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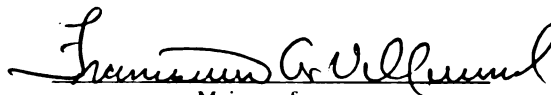
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EUROPEAN AMERICAN, NATIVE AMERICAN, ASIAN  
AMERICAN, AND LATINO PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT  
AND THEIR CHILDREN'S HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETION,  
COLLEGE ASPIRATIONS, AND ENTRANCE INTO AND  
WORKING IN THE LABOR FORCE  
presented by

Ruben Patricio Viramontez Anguiano

has been accepted towards fulfillment  
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Major professor

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**EUROPEAN AMERICAN, NATIVE AMERICAN, ASIAN AMERICAN, AND  
LATINO PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT AND THEIR CHILDREN'S HIGH SCHOOL  
COMPLETION, COLLEGE ASPIRATIONS, AND ENTRANCE INTO AND  
WORKING IN THE LABOR FORCE**

**By**

**Ruben Patricio Viramontez Anguiano**

**A DISSERTATION**

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**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

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**1999**



## **ABSTRACT**

### **EUROPEAN AMERICAN, NATIVE AMERICAN, ASIAN AMERICAN, AND LATINO PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT AND THEIR CHILDREN'S HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETION, COLLEGE ASPIRATIONS, AND ENTRANCE INTO AND WORKING IN THE LABOR FORCE**

**By**

**Ruben Patricio Viramontez Anguiano**

**This study explored European American, Latino, Asian American, and Native American parental involvement and their children's high school completion, college aspirations, and entrance into and working in the labor force. The study also explored how different family structures would influence a student's education. This study used the National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988 and utilized Hierarchical Linear Model (HLM) for the statistical analysis. Social capital theory and a family ecological approach was used as the theoretical foundation in this study. The finding demonstrated that different types of parental involvement were important in a student's high school completion and college aspirations depending on ethnicity. School involvement was not significant in influencing the level of parental involvement and the relation to high school completion and college aspirations. The study found that parental involvement did not make a difference in predicting whether students would enter the labor or how long they had worked. This study found that future research should focus on understanding the ways in which a better relationship between families and educational systems could be developed.**

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## **DEDICATION**

### **Que Dios te Bendiga (May God Bless You)**

**This a simple phrase that served as a constant reminder of my family's support throughout my Ph.D program at Michigan State University. My mother, Eloisa Viramontez Anguiano, spent her childhood in Mexico and later moved to the United States as an adult. As a child she often reminded me of the importance of education and how I should strive to succeed. My mother never had the opportunity to formally educate herself, but I have always held my mother in high regards for her wisdom. With honor and pride I dedicate this dissertation to my mother and her endless commitment to my success in education and life.**

**I am also grateful to the time that I shared with Salvador F. Martinez, Omar Gastelum, and my cousin Raul Encerado who are no longer with us. These three were taken from this world through senseless, violent crimes. They are in a better place now and can rest in peace. I dedicate this work to my brothers and I pray that no other family will have to suffer the loss of a family member in this manner.**

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I am most appreciative of my beloved Sarah who continued to demonstrate her love and commitment even when at times it seemed like it would never end. I thank my friends Sara, Steve, Michael, Oscar, Gloria, John, and Christine who were there to motivate me in more ways than one. I acknowledge the commitment of my committee members through the process and I thank them including my major professor Dr. Francisco Villarruel, Dr. Lillian Phenice, Dr. Ken Frank and Dr. Robert Lee. Finally, I am most grateful to *mi Dios* who never let me give up faith in my ability and faith in him to succeed.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Parental involvement is an umbrella term for different types of activities that depict parental involvement in nonacademic and academic activities that may contribute to children's achievement. Epstein (1986) summarized parent educational involvement activities into several categories: supporting student's learning at home, maintaining communications with school, assisting in school activities, becoming involved in school governance, and advocacy. Epstein argues that parental involvement serves as a catalyst for children's educational success. Moreover, she asserts that parental involvement aids in the maturation of children as productive citizens.

Despite research that has underscored the importance of parental involvement in education, parental involvement is interpreted differently by parents from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds (Delgado-Gaitan, 1988; Epstein, 1995). Although most parents agree that it is their obligation to provide students with an environment that supports well-being and learning, there is disagreement about what constitutes such an environment. Mexican American<sup>1</sup> parents, for example, see themselves as being responsible for providing basic needs as well as instilling respect and proper behavior. They also feel that it is their job to prepare their adolescent to be well rounded individuals, regardless of the environment. For Mexican Americans, parental involvement is not only essential to their adolescent's formal education but it is also essential to the adolescent's life experience (Galindo, 1996).

Native American parents, on the other hand, are concerned with creating an environment that will permit adolescents to be formally educated, while transmitting their culture. Parental involvement within tribal nations serves as a mechanism for parents to

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<sup>1</sup> Mexican American will be defined as an individual who is of Mexican descent born in the United States.

ensure their children's educational success and the continuation of Native American culture.

Despite cultural differences, parental participation has been cited as a critical element in the academic success of minority students (Cummins, 1986). Minority student's academic performance was consistently high, regardless of SES, when parents were consistently involved. Although parental participation has been documented as a factor in promoting and supporting student's success, schools have made it difficult for ethnic minority parents to participate (Cummins, 1986). Minority parents have felt that their participation is not valued by mainstream educational systems (Cummins, 1986).

From a parental perspective, Cummins notes that intrapersonal factors may also contribute to parental reluctance to participate in student's education. Native American and Latino parents are often reminded of having a history of barriers which includes a lack of English fluency and cultural differences. Cummins concludes that mainstream schools may lead to the sabotaging of ethnic minority parental and community involvement. In other words, the educational model was not originally developed for minority parents, thus their participation was not valued at the same level as mainstream parents. These inconsistent standards resulted in minority parents feeling a lack of appreciation from the school.

Native American and Latino parents often view school as a bureaucracy that excludes them from participation in their student's education, controlled by non-Native Americans and non-Latinos (Delgado-Gaitan, 1988; Stokes, 1997). For these parents, the lack of cultural sensitivity at all levels and branches of educational systems has created barriers in communication when discussing the educational success of their adolescent. Cultural insensitivity is defined as educational systems that do not demonstrate or make an effort to understand the cultural values and beliefs of different ethnic minority groups in this case Native Americans and Latinos. Shannon (1996) found that parents reported that

staff, including teachers, administrators, and support personnel have demonstrated a lack of patience when working with them.

Cultural insensitivity results in feelings of exclusion (i.e., that their participation is not welcomed) by Native American and Latino parents (Delgado-Gaitan, 1990; Stokes, 1997). An example of feeling excluded was demonstrated by school districts not respecting Latinos interpretation of time. For example, parent/teacher meetings and other school gatherings and activities were not scheduled during times that were convenient for Native American and Latino parents; meeting times conflicted with work schedules and cultural obligations. School districts are a reflection of mainstream regulators that dictate how time is interpreted. The mainstream educational model governs that parent/ school meetings occur after the work day, which does not necessarily correspond with Latino and Native cultural obligations. The cultural obligations include religious activities, commitments to family, extended family, and Latino and Native American communities. Ultimately, the district chose to serve mainstream students and families and exercised a lack of understanding and sensitivity to the needs and concerns of minority parents.

Shannon (1996) noted that working class Latinos were confronted with obstacles and challenges when they attempted to become involved in their student's education. The obstacles and challenges that were noted included parents voicing their concerns and not being acknowledged by schools. School districts did not tolerate a working class parent's involvement and used methods of silencing and dismissing to discourage participation in their student's education. Silencing and dismissing were accomplished by ignoring Latino parents' input and participation regarding their adolescent's education.

Similar to Latino families, Native American families have historically struggled with mainstream schools. Forced assimilation during the 1900's, differences between the philosophy of what education is and how a youth is perceived by the family, and the importance of extended family and community in the education and socialization of Native American youth have served to prevent parental participation between mainstream schools

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and Native American families (St. Germaine, 1995). St. Germaine found that most mainstream schools have failed to acknowledge the historic oppression of Native Americans in educational systems. School personnel have continued to avoid Native American values and beliefs when developing school curriculum. Native Americans have continued to struggle to convince local, state, and federal governments that Native American governed schools can be a successful form of education for Native American youth (Reyhner, 1991).

### Goals of the Study

The goal of this study is to extend the literature on Native American, European American, and Latino parental involvement in adolescent's education. European Americans will be used as a comparison group. This study will explore variables such as family income, parent's education, and family structure, which will aid in explaining the demographic breakdown of the sample. These variables have been included to provide a broader picture some of the different factors that can impact a parent's participation in a adolescent's education. It is essential to holistically examine the relationship of these variables in order to understand the process of Native American, European American, and Latino parental involvement. These particular variables (family income, parent's education, and family structure) are valuable in explaining the interdependence within families and how parental involvement must be examined through this lens. Therefore, literature concerning Native American, European American, and Latino parental involvement will be expanded through analysis of these interdependent variables.

The number of years Latino parents have lived in the United States will be another variable. The purpose and value of this variable is to explain the diversity of generations that exist among Latino families. This variable is important when explaining the influence of parental involvement between Latino families and mainstream schools. Asian Americans will be used in this analysis to compare the groups and determine the effects of parents' years in the United States.

The relationships between the independent variables of parental involvement and outcome variables concerning students (e.g. college aspirations, high school completion, and entering the labor force) will be examined. These outcome variables demonstrate the variation in the decisions that Latino, Native American, and European American youth make about their futures and the relationship between different types of parental involvement.

This study will add to the scarce body of literature in the area of Native American and Latino parental involvement and will serve as a tool for family specialists and other professionals who work with families. Family researchers, educational researchers, teachers, family specialists, and others can assimilate this study into the areas of research, outreach, and service provision. Family specialists and outreach service providers who work with parents could also benefit from transforming the research findings into program development, implementation, and evaluation. These programs need to be based on research and take a culturally sensitive approach to working with Native American and Latino families. Thus, a family ecological approach is important when examining the relationship between mainstream schools and parental involvement.

A family ecological approach allows for Native Americans and Latinos to be examined through their family values and indigenous culture. Family strengths for Latinos such as familialism, interdependence, and collectivism are examples of family values. Similarly, Native American family strengths include interdependence, respect for mother nature, and cooperative learning. A family ecological approach, therefore, would be appropriate in extending the overall research in Native American, Latino, and European American parental involvement.

#### Problem Statement

Latinos are one of the fastest growing ethnic groups in the United States, increasing 50% from 1980 to 1990. While this group constitutes about 9% of the overall population, this number is expected to double in the next century (Sanchez, 1997). As a

result an issue concerning researchers who are Latinos is the lack of the majority culture's (European American) understanding of the importance of Latino families in their adolescent's education.

