughout their child's kindergarten year, but there was substantial variation in the amount of involvement. Similarly, the percentage of parents reporting barriers to involvement depended on the barrier. Although more than half (51%) of parents said their work schedule got in the way of their involvement, only a handful of parents reported safety problems in getting to the school (2%) or problems with transportation (4%) as barriers. About one third (18%) of the sample reported no barriers to involvement, and another half (55%) of the sample reported one or two barriers.

Race and Immigrant Status Differences in Barriers to Involvement

The Appendix shows substantial race and immigrant differences in the barriers that parents face when getting involved in their child's schooling. Nearly all minority immigrant groups reported facing more barriers to involvement than did native-born White parents. This general pattern held up across virtually all individual types of barriers. Child-care barriers was the one exception to this. Although foreign-born Hispanics and Asians were more likely than native-born Whites to report child care barriers, this relation was not present among native-born minority groups. In fact, Black native-born parents were less likely to report this barrier than White native-born parents, and that finding is consistent with past research showing strong support networks in the Black community (Edin & Lein, 1997; Stack, 1974).

These differences are striking, but it is necessary to examine whether these patterns were simply because of differences in parental SES or nonmonetary resources available to parents (e.g., the presence of other siblings at home, mother's employment status) because the Appendix also shows important race and immigrant status differences in demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. For example, both native- and foreign-born Black and Hispanic parents had lower family SES and were more likely to be unmarried than were native-born White parents. Not surprisingly, immigrant parents of all races were less likely to report English as their primary language. Only 30% of Hispanic foreign-born parents and 43% of Asian

TABLE 1. Means and Standard Deviations of Variables Used in Analyses (N = 12,954)

Variable	M	SD	Min	Max
Parent involvement				
Attended an open house	.754		0	1
Attended a PTO or PTA meeting	.355		0	1
Attended a parental advisory group	.092		0	1
Attended a parent-teacher conference	.862		0	1
Attended a school event	.690		0	1
Volunteered at school	.517		0	1
Participated in fundraising	.622		0	1
Sum of participation	12.229	13.901	0	174
Barriers to involvement				
Inconvenient meeting time	.366		0	1
No child care	.242		0	1
Safety going to school	.016		0	1
Not feeling welcomed by school	.050		0	1
Problems with transportation	.042		0	1
Language problem	.040		0	1
Not hearing of interesting things	.113		0	1
Cannot get off from work	.513		0	1
Sum of barriers	1.379	1.185	0	8
Mother's race and immigrant status				
White native born	.628		0	1
White foreign born	.037		0	1
Black native born	.115		0	1
Black foreign born	.016		0	1
Hispanic native born	.057		0	1
Hispanic foreign born	.095		0	1
Asian native born	.008		0	1
Asian foreign born	.044		0	1
Family SES				
Parents unmarried	.270		0	1
Number of adults in household	2.045	0.664	1	9
Number of siblings in household	1.471	1.144	0	11
Mother employed full-time	.454		0	1
Mother employed part-time	.228		0	1
Mother unemployed	.318		0	1
Mother's age at first birth	.313	5.449	12	46
Child is male	.507		0	1
Respondent someone other than mother	.078		0	1
Mathematics score	22.267	9.065	6.160	97.700
Self-control (teacher report)	3.111	0.608	1	4
Interpersonal skills (teacher report)	3.007	0.623	1	4
Primary language is English	.909		0	1
Primary language is not English, interview in English	.048		0	1
Primary language is not English, interview not in English	.043		0	1
Time in United States (immigrants only)	14.370	9.381	0	50

Note. PTO = parent-teacher organization; PTA = parent-teacher association.

foreign-born parents reported that English was the primary language they spoke at home. Hispanic foreign-born parents were particularly disadvantaged in their English language ability, because 54% of parents (a) reported that English was not their primary language and (b) did not complete the interview in English. Only 5% of Asian foreign-born parents fell into this category.

Table 2 better isolates the association between (a) race and immigrant status and (b) parental involvement.

