PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT, NATIONALITY, AND ACHIEVEMENT AMONG CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS

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Abstract: Parental involvement as a predictor of student achievement is a widely studied topic and current focus of education reform. However, findings have been inconsistent as researchers have conceptualized parental involvement differently across studies and often failed to account for racial-ethnic background. In addition, little is known about the influence of parental involvement among children of immigrants. Using the model of social and cultural reproduction, I examine student achievement and parental involvement levels across seven immigrant nationalities: Cambodian, Cuban, Filipino, Laotian, Mexican, Nicaraguan, and Vietnamese. I then analyze the relationships between five parental involvement types and GPA, while controlling for student, family, and school characteristics. Finally, I test for interaction effects to examine variations across groups. Results point to parent expectations as a strong predictor of student success, though the effects vary with nationality.

Introduction

Parental involvement is an important topic in education but it has received little attention among immigration scholars. As the number of immigrants in the US increases, it becomes necessary to explore the relationship between parental involvement and academic achievement among immigrants of various nationalities. Parental involvement and student success is a widely studied topic, but findings have been inconsistent due to incongruity in the conceptualization of parental involvement and student achievement, as well as a failure to account for racial-ethnic differences (Mattingly et al. 2002; Fan and Chen 2001). To address these inconsistencies, I test the effects of five dimensions of parental involvement on student achievement and adjust for the effects of immigrant nationality.

As a theoretical framework, I employ Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) model of cultural and social reproduction, which suggests that parents' participation in their children's education is largely determined by the social and cultural capital available to them (Lareau 2003; Grenfell et al. 1998). Some researchers have used this theory to explain racial-ethnic differences in parental involvement and academic achievement (Lareau and Horvat 1999), but generally, studies compare parents of minority students, organized by pan-ethnic categories (Black, Asian, Hispanic, etc.), to middle class whites (Desimone 1999). This is one of the few studies to explore the socio-cultural differences of immigrant parents across nationalities, regarding their involvement in their children's education.

Extending beyond a minority-white comparison, I first examine variations in levels of student achievement and parental involvement across seven purposively selected immigrant nationality groups. I then analyze the relationships between five components of parental involvement and student achievement, while controlling for student, family, and school

characteristics. Finally, I test for differences across groups in the involvement-achievement relationships, and discuss the social implications of my findings.

Literature Review

Social and Cultural Reproduction

Social and cultural reproduction, introduced by Bourdieu (1977), is a widely accepted theoretical model which helps to explain inequalities in achievement levels (Levine-Rasky 2009; Lareau and Horvat 1999). Bourdieu suggests that an education system is a type of "field," a collection of social relations that influences an individual's perspective and choices. According to Bourdieu, a field is a market in which individuals compete for access to resources, which he calls social and cultural capital. Social capital signifies access to resources through a social network (Portes 1998). The social networks in which parents are embedded mold their understanding of their responsibilities regarding their children's education. In addition, they provide a source of information about the most effective ways for children to be successful in school (Laraeu 2003). Cultural capital includes cultural knowledge as well as the set of values and beliefs tied to a specific culture. It may also be defined in terms of educational resources such as a sense of entitlement to associate with teachers as equals, a larger vocabulary, access to books, credentials, places of learning, etc. (Grenfell et al. 1998). The extent to which cultural capital influences child achievement is dependent upon both the contents of the culture (e.g., a belief system that values education) and the parent's integration into a social network (Kroneberg 2008; Zhou and Bankston 1998).

A child acts according to his or her "habitus," a set of dispositions toward the world and the future (Dumais 2006; Lareau 2003). This set of dispositions is acquired at home. Parents with greater access to cultural and social capital will act in ways that increase the likelihood of

success for their children. For example, they have a stronger sense of entitlement and feel more comfortable giving suggestions in parent-teacher meetings or talking with teachers about the individual needs of the student. Thus, they can provide their children with greater access to educational opportunities. Parents of disadvantaged backgrounds have a more limited perspective. Consequently, parents with lower levels of education participate less frequently in their children's education (Desimone 1999), and in turn, their children do not perform as well academically (Rumbaut 2004).

Parental Involvement and Student Academic Achievement

In recent years, researchers and policymakers alike have made education reform a high priority in the US. One aspect of education that has received particular attention is the relationship between school and family as it pertains to student success. In 2001, Congress passed the No Child Left Behind Act in an effort to remediate inequalities in the education system by requiring states to set achievement standards for students of all backgrounds to attain. A major emphasis of this act is parental involvement, and as a result, many schools are required to spend part of their funding on programs which promote participation from parents. At a joint session of congress in February 2009, President Obama stated, "In the end, there is no program or policy that can substitute for a mother or father who will attend those parent/teacher conferences, or help with homework after dinner, or turn off the TV, put away the video games, and read to their child. I speak to you not just as a President, but as a father when I say that responsibility for our children's education must begin at home." (Obama 2009). These policies reflect a conviction held by administrators, teachers, parents, and students across the US, that is, the belief that parental involvement is crucial for children's academic success (Fan and Chen 2001).

With so much emphasis placed on the family-school relationship it should seem obvious that increased parental involvement would lead to greater academic achievement, and a substantial amount of research suggests that it does (Dearing, Simpkins, Kreider, and Weiss 2006; Barnard 2004). However, overall the findings have been inconsistent, for many researchers have found weak or negative results (Hill et al. 2004; Bobbett, French, Achilles, and Bobbett 1995; Balli 1997). In an analysis of 41 evaluations of school programs designed to increase parental involvement, Mattingly et al. (2002) found that while the majority held these programs in a positive light, few could show empirical evidence that the increased parental involvement helped to improve student achievement.

Meta-analyses of parental involvement and academic achievement indicate that one explanation for the inconsistent findings is a "chaotic state" in the definition of parental involvement (Fan and Chen 2001; Hoover-Dempsey 2001). Measures range from participation at the school (Stevenson and Baker 1987) to the teacher's perception of the parent's interest in the child's education (Flouri 2006). Another explanation for the discrepancies is that researchers often conceptualize parental involvement as being one-dimensional (Dearing et al. 2006; Griffith 1998). They either construct parental involvement indicators from a single item (Stevenson and Baker 1987) or average various items to calculate composite measures (Simpkins et al. 2006; Hill et al. 2004). Several studies indicate that parental involvement is more appropriately conceptualized as having multiple dimensions (Walker et al. 2005; Fan and Chen 2001; Singh et al. 1995; Epstein and Dauber 1991, 1995). Drawing from these studies, I conceptualize parental involvement as an indicator of social and cultural capital (McNeal 1999) with five primary dimensions: (1) parent expectations, (2) parental control, (3) school-based involvement, (4) home-based involvement, and (5) community collaboration.

Parent Expectations: Parent aspirations and expectations are referred to by education scholars as important predictors of academic outcomes (Museus, Harper, and Nichols 2010; Singh et al. 1995; Hauser and Anderson 1991). Educational aspirations indicate a desired level of attainment, but expectations refer to the level of education an individual perceives she or he will likely attain, based on knowledge from past experiences. Thus, expectations are more predictive of future behavior (Rumbaut 2004). Parents' expectations regarding their children's education is one of the strongest predictors of student academic achievement (Fan and Chen 2001).

Parental Control: In a qualitative study of parental involvement in which nearly 64% of parents were from a racial-ethnic minority group, the most prominent theme that emerged from parents was the importance of monitoring their children's progress in school (Barge and Loges 2003). Parental control, or rule-setting, is conceptually an important part of monitoring (Hayes, Hudson, and Matthews 2004; Kerr and Stattin 2000) that varies with parenting style. Generally, an authoritative parenting style (i.e., accepting and not too controlling) is linked to higher student achievement (Steinberg et al. 1992). However, this relationship is not consistent across racial-ethnic groups (Spera 2005).