Henderson and Berla (1994) assert that one of the most effective ways to increase students' achievement is to involve their families. Establishing partnerships between families and schools has reciprocal benefits, but the greatest outcome is the success of students in school and later in life (Epstein, 1995). The partnership between Latinos families and schools has not easily been forged. This has been especially evident when examining Latino adolescent's educational success (Shannon, 1996).

Latino children in first through fourth grades are enrolled below the national average. In other words, Latino children tend to be enrolled in grades where they are chronologically older than their peers. Through the fifth and eighth grades the number below the national average increases to 40%, and by high school 43% fall further behind. Latino high school drop out rates are estimated to be one of the highest in the United States, second only to Native Americans (Fernandez, Paulsen, & Hirano-Nakanishi, 1989). Due to the alarming number of Latino students falling behind at all levels of education, further research is warranted to understand the effect of Latino parental involvement in their student's education.

The United States Bureau of the Census (1990) reports slightly less than 2 million Native Americans in the United States, a 30% increase from 1980 to 1990, with the majority living in the western states of Arizona, California, Oklahoma, and New Mexico. However, Native American students continue to struggle with their success in education.

Native American students have a drop out rate that is twice the national average, and the highest drop out rate among ethnic minority groups in the United States (St. Germaine, 1995). The U. S. Bureau of the Census (1990) reports that three out of every ten Native American high school students drop out of high school, both on and off reservations. These numbers pose a challenge to United States school systems that have

often ignored the specific educational needs of Native Americans. Preston (1991) stated that Native American students show less interest and feelings of alienation as a result of the need for culturally sensitive learning environments in the mainstream schools. In other words, both Latino and Native American children often demonstrate feelings of cultural discontinuity, which effect their academic achievement and success in mainstream educational systems.

Mainstream teachers do not reinforce the socialization that Native American youth receive from their parents. As a result, Native American youth are placed in a position of cultural discontinuity, forced to choose between their culture and educational success in mainstream cultures. Feelings of alienation can lead to problems such as drug and alcohol abuse, which have been related to cultural discontinuity (Reyhner, 1992).

### Conceptual Framework

#### A Theoretical Approach to Understanding Latino and Native American Parental Involvement

Respect for both Native American and Latino families begins by accepting a family ecological approach when examining parental involvement in Native American and Latino youth. Native Americans and Latinos should be examined utilizing a lens that incorporates and builds upon their family values and indigenous culture. Family strengths for Latinos are familism and interdependence. Familism is a concept that places family ahead of individual interests and development. Familism includes many responsibilities and obligations to immediate family members and kin including godparents (Rothman, Gant, & Hnat, 1985; Sanchez, 1997). Interdependence, on the other hand, can be defined as a way of living where individuals contribute to the greater whole (Knight, Cota, & Bernal, 1993). Individual family members contribute to the family through financial, social, emotional, and spiritual support.

Similar to Latinos, Native American family strengths include familism and interdependence. Another Native American family value is collectivism, which can be



defined as groups of individuals who work together as a team as opposed to individually. Native American families often work together to create a support network, choosing the family's needs over an individual's needs (Kawamoto & Cheshire, 1997). These family values help bring some clarity to the breakdown of communication between parents and mainstream schools.

Most of the literature agrees that both Native American and Latino parental involvement has rarely been documented or researched (Butterfield & Pepper, 1991; LeBrasseur & Freark, 1982; Reyhner, 1992; Sipes, 1993). Not only is there an insufficient amount of research, but subsequently, Native American and Latino youth and parent's needs have rarely been addressed by mainstream educational systems. Stereotypes of Native American and Latino parents who show no interest in their adolescent's education have persisted (Butterfield, 1991; LeBrasseur & Freark, 1982; Reyhner, 1992; Sipes, 1993). Thus, it is important to examine the strengths of Native American and Latino families and the ways in which they are involved in their adolescent's education. An ecological approach would be appropriate in examining the strengths of that relationship between families and educational systems. >

### An Ecological Approach

Bronfenbrenner's (1989) approach placed human development within an ecological context. The model is made up of five structural levels of analysis: micro, meso, exo, macro, and chronosystem. A microsystem is a pattern of activities, roles, and interpersonal relations experienced by a developing person in a given face-to-face setting. This pattern has particular physical and material features, and contains other persons with distinctive characteristics of temperament, personality, and systems of belief. The mesosystems comprise the linkages and processes taking place between two or more settings containing the developing person (e.g. the relations between home and school, school and work place, etc.). Events that influence processes within the immediate setting but do not contain the developing person constitute the exosystem. An example of an

exosystem is the interaction between parents and the adult prayer group at church, which influences individual growth and development by providing an environment for adult family members to fulfill their religious and spiritual needs. The macrosystem consists of overarching patterns of micro-, meso-, and exosystems characteristic of a given culture, subculture, or broader social context. It makes particular reference to developmentally-investigative belief systems, resources, hazards, life styles, opportunity structures, life course options, and patterns of social interchange that are embedded in each of these systems. Macrosystems may be thought of as a societal blueprint for a particular culture, subculture, or broader social context. The chronosystem functions as the time dimension, which provides the reality of the past and present. The ecological approach could provide a lens from which Native American, Latino, and European American parental involvement can be explored.

#### Ecological Approach and Latino, Native American, and European American Parental Involvement

The microsystem is represented by the Latino mother and youth relationship. It is also represented by the Native American mother and youth relationship. The European American mother and youth relationship will also be considered. Mesosystems include the relationship between schools and Native American, European American, and Latino families including the child. In this study, the exosystem will include the interaction between Native American, European American, Latino parents, school personnel, and organizations that the student does not have direct contact with, such as the PTO, and other school organizations. The macrosystem is made up of the family, educational system, Native American, European American and Latino community, and larger society.

An ecological approach is appropriate in the presentation of Native American and Latino parental involvement because it allows for research based on a particular group's reality. The contextual uniqueness of Native American and Latino families and interaction within the school context will be explored.

## Social Capital Theory

This study explores the social capital that parents provide in children's education. Similar to other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible (Coleman, 1988). For example, Native American and Latino extended family often serve as a support network in the care of children, socialization, and transmission of cultural values.

Family background is analytically separable into three different components: financial capital, human capital, and social capital. The family's wealth or income measures financial capital. It provides physical resources such as an environment to study, materials to aid learning, and financial resources to help sustain the family, all of which can aid student achievement. Human capital can be measured by parents' education which has been noted to provide the potential for a cognitive environment that aids in achievement (Coleman, 1988).

Social capital within the family can be defined as the time and effort that family and extended family members, contribute to other family members beyond human and financial capital. For example, both Latino and Native American families have strong extended family and fictive kin that serve as a family support network (Kawamoto & Cheshire 1997; Sanchez, 1997). This example demonstrates that social capital is a family support network. The outcome is social, emotional and other support to the family, which might not be met by the larger society.

Elders in both cultures often serve as childcare providers of their grandchildren while their daughters or sons work (Gonzalez, 1994; Red Horse, 1980). More importantly, elders assume a major role in transmitting culture through constant interaction between the generations.

Both cultures also stress that an individual should not only be formally educated, but should take an active role in respecting the community and his or her culture. With this mind set, Native Americans and Latinos are socialized that regardless of the environment

(i.e. school, church, and Pow Wows) they are representatives of their families, extended family, and culture. Social capital is the cultural mechanisms or regulators that Native Americans and Latinos utilize when faced with challenges from mainstream cultures.

### Operationalizing Social Capital

Social capital will be represented by traditional parental involvement measures in the National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS) data set, which measured parents contact with the school to discuss their adolescent's education. Parents who attended parent-teacher meetings and parent's attendance when their adolescent was participating in a school activity were also measured. The questions ask if parents notified the school, attended parent teacher meetings, and if they had attended any of their adolescent's activities and helped with homework. Other social capital includes parental advocacy from NELS data variables, which measure parent's involvement in school policies, and parents who are involved in organizations such as the PTO. The questions asked parents if they are involved with school policies and/or attend PTO meetings, which was a measure of advocacy. Traditional parental involvement and parent advocacy as measured in NELS are consistent with the previous literature (Teachman, Paasch, & Carver, 1997).

The variables in the study are consistent with Epstein's (1986) categories of parental involvement. Epstein (1986) separated parental involvement into two categories: traditional parental involvement and parent advocacy. Traditional parental involvement included parents helping with homework, attending parent/teacher conferences, parents attending their adolescent's school activities, and contact with the school. Parent Advocacy involved association with the PTO, other parents, school policy making, and participation in other activities. Epstein (1995) concluded that collaborative work among researchers, policy leaders, educators, and parents is responsible for the progress that has been made over the past decade in understanding and developing school, family, and community partnerships.

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### **Rationale for Ecological Approach and Social Capital Theory**

An ecological approach and social capital theory provide a basis for studying Native American, European American, and Latino parental involvement and adolescent's high school completion, educational aspirations, entrance into the labor force, and participation in the labor force. The ecological approach provides a framework of structural levels of analysis. In this case the relationship between families and educational systems are examined. Moreover, the ecological approach provides a foundation to understand social interactions between families, educational systems, and the larger macrosystem or society. Social capital is the actual mechanism (i.e. parental involvement) that provides a specific explanation of how families interact with educational systems. Furthermore, it explains parental involvement through the levels of analysis or systems.

## Chapter II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The introductory chapter discussed the importance of establishing a culturally relevant lens for understanding research involving Latino and Native American family values in adolescent's educational success and aspirations. More specifically, the use of an ecological approach in understanding social interaction between culturally different families and educational institutions is noteworthy for understanding culturally diverse families because it focuses on Native American and Latino family strengths. It establishes a framework within which, Native American and Latino parents' social capital towards their adolescent's educational success can be understood.

Native American and Latino family values in education will be highlighted, including their respective struggles with mainstream educational systems, and types of parental involvement. An explanation of the importance of family structure and socialization in Native American and Latino families will be provided. Parental involvement in the European American population will be presented. Variables such as: completion of high school, college aspirations, and entrance into the labor force after high school graduation of Latinos, Native Americans, and European Americans will be examined. In addition, generational differences based on parent's years in the United States will be explored for Latino and Asian Americans.

#### Value in Education

Literature has demonstrated that the value a family places on education is essential to a child's success (Chavkin & Gonzalez, 1995; Delgado-Gaitan, 1988, 1992; Epstein, 1995; Reyhner, 1991; Stokes, 1997; Yao, 1993). When parents transmit this value to their adolescents, research has found that their adolescents are more likely to value the importance of an education (Buriel & Cardoza, 1988; Chavkin & Williams, 1993; Reyhner, 1991; Rumberger, 1983). Other research has found that it is important to

understand how different ethnic minority groups define education and how this has effected their educational experience (Galindo, 1996; Sipes, 1993).