First, we ran logistic regression analyses to predict the probability of each of the eight types of barriers. Logistic regression was appropriate because the outcome variables were dichotomous; thus, the errors were not normally distributed across the range (Peng, Lee, & Ingersoll, 2002). For the sake of parsimony, we presented odds ratios for each of the race and immigrant dummy variables and for family SES and respondent's English language ability, but our models included the following covariates: whether parents

TABLE 2. Barriers to Parental Involvement at School

Variable	Meet (n = 12,570)		Child care (n = 12,578)		Safety (n = 12,577)		Welcome (n = 12,565)		Transportation (n = 12,584)		Language (n = 12,586)		Interesting (n = 12,575)		Work (n = 12,580)		Barriers (n = 12,593)		
	e ^β	SE β	e ^β	SE β	e ^β	SE β	e ^β	SE β	e ^β	SE β	e ^β	SE β	e ^β	SE β	e ^β	SE β	e ^β	SE β	
White native born (reference)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
White foreign born	1.239	0.219	0.746 [†]	0.122	0.609	0.401	1.680 [†]	0.449	1.132	0.402	2.526*	0.982	0.905	0.187	1.113	0.171	0.012	0.053	
Black native born	1.728***	0.163	0.653***	0.073	1.719 [†]	0.476	2.686***	0.498	1.971**	0.426	1.177	0.473	1.194	0.129	0.866	0.078	0.111**	0.035	
Black foreign born	1.578*	0.298	1.109	0.236	4.399**	1.885	3.402***	1.075	4.048***	1.217	1.779	1.070	1.359	0.338	1.002	0.195	0.245***	0.061	
Hispanic native born	1.421**	0.145	0.850	0.112	2.382*	0.869	1.432	0.425	1.583*	0.320	1.430	0.567	0.885 [†]	0.173	0.928	0.093	0.055	0.049	
Hispanic foreign born	1.377**	0.154	1.167	0.154	4.054***	1.393	2.507***	0.604	0.997	0.351	5.503**	1.648	1.342	0.218	0.783 [†]	0.114	0.154**	0.050	
Asian native born	0.974	0.236	1.388	0.383	3.976 [†]	2.800	2.099	1.061	2.133	1.494	2.608 [†]	1.495	0.892	0.426	0.826	0.201	0.076	0.090	
Asian foreign born	1.423*	0.241	1.165	0.204	4.903***	1.240	2.810***	0.740	1.548	0.679	9.680***	3.060	1.402	0.301	1.516*	0.251	0.303***	0.063	
Family SES	0.825***	0.026	0.972	0.032	0.808*	0.073	0.782	0.051	0.609***	0.042	0.611***	0.042	0.826***	0.034	0.876***	0.026	-0.112	0.012	
Primary language is English (reference)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Primary language is not English, interview in English	1.391*	0.208	1.029	0.164	1.266	0.543	0.644	0.184	1.160	0.401	3.920***	0.902	1.163	0.229	1.062	0.115	0.133*	0.057	
Primary language is not English, interview not in English	1.452*	0.217	1.213	0.192	0.654	0.328	0.483*	0.166	1.934	0.820	2.765***	0.681	1.041	0.211	1.068	0.205	0.146*	0.063	
Wald χ^2	375.53		291.00		154.12		123.86		348.39		401.97		124.25		513.51		558.50		

Note. Models included the following variables: parents unmarried, number of adults in household, number of siblings, mother employed part-time, mother unemployed, mother's age at first birth, child gender, and respondent not child's mother.

[†]p < .10. *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

were unmarried, number of adults in household, number of siblings, mother's employment status, mother's age (in years) at first birth, child's gender, and whether respondent was someone other than the child's mother. An *odds ratio* is the ratio of the odds of an event occurring in one group (in the case of this analysis, a minority or immigrant group such as foreign-born Hispanics) to the odds of it occurring in another group (native-born Whites). We then looked at race and immigrant differences in the magnitude of barriers by running a Poisson regression model, which is more appropriate than OLS regression, because our barriers index was a count variable and skewed to the left (Kennedy, 1998). However, supplemental analyses using OLS regression produced similar coefficients.