Home-based involvement: Becker and Epstein (1982) document that involvement techniques used at home to encourage student learning and parent-child communication about school were ranked by teachers among the most successful parental involvement practices (Epstein 1986). Involvement practices at home may include communication with the child about school activities and plans (Corwyn and Bradley 2008) or help with schoolwork (Plunkett et al. 2009). Parents generally believe that becoming involved in their children's homework will have a positive influence (Hoover-Dempsey et al. 2001). However, a negative relationship between parents' homework involvement and student grades has also been found (Desimone 1999),

which researchers attribute to parents becoming involved when students are already performing poorly (Hoover-Dempsey et al. 2001).

School-based involvement: Parental involvement at the school may include attending parent-teacher conferences, participating in parent-teacher organizations (Stevenson and Baker 1987), attending school performances and events, visiting the child's classroom, or volunteering at the school. Previous findings indicate that involvement at the school or in parent-teacher organizations is positively associated with educational outcomes (Kao and Rutherford 2007; Dearing et al. 2006).

Community collaboration: Epstein and Dauber (1991, 1995) originally suggested that community collaboration, or the networks parents have through agencies, groups, and school programs that share responsibility for the child's success, be considered an important type of parental involvement. Later research incorporated the parent's more informal social networks (Ravanera and Rajulton 2009) as indicators of community collaboration (Desimone 1999). One type of informal social network discussed by Coleman (1988) is that which exists between a child's parent and the parents of the child's friends. In such a network, parents share information and reinforce one another in their involvement with their children's schooling. A more developed network in which the parent's friends are the parents of the child's friends is a valuable source of social capital which aids in student achievement (Kao and Rutherford 2007).

Similar to parental involvement, academic achievement has been operationalized differently across studies, which may also be a contributing factor to the inconsistent findings (Fan and Chen 2001). Though academic achievement has often been measured using indicators which focus on a specific academic area such as scores in math or reading (Simpkins et al. 2006; Dearing et al. 2006), Desimone (1999) reports that parental involvement is most predictive of

student grade point average (GPA). Fan and Chen (2001) suggest that GPA is a more comprehensive indicator of achievement and may therefore be more reliable. Accordingly, in estimating the effect of parental involvement on achievement, the latter should be measured using GPA.

Parental Involvement among Racial-Ethnic Minorities

Several researchers have recognized the difficulty in defining the boundaries between specific ethnic groups (Bronte-Tinkew 2006; Desimone 1999). However, Parsons (1975) made it clear decades ago that because of an immigrant history, national origin is the best proxy measurement for ethnic identity in the US. Despite this realization, quality data that include national origin have been relatively unavailable; therefore, few attempts have been made to categorize participants by nationality. Investigators of parental involvement have instead relied primarily on pan-ethnic categories (Latino, Asian, Black, etc.) for determining racial-ethnic background.

Despite the prior lack of information about nationality differences, several studies elucidate the roles that race and ethnicity play in the involvement-achievement relationship. Perhaps most importantly, it is known that regardless of racial-ethnic status generally all parents have high aspirations for their children (Spera, Wentzel, and Matto 2009; Levine-Rasky 2009). However, findings also indicate that parents of minority students are often less frequently involved with school than parents of whites (Carranza et al. 2009; Hurtado-Ortiz and Gauvain 2007; Griffith 1998; Peng and Wright 1994), and that parental involvement is a better predictor of achievement among students with more advantaged racial-ethnic backgrounds (Desimone 1999).

Low levels of involvement can be explained by a lack of access to social and cultural capital. Lareau (2003), whose findings may apply to ethnic minorities as much as lower class parents born in the US (Levine-Rasky 2009), suggests that parents with fewer resources, including less formally educated parents, may not understand the jargon used by educators and other professionals. Moreover, she indicates that parents of disadvantaged backgrounds often have an interpretation of their responsibility toward their children's education that is different from those of middle class whites. These parents often see the child's education as the teachers' role, in which they are invited to take part should issues arise.

In some studies of minority groups a negative association between certain types of parental involvement and student achievement has been found (Desimone 1999). Scholars explain this by suggesting that these parents distance themselves from the school, except when their children are in trouble (Fan and Chen 2001; Lareau 1999; Walker et al. 2005). Parenting practices and the beliefs parents hold about their roles in their children's education, in addition to their levels of social and cultural capital, vary by racial-ethnic background (Hill et al. 2004), thus limiting the participation of some parents and increasing the involvement of others, with varying effects. These findings illustrate the importance of social and cultural capital through race and ethnicity in the involvement-achievement relationship, but pan-ethnic categories do little to explain socio-cultural differences across nationality groups.

Social and Cultural Reproduction via Parental Involvement across Nationalities

While prior research underlines race and ethnicity as vehicles of social and cultural reproduction, it has assumed that members of different nationalities with dissimilar backgrounds have comparable advantages and disadvantages based solely on a similar pan-ethnic categorization. The immigrant population in the US is rapidly growing (Portes and Rumbaut

2005), and recent findings indicate achievement rates differ across nationality, even after controlling for other characteristics (Portes and MacLeod 1996; Portes and Hao 2002; Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 2005; Kroneberg 2008). Chinese students maintain the highest GPA and the lowest dropout rate of any immigrant nationality group. Upon completing high school, Vietnamese and Filipinos also earn above average GPAs. They are followed by Laotians and Cambodians. Lower GPAs and higher dropout rates are found among Jamaicans and Haitians, while Latin American groups, especially Dominicans, rank the lowest in academic achievement. (Rumbaut 2004). The socio-cultural characteristics of each nationality help to explain these differences in student achievement.

The access immigrant parents and their children have to social and cultural resources may be influenced by their levels of assimilation and acculturation. Assimilation is historically defined as the process "in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life" (Park and Burgess 1924). Milton Gordon (1964) describes assimilation as having several types or "subprocesses," which lead to complete integration into a host society. One of these types is "cultural assimilation" or acculturation. Acculturation refers to the changes that occur in the original cultural patterns (e.g., language, cultural beliefs, values, behavior, etc.) of individuals as a result of continuous contact with another group of a different culture (Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits 1936; Gordon 1964; Berry 1980; Berry et al. 2002).

For immigrant children, acculturation levels represented by length of time in the US or generation status often have negative academic outcomes. As children of immigrants become integrated into US societal norms and values, achievement rates and school engagement diminish

(Rumbaut 2004). School processes are also negatively influenced (Bui 2009). One explanation given by Portes and Rumbaut (2006) for the negative effects of acculturation is color. In many cases, racial discrimination in the past has resulted in inner-city antagonism toward the middle class lifestyle. In adapting to their new society, newly arrived youth are influenced by these inner-city beliefs and values. As a result, some immigrant youth often take on the notion that, "to strive for academic achievement is to 'act white.'" For example, Asian adolescent "New Wavers," often don't see education as vital to their success. They avoid schoolwork and worry more about fitting in (Lee 2009). Similarly, Cuban adolescents in the public schools of Miami, though generally more assimilated than most immigrant groups, report some of the lowest GPAs and highest dropout rates (though they are still lower than the dropout rate for non-Latino white students in the same area) (Rumbaut 2004). Children often acculturate more quickly than their parents (Szapocznik and Kurtines 1993), which may be a source of parent-child conflict with negative outcomes (Bui 2009). Thus, the relationship between parental involvement and academic engagement is stronger for first generation immigrants than for those of the second generation (Plunkett et al. 2009).