### Latino's Value in Education

It is noteworthy to explain how Latinos define education, known in Spanish as *educacion*. Galindo (1996) defined *educacion* in a broader sense. To be *educado/as* (educated) implies that an individual must be well mannered and respected by the family, within the Latino community and across the larger society, including educated in the formal sense. This concept is built on a foundation of moral education. Latino parents expect their youth to be *bien educados/as* (well educated) regardless of the context or situation. A Latino's behavior reflects back to the family thus making social relations and responsibilities important in the Latino culture. In other words, *tu familia se ve mal si no eres bien educado/as* (the lack of a person's education reflects back on their family).

Research on Latino family values and their influence on adolescent's educational success has been well documented (Chavkin & Gonzalez, 1995; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; Gonzalez, 1994; Lopez, Rodriguez, & Sanchez, 1995). Delgado-Gaitan (1992) conducted a qualitative study of six Mexican American families in Capinteria, California, a small community of approximately 12,000 residents. All the families spoke Spanish and were considered to be working class. A common thread that Delgado-Gaitan found among the six families was dedication to their student's educational success. Parents were genuinely concerned about their student's education as reflected by being in contact with schools and helping their students with homework when they could. Parents' ability to work with their students was based on the parents' knowledge of the mainstream school's culture.

A close examination of home environments revealed several factors that demonstrated family strengths: physical and social resources, emotional climate, and interpersonal relations. Physical resources involved parents providing safe, comfortable housing, and adequate learning materials. These physical resources were important in



providing students with basic needs. Social resources involved the familiarity parents had with the educational system. Increased familiarity with the educational system was positively correlated with increased family social support networks (e.g. extended family and fictive kin) and other support systems (e.g. religious organizations and community based organizations). Another contributing factor was emotional climate, which was characterized by the family's attitude toward their student's education. Families demonstrated emotional support by sharing their own educational experiences with their students. Parents encouraged their students to become professionals and to be *educados* (educated). Families made every effort to provide a supportive learning environment for their students. Interpersonal relations involved parent-student interactions about school related issues, including attendance at school/student development workshops, and frequent communication with student's teachers about their student's academic progress. Even those parents who were not as familiar with their student's academic context, did not hesitate from being helpful in any manner that they could to secure the educational success of their students (Delgado-Gaitan, 1992).

Delgado-Gaitan (1992) found that all the families were comfortable in providing an emotionally supportive environment for their family. Some families were not comfortable helping their youth with homework assignments. Parents having not fully benefited from a complete formal education could explain this phenomenon. Even though this was the case, most parents would contact their adolescents' teachers to inquire about resources that would help them with their homework. Parent/teacher interaction proved to be a positive factor in the adolescents' education.

In summary, Delgado-Gaitan stated that Mexican American parents and adolescents create a learning environment at home that should be acknowledged by mainstream educational systems. Once acknowledged, this may create better communications between schools and families, therefore enhancing the chances of a Mexican American adolescent's educational success.

Similar to the previous study, Lopez, Rodriguez, and Sanchez (1995) studied Latino parents in Texas who had children in elementary school. Parents were divided into two groups: those who had more than 12 years of education and those with 11 years of education or less. There were 136 parents with more than 12 years of education and 260 parents with 11 years or less education. Parental involvement was measured by parent's participation in their child's education through different activities. Those activities included: helping children with school work, parent's volunteering at school, attending parent-teacher conferences, fund raising, serving as a room parent, attending parent advisory committee meetings, attending school sponsored functions, and attending school board meetings.

Parents with 12 or more years of education engaged in the activities of fund raising and attending school activities significantly more than parents with less education. Parents with 11 years of education or less participated significantly more in educational related activities such as: helping their child with school work, attending parent-teacher conferences, and serving as room mothers. The study also found that 90% of the group with 11 years or less education spoke Spanish at home and 56% of the group with 12 years of education or more spoke Spanish at home. The authors concluded that regardless of Latino parents' educational level, education was valued by families in this study. Furthermore, although the two groups of parents differed in the use of Spanish, this did not effect their dedication to their child's educational success. This study demonstrated that regardless of parental educational levels, Latino parents involve themselves in their children's education in a variety of ways. However, this study did not focus on several variables that could have been related to the outcome such as: regional differences, and Latino parents' interpretation and definition of what it means to be involved. Latino parents provided a good example of being bien educados (well educated) by participating in their children's education.

### Native American's Value in Education

It is important to understand the ways in which Native Americans distinctly define education. Sipes (1993) asserts that five contextual cultural values define Native American philosophies for children's education. The contextual cultural values are man's relationship to nature, generosity and sharing, cooperation, present orientation, and respect for elders and traditional teaching. These values provide a foundation through which Native American children interact with their family, tribe, clan, community, and general society (Sipes, 1993; Trimble, 1976). For most Native Americans reality is governed by mother earth or nature. As children, Native Americans learn how precious nature is and how they must actively assume a role in caring for nature. Moreover, Native American children carry these values into mainstream school systems and utilize these values throughout their formal educational career (Reyhner, 1992).

Generosity and sharing are a part of a Native American child's education. A child learns that to give is more important than to receive. Individuals are judged by their contributions to the family and community; one who contributes more is often seen with a higher level of respect. Generosity and sharing are part of religious and social activities and are often referred to as the "give away" (Butterfield & Pepper, 1991; LeBrasseur & Freark, 1982; Sipes, 1993; Skinner, 1991; Stokes, 1997).

Cooperation is taught to Native American children with the goal that they will become good team players. Although competition is acceptable, it is unacceptable for competition to lead to the shaming or hurting of another. Native Americans see competition as part of the maturation process that creates progress in one's life (Butterfield & Pepper, 1991; Sipes, 1993; Skinner, 1991).

Native Americans are often considered to have a present time orientation. The importance of present time orientation is found in the present, not with what will happen in the future. Native Americans believe that life should not always be about working (Ho, 1987).

**In a day and age where youthfulness is rewarded, Native Americans continue to socialize their children to respect elders and their position in the family, community, and society. From this position of respect, Native American children are trained to view elders as a resource for learning. A Native American child learns to respect traditional ways of teaching and customs. Traditions are carried out through oral history, ceremonies, and art (Butterfield & Pepper, 1991; Leveque, 1994; Sipes, 1993).**

**An example of traditional teaching is the traditional talking circle, which brings Native Americans together for teaching, listening, and sharing. It is believed that everything a Native American person does is in the form of a circle. In ancient days, Native Americans were a strong nation because they believed that the sacred hoop was unbreakable. The circle is the connection between the individual and family members including clan and tribe members (Archambault, 1982).**

**Sipes (1993) found that Native American families value both traditional education and formal education. Sipes stated that if the United States educational system wants to develop a positive relationship with Native American families, the first step is to respect the Native American way. Furthermore, Sipes suggests that mainstream educational systems should begin to understand the family strengths of Native Americans. It is crucial to view the value of education through a cultural context, a positive resource for both families and schools. Native American cultural values provide a lens for understanding how families define and perceive the world.**

**Stokes (1997) investigated Native American values and education in the Menominee Native American Reservation in Northeastern Wisconsin. Stokes helped integrate Native American family values and strengths in a primary school to combat Menominee student's low academic performance in reading and math. Themes that centered around Native American strengths such as mother earth, respect for elders, oral history, tribal involvement, and teamwork were used to incorporate Menominee culture. Stokes found that the educational success of Menominee students depended on successful**

partnerships between Menominee families, community, and the school. By inviting individuals, such as Menominee grandparents, to offer oral histories and participate in classes, the school demonstrated their commitment to a culturally sensitive partnership. Including the school board in the planning process ensured the future of collaborative efforts between Native American families and the educational system (Stokes, 1997).

Although the student's test scores and academic grades did not improve tremendously, Stokes argued that a model that focused on Menominee family values was appropriate for educating Menominee students. Menominee students who are allowed to be educated within a cultural context that includes their families, tribes, and community could benefit academically over time. This would also allow for the Menominee families, tribe, and community to develop a better relationship with the educational system.

#### Summary of Value in Education

Most of the research on Latino and Native American values in education has been theoretically based and has sought to compose a picture of how Latinos and Native Americans define education (Sipes, 1993; Stokes, 1997). Other research has not only provided a theoretical argument but has also provided a discussion on how Native Americans and Latinos have struggled in education because of differences in defining and perceiving education (Delgado-Gaitan, 1988, 1992; Reyhner, 1991, 1992). These articles have been able to make an argument that there are cultural differences in education, however, because of the lack of research in this area, more empirical research is needed to understand how cultural differences influence student outcomes in education.

#### Familial Structure and Socialization

The importance of family structure and socialization has been well documented in the literature (Rumberger, 1983, 1987; Sipes, 1993; Vega, 1995; Williams, 1990). Regardless of the type of family structure, research has found family structure to be essential to explaining family dynamics (Rumberger, 1987). Previous research has found

different types of family structure to serve as a family support network (Chavkin & Williams, 1993; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; Ingoldsby, 1991; Mirande, 1977; Williams, 1990).

#### Latino Familial Structure and Socialization

Socialization of Latino children often occurs within the context of the family. In the context of Latino socialization, children learn the value of family, otherwise known as familism. Latino children carry these values with them when they enter the school context; concepts such as familism, extended family, fictive kin and compadrazgo serve as mechanisms in the process of familial socialization. These concepts provide a foundation for understanding Latino family structures. Previous research has demonstrated how these concepts are important in the configuration of Latino family structure (Vega, 1995; Sanchez, 1997; Williams, 1990). Specifically, these familial structures serve to socialize Latino children to develop the values and beliefs of their parents and previous generations.

Ingoldsby (1991) stated that familism is a concept that places family ahead of individual interests and development. Familism includes many responsibilities and obligations to immediate family members, as well as fictive and non fictive kin. Extended family often live in close proximity to each other, with many sharing the same dwelling and financial resources.

Murillo (1971) found that the concept of familism was the most important unit in Latino life, and that the individual was likely to put the needs of the family above their own. Rather than being rigid and authoritarian, the family was seen as stable where the individual's place is clearly established and secure. Cooperation among family members is also emphasized. Family provides emotional security and a sense of belonging for its members. Regardless of the level of acculturation, the literature demonstrates that family continues to be important in Latino culture.

Mirande (1977) stated that while the influences of family may have been eroded by urbanization and acculturation, it is still a central institution for the individual. Family is a basic source of emotional support for children as they develop close bonds not only with

members of the immediate family but with grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, and family friends.

### **Extended Family**

Extended family is an essential component of Latino family structure. Pelto and Liriano (1980) found that some of the concepts thought to be the norm for a Latino extended family have not been consistent. An example of this is the concept of the trigenerational household. Trigenerational households have been broadly defined as a family with many relatives living together in one big household to that of a nuclear family living alone but in a large kinship network.