Turning first to our analyses that predicted individual barriers to involvement, important race and immigrant differences persisted even after we held constant the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. First, Hispanic foreign-born and Asian foreign-born parents were particularly disadvantaged in their perceived challenges to involvement. For example, foreign-born Hispanics and foreign-born Asians were 2.5 and 2.8 times, respectively, more likely than native-born Whites to report that they did not feel welcome at their child's school. Even after controlling for language ability, these groups faced substantial barriers associated with language. Hispanic foreign-born participants were 5.5 times more likely than native-born Whites to report that language was a barrier to their involvement, and Asian foreign-born participants were 9.7 times more likely to report this barrier. However, these minority immigrant groups were not disadvantaged with respect to barriers associated with child care or transportation. Although immigrant parents were more likely to confront barriers in getting involved at their child's school, native-born Black and Hispanic parents also faced substantial barriers to involvement. Native-born Black parents reported not feeling welcome at the school and transportation problems in getting to the school. Native-born Hispanics were particularly likely to report problems associated with inconvenient meeting times, safety in going to school, and transportation.

Additionally, native- and foreign-born Blacks faced similar barriers to parental involvement, and both groups faced substantially more barriers than their native-born White counterparts. Both native- and foreign-born Blacks, compared with native-born Whites, reported more problems with inconvenient meeting times, safety in going to school, not feeling welcome at the school, and transportation problems. With the exception of inconvenient meeting times, these differences were more pronounced for the immigrant parents. Black immigrant parents were more likely than other racial or immigrant groups to say that they faced challenges of inconvenient meetings times and transportation problems. Native-born Black parents, compared with their native-born White counterparts, were most likely to say they did not feel welcome at their child's school. However, consistent with our descriptive statistics,

native-born Black parents were less likely to report child-care difficulties as a barrier to parental involvement. Last, foreign-born Whites and native-born Asians resembled native-born Whites; both groups faced barriers to involvement, but the magnitude of these barriers was similar to that of native-born Whites. The one exception that existed was the fact that foreign-born Whites faced language problems that made it more difficult for them to get involved. The results from the logistic regression analyses did not include a global test for goodness of fit because of the complex sampling design (Archer, Lemeshow, & Hosmer, 2007).

Focusing on the magnitude of barriers faced by each race and immigrant group, we found that immigrant parents faced substantial barriers to involvement in their children's kindergarten classrooms and schools. Black, Hispanic, and Asian foreign-born parents faced substantially higher levels of barriers than their White native-born counterparts. Of the native-born parents, only Blacks faced more barriers than their White counterparts. Interestingly, Hispanic and Asian native-born parents faced amounts of barriers similar to those of White native-born parents. Although this index is a somewhat crude measure of the challenges to involvement, it provides an important measure of the number of barriers that parents faced.

The demographic and socioeconomic characteristics in our models generally worked as expected. Family SES was a consistent and negative predictor of all barriers to involvement, with the exception of child-care problems, suggesting that economic resources were crucial in parents' ability to get involved in their children's kindergarten classroom. English language ability was an important predictor of parents' perceived barriers as well. Parents whose primary language was not English were generally more likely to report the following problems: (a) meeting times were inconvenient, (b) the school did not make them feel welcome, and (c) meetings were conducted only in English.

Race and Immigrant Status Differences in Involvement

Although it was important to examine barriers to parental involvement to better understand the processes that underlie parents' decisions about their level of involvement in their children's elementary school, these results tell us nothing about actual levels of involvement. Even though minority immigrant parents reported facing substantial barriers to getting involved in their children's schools, it is possible that they were able to overcome these barriers and have a relationship with teachers and administrators at their children's schools. In Table 3, we present OLS regression analyses that predicted parents' involvement in their children's schools. We predicted the index of parental involvement, which is normally distributed, though supplemental analyses using factor analysis produced similar results. Additionally, we looked at each type of involvement separately in supplemental analyses;

TABLE 3. Ordinary Least Squares Regression Models Predicting Parent Involvement in School