On the other hand, the co-ethnic social networks of their parents may serve as valuable sources of social and cultural capital that can help the students be successful. In a process that has taken many years, immigrants of some nationalities have regrouped into tightly-knit ethnic neighborhoods and enclaves. Refugee immigrants, such as many of those from Cuba or Vietnam, have joined ethnic communities as a means of survival. The theory of segmented assimilation, introduced by Portes and Zhou (1993), suggests that ethnic communities may serve as valuable sources of social capital and protection from downward assimilation that can occur as children of immigrants acculturate the norms of the host society (Rumbaut 1997b). One reason for this is

that the behavior of a child whose family is part of a co-ethnic community with shared values conducive to academic success, is either heavily sanctioned or affirmed by the family's friends and neighbors (Zhou and Bankston 1998).

Immigrant nationality groups differ in their historical background, reception into the US, values and beliefs, and their patterns of acculturation. Accordingly, the degree to which social and cultural capital can influence student achievement via parental involvement should vary across nationalities.

Asian students are often portrayed as "model minorities" (Lee 2009; Kao 1995) partly because academically they seem to excel over other minority groups (Peng and Wright 1994; Schneider and Lee 1990). Researchers point to parental factors to explain their success. One study found that over 79% of Asian American students lived with both biological parents. Their parents are more highly educated and have higher educational expectations for their children than whites or other minorities. Their children also participated in more educational activities outside of school (Peng and Wright 1994). In addition, many Asian cultures often carry belief systems which promote high academic achievement and upward mobility (Sue and Okazaki 1990). These value systems not only shape the student's behavior, but the parent's involvement. For example, monitoring and parental control may be more successful among East Asians whose cultures reflect the Confucian ideals of education, family honor, respect for adults, and industriousness (Corwyn and Bradley 2008; Schneider and Lee 1990; Zhou and Bankston 1998). Moreover, parents of Asian Americans generally have higher expectations for their children, though they do not communicate with their children about school (Peng and Wright 1994) and have lower levels of school-based involvement than parents of other minorities (Diamond, Wang, and Gomez 2006).

While the literature on pan-ethnic Asian achievement is extensive, some research suggests that Asians should not be considered a homogenous population in predicting achievement (Corwyn and Bradley 2008). Next to Chinese, Filipinos represent the largest Asian group in the US (Zhou and Lee 2004). They are highly concentrated in Southern California, Hawaii, and Illinois. While Far East Asian cultures have been shaped by the Confucian philosophy, Filipinos are more heavily influenced by Catholicism due to a colonial history. Thus, their parenting styles are more similar to those of European Americans. Filipino American boys whose mothers are authoritative attain higher levels of education (Hindin 2005). A more controlling style of parenting, while possibly advantageous for other Asian students, may negatively influence Filipino grades (Dornbusch, Prescott, and Ritter 1987). Unlike Southeast Asian immigrants, many of whom arrive at the US as refugees with little education, Filipino immigrants are generally among the best educated, entering as documented technicians and professionals. As skilled workers and professionals, it is expected that Filipino parents will have less trouble understanding the expectations of the school. Similar to middle class whites or blacks (Lareau 2003) they should have little difficulty questioning the methods of teachers or helping with homework. Because they do not commonly live in ethnic communities that reinforce their cultural values, they typically assimilate at a quicker pace than those of other groups and their children are often English monolinguals. Parents even encourage their children to become Americanized, though many do not ever feel fully American (Portes and Rumbaut 2006; de Leon 2004).

Unlike Filipino immigrants, Southeast Asian immigrants from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia have generally come to the US by force. Fleeing their home countries with little or no preparation, they came in several waves between 1975 and the mid-1990s. On average, the new

arrivals have been characterized by rural backgrounds, low levels of education, and few marketable skills (Corwyn and Bradley 2008; Portes and Rumbaut 2006). Many spent time in refugee processing centers for months or years and experienced the anxiety, grief, and emotional distress of replacement and losing loved ones. Affected by the struggles of their parents, Southeast Asian children maintain the lowest achievement levels among Asians in the US.

Since their arrival, Vietnamese have grouped together in ethnic enclaves in California, Texas, Louisiana, and elsewhere. Many new arrivals relied on public assistance, but their situations have steadily improved to approach average levels of education and income in the US. A large number have begun to turn toward entrepreneurship and self employment. Their young people make up the single largest group of refugee children in the US (Zhou and Bankston 1998). While most have little or no memory of the flight of their parents, a good number have grown up surrounded by friends and neighbors with similar experiences. The social and cultural reinforcement provided by Vietnamese communities gives students an academic advantage children of other Southeast Asian refugees do not have. In the community, family values such as hard work, respect for authority, obedience, and helping others are emphasized, while becoming too "American" is discouraged. Poor academic performance brings shame on the family, while achievement is honored by the community. Some even offer co-ethnic after school programs to share in the students' success. While Vietnamese parents have many reinforcements through co-ethnic networks, their involvement with the schools and helping with homework, etc. is expected to be limited due to lower levels of education. In addition, tensions between parents and children due to cultural stress often reflect the conflict between family oriented communities and the individualism of American culture.

While Laotian and Cambodian children perform fairly well in school (Caplan, Whitmore, and Choy 1989), they fall behind Vietnamese and Filipinos. Their low expectations about the future (Rumbaut 2004) translate into below average levels of later educational attainment (Portes and Rumbaut 2006). These trends are probably due to their slow progress in climbing out of economic hardship. Among the Southeast Asian refugees, Laotians have the lowest percentage of employable people per household and the most people to support (Caplan et al. 1989) and Cambodians continue to live in low income housing occupied by disadvantaged minorities (Lucas 1993). Home environments can make achievement more challenging. Crowded conditions at home make homework and studying difficult. When tensions arise between parents and children as children become acculturated, parents often use physical punishment. Laotian and Cambodian cultures have strong Buddhist roots which teach predestination and the acceptance of suffering. Consequently, parents rarely seek help through social services. Laotian and Cambodian parents may not understand how to work well with social workers and teachers. In Cambodia for instance, schools took complete responsibility of children's education. Thus, Cambodian parents in the US accept the authority of teachers and do not question their methods. By so doing, they teach their children not to ask for clarification though a concept is unclear. This is especially challenging considering that Laotians and Cambodians, unlike Filipinos and Vietnamese, did not commonly use a Latin writing system before coming to the US. Hence, greater work may be required for recent arrivals to keep up in school. Furthermore, while the aspirations parents have for their children are as high as those of any other parents, their expectations lag behind. As a result, their behavioral intentions to help their children realize their goals also fall behind (Caplan et al. 1989), and Laotian and Cambodian youth hover near the bottom in educational ambition (Rumbaut 2004).

While Asian groups generally rank at the front of the achievement scale, Latinos continue to fall to the rear (Hill and Torres 2010) and have the highest dropout rate (US Department of Commerce 2000). This is staggering news considering that by 2020, an estimated 25 percent of US youth will be of Latino descent (Valencia 1991). Researchers attribute their low achievement to the cultural clash between US schools the expectations of Latino parents. Latino immigrants come to the US with high hopes for their children and great expectations for the schools, but are often disappointed, feeling they are not strict or rigorous enough. They struggle to understand their roles in connection to the school and feel that sharing their opinions with teachers would be disrespectful. Furthermore, children of Latino immigrants often experience discrimination in schools, which is associated with lower academic achievement (Hill and Torres 2010). Differences in background and assimilation patterns across Latino nationalities might further help explain the low achievement levels.

Primarily due to a shared border, Mexican immigrants have resided in the US the longest and are the largest foreign-born population (MacDonald and Carrillo 2010). Mexican immigration began with US growers and railroad companies recruiting laborers (Portes and Rumbout 2006). Since then their reasons for emigrating have continued to be economic. While many arrive as professionals, the majority are unskilled and semiskilled laborers with seasonal employment (Portes and Rumbaut 2006). As the least educated immigrant group, parental involvement levels are also low. Carranza et al. (2009) and Hurtado-Ortiz and Gauvain (2007) found that while Mexican American parents encouraged their children in school and held high expectations for them, they did little to participate in their children's schooling or help them with class assignments. Carranza et al. (2009) attribute the low involvement levels to parents not feeling prepared to help their children in schoolwork, whether because of a language barrier or

other factors. However, parents do seem to understand the importance of traditional family values, and strive to teach them to their children. Those who are brought up in an area where their family networks are maintained and traditional language and culture preserved do better (Trueba 1998), though as a group they are among the lowest in educational ambition (Rumbaut 2004).