Sena's (1973) research in a semi-urban southern California town stated that the trigenerational household has never been the norm for extended family in Mexico or for descendants of Mexicans in the United States. Exceptions occur at times of individual-nuclear or extended family stress, or during periods of general societal upheaval such as the Spanish conquest of Mexico, and following the Mexican Revolution of 1910. Exceptions also occur for those purposes of geographic, occupational, or economic mobility of individual family members, entire nuclear families, or entire extended kinship groups, which can include fictive kin. Sena (1979) went on to state that the norm and common occurrence for Mexican American is the nuclear-centered household. Geographical propinquity among households, however, is both the norm and the actuality for most families.

Williams (1990) focused on contemporary life cycle rituals relating to birth, marriage, and death, concentrating on the basic revisions which occurred in the Mexican American extended family. Routinization of a bureaucratized modern urban environment means work proceeds within the context of a structured time frame. Wives work, husbands work, children attend school and because of the segmentation of various activities, the time frames of family members may not coincide. This makes it difficult even for one family to synchronize activities so members can attend activities together. It

was concluded that today's Mexican American family has modified the life-cycle rituals by being selective about what they attend and how much money they invest in the extended family life-cycle ritual.

Although the Latino extended family has been modified over the years, what is important is that it continues to exist. Furthermore, because it has survived, the Latino extended family system will continue to serve as a tool to preserve Latino culture.

### Compadrazgo

Compadrazgo (fictive kin) can be defined as coparents that are chosen through the process of baptism, first communion, confirmation, or marriage. Compadres usually consist of a married couple, however, this concept has been expanded to include those who are not married (Williams, 1990). The responsibility of compadres is to serve as a support to parents of the child. In case of a parent's death, compadres would assume the role of parents and raise the child. Similar to the extended family role, compadrazgo has changed over generations, yet it continues to be a strong function of Mexican American familism.

The institution of compadrazgo dates back to the early post-Conquest period in Mexico. This Spanish custom was adopted by Indians during the Colonial period (1550-1650) as widespread epidemics led to massive native depopulation, leaving many orphaned children (Mirande, 1977).

Williams (1990) stated that the compadrazgo ceremony no longer serves to sustain the "fictive kinship system" as it was traditionally defined. Rather, the importance of a compadrazgo ceremony, in contemporary society, is to provide an insight into the struggle of many Mexican Americans to sustain aspects of traditional culture. It reinforces culture for Mexican American families who are faced with struggles of the modern world, while still maintaining their Latino culture.



## **Native American Familial Structure and Socialization**

Native American socialization occurs within family, extended family, fictive kin, tribe, and community. These components make up Native American family structure. Research has shown that the Native American family network assumes a structure which is radically different from other extended family units in American society. They found that accepted structural boundaries of European American families are defined as three generations within a single household. Native American families are structured to be open and assume village characteristics. Extended family and fictive kin can be inclusive of several households (Red Horse, 1980; Yellowbird & Snipp, 1994)

Previous research has demonstrated that the concept of the conventional family structure used with other ethnic groups is not appropriate when researching or working with Native American families. Moreover, the literature has shown that regardless of the acculturation effects, extended family networks can be considered a universal pattern among most Native Americans (Kawamoto & Cheshire, 1997; Red Horse, 1980).

### **Fictive Kin**

In the past fictive kin has been a pivotal factor in maintaining Native American families. Fictive kin was a crucial aspect of Native American culture during the era of relocation and disease. When parents were relocated or separated from their children, the children were often cared for by fictive kin. Fictive kin continue to be a support network in providing child care, food, money, and resources while parents work or attend other activities (Kawamoto & Cheshire, 1997; Red Horse 1980).

## **Summary of Familial Structure and Socialization**

Kawamoto and Chesire (1997), Mirande (1977), Red Horse (1980), Sipes (1993), and Williams (1990) have provided an excellent description of the different components that comprise Latino and Native American family structure. Through descriptive research, these articles outlined how family is important to these two ethnic groups. The articles stressed how historically Native American and Latino family structure and socialization

have been an intricate part of the culture and how it has changed (Kawamoto & Chesire, 1997; Mirande, 1977; Red Horse, 1980; Sipes, 1993; Williams, 1990). They were also thorough in distinguishing the differences between mainstream family structure and socialization and Native American and Latino family structure and socialization. The concept of family is key to Native American and Latino culture. Moreover, the preservation of Native American and Latino family structure and socialization is seen as essential in the preservation of Native American and Latino culture (Red Horse, 1980; Williams, 1990).

### **Parental Involvement**

Over the course of two decades numerous researchers have demonstrated the importance of parental involvement (Bauch, 1993; Chavkin & Williams, 1993; Comer, 1986; Dauber & Epstein, 1993; Delgado-Gaitan, 1988, 1992; Epstein, 1986, 1995;). Research has found that there are different types of parental involvement that have served as a valuable resource in students education (Delgado-Gaitan, 1991; Epstein, 1995). Whether the parental involvement is done for proactive or reactive reasons, the literature is consistent in stressing the importance to a student's educational success.

### **Latino Parental Involvement**

Several studies have demonstrated that despite the struggles Latino families have with mainstream school systems, dedication to their student's education has continued. These studies profiled how mainstream schools have disregarded the importance of Latino families in educating Latino students. For example, Latino parents have reported feelings of not being welcomed (Baker & Stevenson, 1986; Correa & Tulbert, 1993; Delgado-Gaitan, 1988, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1994; Goldenberg, 1987; Shannon, 1996; Valdez, 1992). Other research illustrates efforts of how Latino families, communities, and schools can create partnerships that will benefit Latino students (Chavkin & Gonzalez, 1995; Comer, 1986; Delgado-Gaitan, 1988, 1991, 1994; Laosa, 1982; Nicolau & Ramos, 1990).

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### **Latino Traditional Parental Involvement and Parental Advocacy Involvement**

The following studies demonstrate how Latino parents participate in their children's education in a traditional or parental advocate involvement role as defined by Epstein (1986). Shannon (1996) reported on a Latina mother's experience with the mainstream school in an urban Colorado district as she attempted to participate in her daughter's education. She participated in a bilingual parents advisory group which was meant to advocate for Latino students in the school. When the Latino parents group attempted to serve as advocates for their students, it was a constant struggle with the school personnel to address concerns. The parents attempted to address the school board but their concerns were not taken seriously. The obstacles to Latino parents becoming involved continued when school district personnel refused to provide a translator for parents who could not speak English. Shannon stated that when Latino parents attempted to model their advocacy after upper class Anglo parents their efforts were not successful. A strategy that had worked for upper class Anglo parents had negative effects for Latino parents. Shannon hypothesized that a possible reason for this was that the Spanish language is considered a low class language in society. Thus, Latino parents were not given priority status in the school system. Shannon concluded that teachers cannot criticize parents for not being involved and then exclude those parents who they feel are getting too involved. This was the case for the Latino parent's group who made every effort to be advocate for their students but instead were met with resistance and lack of cultural respect. The educational system demonstrated a lack of cultural respect to Latino parents by not validating their culture, which could be instrumental in the relationship between families and communities, and the success of all students.

Other studies have found similar results of mainstream educational systems that demonstrated an unwillingness to establish a relationship with Latino parents to benefit the children. Delgado-Gaitan (1988, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1994) continued to build on the notion of empowerment of Latino families especially when it resulted in the educational

success of Latino students. The author stated that empowerment was not something that was given to someone, rather, empowerment was inherent. Delgado-Gaitan (1990) found this to be the case over the course of a decade in Latino families that she studied. Parental involvement (traditional and parental advocate involvement) was crucial to the empowerment process of Latino parents and their children's education. Delgado-Gaitan (1992) found that Latino parents were traditionally involved by making themselves available to teachers and other school personnel. Parents also maintained constant contact with their children's teachers and offered to be volunteers in classrooms or at school sponsored events. These findings are consistent with other studies on Latino parents (Lopez, Rodriguez, & Sanchez, 1995). Through empowerment, Latino parents have demonstrated their role as an advocate for their children. Delgado-Gaitan (1988) found that Latino parents participated in activities such as parent organizations, and developing new school policies regardless of cultural barriers that they might come across. For Latino parents their ultimate goal was to see their children succeed in education. Furthermore, Delgado-Gaitan (1991) stressed that the creation of a positive relationship between Latino family systems and mainstream educational systems was also important to the empowerment process. Other studies have found that it is important to develop a relationship between Latino family systems and mainstream educational systems (Chavkin & Williams, 1993; Chavkin & Gonzalez, 1995; Delgado-Gaitan, 1988; 1992).

#### Native American Parental Involvement

The Native American population was estimated to be about 2 million in the United States in 1990. From that population between 300,000 and 400,000 were of school age (Yellowbird & Snipp, 1994). The history of Native American education has been a reflection of the relationship between the U.S. federal government and the Native American people. The United States educational system has played a key role in federal and state government attempts to assimilate Native Americans into mainstream culture.

**This mainstream assimilation process has been well documented in previous research, which has demonstrated constant efforts by the United States government to strip Native American children of their culture, including an exclusion of Native American families and communities in the education process (Kickingbird & Charleston, 1991; Prucha, 1985; Warner & Hastings, 1991).**

#### **Native American Traditional Parental Involvement and Parental Advocacy Involvement**

**The importance of Native American parental involvement in their student's education has been documented in previous literature (Butterfield & Pepper, 1991; Leveque, 1994; Reyhner, 1991; Romero, 1993; Skinner, 1991). Butterfield and Pepper (1991) found that parent participation in any form improves parent attitudes and behavior, as well as student achievement, attendance, motivation, self-esteem, and behavior.**

**Leveque (1994) studied Native American cultural and parental influences on their student's education in a Southern California school district. Leveque found that Native American parents served as advocates by utilizing the Federal Indian Education Act (Title V) funds to help develop academic and cultural programs in their student's school district. Native American parents helped develop programs that allowed Native American students to identify with their culture. Elders were also included in these programs, which allowed them to provide valuable oral history to their children and grandchildren. Although Native American parents and grandparents helped develop programs through the Federal Indian Education Act, tribal cultural identity had become more of a choice, especially for third and fourth generations. Leveque concluded that Native American parents felt they could influence the content and direction of educational opportunities that were provided for their children. Parent involvement led to a greater sense of empowerment and ownership in the goals and purposes of the educational processes.**

#### **European American Parental Involvement**

**Parental involvement organizations date back to the early days of America. Originally, parents were the main educators of their children. The rise of technology and**

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bureaucracy resulted in the role of education being delegated to schools. The status of in loco parentis helped maintain the parents' role in schools. By the mid-1800s industrial and urban development continued to separate families and schools. The National Congress of Mothers, precursor of the PTA, was developed in 1897. Parent teacher organizations grew consistently from about 1 million in 1930 to about 7 million in 1990 (Kagan, 1984; Moles, 1993)

Recently, a number of forces have focused attention on the connection between parents and schools. National concern with family life has been spurred by increased divorce rates, teen parenthood, and mothers working outside the home. Parental involvement activities could possibly serve as a preventative measure. The emerging prospect of greater parent choice and influence in schools has provided a dimension of empowerment.