Variable	Model 1 (n = 12,593)		Model 2 (n = 12,593)		Model 3 (n = 12,593)	
	β	SE β	β	SE β	β	SE β
White native born (reference)	—		—		—	
White foreign born	-0.233**	0.079	-0.209**	0.074	-0.147*	0.074
Black native born	-0.554***	0.048	-0.342***	0.044	-0.112*	0.044
Black foreign born	-0.788***	0.072	-0.644***	0.072	-0.375***	0.072
Hispanic native born	-0.201***	0.054	-0.031	0.057	0.110*	0.054
Hispanic foreign born	-0.518***	0.051	-0.224***	0.051	-0.056	0.079
Asian native born	0.139	0.110	0.049	0.106	0.066	0.099
Asian foreign born	-0.585***	0.060	-0.617***	0.059	-0.359***	0.071
Family SES			0.283***	0.014	0.174***	0.017
Parents unmarried					-0.200***	0.032
Adults in household					-0.004	0.020
Number of siblings					-0.014	0.011
Mother employed full-time (reference)					—	
Mother employed part-time					0.351***	0.031
Mother unemployed					0.338***	0.027
Mother's age at first birth					0.012***	0.003
Child is male					-0.045†	0.024
Respondent someone other than mother					-0.071	0.048
Mathematics score					0.006***	0.001
Self-control (teacher report)					0.009	0.035
Interpersonal skills (teacher report)					0.072†	0.038
Primary language is English (reference)					—	
Primary language is not English, interview in English					-0.368***	0.073
Primary language is not English, interview not in English					-0.134	0.105
Barriers					-0.128***	0.010
Wald χ^2	330.02		692.57		1359.04	

†p < .10. *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

these results suggested similar patterns by race and immigrant status as the summary measure, so we used the summary measure for parsimony.

We began by estimating a model predicting parental involvement that only included the dummy variables for race and immigrant status. Our next model added a control for SES. Last, to better isolate the relation between (a) race and immigrant status and (b) parental involvement, we included the following covariates: whether parents were unmarried, number of adults in household, number of siblings, whether mother was employed part-time, whether mother was unemployed, mother's age (in years) at first birth, child gender, whether respondent was someone other than mother, child's mathematics score at the beginning of kindergarten, child's self-control (reported by his or her teacher), child's interpersonal skills (reported by his or her teacher), the barriers index, and the respondent's English language ability.

Without taking into account demographic or socio-economic factors, Model 1 showed that nearly all minority immigrant groups were less likely to be involved in their child's school. Black foreign-born parents were least likely to get involved in their child's school, compared with native-born Whites. The exception to the general pattern of disadvantage for minority and immigrant parents was Asian native-born parents, who were as likely as their White native-born counterparts to participate in activities at the school. This suggests that Asian American native-born parents carry similar norms of parental involvement in school compared with White native-born parents.

After controlling for SES in Model 2, the Hispanic native-born coefficient attenuated, and that attenuation suggests that financial resources mediate the relation between (a) race and immigrant status and (b) parent involvement for this group of parents. That attenuation also suggests some assimilation of Hispanic native-born

parents in their cultural beliefs regarding school participation. It is not surprising that our including the SES measure attenuated the coefficients for all of the other race and immigrant status variables, although the changes were less substantial. Thus, once we took SES into account, the differences between native-born Whites and minority immigrant groups were less substantial.

Last, to better isolate the relation between (a) race and immigrant status and (b) parental involvement, we included the other covariates in the model. This model also included our index of parents' reported barriers to involvement, because adding in the barriers index separately does not substantively change the coefficients of the race and immigrant status variables. The inclusion of these control variables further reduced the coefficients of our primary independent variables, but a clear story of immigrant disadvantage emerged. Although Hispanic and Asian native-born parents were as likely as White parents to be involved in their children's kindergarten education at school, Hispanic and Asian foreign-born parents reported significantly less involvement. Asian foreign-born parents, on average, were 0.648 points lower ($p < .001$) on the parental involvement scale than were their native-born White counterparts. Similarly, Hispanic foreign-born parents were 0.635 points lower ($p < .001$) on the parental involvement scale. On the other hand, the coefficients for Hispanic and Asian native-born parents were positive, though these coefficients were not significant. It is interesting that both Black native- and foreign-born parents were less involved in their children's kindergarten classrooms, though the coefficient for foreign-born parents was more than three times the magnitude—and was more statistically significant—than the coefficient for native-born parents. White foreign-born parents were also disadvantaged compared with their native-born counterparts. Thus, the story was consistent: Within race groups, immigrant parents were much less likely than their native-born counterparts to get involved in their children's elementary schools. These models showed the importance of considering race and immigrant status jointly—as opposed to separately—when looking at parental involvement, because there was substantial variation between native-born and immigrant parents within race groups.