In contrast to the economic motivations of Mexican immigrants, many Latinos have entered the US seeking refuge from war and political turmoil. Cubans came to the US in several waves following the Cuban Revolution of 1959. The first wave, arriving between 1959 and 1962, was comprised of sugar mill owners and other upper middle class professionals. In response to policy established under President Lyndon Johnson, hundreds of thousands more followed until the mid-1970s, including merchants and unskilled and semi-skilled laborers. The so-called Mariel Exodus arrived in 1980. Most of this group consisted of individuals who desired to join family members already residing in the US. Also included were ex-political prisoners pressured by government officials to leave and several thousand social outcasts (Fernández 2002). Like many refugees, Cubans have grouped themselves into communities in areas that approximate their homelands, thus the majority of Cuban Americans today (about 74 percent) live in the Miami area. Others have settled in New Jersey, California, or other locations (Portes and Rumbaut 2006).

Due largely to their reception into the US, the amount of time they have resided in the country, and the social and economic advantages of a well-developed ethnic community, Cubans have managed to become a highly assimilated group with higher than average socioeconomic backgrounds, greater self-esteem among their youth, and less reported discrimination than many other immigrant groups (Rumbaut 2004). Both parents and adolescents also report higher levels

of familism than Nicaraguans in the same location (Gil and Vega 1996). Surprisingly however, Cuban youth in Miami public schools have a higher dropout rate (10.15%) and some of the lowest grades of any immigrant group. Rumbaut (2004) attributes this finding to the rapid acculturation experienced by Cuban youth and the subsequent depletion of academic motivation. However, because Cubans in Miami are often the ethnic majority and particularly those of the earlier waves are more highly educated and have fewer language difficulties, the expectations of the schools should be better understood by Cuban parents. In addition, parents should feel more capable of becoming involved and sharing their opinions with educators.

As the later waves of Cubans entered the US, government corruption and political uprising were occurring across Central America. Between 1974 and 1996 a quarter of a million Central Americans were killed and over two million fled their homelands, eventually toward the United States, Mexico, and Canada (García 2006). However, the US government was not as receptive of Central Americans as they had been of early Cubans. There arose much debate as to whether motivations could be defined as political or economic. Nevertheless, empirical evidence indicates that the large Nicaraguan influx to the US during the 1980s and early 1990s was a direct result of the Sandinista Revolution and subsequent US-Contra intervention (Lundquist and Massey 2005). The majority of Nicaraguans had little education in their homeland and had experienced unemployment and poverty. Many arrived impoverished after making their way up through Mexico and were not able to obtain legal status. Moreover, they arrived at a time of little economic growth (García 2006; Gil and Vega 1996). Since their arrival, they like Cubans have grouped together in minor enclaves in the surrounding area of Miami or spread to other areas in California and New York. However, Nicaraguan immigrants are far from approaching the numbers of Cuban Americans and many have not been in the US as long. While some were able

to establish businesses, they did not have the economic or political advantages of the Cubans. Therefore, their co-ethnic networks and cultural reinforcement are not expected to be as well-established or supportive.

According to Gil and Vega (1996), the differences in the reception of Cuban and Nicaraguan immigrants and their development of ethnic communities since their arrival have led to major differences in acculturation patterns with consequences for children and their parents. For example, Nicaraguan adolescents report higher levels of acculturation conflicts and perceived discrimination than Cubans in the same geographical location. Larger gaps exist between more recent arrivals. Nicaraguan parents report higher levels of stress associated with acculturation. Sources of stress are language conflicts, which decrease over time among Cubans but increase over time among Nicaraguan parents, and family cultural conflicts which are higher among Nicaraguans. Language difficulties and low levels of education among Nicaraguan parents may deter them from approaching the schools and limit their involvement in their children's schooling. Other academic consequences for Nicaraguan youth associated with acculturation stressors are also expected. While children of Nicaraguan immigrants do seem more educationally ambitious than Mexican, Laotian, or Cambodian adolescents, they have the highest dropout rates in Miami public schools next to Cubans (Rumbaut 2004).

In sum, each of the groups discussed above has a unique history and set of advantages and challenges that are not made apparent in pan-ethnic comparisons. These advantages and challenges can be described in terms of variations in access to resources. The social and cultural capital accessible to parents and children in the form of acculturation patterns, reception into the US, education levels attained prior to arrival, etc. is not only expected to influence the children's performance directly but should also be apparent in the ways that parents become involved in

their children's schooling. Other individual, family, and school characteristics are also expected to influence student performance.

Individual, Family, and School Characteristics

Several individual characteristics should be accounted for in predicting student achievement. Parents tend to be less involved with older children than they are when children are younger (Stevenson and Baker 1987; Griffith 1998). Among children of immigrants, females generally perform better than males. Children with high self-esteem and those with high educational expectations generally perform better academically than their counterparts (Carranza et al. 2009; Rumbaut 2004). Likewise, the student's dedication, measured by the number of hours spent doing homework per day, is positively associated with academic performance (Rumbaut 2004). In contrast, the more time students spend watching television, the lower their educational expectations and performance (Rumbaut 2004).

Family characteristics are also important in predicting educational outcomes (Forste, Heaton, and Haas 2004). The parent-child relationship is a significant predictor of the child's academic success (Simpkins et al. 2006). Among East Asian students fathers' parenting styles are more influential on student achievement than those of mothers (Kim and Rohner 2002). In addition, respondents with intact families (those in which both parents are present) perform better academically than their counterparts (Rumbaut 2004). Commonly, parents of lower socioeconomic status participate less in their children's education than those with access to economic resources (Desimone 1999), and children from lower socioeconomic backgrounds do not perform as well academically. Among the children of immigrants Cubans are generally the most advantaged, while Laotians and Cambodians have the highest poverty rates in the US (Rumbaut 2004).

School characteristics should be considered as well. Parental involvement levels differ according to the level of safety in the school, as perceived by the parent. A greater sense of school safety is associated with increased levels of parental involvement (Griffith 1998). Researchers have also suggested that the quality of the school may mediate the involvement-achievement relationship. Students from disadvantaged backgrounds are more likely to attend disadvantaged schools. Therefore, the student body composition should also be accounted for (Desimone 1999; Griffith 1998).

Hypotheses

Increased levels of parental involvement should be associated with higher academic achievement even when controlling for nationality and other characteristics discussed above. However, as the literature suggests, many factors associated with immigrant background and group characteristics play important roles in accessibility to social and cultural resources. Inasmuch as parental involvement is an indicator of social and cultural capital, parental involvement levels should vary across nationalities. Among groups with higher socioeconomic backgrounds such as Filipinos and Cubans, higher levels of school-based and home-based involvement should be found, while lower parent expectations should be present among the more disadvantaged groups such as Mexicans, Laotians, and Cambodians. Among groups with more time in the US or more developed co-ethnic networks, such as Cubans, Vietnamese, and Mexicans, higher levels of community collaboration are expected. In addition, the ability of specific parental involvement types in predicting student achievement should also vary across nationalities. To a certain extent, increased parental control is expected to have a more positive influence on achievement among the Southeast Asian groups (Vietnamese, Laotians, and Cambodians) because of favorable cultural values. Finally, parent expectations should have a

more positive influence on achievement among those who belong to well established ethnic communities where expectations are shared by others in the social network such as the case with Cubans, but more particularly among those whose cultural values in the community are conducive to academic success such as Vietnamese.