Previous literature has demonstrated that European American parent's involvement has been effective in their student's educational success (Becker & Epstein, 1982; Comer, 1986; Comer & Haynes, 1991; Epstein, 1982, 1985, 1987, 1995; Okagaski & Frensch, 1998; Seeley, 1982; Walberg, 1984). Research has consistently demonstrated that for European American families, factors such as parent's education and family SES have been major indicators in influencing European American parent involvement and student's educational success (McNeal, 1998; Rumberger, 1987, 1995). Research has found that parents with more education were more likely to be involved in their student's education (Lareau, 1987; McNeal, 1998; Okagaki & Frensch, 1998). Previous research has continuously demonstrated that partnerships between middle class and upper class European American families and schools have been successful. Through these partnerships, parents have been able to directly influence their student's educational success. By involving themselves in organizations such as the PTO, they have been able to influence development of school policies and hiring and firing of school personnel (Comer, 1986; Comer & Haynes, 1991; Epstein, 1985, 1995). It is important to note that



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often higher SES European American parents become involved to offset their underachieving students (McNeal, 1998; Lareau, 1987). Epstein (1995) stated that the way in which a school cares about their students is reflective of how they treat families of those students. Establishing partnerships with families has many benefits for European American families. Epstein (1995) stated that school, family, and community partnerships should place the student at the center. This partnership should create a context in which students believe they can succeed.

#### **Summary of Parental Involvement**

Epstein (1986, 1987, 1995) found that European American parental involvement has benefited their student's education. Previous literature shows that SES and parents' education is directly related to European American parental involvement and indirectly related to Native American and Latino parental involvement (Delgado-Gaitan, 1991, 1992; Reyhner, 1991). McNeal (1998) argued that the current gauges used for measuring parental involvement may not be appropriate when investigating Native American and Latino families because these measures did not take into consideration Latino and Native American family values and beliefs in education. In other words, existing measures of parental involvement were originally developed for the European American culture thus, developing a model that did not target other ethnic groups such as Latinos and Native Americans (McNeal, 1998).

#### **High School Completion**

Before discussing the previous literature of Native American, Latino, and European American high school completion or otherwise known as "dropout" rates, it is important to preface this with the inconsistencies of what dropout actually means. Generally speaking, dropout is defined as an individual who is not enrolled in school and does not have a high school diploma or equivalent certificate. However, this definition can be problematic due to the fact that dropout status, as well as enrollment status and graduation status, are bivariate conditions that reveal little about what a student actually

learns. Often school enrollment and graduation are considered indicators of learning, when in actuality the former may reveal little about the latter (Rumberger, 1991).

Previous research has continuously stressed too much attention on outcomes such as dropout and graduation, when it might be more important to focus on the students' learning environment, and the process of learning (Rumberger, 1991).

#### Latino and Native American High School Completion

Recent attention to the dropout problem has focused on Latino and Native American populations (Reyhner, 1992; Rumberger, 1983). Both of these groups have significantly higher dropout rates than any other major ethnic groups. Previous literature has provided multiple explanations for students leaving high school (Rumberger, 1983, 1987, 1995; Velez, 1989). Latino factors can be grouped into four major categories. The first factor is family background, which includes parents' education, family income, and parents' number of years in the United States. Other factors include schools, communities, and personal characteristics (Rumberger, Ghatak, Poulos, Ritter, & Dornbusch, 1990).

A number of factors have been associated with Native American students not completing high school. Those particular factors include family income, parents education (Reyhner, 1992; St. Germaine, 1995; Swisher & Hoisch, 1992), large schools, uncaring or untrained teachers, passive teaching methods, inappropriate curriculum, inappropriate testing/student retention, tracked classes, and lack of parent involvement (Reyhner, 1992; St. Germaine, 1995; Swisher & Hoisch, 1992).

The influence of family background on behavior has been indirectly related to Latino and Native American dropout rates. Research has demonstrated that students from low SES Native American and Latino families were more likely to dropout when compared to high SES families (Reyhner, 1991; Swisher & Hoisch, 1992). Even when controlling for variables such as student grades, tests scores, and retention these variables were only indirectly related to family SES for these groups (Fernandez, Paulsen, & Hirano-Nakanishi, 1989; Reyhner, 1991; Swisher & Hoisch, 1992).

Parental education has been indirectly associated with Latino and Native American dropout rates. Parents' education has been traditionally seen as a variable that is directly related to high school completion for European Americans. For Native American and Latino students multiple variables should be considered as to the reasons students leave high school. Research demonstrates that Native American and Latino parents with more education serve as role models for their students to finish high school, research has been inconsistent in determining whether this has a direct effect on high school completion (Rumberger, 1983, 1987; Reyhner, 1991; Swisher & Hoisch, 1992).

Another family background variable, parents' years in the United States, has been associated specifically with Latino students dropping out (Buriel & Cardoza, 1988; Rumberger, Ghatak, Poulos, Ritter, & Dornbusch, 1990). This variable has been indirectly related to dropout rates by effecting student achievement and retention. This indirect relationship cannot solely be explained by parents' years in the United States. Multiple factors must be considered such as family income and parents educational background, in explaining why students leave high school. Moreover, other research has demonstrated that recent Latino immigrant families are not familiar with the United States educational system and can be limited in accessing resources for their students from schools (Rumberger, 1991). Latino immigrants are more likely to graduate from high school than their American Latino counterparts because they are motivated to succeed in the United States. Moreover, recent Latino immigrants are motivated to complete high school because they are not disillusioned with United States educational systems (Buriel & Cardoza, 1988).

#### European American High School Completion

European American student dropout rates have been explained through variables such as family SES, parent's education, parent's occupation, psychological factors, and older high school students leaving high school. Mainstream educational systems were initially developed and shaped by middle-class European American values. These values

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have been passed on from generation to generation, developing a context that has allowed European American youth to succeed in educational systems (Delgado-Gaitan, 1988, 1991, 1994; McNeal, 1997; Shannon, 1996; Trueba, Splinder, & Splinder, 1990).

When compared to Native American and Latino youth, European American youth have not faced cultural discontinuity, linguistic, or antisocial obstacles in mainstream educational systems. European American high school completion and dropout rates have been well documented (Ekstrom, Goertz, Pollack, & Rock 1986; Fernandez, Paulsen, Hirano-Nakanishi 1989; Rumberger, 1983, 1987). Research has also demonstrated that European Americans who came from a lower SES family and older students were more likely to dropout of high school (Rumberger, 1983, 1987; Velez, 1989). European American females were more likely to dropout when compared to European American males. Rumberger (1983, 1987, 1995) found that family SES, family structure, and parent's educational background were important variables in determining European American high school completion.

#### Summary of High School Completion

The literature demonstrated that high school completion differs depending on ethnic groups. In the case of European Americans, the literature was consistent in demonstrating that factors such as family income and parents education were important. Other factors including the influence of peers and gender are important factors that warrant research. Research on Native American and Latino high school completion has demonstrated that although parents' education and family income were important, other factors must be examined. Cultural barriers such as language differences and cultural values should be included when examining Native American and Latino high school completion.

#### Latino, Native American, European American and College Aspirations

Different factors influence whether or not an individual will have aspirations to continue their education beyond high school (Rumberger, 1991). For Native American

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and Latino youth, there have been multiple variables that influence college aspirations. Previous research has documented that Latino and Native American youth are often tracked into high school curriculums that do not prepare them for college admissions and college courses (Reyhner, 1991). Other research has found student peer groups to be an important determinant of whether a student will continue their education beyond high school for European Americans, Native Americans, and Latinos (Rumberger, 1983).

The present study will focus on parents' education and family income and how this influences a child's college aspirations. The literature shows that Native American, Latino, and European American parent aspirations to succeed in education and life were significant influences in their children's decision to continue their education beyond high school (Duran & Weffer, 1992; Hauser & Anderson, 1991; Portes & Macleod, 1996). Rumberger, Ghatak, Poulos, Ritter, and Dornbusch (1990) found that regardless of educational background, Latino parents encouraged their children to succeed in education. This study stressed that it was important to go beyond examining family structures such as SES and parents' education. A lack of educational aspiration by the student could have been attributed to parenting style. Parents who were less permissive were more involved in their student's education and their children had higher educational aspirations, regardless of the parents' education. The authors conclude that areas such as social support, academic encouragement, and academic assistance should be explored to see if they would make a difference in students' educational aspirations.

Other research has found that Latino and Native American parent's aspirations for their children to succeed was significant regardless of generational and language proficiency differences (Iwamoto, Kaplan, & Aniloff, 1976; Reyhner, 1991). Reyhner (1991) found that often Native American parents socialize their children to see the world through a Native American lens. Regardless of generation, Native Americans continue to pass on their culture through traditions and rituals, which include their Native language. The problems occur when Native American children are faced with a lack of cultural



sensitivity by the mainstream educational system. Reyhner illustrates the need for a better relationship between Native American families and mainstream educational systems.

Although the literature has demonstrated that family SES and parents' education have been important factors in measuring college aspirations these variables are better measures with the European American population (Duran & Weffer, 1992; Hauser & Anderson, 1991; Rumberger, 1987). Unlike their ethnic minority counterparts, European American students are not faced with cultural and language differences when they aspire to continue their education beyond high school. Furthermore, the mainstream educational system's culture is more in accordance with the European American value system thus, making adaptation a smoother process for European American students (Chavkin & Williams 1993; Delgado-Gaitan 1988). Research has shown family SES and parents' education as having only an indirect effect on Native American and Latino college aspirations (Reyhner, 1991; Valverde, 1987). Other factors such as access to academic resources, social support from the school, and the relationship between the family and the educational system must be considered to obtain a better understanding of Native American and Latino college aspirations (Reyhner, 1991; Valverde, 1987)

#### Latino and Asian American Parents' Years in the United States

There were few differences between first generation and third generation minorities in school achievement (Buriel & Cardoza, 1988; Matute-Bianchi, 1986). By the third generation, most minority children are not as fluent in their immigrant grandparents' language however, they do have ethnic pride and take foreign languages in school. After several generations, middle class achievement momentum may replace immigrant values as the impetus for success. This describes the situation of high-achieving third-generation students (Buriel & Cardoza, 1988). Third-generation students whose families have not been economically mobile are likely to find themselves in low-income environments in which they heavily speak their native language. These students have witnessed their grandparents and parents lack of economic success and therefore maybe

less optimistic about their chances for success. It is important to note that these students do have high aspirations but they have low expectations for actually achieving their goals (Buriel & Cardoza, 1988; Matute-Bianchi, 1986; So & Chan, 1982).