Although not central to our analyses, other covariates were also related to parental involvement. Consistent with prior research, SES was positively associated with parental involvement, although the inclusion of additional covariates in Model 3 attenuated the size of this coefficient slightly. Children of unmarried parents—compared with those of married parents—were less likely to have involved parents after controlling for race and SES, and that difference is consistent with prior research that found that unmarried parents had less time available to participate in their children's schooling (Crosnoe, 2001). Additionally, both mothers who were employed part-time and unemployed mothers were more likely than mothers

working full-time to be involved, which is consistent with Muller's (1995) findings. Mothers' age at first birth was positively associated with parental involvement; mothers who had their first child when they were older were more likely to be involved. Interestingly, children's mathematics achievement and interpersonal skills, as reported by the teacher, were positively associated with involvement. These findings suggest that parents of elementary school children may not get involved when their children are struggling; instead, they are more involved when their children perform well.

It is not surprising that Table 3 shows that barriers to involvement were negatively associated with parents' involvement in their kindergarten children's schooling. However, the models shown in Table 3 collapsed all types of involvement into a scale that captured the number of barriers but ignored whatever individual types of barriers may matter more than others.

Additional Challenges Faced by Immigrant Parents

Because such striking differences emerged between native- and foreign-born parents, we next looked at immigrant parents separately to see if there were factors that may have facilitated or hindered their involvement in their children's kindergarten education. Specifically, we examined the extent to which mother's time spent in the United States and English language ability were associated with involvement. Model 1 included the race dummy variables (with White foreign-born parents as the reference group) as well as the covariates from our prior tables. We added time in the United States and English language ability in Model 2, and Model 3 examined the interaction of these variables with race. These interactions allowed us to examine how race may moderate the influence of time in the United States and English language ability; it was likely that these factors mattered more for some race groups than for others (Baron & Kenny, 1986; Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2002). These models did not tell us anything about how these foreign-born parents compare with native-born Whites, but they did provide valuable information about challenges specific to immigrant parents that were related to their school-based involvement in their children's education.

Model 1 presented a story consistent with the one shown in Table 3, although the race differences were not as striking. Black and Asian immigrant parents were less likely to be involved at their children's schools than were White immigrant parents. Holding other demographic and socioeconomic characteristics constant, Asian foreign-born parents were the least likely to get involved. Hispanic foreign-born parents were as likely as White foreign-born parents to get involved, and the differences in involvement between foreign-born Whites and Blacks were small.

The addition of time spent in the United States and English language ability attenuated the relation between race

and parental involvement for all race groups. In fact, once these factors were controlled for, Hispanic foreign-born parents were more likely than were White foreign-born parents to have participated in school events, although those differences were not statistically significant. Black and Asian immigrant parents still reported less involvement than did their White counterparts, although the magnitude of the differences decreased. As expected, time spent in the United States was positively associated with involvement. Additionally, parents whose primary language was not English were disadvantaged in their involvement.

The final model, which included interactions (a) between time spent in the United States and race and (b) between English language ability and race, showed that the association between these variables and parental involvement varied by race. Among foreign-born parents, time in the United States was associated with parental involvement among Blacks, compared with Whites, but more positively associated with parental involvement among Hispanics. In other words, the longer Hispanic parents lived in the United States, the more likely they were to participate in school activities, but the opposite was true for Blacks. This suggested that as foreign-born Blacks spend more time in the United States, they may feel even more marginalized and less comfortable in interacting with schools. On the other hand, foreign-born Asian and Hispanic parents become more assimilated compared with foreign-born Whites. The interaction between English language ability and race was interesting. It was not surprising that a parent's not speaking English was associated with lower levels of parental involvement at school. However, this association was much weaker among Hispanics and somewhat weaker among Asians than among their White immigrant counterparts. Thus, minority status may trump English language ability: as White foreign-born parents develop greater English fluency, they become more comfortable in interacting with teachers. The fact that the benefit of English language ability was weaker for Hispanics and Asians may be because of the persistent disadvantages associated with minority status.