Data and Methods

Sample

My sample is drawn from the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey (CILS), 1991-2006. This data set includes information from 5,262 second generation immigrants living in metropolitan areas of San Diego, California and Ft. Lauderdale/Miami, Florida. Second generation is strictly defined as foreign born and brought to the US before adolescence (age 12), or US born with at least one foreign born parent (Portes and Rumbaut 2005). Parents of the participants come from 77 nations. Data were collected in three waves of surveys across ten years. The present study is limited to the first two waves. The first (T1) was administered when participants were in the eighth and ninth grades, at about age 14. Interviews took place in 49 schools. The second survey (T2), achieving an 82% response rate, occurred three years later when adolescents were expected to graduate from high school. Interviews took place in the schools when possible, but in cases where respondents had dropped out of school or moved away, interviews took place at the respondents' residences, by phone, or by mail. Parent (or guardian) level data, about 60% of which came from females, were also collected at T2, with the number of respondents with participating parents at 2,442. My analysis is limited to respondents of the seven nationalities discussed above, whose parents participated in the parent questionnaire and for whom data regarding GPA was provided by the school at about the time students were expected to graduate. Therefore, my sample is limited to $N = 1,673$ respondents, aged 12 to 17 at

T1 (1992). Twenty-nine percent (mainly Cubans and Nicaraguans) come from Ft. Lauderdale/Miami and the remainders are from San Diego.

Measures

Academic Achievement: In conjunction with Fan and Chen (2001), I employ school reported GPA at T2 as a measure of student academic achievement. GPA is measured on a scale of 0 to 5 to include honors and advanced placement coursework.

Parental Involvement: There are 14 parental involvement indicators, which are taken from items in the parent questionnaire (see Table 1). Item 1 measures the parent's expectation regarding the child's education. Responses range from 1 (eighth grade or less) to 11 (PhD, MD, or other advanced degree). Items 2 through 4 are taken from responses to questions about the following: the parent's communication with the child about school experiences, communication with the child about future educational plans, and the amount of homework help the parent provides to the child. Responses are coded 0 (Not at all) to 3 (Regularly) and are summed to represent the parent's level of home-based involvement (see Table 2). Items 5 through 7 are dichotomous measures of the parent's membership in a parent-teacher organization, attendance at parent-teacher meetings, and volunteering at school activities. A sum scale represents the parent's level of school-based involvement. Items 8 through 13 are dichotomous measures indicating whether or not the parent has rules for the child regarding maintaining a good GPA, doing homework, doing household chores, and watching television. The items are summed to create a measure of parental control. A measure of community collaboration, Item 14 represents the number of parents of the child's friends that are known to the parent respondent.

(TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE)

Nationality: The nationality data are constructed from information collected in T1, namely the countries of origin of the respondent and both parents. Where the nationalities for the parents differ, that of the mother is assumed for the child. I limit the sample to respondents of seven nationality groups, three Latino groups and four Asian groups. Laotians and Cambodians, the two smallest groups, are expected to have similar levels of cultural and social capital, based on a common history as Southeast Asian refugees and similar circumstances in the US; therefore, these were combined into a single group as has been done in previous CILS research (Rumbaut 2004). The following groups result: Cubans (n = 276), Mexicans (n = 341), Nicaraguans (n = 203), Filipinos (n = 374), Vietnamese (n = 251), and Laotians and Cambodians (n = 228).

Other Characteristics: Based on the literature, I control for several individual, family, and school characteristics measured at T1 (see Table 2). Individual characteristics include: gender (coded 0 = female, 1 = male), age, number of hours per day doing homework, hours per day watching television, self-esteem (Rosenberg's 1979 composite index, with higher values representing lower self-esteem), educational expectation (coded from 1 = less than high school to 5 = college graduate), and a combined measure of Stanford Achievement Test scores in reading and math ($\alpha = 0.76$). As a proxy measure for acculturation, I include length of time in the US (coded 1 = less than 5 years, 2 = five to nine years, 3 = ten years or more, and 4 = all my life).

To account for family characteristics, I include the level of parent-child conflict (based on the questionnaire item "My parents and I often argue because we don't share the same goals," coded 1 = not true at all to 4 = very true). I also include gender of the participating parent or guardian (coded 0 = male, 1 = female), parent marital status at T1 (coded 0 = not married, 1 = married), and parent socioeconomic status (a unit-weighted standardized scale of parent education levels, occupational prestige, and home-ownership, with higher scores representing

higher socioeconomic status) (Rumbaut 2004). Finally, at the school level, I include the CILS dummy measure for minority percent (coded 0 = 59% or less and 1 = 60% or more).

Missing Data

Half of the exogenous variables had no missing data. The variable with the most missing cases (24%) was Item 14, the number of the child's friends' parents known to the parent. Of the control variables, achievement test score was missing about 10%, and parent-child conflict about 4%. All other variables in the model were missing 1.3% or fewer cases.

Many common approaches to handling missing data such as mean substitution and listwise or pairwise deletion can lead to biased results and increased risk of a Type I error. A more accurate alternative is multiple imputation, originally proposed by Rubin (1977). Multiple imputation creates multiple datasets using regression techniques with the observed data in order to estimate non-response data (Rubin 1987). The mean of the estimated values is used as the final imputed value. This accounts for the error of variance of the imputed values resulting in more reliable estimates (Dow and Eff, 2009). Thus, using Stata Statistical Software Release 11, I employ multiple imputation to account for variables with missing data. In the present study, five datasets are created using Royston's (2004) MICE (multiple imputation by chained equations).

Data Analysis

Data analysis involves a four step process. First, I calculate descriptive statistics for all variables used in the analysis, including specific parental involvement characteristics for each nationality group. Second, I test for differences in levels of student achievement and parental involvement across nationality groups using an ANOVA test and post hoc procedures. Third, using regression techniques, I analyze the relationships between the five parental involvement constructs and academic achievement, while adjusting for the effects of individual, family, and

school characteristics. Fourth, to account for the variability in parental involvement that is due to an interaction between specific parental involvement types and nationality, I test for interaction effects between significant parental involvement indicators and immigrant nationality.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Summary statistics reported in Table 2 indicate that the average GPA for second generation immigrants in the sample is 2.62. Among these there is an even balance of males and females. At about age 14, they reported to have lived in the US for close to ten years or more. As a whole, their self-esteem and ambitions are relatively high, planning to complete a college degree. However, they also spend more time watching television than doing homework on a typical weekday. Conflict with their parents is at reportedly low or moderate levels. Upwards of a quarter of the students attend a school at which 60% or more are racial-ethnic minorities.

Among the parents and guardians who participated, three out of five are female and four out of five are married. The average socioeconomic status is slightly higher than the average reported from the original CILS sample (Rumbaut 2004). Parents in the sample generally have high expectations for their children, expecting them to complete between two and five years of college. On average, parents report to participate in about six of the nine activities included in home-based involvement and fewer than two out of the three school-based activities. They also report to set rules for their children in about four out of six academic or home related activities. The average number of parents of the child's friends known to the parents is eight, with the highest at 60. To compensate for the skewed distribution, for regression purposes the log transformation is used.

(TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE)

Parental Involvement by Nationality

Mean differences in parental involvement and student achievement by nationality are reported in Table 3. The results indicate that parents of all nationalities expect their children to complete at least some college. However, parental involvement levels vary significantly with nationality, findings which support previous studies indicating the importance of racial-ethnic background as a determinant of parental involvement (Desimone 1999).