### **Entrance into and Working in the Labor Force**

Often the perception of the effect of employment on a student's education has been based on how much the student works which has determined whether they would complete high school and continue their education beyond high school. Research has demonstrated that often ethnic minorities may leave high school not because of a disjuncture between their educational aspirations and expectations, but because they felt free to make the choice of entering the labor force over school (Bickel & Milton, 1983; Rumberger, 1987). McNeal (1997) found that there are several factors that should be considered when examining how the labor force influences students. Those factors included the type of job and the hours worked, which depended on the students gender on whether they would choose to work over a formal education. McNeal went on to state that students who choose to work over school might have been engaged in more of a work culture and environment than a school environment. McNeal also suggested that students who chose to work over school might have a different attitude towards school than their counterparts.

Once in the labor force, the literature has demonstrated that for Latino and Native American high school graduates the chance of being gainfully employed is not much better than a high school dropout (Berlin & Sum, 1988; Stern & Paik, 1989). Other research data further supports the notion that Latinos and Native Americans receive a lower economic benefit graduating from high school than European Americans. Furthermore, research shows that economic incentives for Native Americans and Latinos has diminished over time (Rumberger, 1987). The economic status of students who chose to work over attending school did not differ from those who stayed in high school.

In summary, the literature review has demonstrated the importance of how family systems interact with educational systems to ensure the success of students' educational success. Parental participation in educational systems has served as a catalyst to empower children to complete high school. Through this partnership the social capital that parents and schools provide enables a student to aspire to continue their education beyond high school. It is this bridge that has continued to be forged between these two subsystems that enables the ethnic groups presented in this study to ensure their student's success. The literature review provided an explanation of how family structure and family socialization play an intricate role in a student's educational development within these two ethnic groups.

This research demonstrated the importance of the families cultural background and how their values and beliefs influenced the interrelationship between families and educational systems. Importance of generational differences, specifically with Latinos, was crucial in the discussion of how schools demonstrate sensitivity to cultural differences. The reaction to educational systems that uphold different societal values from their own and how ethnic minority parents socialize their students to succeed while still retaining familial cultural value was an important contextual struggle discussed. The ecological relationship is further highlighted with the review discussing the relationship between student's educational career and whether they would enter the labor force and how long they would work in the labor force after their high school graduation. The literature review has outlined the urgency of the interdependent relationship between ethnic minority family systems and educational systems.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **METHODOLOGY**

The literature review identified the importance of parental involvement in a student's education. Few studies have examined this relationship through a nationally representative data set. Thus, this study will provide a more representative picture of Native Americans, Latinos, European Americans, and Asian Americans in the educational system. Research questions and hypotheses in this study address the effect of parental involvement and family structure on a child's high school completion, college aspirations, and entrance into the labor force. They also examine the effect of family structure on high school completion, college aspirations, and entrance into the labor force. Furthermore, the hypotheses will examine whether these relationships depend on a student's ethnicity.

#### **Research Questions**

1. Do different types of parental involvement have an effect on a youth's completion of high school, on a youth's college aspirations, and on a youth's subsequent amount of time working for different ethnic groups?
2. Does family structure have an effect on a youth's completion of high school, on a youth's college aspirations, and on a youth's subsequent amount of time working for different ethnic groups?
3. Does family structure have an effect on a youth's completion of high school for different ethnic groups?
4. Does family structure have an effect on a youth's entrance into the labor force after graduating from high school and on the subsequent amount of time working for different ethnic groups?

### Hypotheses

- H01:** The effect of different types of parental involvement will not depend on ethnicity in a youth's high school completion.
- H02:** The effect of family structure will not depend on ethnicity in a youth's high school completion.
- H03:** The effect of different types of parental involvement will not depend on ethnicity in a youth's college aspirations.
- H04:** The effect of family structure will not depend on ethnicity in a youth's college aspirations.
- H05:** The effect of different types of parental involvement will not depend on ethnicity in entrance into the labor force and how long a youth will work after high school graduation.
- H06:** Family structure will not have an effect on a youth's entrance into the labor nor on the subsequent amount of time working regardless of ethnic background.

### Family Structure

Teachman, Paasch, & Carver (1997) identified family structure by using a series of questions from the NELS data. These questions included the following based on the child's living arrangement: living with both natural parents, living with one natural parent and either a stepparent or a cohabiting partner, living with a divorced mother, living with a divorced father, living with a never married mother, or living with other relatives /guardians. Similar to Teachman et. al (1997), this study will focus on biological parents including both two parents and single parents. Families that self-identify as single parent households will focus only on mothers. The extended family variable consist of adults such as grandparents, uncles, aunts, and other fictive kin. Extended family variables are consistent with the previous literature that stresses the importance of extended family and

fictive kin in Native American and Latino families (Kawamoto & Chesire, 1997; Vega, 1995).

### Control Variables

This study seeks to control for maternal education, paternal education, and family income. Teachman et al. (1997) characterized parental education and income as human and financial capital when discussing whether a student would complete high school. These variables will be controlled in order to gain a better understanding of how social capital such as different types of parental involvement, family structure, and ethnicity effect high school completion and college aspirations.

The variable parents' number of years in the United States will also be used to control for generational differences. This variable will be used specifically with Latino and Asian American groups.

### Data Set

Data from the National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS) will be used to examine the aforementioned research questions and hypothesis research questions in order to gain a better understanding on how Latino, Native American, European American, and Asian American parental involvement influences their adolescent's education.

### Sample

The (NELS) data set included 25,000 8<sup>th</sup> graders, parents and school personnel however, this study focused only on the parents and students. Eighth graders were followed throughout high school and a follow-up interview was conducted two years after their scheduled time of high school graduation. The base year (1988) was used to examine parental involvement and family structure, which was the student's eighth grade year. Data related to college aspirations were collected during the students' senior year (1992). Entrance into the labor force and high school completion data were collected in a two year follow up after the projected time of graduation (1994).

During the base year 1988 and second follow up 1992 questionnaires and cognitive tests were administered to each student in the sample, which covered school experiences, activities, attitudes, plans, selected background characteristics, and language proficiency. These instruments were administered at the school. The third follow up in 1994 was conducted when most of the sample members had already graduated from high school. Data was collected through one-on-one administration in the form of computer-assisted telephone interviews (CATI). In-person interviews were also conducted for those respondents who could not follow through with CATI. This follow up focused specifically on issues of employment, post secondary academic achievement, and family structure and environment. (Carrol, Cederlund, Dugoni, Haggerty, & Reed, 1996).

Parent questionnaires were administered through the mail, which explored family background and socioeconomic characteristics, and the character of the home educational support systems. The parent questionnaires collected data related to parental behavior and circumstance about which the parent may be more knowledgeable than the teenager, such as parental education and occupation. Furthermore, the questionnaire also contained more sensitive items relating to family income, family background, and items relating to parents' educational expectations for their teenager. Telephone interviews were offered in Spanish for those parents who could not complete the English questionnaires. The questionnaires were not offered in the native languages of the Asian parents. However, those Asian parents who could not complete the questionnaires alone had someone help them with the English questionnaires (Bartot, Frankel, Ingels, Owings, Pulliam, Quinn, & Thalji 1994).

For the purpose of this study, only those cases that ethnically identified themselves as Native American, Latino, European Americans, and Asian American were used. The student sample consisted of 1,228 Mexican Americans, 178 Puerto Ricans, 86 Cuban Americans, and 348 other Latinos. There were 514 Native American students. The European American student population consisted of 8,896 students. Asian American students included 202 Chinese, 171 Filipino, 58 Japanese, 128 Korean, 157 Southeast

Asian, 54 Pacific Islanders, 72 South Asian, 20 West Asian, 24 Middle Eastern, 63 other Asian.

The parents sample consisted of 1047 Mexican American, 133 Puerto Rican, 59 Cuban American, and 259 other Latinos. There were 114 Native Americans mothers. All the groups included intact and single parent households. The European American sample consisted of 9,175 mothers. Asian American parents included 183 Chinese, 171 Filipino, 52 Japanese, 80 Korean, 142 Southeast Asian, 22 Pacific Islander, 67 South Asian, 10 West Asian, 15 Middle Eastern, and 6 other Asian. Fathers were not interviewed in this study, although information about fathers was collected indirectly through the mother and the student.

### Definitions

Traditional parental involvement refers to parents who participate in their adolescent's education by going to open houses or special programs at school, visiting the school to see what is happening, helping students with homework, and going to parent teacher conferences (Chavkin & Williams, 1993; Epstein, 1986).

Nontraditional parental involvement (parent advocacy) refers to those parents who are involved in their student's school activities such as: advocacy, school decisions, evaluations or budgets, school policies, and hiring and firing of school personnel (Chavkin & Williams, 1993; Epstein, 1986).

Native American refers to individuals whose self-identified ethnic background was a federally recognized tribal nation of the United States.

Hispanic/ Latino refers to individuals whose self-identified ethnic background consisted of Puerto Rican, Mexican, Cuban, South and Central American descent.

Asian American refers to individuals whose self-identified ethnic backgrounds consisted of Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Southeast Asian, Asian Pacific Islanders, Filipino, South Asian, West Asian, Middle Eastern and other Asians.



European American refers to individuals whose self-identified ethnic background was European and who considered themselves White or Anglo.

School involvement refers to contact between school staff (i.e. teachers, administrators, and counselors) and the head-of-family concerning the student's education (Epstein, 1995).

### Conceptual and Operational Definitions

#### Independent Variables

##### Traditional parental involvement

**Conceptual Definition:** This refers to parental involvement that has been considered a traditional style of being involved with a student's education. Traditional parental involvement refers to parents who are involved in attending open houses or special programs at school, visiting the school to see what is happening, helping students with homework, and going to parent-teacher meetings (Epstein, 1986; Chavkin & Williams, 1993).

**Operational Definition:** Traditional parental involvement will be measured through a NELS data variable, which measured the frequency of parental contact with school personnel and the school. It will be measured by parents who attended parent-teacher meetings and parent's attendance when their adolescent was participating in a school activity. The questions ask if parents notified the school, attend parent teacher meetings, and if they had attended any of their adolescent's activities and helped with homework. These variables will be merged into one continuous variable which is consistent with the previous research (Epstein, 1986).

##### Parent Advocate

**Conceptual Definition:** This refers to the role of the parent as an advocate in their student's education. Nontraditional parental involvement can be defined as a parent who is involved in their student's school activities such as: belonging and attending Parent

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Teachers Organization (PTO) meetings and influencing school policies (Chavkin & Williams, 1993).