Discussion

Our analyses showed several key findings. First, we found that minority immigrant parents perceived a greater number and magnitude of barriers to getting involved in their children's elementary school than did native-born White parents, after controlling for other demographic and socioeconomic variables. Asian foreign-born parents faced more barriers than did other groups, though Hispanic and Black foreign-born parents also perceived significant barriers across the board. This finding is consistent with Carreon et al.'s (2005) qualitative examination of challenges to parental involvement among Hispanic immigrant families. We were able to extend their work by looking at a nationally representative sample of parents of kindergarten children and documenting specific barriers. Although some barriers

(e.g., problems with safety or language) are reported by relatively few parents, minority immigrant parents were more likely to experience these barriers than were their native-born White counterparts. Similarly, we found that minority immigrant parents were less likely than were White native-born parents to participate in activities at their children's school. This negative relation between immigrant status and involvement persisted even when we controlled for the barriers that parents report facing. Our analyses support the descriptive work of Nord and Griffin (1999), who showed that immigrant parents of children aged 3–8 years were less involved than were native-born parents. Kao's (2004) analysis also showed that immigrant parents were less likely to be involved in their adolescent children's education. Because researchers have showed that parental involvement is strongest when children are young (Crosnoe, 2001; Drummond & Stipek, 2004; Eccles & Harold, 1996; Stevenson & Baker, 1987), our multivariate analyses substantially extended previous research by looking at race and immigrant differences in involvement when children are in elementary school.

Last, we found that among immigrant parents, time in the United States and English language ability were positively associated with involvement. In fact, taking into account differences in time in the United States and English language ability reduced the difference between Asian and White foreign-born parents and Black and White foreign-born parents, and our model provided some (albeit statistically insignificant) evidence that Hispanic parents were more likely than were White immigrant parents to be involved at school. However, as evidenced by the significant interaction effects in Model 3 of Table 4, our findings suggested that these relations vary by race and ethnicity. Among immigrants, time in the United States was more important for Hispanics compared with Whites, and it was less important for Blacks. In addition, among immigrants, having a non-English primary language had a weaker relationship with parental involvement among Hispanics and Asians compared with Whites. This may be related to several factors. First, language differences among Whites may mask national origin variation. For example, one would expect White immigrants from Canada, the United Kingdom, Ireland, or Australia to be different from their counterparts from Eastern Europe. Whites who only spoke English at home likely did so because they were monolingual. However, among Asians and Hispanics, this was less likely to be the case. Even Asians from India, Hong Kong, or Singapore, for instance, where English is one of the national languages, speak at least one other language. Hence, for Asian and Hispanic immigrants, those who only speak English at home may have chosen to do so (or may have been compelled to do so by their spouses).

A few features of our measures should be kept in mind when interpreting our findings. First, it is possible that parents' reports of their involvement were subject to a social desirability effect because they may overreport their

TABLE 4. Poisson Regression Models Predicting Parental Involvement Among Immigrant Mothers

Variable	Model 1 (n = 2,494)		Model 2 (n = 2,494)		Model 3 (n = 2,494)	
	β	SE β	β	SE β	β	SE β
White (reference)			—		—	
Black	-0.308***	0.031	-0.289***	0.032	-0.031	0.076
Hispanic	-0.056**	0.019	0.071***	0.020	-0.152**	0.044
Asian	-0.363***	0.020	-0.173***	0.022	-0.241***	0.052
Family SES	0.175***	0.008	0.150***	0.008	0.143***	0.008
Time in United States			0.013***	0.001	0.011***	0.001
Primary language is English (reference)			—		—	
Primary language is not English, interview in English			-0.300***	0.021	-0.641***	0.052
Primary language is not English, interview not in English			-0.202***	0.025	-5.316***	0.463
White \times Time in United States (reference)					—	
Black \times Time in United States					-0.019***	0.004
Hispanic \times Time in United States					0.004*	0.002
Asian \times Time in United States					-0.001	0.002
White \times Non-English Speaking, interview in English (reference)					—	
Black \times Non-English Speaking, interview in English					-0.391 [†]	0.203
Hispanic \times Non-English Speaking, interview in English					0.474***	0.063
Asian \times Non-English Speaking, interview in English					0.407***	0.061
White \times Non-English Speaking, interview not in English (reference)					—	
Black \times Non-English Speaking, interview not in English					-6.756	4.284
Hispanic \times Non-English Speaking, interview not in English					5.216***	0.464
Asian \times Non-English Speaking, interview not in English					4.477***	0.478
Likelihood ratio χ^2	3685.28		4305.80		4663.99	

Note. Models included the following control variables: parents unmarried, number of adults in household, number of siblings, mother employed part-time, mother unemployed, mother's age at first birth, child gender, respondent not child's mother, child's mathematics test score, child's self-control score, child's interpersonal skills, and barriers to involvement.