In concurrence with prior research (Peng and Wright 1994), the highest educational expectations occurred among Asian parents, but what would likely have been missed in a pan-ethnic comparison is that the lowest expectations also occurred among Asians. Supportive of my hypothesis, Filipino parents reported the highest expectations for their children, believing they will at least complete a four or five year program in college. Laotian and Cambodian parents on the other hand, do not expect their children to finish two years of college. Similarly, Mexican parents hold significantly lower expectations for their children than Cubans, Nicaraguans, or any other group other than Laotians and Cambodians.

Group differences in other types of parental involvement are also apparent. Vietnamese parents have significantly lower levels of home-based involvement than any other group while Cuban and Nicaraguan parents report being the most involved at home. As predicted, Cuban and Filipino parents report the most participation in school-based activities. While on the opposite end, Vietnamese report to be participating in less than one school-based activity. Though only statistically significant for Vietnamese, parents in the Southeast Asian groups reported setting the most rules for their children, as anticipated, while Mexicans and Filipinos are the least controlling. Consistent with my hypotheses, Cubans have the highest levels of community

collaboration and Filipinos have the lowest. Surprisingly however, Vietnamese also report some of the smallest social networks with the parents of their children's friends.

Achievement levels are also presented. In concurrence with Rumbaut (2004), of the six groups (seven nationalities), Vietnamese have the highest grades, followed by Filipinos. As expected, Laotian and Cambodian grades are significantly lower than those of the other Asian groups, but Latino youth have the poorest performance with Cubans at the bottom. Clearly, more information about parental involvement is available when examining differences in nationalities than would be provided in a pan-ethnic comparison. Knowing this, we should also expect variations by nationality in the relationship between parental involvement and academic performance among children of immigrants.

(TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE)

GPA and Parental Involvement

The models predicting student achievement are presented in Table 4. In conducting diagnostics for the original ordinary least squares (OLS) models, several influential observations were detected in Model 4 (Hoffmann 2010). Three outliers were particularly extreme. All three were Vietnamese respondents with particularly low GPAs (less than 2.0) or socioeconomic scores. The presence of outliers may influence the regression coefficients and lead to a nonnormal residual distribution. Therefore, I accounted for these violations with robust regression in order to down-weight influential observations in the dependent variable and exclude highly influential outliers from the analysis (Yaffee 2002; Anderson and Schumacker 2003). Robust regression results were consistent with OLS results from before accounting for influential observations, however two interaction terms in Model 4 yielded significant

coefficients with robust regression that had not been significant before accounting for influential observations. Therefore, the results in Table 4 are those from the robust regression analysis.

The regression coefficients represent the change in expected GPA with each one unit increase in an explanatory variable. Consistent with prior research, Model 1 indicates that among children of immigrants, females generally perform better academically than males. In addition, academic performance appears to be negatively influenced by the acculturation process, evident from the negative association between length of time in the US and GPA. In contrast, the significant coefficients associated with individual expectations, homework hours, and TV hours indicate a positive relationship between academic effort and performance. These factors alone explain more than 32% of the variance in GPA.

Model 2 accounts for family characteristics which are also expected to influence GPA. Gender and length of time in the US remain significant predictors of achievement, as do test scores, expectations, homework hours, and TV hours. Students with lower levels of self-esteem had significantly lower grades, consistent with findings by Rumbaut (2004). Among family characteristics, the parent's gender, socioeconomic status, and the child's reported parent-child conflict are statistically significant. Children whose mother or female guardian participated in the parent questionnaire did not perform as well as children whose father or male guardian participated. There is an inverse relationship between the parent's socioeconomic status and GPA which might be explained by acculturation. Socioeconomic status is likely to improve with increased time in the US, while GPA is likely to decrease. These family characteristics explain an additional 2% of the variance in GPA.

Model 3 accounts for the effect of minority proportion in the school. Significant individual and family characteristics hold true when accounting for this school-level factor.

Children of immigrants who attend a school in which 60% or more of the student body belong to a racial-ethnic minority group have lower GPAs on average than their counterparts. Minority percent explains an additional 3.5% of the variance in GPA.

In Model 4, I examine the relationship between educational parental involvement and academic achievement. Of the five dimensions included here, parent expectation is the strongest predictor of student success. Home-based involvement is the only other significant involvement type. Contrary to my hypothesis, results indicate a negative relationship between parents' involvement at home and academic performance. No other parental involvement dimensions significantly predict student achievement when controlling for other characteristics[1].

Nationality groups are added in Model 5. Parent gender and socioeconomic status seem to be explained by differences in nationality. Likewise, while parental expectations remain statistically significant, the influence of home-based involvement is no longer of import. The reference category is arbitrary, but here I assign Cubans because they are generally a more assimilated group. Results are consistent with prior research (Rumbaut 2004). Differences in nationality appear to explain an additional 2% of the variance in GPA. Findings indicate that each of the three Asian groups differs significantly from Cubans in terms of academic achievement. In contrast to means comparison results which indicated Vietnamese as the highest achievers, results in Model 4 suggest that Laotians and Cambodians have the highest achievement, followed by Vietnamese and Filipinos. Further investigation reveals that after controlling for early performance, measured by achievement test scores (M_{Fil} = 701.01, SD_{Fil} =

[1] A separate model including the parental involvement variables as predictors of GPA and excluding all other variables was also estimated. Results indicated a significant positive association between parent expectations and student achievement (b = .28, p < .001). In addition, both home-based involvement (b = -.07, p <.001) and community collaboration (b = -.11, p < .01) had significant and negative relationships with achievement, surprisingly. However, the smaller coefficients of the latter two show weaker relationships.

35.75; M_{Vie} = 688.24, SD_{Vie} = 41.50; M_{Cub} = 682.33, SD_{Cub} = 32.18; M_{Nic} = 677.95, SD_{Nic} = 31.48; M_{Mex} = 660.32, SD_{Mex} = 35.32; $M_{Lao/Cam}$ = 658.75, $SD_{Lao/Cam}$ = 33.15), the highest GPAs at T2 are found among Laotians and Cambodians.

Model 6 includes interaction effects between parent expectations and nationality, explaining about 41% of the variance in GPA when including all other explanatory variables. Adding interaction terms for each group to the equation does not change the effect of the other exogenous variables on student achievement. Interaction results indicate that the slope between parent expectation and GPA varies across nationalities. For each group, the slope is flatter than it is for the Cubans, indicating less of an influence on achievement. This is especially true for Laotians and Cambodians as well as Mexican respondents, which groups have the largest significant coefficients. These interaction effects are presented in greater detail in the next section.

(TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE)

Interaction Effects

Results indicate that nationality plays an important role in determining the influence of parent expectations on academic achievement. As discussed above, parent expectations have the greatest influence (steepest slope) on achievement among Cuban students. This finding is more clearly illustrated in Figure 1, which presents predicted GPAs for students of different nationalities with low (eighth grade or less), average (two to four years of college), and high (Ph.D. or other advanced degree) levels of parental involvement. Between low and high parent expectations, Cuban GPAs increase by more than a grade (1.18). They are followed by Vietnamese with a 0.86 GPA increase and Filipinos with a 0.81 increase. Though beneficial for performance, the impact of parent expectations is not as strong for the other three groups.

Among Mexican students, GPA increases by 0.55 when expectations are highest. Finally, Nicaraguan grades increase by 0.39 and Laotians and Cambodians by 0.25.

(TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE)

Discussion

Among second generation immigrants, I find no notable influence in academic achievement that is due to parental involvement at home or school. This is consistent with Desimone (1999) who found that parental involvement measures were less predictive of student achievement among disadvantaged and minority populations. On the other hand, I find strong evidence concurring with Fan and Chen (2001) that parent expectations are predictive of student performance. Though the effect varies with nationality, the further parents expect their children to go in school, the better the students do academically. This is especially true among Cubans, Vietnamese, and Filipinos who potentially have greater access to social and cultural capital. For Cubans and Filipinos who are typically skilled workers or educated professionals, higher goals for their children may seem more reachable. Thus, with greater access to resources their behavioral intentions to help their children attain higher achievement are more effectively carried out. In turn, the higher parent expectations may help to increase the children's own levels of confidence and educational ambition. Additionally, Cubans as well as many Nicaraguan, Vietnamese, and Mexican students can draw upon the social and cultural capital available to them in their ethnic communities. Their motivation in response to their parents' expectations may be greater if those expectations are shared or reinforced by members of the parent's social network and the greater community. While Laotian and Cambodian parents report larger social networks than Vietnamese, they do not often have the home environments, training, or other

resources to raise their expectations or to translate their ambitions into effective action for the academic benefit of their children.

Laotian and Cambodian students in the sample perform remarkably well in school considering their circumstances. Their high achievement levels when controlling for test scores are largely due to the strong work ethic and high level of school engagement common to many Asian cultures (Rumbaut 2004). However, their performance is also at least in part explained by their recency as immigrants compared to those of other nationalities. The average reported length of time in the US for children across groups in the sample as reported in Table 2 is about ten years or more. In contrast, Laotians and Cambodians on average are closer to the five to nine year range, the lowest average in the sample next to Nicaraguans. According to the literature on acculturation, higher grades are expected for children of immigrants with less time spent in the US.

The negative association between home-based involvement and student achievement presented in Model 4 of Table 4 was inconsistent with my hypothesis, which conceptualized home-based involvement as an indicator of social and cultural capital beneficial to student performance, but it was not completely unexpected. As others have implied (Desimone 1999; Hoover-Dempsey et al. 2001), it may be that many immigrant parents only become involved when their children are academically at risk and as a result, already have lower grades.

The findings presented here have important implications for education scholars, as well as policymakers, educators, and parents. In examining variations in achievement across racial-ethnic groups, researchers should not only acknowledge the role of social and cultural capital in student achievement, but should recognize that parents and students have unequal access to social and cultural capital depending on their nationality, immigration experience, and their

circumstances since their arrival. This requires that researchers distinguish between nationalities rather than lump students into vague pan-ethnic categories.

In addressing the needs of underprivileged students in the ongoing discussion on education reform, state policymakers should address the issue of immigrant diversity in the schools. Because nationality is such an important factor in predicting student performance, rigid standardization may not be an appropriate aim of school reform. Rather, when working with parents and students, educators should be sensitive to individual limitations, but at the same time, they should focus on the strengths that students can draw upon in their social and cultural frameworks. Furthermore, the current emphasis on parental involvement would be more effective if concentrated on policy or school programs designed to raise parent expectations for their children's educations. Immigrant parents should recognize the importance of their role in their children's education. High expectations are an extremely powerful tool parents of all backgrounds can use for the success of their children and benefit of future generations.

While these findings are valuable, my study is not without limitations. First, the data were collected from only two regions in the US and may not accurately represent children of immigrants across the US. Nevertheless, the principal nationalities and immigrant types (e.g., laborers, professionals, entrepreneurs, and refugees) were represented by the original CILS sample (Rumbaut 2004). Second, my analysis was limited to only seven of the 77 nationalities in the original CILS sample. Therefore, my findings are not representative of all immigrant nationalities in the US. However, the four nationalities that describe 40% of contemporary immigrants in the US (Cubans, Filipinos, Mexicans, and Vietnamese) are represented in my sample. Third, while I make an attempt to include parental involvement types that are most commonly discussed in the education literature, I recognize that parents of different cultural

backgrounds may interpret their involvement differently than how researchers have defined it in the past. In addition, some parents may experience obstacles in their educational involvement which were not addressed in this study. Future research should employ grounded theory or phenomenological methods to explore the various meanings immigrant parents of different nationalities place on their roles in their children's education as well as the barriers they face in becoming involved and their methods to overcome them. Despite these limitations, the above findings provide valuable information to parents, educators, policy makers, and scholars about the effects of parent expectations and nationality in predicting academic success among children of immigrants.

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TABLE 1

Parental Involvement Questionnaire Items, CILS 1991-2006

	Questionnaire Items	
	Parent educational expectation (1 to 11)	
1.	How far in school do you expect your child to go?	
	1 = Eighth grade or less	7 = Less than two years college
	2 = Beyond eighth grade but no HS diploma	8 = Two or more years college
	3 = HS graduation	9 = Finish a four or five year degree program
	4 = Less than one year vocational/trade school	10 = Master's degree or equivalent
	5 = One to two years vocational/trade school	11 = Ph.D., M.D., or other advanced degree
	6 = Two years or more vocational/trade school	
	Home-based involvement (0 to 9)	
2.	How often do you or your spouse/partner talk with your child about his or her experiences in school?	
	0 = Not at all	2 = Occasionally
	1 = Rarely	3 = Regularly
3.	How often do you or your spouse/partner talk with your child about her or his educational plans for after high school?	
	0 = Not at all	2 = Occasionally
	1 = Rarely	3 = Regularly
4.	How often do you or your spouse/partner help your child with his or her homework?	
	0 = Seldom or never	2 = Once or twice a week
	1 = Once or twice a month	3 = Almost everyday
	School-based involvement (0 to 3)	
5.	Do you and your spouse/partner do any of the following at your child's school?	
	Belong to a parent-teacher organization?	
	0 = No	1 = Yes
6.	Attend meetings of a parent-teacher organization?	
	0 = No	1 = Yes
7.	Act as a volunteer in the school?	
	0 = No	1 = Yes
	Parental Monitoring (0 to 6)	
8.	Are there family rules for your child about any of the following activities?	
	Maintaining a certain grade average?	
	0 = No	1 = Yes
9.	Doing homework?	
	0 = No	1 = Yes
10.	Doing household chores?	
	0 = No	1 = Yes
11.	What television program he/she may watch?	
	0 = No	1 = Yes
12.	How early or late he/she may watch television?	
	0 = No	1 = Yes
13.	How many hours he/she may watch television overall?	
	0 = No	1 = Yes
	Social network through child (1 to 60)	
14.	Do you know the first name or nickname of any of (child's name) close friends?	
	Do you know the parents of any of these children?	
	How many?	
	1 to 60	

TABLE 2

Descriptive Statistics for Achievement and Parental Involvement Measures, CILS 1991-2006 (N = 1,673)

Variables	*Mean*	*SD*	*Min.*	*Max.*
Dependent variable				
GPA	2.62	0.92	0.00	5.00
Student characteristics				
Gender (Female)	0.50	0.50	0.00	1.00
Length of time in the US	2.95	0.96	1.00	4.00
Age	14.22	0.88	12.00	18.00
Early performance, expectations				
Achievement test scores	680.62	38.52	576.50	816.00
Educational expectations	4.04	0.99	1.00	5.00
Self-esteem	3.23	0.52	1.00	4.00
Hours per day doing homework	2.61	1.36	1.00	6.00
Hours per day watching TV	3.52	1.64	1.00	6.00
Family characteristics				
Parent gender (Female)	0.60	0.49	0.00	1.00
Marital status (Married)	0.80	0.40	0.00	1.00
Socioeconomic index	-0.20	0.78	-1.66	1.85
Parent-child conflict	2.15	1.02	1.00	4.00
School characteristics				
Proportion minority ≥ 60%	0.27	0.45	0.00	1.00
Parental involvement				
Parent educational expectations	8.59	2.05	1.00	11.00
Home-based involvement	6.23	1.82	0.00	9.00
School-based involvement	1.48	1.04	0.00	3.00
Monitoring	4.28	1.69	0.00	6.00
Social network through child	8.00	4.79	1.00	60.00
Nationality				
Cuba	0.16	0.37	0.00	1.00
Mexico	0.20	0.40	0.00	1.00
Nicaragua	0.12	0.33	0.00	1.00
Philippines	0.22	0.42	0.00	1.00
Vietnam	0.15	0.36	0.00	1.00
Laos/Cambodia	0.14	0.34	0.00	1.00