**Operational Definition:** Parent Advocate will be measured by NELS data variables, which measure parent's involvement in school's policies and PTO. These variables will be merged into one continuous variable which is consistent with the previous literature (Epstein, 1986).

### **School Involvement**

**Conceptual Definition:** School involvement refers to the school taking an active role in working with the family to enhance the adolescent's educational experience (Epstein, 1995).

**Operational Definition:** School involvement will be measured by NELS data variables which measure school involvement initiated by school staff including administrators, teachers, and other support staff. This involvement includes phone calls and meetings with the family. These variables will be merged into one continuous variable which is consistent with the previous research (Epstein, 1986).

### **Outcome Variables**

#### **College aspirations**

**Conceptual Definition:** Students who self-report they would attend college after high school graduation.

**Operational Definition:** College aspiration will be measured by a NELS data variable that asked students if they would attend college after high school. This question asked students if they would attend college, or community college after completing high school.

#### **High School Completion**

**Conceptual Definition:** Those students that left high school without graduating.

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**Operational Definition:** Students who left high school without graduating will be measured by a NELS data variable. Students were asked this question two years after the expected date of graduation.

#### **Entrance into and Working in the Labor Force**

**Conceptual Definition:** Those students that enter the labor force and are working after high school.

**Operational Definition:** This was measured by a NELS data variable that measured how long students had been working (full time) after high school graduation. Students were asked how long they had been working two years after they had graduated.

#### **Control Variables**

##### **Parents' Education**

**Conceptual Definition:** This refers to the parent's educational history.

**Operational Definition:** Parent's education was measured by a NELS data variable that measured parental educational levels at the time of the interview.

##### **Family Structure**

**Conceptual Definition:** This refers to the composition of the family.

**Operational Definition:** Family structure was measured by a NELS data variable that gathered information about who lived in the household (i.e. parents, siblings, and other relatives). Respondents were asked who lived with them.

##### **Family Income**

**Conceptual Definition:** This refers to the total income earned by family members.

**Operational Definition:** Family income was measured by a NELS data variable that measured different ways the family contributed to total family earnings. This question asked parents how much money was earned in the family and the family's annual income.

##### **Parents Years in the United States**

**Conceptual Definition:** This refers to the years that Latino and Asian American parents had been living in the United States.

**Operational Definition:** Latino and Asian American parents' years in the United States was measured by a NELS data variable that measured how many years parents had been in the United States at the time of the interview.

### **Research Assumptions**

In formulating the research assumptions, the social capital theory and ecological approach were taken into consideration. Parental involvement, family structure, high school completion, and entering the labor force were incorporated.

1. It is assumed that the effect of different types of parental involvement will depend on ethnicity in an adolescent's high school completion, college aspirations, or entering the labor force.
2. It is assumed that the effect of family structure will depend on ethnicity in an adolescent's high school completion, college aspirations, or entrance into the labor force.
3. It is assumed that parents' number of years in the country, family income, and parents' education will depend on ethnicity in an adolescent's high school completion, college aspirations, or entering the labor force

### **Data Analysis**

Hierarchical linear model (HLM) is appropriate for the six hypotheses because it provides the ability to examine the hypothesis at multiple levels. The first level will be student effect and the second level will be school effect. Outcome variables are dichotomous (0 and 1), which means that the errors will not be normally distributed and the random effect will not have a homogenous variance. Logistic regression can be utilized at the first level, and it can be run through a hierarchical model using HLM (Bryk & Raudenbush, 1992). The second level, school, is important because without this level errors from students within the same schools would likely be correlated, which would lead to incorrect estimates for standard errors of the coefficients. Criteria for statistical

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significance at both the student and school level will be set at an alpha level of .05, although some results might be statistically significant at the alpha level of .01.

### **Importance of HLM use with the Hypothesis**

**Hypothesis one: The effect of different types of parental involvement will not depend on ethnicity in a student's high school completion. The hypothesis will be tested through the use of HLM, using the traditional parental involvement, parent advocate, and ethnicity variables and the dichotomous outcome variable of high school completion.**

**Ecological theory and the social capital theory provide a basis for understanding the effect of different types of parental involvement and whether or not it depends on ethnicity in a student's high school completion. At the first level the logistic regression provides the method of analysis that helps answer the question of whether the effect of parent's social capital (i.e. attending PTO meetings, participating in the PTO, going to school activities) will depend on ethnicity (i.e. Native American or Latino) in a student's high school completion. Specifically, logistic regression provides an avenue for looking at how family systems (i.e. Latino and Native American) interact with school system through the effect of parental involvement. Moreover, HLM is useful for testing the null hypothesis which examines the relationship between the independent and dependent variable at the student and school level. It is the second level (school level) that makes the HLM analysis a more appropriate model than single level logistic analysis. This is important because nesting of students within schools will be tested at the second level to help determine interaction between different types of parental involvement and high school completion.**

**Hypothesis two: The effect of family structure will not depend on ethnicity in a student's high school completion. This will be tested with HLM, using family structure and ethnicity variables as predictor variables and high school completion as the dichotomous outcome. Social capital theory and ecological theory will help explain**



whether the interaction between family structure and ethnicity will be important in high school completion.

Using logistic regression at the first level HLM, will help answer the question of whether the effect of family structure will depend on ethnicity (i.e. Native American or Latino) in a student's high school completion. Moreover, HLM will test the null hypothesis by providing an understanding of the relationship between schools and families. It is the second level that makes the HLM analysis a more appropriate model than single level logistic analysis. The second level will help address nesting of students within schools.

Hypothesis three: The effect of different types of parental involvement will not depend on ethnicity in a student's college aspirations. For this analysis, traditional parental involvement, parent advocate, and ethnicity will be the predictor variables in the model and college aspirations will be the dichotomous outcome.

Ecological theory provides the context between family and school, while parental involvement serves as a form of social capital. Both will help determine whether parental involvement will be different among ethnic groups and will effect a child's college aspirations. Logistic regression will be utilized at the student level. Nesting of students within schools will be tested at the second level to help determine interaction between parental involvement and ethnicity in student's aspirations to attend college. Linear models are limiting in explaining analysis that requires multiple levels, HLM is a good alternative.

Hypothesis four: The effect of family structure will not depend on ethnicity in a student's college aspirations. This will be tested with HLM, using family structure, and ethnicity variables as the predictors and college aspirations a dichotomous outcome variable. Social capital theory and ecological theory will help explain whether the interaction between family structure and ethnicity will be important in a student's college aspirations.

Logistic regression will be utilized at the first level of HLM, which will help answer the question of whether the effect of family structure will depend on ethnicity (i.e. Native American or Latino) in a student's college aspirations. Moreover, HLM will test the null hypothesis by providing an understanding of the relationship between schools and families. Use of HLM at the second level will help address nesting of students within schools.

Hypothesis five: The effect of family structure will not depend on ethnicity in whether students enter the labor force and how long they work after high school. The different family structure and ethnicity variables will be used as the predictor variables, while the continuous outcome variable will be entrance into the labor force and how long they work. Social capital theory and ecological theory will help explain whether the interaction between family structure and ethnicity will be important in students decision to enter the labor force and how long they work. Logistic regression will be utilized at the first level of HLM which will help answer the question of whether the effect of family structure will depend on ethnicity (i.e. Native American or Latino) in students decisions to enter the labor force and how long they work. Moreover, HLM will test the null hypothesis by providing an understanding of the relationship between schools and families. Use of HLM at the second level will help address nesting of students within schools.

Hypothesis six: The effect of different types of parental involvement will not depend on ethnicity in whether students will enter the labor force and how long they will work after high school. The different parental involvement variables and ethnicity variables will be used as the predictor variables, while the continuous outcome variable will be entrance into the labor force and how long they will work. HLM will be used at the first level (student level) and the second level (school level). Ecological theory will aid in explaining the relationship between families and educational systems. Different types of parental involvement will serve as a measure of social capital in the model. Ecological theory will serve as the foundation to explain how parents become involved through social

**capital in their student's education and if this differs among ethnic groups. Use of HLM will help address nesting of students within schools.**

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **RESULTS**

**The purpose of this study was to examine how traditional parental involvement and parental advocacy involvement influence high school completion, college aspirations, and entrance into the labor force depending on ethnicity. Another goal of the study was to examine how different types of family structure (i.e., two parent households, two parent households with extended family and single parent households with extended family) influence high school completion, college aspirations, and entrance into the labor force depending on ethnicity. The study also sought to explore the importance of school involvement.**

**The following questions were addressed in this study and examined through the use of the NELS data set.**

- 1. Does the effect of different types of parental involvement depend on ethnicity in a youth's high school completion?**
- 2. Does the effect of family structure depend on ethnicity in a youth's high school completion?**
- 3. Does the effect of different types of parental involvement depend on ethnicity in a youth's college aspirations?**
- 4. Does the effect of family structure depend on ethnicity in a youth's college aspirations?**
- 5. Does the effect of different types of parental involvement depend on ethnicity in how long a student had worked after high school?**

The descriptive statistics of the participants in the study were based on means. They included family income, parents' education, and how long parents had been in the United States. The average family income for European Americans was between 25,000 and 35,000 dollars. Levels of educational achievement ranged from a masters degree to a Ph.D. or MD. The average family income for Latino families was between 15,000 and 20,000 dollars with educational attainment levels for parents ranging between 3 to 4 years of a college education. Both Latino mothers and fathers reported having lived in the United States for approximately 16 years. The average Native American family income ranged between 15,000 to 20,000 dollars and with educational attainment averaging less than a 4 year degree for both parents. Asian American average family income was between 25,000 to 35,000 dollars and the maternal and paternal education averaged Ph.D. and MD (see Table 1).

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Insert Table 1 about here

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#### High School Completion

1. Does the effect of different types of parental involvement on youth's high school completion depend on ethnicity?

A Hierarchical Linear Model (HLM) was run at the individual level of a multilevel model to determine if traditional parental involvement and parental advocacy had significant effects on high school completion. Other variables such as parents' education, family income, and two parent households were included in the model as controls. Ethnic variables (e.g., Latino, Native American, and Asian American) and parents' number of years in the United States were included in the model as main effects. The effects of different types of parental involvement (e.g., traditional and parental advocacy involvement) on high school completion depending on ethnicity were included in the model.