[†] $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

involvement in their children's education. However, we have no evidence that one race or immigrant group would be more likely to overreport their involvement than would others. Second, our index of parental involvement does not capture all of the potential ways in which parents may be involved in their children's schooling. Our analyses show that minority immigrant parents were less likely to make

connections with their children's school, but these parents may have different ways of demonstrating their commitment to their children's education. Similarly, our analysis of the barriers to parental involvement may not capture all of the potential barriers that parents face. However, we argue that these barriers are of substantial and practical importance to parents of kindergarten children. Our conclusions were also

limited in that we cannot assess ethnicity or immigrant-specific resources that were not measured in the survey, such as community-level forms of involvement that reinforce academic achievement (Zhou & Bankston, 1999). Finally, our measure of English language ability was relatively crude. We combined two pieces of information—self-reports of primary language and whether the interview was conducted in English—to capture parents' abilities, but parents may have misreported their abilities.

Regardless, the barriers that minority immigrant parents perceived, as well as their lower levels of involvement, were somewhat alarming because past research generally shows the importance of parental involvement in building school-specific social capital and influencing achievement and behavioral outcomes. Teachers may interpret the levels of parental involvement at school as a signal about the extent to which parents care about their children's educational outcomes. Gaps in educational achievement begin at a young age, and minority and immigrant children may be penalized by teachers who interpret the lower levels of school participation as a sign that these parents are less engaged with their child's educational progress. Because some minority immigrant children, such as Asian Americans, seem to do well in school, it is likely that some parents are able to use other methods to bolster their children's achievement. Nonetheless, as previous researchers have found, parental involvement at school matters for academic outcomes. Examining the effects of parental involvement on academic outcomes was beyond the scope of this analysis but is an important direction for future research, as is examining school effects related to parental involvement. Future research will also benefit from moving away from panethnic categorizations of race, which data limitations prevented us from doing.

We extend past literature in several ways. First, we provide a nationally representative portrait of parental involvement in elementary school. Prior research on involvement in elementary school has been generally limited to small, nonrepresentative samples, and nationally representative data have been generally limited to middle and high school students (Fan, 2001; Fehrmann, Keith, & Reimers, 1987; Hong & Hsiu-Zu, 2005; Muller, 1993). However, it is important to study elementary school because success or failure at a young age is strongly associated with future educational and occupational outcomes (Alexander et al., 2002; Entwisle, 1995; Entwisle & Alexander, 1989). Additionally, our study jointly focused on race and immigrant status, and we find that the real differences in involvement emerge between native-born White parents and minority immigrant parents.

The findings offer a sobering assessment of access to parental resources in early childhood. Parental involvement at school is certainly important to children's academic progress, but not all parents are equally equipped to participate at school. Minority immigrant parents face additional barriers that prevent them from participating in

their children's school at comparable levels, and their children seem to suffer the consequences not only through their actual levels of participation but by virtue of the obstacles themselves that likely represent general domestic hardships. In addition, minority immigrant parents are at a particular disadvantage, but even a greater facility with English and a longer length of residence in the United States cannot assuage the persistent disadvantage associated with minority status. These findings may be particularly relevant to educators and policymakers, because the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (2002) highlighted the importance of parental involvement in early schooling experiences. Children may benefit tremendously if schools take steps to make minority immigrant parents feel welcome at the children's school or to decrease the language or other logistical barriers that these parents face.