TABLE 3

Parental Involvement and Academic Achievement Means Comparisons across Nationality Groups, CILS 1991-2006 (N = 1,673)

Variable (Range)	*Cuban (n = 276)*	*Mexican (n = 341)*	*Nicaraguan (n = 203)*	*Filipino (n = 373)*	*Vietnamese (n = 251)*	*Laotian/ Cambodian (n = 228)*	*F-statistic (df = 1672)*
Expectations	8.81[a]	7.90[b]	8.98[ac]	9.21[ac]	9.01[ac]	7.44[b]	36.53***
(1 to 11)	(1.89)	(2.39)	(1.83)	(1.32)	(1.32)	(2.70)	
Home-based	7.15[a]	6.39[b]	7.10[a]	6.19[b]	4.90[bc]	5.67[bcd]	65.36***
(0 to 9)	(1.57)	(1.73)	(1.55)	(1.67)	(1.91)	(1.51)	
School-based	1.84[a]	1.40[b]	1.56[b]	1.80[a]	0.78[bc]	1.32[b]	43.03***
(0 to 3)	(1.02)	(1.01)	(1.01)	(1.07)	(0.73)	(0.88)	
Monitoring	4.29[a]	4.07[a]	4.56[ab]	4.06[a]	4.62[ab]	4.24[a]	5.54***
(0 to 6)	(1.61)	(1.62)	(1.40)	(1.70)	(1.67)	(2.00)	
Community Collab.	9.68[a]	8.10[b]	8.15[b]	6.81[bc]	6.97[bc]	7.99[b]	16.28***
(1 to 60)	(6.87)	(3.66)	(3.07)	(5.02)	(3.23)	(4.07)	
GPA	2.22[a]	2.34[a]	2.32[a]	2.96[b]	3.09[bc]	2.75[bd]	51.70***
(0 to 5)	(0.86)	(0.85)	(0.90)	(0.81)	(0.92)	(0.83)	

[abcd] Values within a row with different superscripts are significantly different at $p < .05$ by Tukey post-hoc test.

*** $p < .001$

Notes: Analysis of Variance results were estimated using the first of five imputed data sets only. Standard deviations are presented in parentheses.

TABLE 4

Robust Regression Coefficients, GPA on Parental Involvement, CILS 1991-2006 (N = 1,673)

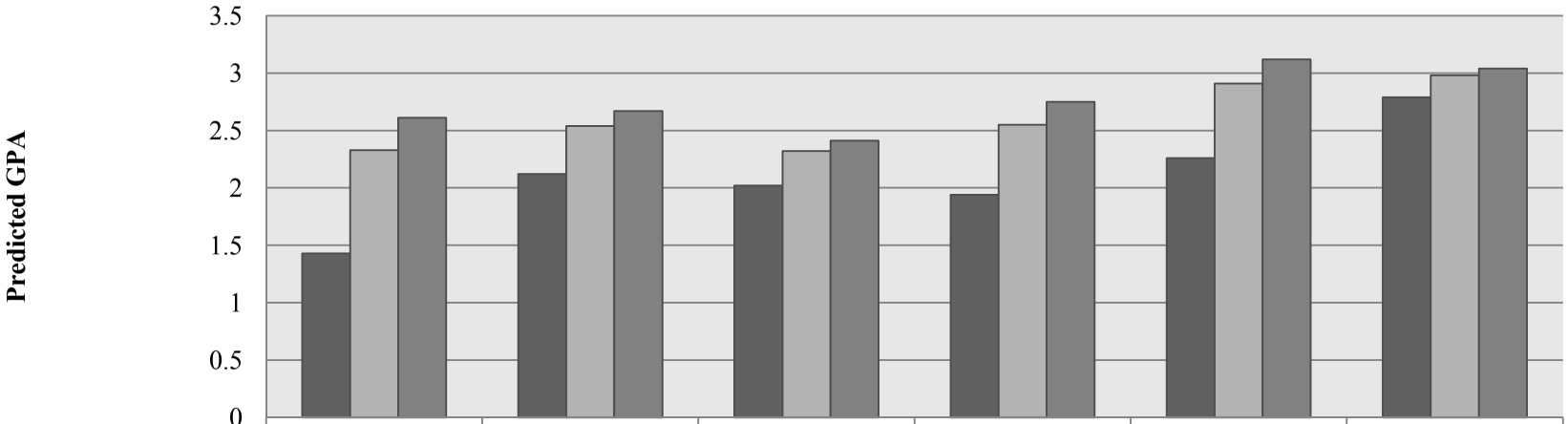
Explanatory Variables	*Model 1*	*Model 2*	*Model 3*	*Model 4*	*Model 5*	*Model 6*
Student characteristics						
Gender (Female)	0.312***	0.300***	0.320***	0.308***	0.310***	0.301***
Length of time in the US	-0.125***	-0.099***	-0.101***	-0.095***	-0.075***	-0.074**
Age	0.003	0.008	0.007	0.008	-0.005	-0.005
Early performance, expectations						
Achievement test scores	0.011***	0.011***	0.011***	0.010***	0.010***	0.010***
Educational expectations	0.090***	0.103***	0.117***	0.106***	0.111***	0.111***
Self-esteem	-0.076	-0.094*	-0.034	-0.036	-0.009	-0.009
Hours per day doing homework	0.129***	0.129***	0.103***	0.095***	0.081***	0.081***
Hours per day watching TV	-0.029*	-0.025*	-0.010	-0.015	-0.008	-0.008
Family characteristics						
Parent gender (Female)		-0.131**	-0.100**	-0.091*	-0.040	-0.038
Marital status (Married)		0.070	0.038	0.015	0.017	0.016
Socioeconomic index		-0.119***	-0.067*	-0.087**	-0.040	-0.044
Parent-child conflict		-0.064**	-0.064***	-0.056**	-0.056**	-0.054**
School characteristics						
Proportion minority ≥ 60%			-0.465***	-0.449***	-0.225**	-0.210*
Parental involvement						
Parent educational expectations[a]				0.119***	0.126***	0.233***
Home-based involvement				-0.023*	-0.007	-0.009
School-based involvement				0.007	0.020	0.023
Monitoring				0.013	0.001	0.001
Social network through child[b]				-0.023	-0.020	-0.022
Nationality						
Cuba					----	----
Mexico					0.166	0.174
Nicaragua					0.020	0.024
Philippines					0.226*	0.234*
Vietnam					0.495***	0.504***
Laos/Cambodia					0.560***	0.531***
Interactions						
Parent expectations x Cuba						----
Parent expectations x Mexico						-0.129*
Parent expectations x Nicaragua						-0.078
Parent expectations x Philippines						-0.060
Parent expectations x Vietnam						-0.057
Parent expectations x Laos/Cambodia						-0.182**
R^2	0.322	0.339	0.374	0.387	0.404	0.407

[a] The measure for educational expectations was standardized to avoid multicollinearity.

[b] The log of the social network measure was used here in order to normalize the distribution.

* p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001 (two-tailed test)

Notes: Adjusted R-squares could not be calculated for the models using robust regression in Stata 11.



	Cuba	Mexico	Nicaragua	Philippines	Vietnam	Laos/Camb.
Eigth grade or less	1.43	2.12	2.02	1.94	2.26	2.79
2 to 4 yrs college	2.33	2.54	2.32	2.55	2.91	2.98
Ph.D./advanced deg.	2.61	2.67	2.41	2.75	3.12	3.04

FIGURE 1

Predicted GPAs for Minimum, Average, and Maximum Levels of Parent Educational Expectations, CILS 1991-2006 (N = 1,673)