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APPENDIX
Parent Involvement and Barriers to Parent Involvement, by Race and Immigrant Status of Mother

Variable	White		Black		Hispanic		Asian	
	Native born (n = 8,078)	Foreign born (n = 477)	Native born (n = 1,522)	Foreign born (n = 202)	Native born (n = 747)	Foreign born (n = 1,223)	Native born (n = 107)	Foreign born (n = 592)
Parent involvement								
Attended an open house	0.821	0.719***	0.622***	0.593***	0.722***	0.603***	0.817	0.635***
Attended a PTO or PTA meeting	0.355	0.332	0.371	0.390	0.332	0.368	0.452*	0.374
Attended a parental advisory group	0.094	0.080	0.079†	0.095	0.094	0.109†	0.067	0.073
Attended a parent-teacher conference	0.900	0.845***	0.724***	0.700***	0.862**	0.824***	0.885	0.843***
Attended a school event	0.768	0.689***	0.553***	0.415***	0.689***	0.472***	0.699	0.513***
Volunteered at school	0.610	0.504***	0.324***	0.275***	0.465***	0.302***	0.673	0.378***
Participated in fundraising	0.699	0.579***	0.513***	0.430***	0.582***	0.381***	0.692	0.493***
Sum of participation	14.156	12.399*	7.900***	6.350***	11.618***	8.415***	15.788	8.551***
Barriers to involvement								
Inconvenient meeting time	0.305	0.337	0.534***	0.513***	0.435***	0.457***	0.356	0.431***
No child care	0.242	0.237	0.173***	0.239	0.227	0.325	0.298	0.286*
Safety going to school	0.009	0.006	0.019**	0.046***	0.018**	0.038***	0.029*	0.055***
Not feeling welcomed by school	0.031	0.048*	0.115***	0.112***	0.054**	0.076***	0.058	0.067***
Problems with transportation	0.024	0.035	0.076***	0.136***	0.065***	0.086***	0.038	0.055***
Language problem	0.014	0.037***	0.014	0.020	0.025*	0.174***	0.038*	0.215***
Not hearing of interesting things	0.098	0.010	0.157***	0.153*	0.118†	0.161***	0.067	0.125*
Cannot get off from work	0.501	0.529	0.553***	0.535	0.559**	0.466*	0.529	0.598***
Sum of barriers	1.222	1.320†	1.641***	1.730***	1.499***	1.778***	1.413†	1.829***
Demographic characteristics								
Family SES	0.292	0.339	-0.485***	-0.210***	-0.254***	-0.754***	0.555**	0.325
Parents unmarried	0.181	0.258***	0.661***	0.593***	0.316***	0.270***	0.125	0.114***
Number of adults in household	2.012	2.054†	1.834***	2.085*	2.109***	2.327***	2.125*	2.385***
Number of siblings in household	1.414	1.502†	1.566***	1.645**	1.510*	1.694***	1.279	1.687***
Child is male	0.508	0.506	0.489	0.485	0.525	0.510	0.558	0.499
Mother employed full-time	0.436	0.374**	0.605***	0.576***	0.500**	0.350***	0.471	0.502**
Mother employed part-time	0.271	0.240*	0.126***	0.126***	0.196***	0.146***	0.212	0.145***
Mother unemployed	0.293	0.387***	0.269†	0.298	0.304	0.504***	0.317	0.354**
Mathematics score	23.989	22.980*	18.290**	18.698***	19.460***	16.287***	25.647†	26.114***
Self-control (teacher report)	3.156	3.107†	2.940***	2.875***	3.066***	3.096**	3.242	3.163
Interpersonal skills (teacher report)	3.060	3.024	2.858***	2.791***	2.931***	2.950***	3.086	2.975**
Respondent someone other than mother	0.041	0.170***	0.032	0.210***	0.063**	0.058**	0.221***	0.231***
Mother's age at first birth	25.206	25.000	20.981***	22.350***	22.019***	22.394***	28.657***	25.941**
Primary language is English	0.998	0.861***	0.999	0.945***	0.852***	0.301***	0.923***	0.425***
Primary language is not English, interview in English	0.002	0.139***	0.001	0.055***	0.107***	0.158***	0.067***	0.525***
Primary language is not English, interview not in English	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.040***	0.541***	0.010***	0.050***

Note. Symbols compare race and immigrant groups to native-born Whites. PTO = parent-teacher organization; PTA = parent-teacher association.
 †p < .10. *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.