Table 1

Ethnic Group Descriptive Based On Means

<b>Ethnic Group</b>	<b>Family Income</b>	<b>Fathers Education</b>	<b>Mothers Education</b>	<b>Fathers Years In The United States</b>	<b>Mothers Years In The United States</b>
European American	\$25,000 - 35,000	Graduate School Ph.D.	Masters Degree		
Latino American	\$15,000 - 20,000	3 - 4 years of college	3 - 4 years of college	16 or more years	16 or more years
Native American	\$15,000 - 20,000	Graduated from College	Graduated from College		
Asian American	\$25,000 - 35,000	Graduate School Ph.D.	Graduate School Ph.D.	11 to 15 years	11 to 15 years

Interaction effects were created from the main effect variables. The effect of traditional parental involvement on high school completion significantly depended on ethnicity. The effect of traditional parental involvement proved to be significantly different for Asian Americans when compared to European Americans ( $t = 2.64$ ,  $p = .009$ ), but not Latino ( $t = .208$ ,  $p = .836$ ) or Native Americans ( $t = .765$ ,  $p = .444$ ). The effect of traditional parental involvement was more positively associated with high school completion for Asian Americans than for European Americans.

The interaction between parental advocacy involvement and ethnicity was significant for two comparisons: Latinos versus European Americans ( $t = -2.03$ ,  $p = .042$ ) and Asian Americans versus European Americans ( $t = 2.00$ ,  $p = .044$ ). The effect of parental advocacy involvement was more positively associated with high school completion for Asian Americans than for European Americans. For Latinos, the effect of parental advocacy involvement was negatively associated with high school completion ( $t = -2.03$ ,  $p = .042$ ) (see Table 2).

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Insert Table 2 about here

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The control variables mother's education ( $t = 7.05$ ,  $p = .000$ ) and father's education ( $t = 7.43$ ,  $p = .000$ ) had a positive association with high school completion and were significant. In other words, the more education the parents had, the more likely their children were to complete high school. Youth from households with a higher income were also more likely to complete high school than adolescents from households with lower income ( $t = 4.83$ ,  $p = .000$ ). The variable two parent households was significant ( $t = 4.71$ ,  $p = .000$ ) in determining if a student would complete high school (see Table 2).

Table 2

High School Completion Main Effects Interactions

Fixed Effect	Estimate	Standard Error	T-ratio	Approximate Degrees of Freedom	P-value
Intercept 1 B0					
Intercept 2 G00	2.418849	0.900371	2.687	902	0.008**
Mother's Year in the United States B1	-0.145316	0.151858	-0.957	7029	0.339
Father's Years In the United States B2	-0.132024	0.160361	-0.823	7029	0.411
Mother's Education B3	0.135541	0.019210	7.056	7029	.000**
Father's Education B4	0.134919	0.018152	7.433	7029	.000**
Family Income B5	0.111489	0.023080	4.831	7029	.000**
Latinos B6	0.316516	0.312943	1.011	7029	0.312
Native American B7	-1.497740	1.640468	-0.913	7029	0.362
Asian American B8	-1.099612	0.646706	-1.700	7029	0.089
Traditional Parental Involvement B9	-0.089176	0.013239	-6.736	7029	.000**
Two Parent Households B10	0.578084	0.122552	4.717	7029	.000**
Extended Family B11	0.208845	0.241182	-0.866	7029	0.387

p&lt;.05\*; p&lt;.01\*\*



Table 2

High School Completion Main Effects Interactions (Continued)

Fixed Effect	Estimate	Standard Error	T-ratio	Approximate Degrees of Freedom	P-value
Extended Two Parent Households B12	-0.043298	0.290488	-0.149	7029	0.882
Parental Advocacy B13	0.034288	0.017658	1.942	7029	0.052
Latino Traditional Parental Involvement B14	0.006355	0.030590	0.208	7029	0.836
Native American Traditional Parental Involvement B15	0.114936	0.150177	0.765	7029	0.444
Asian American Traditional Parental Involvement B16	0.147118	0.055589	2.647	7029	.009**
Latino Parental Advocacy B17	-0.078873	0.038855	-2.030	7029	.042*
Native American Parental Advocacy B18	0.112727	0.244256	0.462	7029	0.644
Asian American Parental Advocacy B19	0.098564	0.049070	2.009	7029	.044*
Latinos Extended Family B20	0.354103	0.363044	0.975	7029	0.330
Native American Extended Family B21	-1.832245	0.881411	-2.079	7029	.037*
Asian American Extended Family B22	-0.473163	0.607958	-0.778	7029	0.436

p<.05\*, p<.01\*\*

School involvement was included as the school level variable in the HLM model. Traditional parental involvement and parental advocacy involvement were included at the individual level of the multilevel model. The effect of school involvement on high school completion did not depend on the level of traditional parental involvement ( $t = -0.977$ ,  $p = -0.329$ ) and parental advocacy involvement ( $t = -1.29$ ,  $p = .195$ ) (see Table 3).<sup>2</sup> The same multilevel model tested the interaction of school involvement, traditional parental involvement and ethnicity, and school involvement, parental advocacy involvement and ethnicity. Results show that the effect of school involvement on high school completion was not significant on the level of traditional involvement and ethnicity: Latinos and traditional parental involvement ( $t = .479$ ,  $p = 0.631$ ), Native Americans and traditional parental involvement ( $t = -0.634$ ,  $p = .526$ ), and Asian American and traditional parental involvement ( $t = -0.833$ ,  $p = .405$ ). The effect of school involvement on high school completion did not significantly depend on the level of parental advocacy involvement and ethnicity: Latinos and parental advocacy involvement ( $t = .385$ ,  $p = .700$ ), Native Americans and parental advocacy ( $t = .882$ ,  $p = .378$ ) and Asian Americans ( $t = 1.47$ ,  $p = .141$ ) (see Table 3).

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Insert Table 3 about here

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2. Does the effect of family structure on youth's high school completion depend on ethnicity?

A HLM model was run at the individual level of a multilevel model to determine if family structure was important in a students decision to complete high school.

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<sup>2</sup> In general, when comparing effects of groups, such as ethnicities, an omnibus test (F-test in Anova) is run to see if the groups are generally different before interpreting specific effects of dummy variables. The goal of the present study was not to see the differences across the ethnic groups, rather it focused on how each ethnic group compared to European Americans.

Table 3

High School Completion Main Effects School Level Variables

Fixed Effect	Estimate	Standard Error	T-ratio	Approximate Degrees of Freedom	P-value
Intercept 1 BO					
Intercept 2 G00	2.357510	0.945623	2.493	901	0.013*
School Involvement	0.005927	0.020233	0.293	901	0.769
Mother's Years B1	-0.147869	0.151424	-0.977	7029	0.329
Father's Years B2	-0.139520	0.160078	-0.872	7029	0.384
Mother's Education B3	0.133583	0.019379	6.893	7029	.000**
Father's Education B4	0.137588	0.018448	7.458	7029	.000**
Family Income B5	0.112013	0.023054	4.859	7029	.000**
Latinos B6	0.331390	0.313760	1.056	7029	0.291
Native American B7	-1.057785	1.742857	-0.607	7029	0.544
Asian American B8	-1.108222	0.649057	-1.707	7029	0.087
Traditional Parental Involvement B9	-0.053403	0.034129	-1.565	7028	0.117
School Involvement	-0.002033	0.002081	-0.977	7028	0.329
Two Parent Households B10	0.577031	0.122958	4.693	7029	.000**

p < .05\*; p < .01\*\*

Table 3

High School Completion Main Effects School Level Variables (Continued)

Fixed Effect	Coefficient	Standard Error	T-Ratio	Approximate Degrees of Freedom	P-value
Extended Family B11	-0.202979	0.247681	-0.820	7029	0.413
Extended Two Parent Households B12	-0.051745	0.293701	-0.176	7029	0.860
Advocacy B13	0.085995	0.045025	1.910	7028	0.056
School Involvement	-0.002911	0.002245	-1.296	7028	0.195
Latino Traditional Parental Involvement B14	-0.014905	0.048884	-0.305	7028	0.760
School Involvement	0.001084	0.002261	0.479	7028	0.631
Native American Traditional Parental Involvement B15	0.178257	0.244692	0.728	7028	0.466
School Involvement	-0.008284	0.013064	-0.634	7028	0.526
Asian American Traditional Parental Involvement B16	0.201354	0.081923	2.458	7028	0.014*
School Involvement	-0.002739	0.004403	-0.833	7028	0.405
Latino Parental Advocacy B17	-0.105116	0.098760	-1.064	7028	0.288

p < .05\*; p < .01\*\*

Table 3

High School Completion Main Effects School Level Variables (Continued)

Fixed Effect	Coefficient	Standard Error	T-Ratio	Approximate Degrees of Freedom	P-value
School Involvement	0.001694	0.004403	0.385	7028	0.700
Native American Parental Advocacy B18	-1.530590	1.893021	-0.809	7028	0.419
School Involvement	0.120789	0.136885	0.882	7028	0.378
Asian American Parental Advocacy B19	-0.034045	0.111566	-0.305	7028	0.760
School Involvement	0.006835	0.004645	1.471	7028	0.141
Latinos Extended Family B20	0.353409	0.357422	0.989	7029	0.323
Native American Extended Family B21	-1.647153	0.927152	-1.777	7029	0.075
Asian American Extended Family B22	-0.445941	0.589753	-0.756	7029	0.450

$p < .05^*$ ;  $p < .01^{**}$

Variables such as parents' education, two parent households and family income remained in the model as controls. Ethnic variables and parents' number of years in the United States remained in the model as main effects. Interaction variables between different types of family structure and ethnicity were also included.

The effect of extended family on high school completion significantly depended on whether the students were Native Americans when compared to European Americans ( $t = -2.07$ ,  $p = .037$ ). Native American students who lived in a household that included at least one extended family member were less likely to graduate. The effect of extended family on high school completion did not significantly depend on whether the students were either Latinos or Asian Americans when compared to European Americans: Latinos ( $t = .330$ ,  $p = .975$ ) and Asian Americans ( $t = .778$ ,  $p = .436$ ) (see Table 2).

The control variables, parents' education: mother's education ( $t = 7.05$ ,  $p = .000$ ) and father's education ( $t = -0.823$ ,  $p = .000$ ) was significant. The more education the parents had the more likely their children would complete high school. Children from households with a higher income were more likely to complete high school ( $t = 4.83$ ,  $p = .000$ ). The variable two parent households was significant ( $t = 4.71$ ,  $p = .000$ ) in determining if a student would complete high school (see Table 2).

#### Parents' Number of Years in the United States and Ethnicity

The interaction of parents' number of years in the United States and ethnicity was investigated to see if it was important in determining if an individual would complete high school. This question was tested in the larger high school completion HLM model. An interaction variable between parents' number of years in the United States and ethnicity was used in the analysis. In this study both Asian Americans and Latinos were compared to European Americans. The effect of parents' number of years in the United States on high school completion was only significant for Asian American mothers, but not for Asian American fathers, Latino mothers, or Latino fathers. The effect of parents' years in the United States on high school completion did not depend ethnicity for: Latino mothers'

( $t = -1.203$ ,  $p = .229$ ) or Latino fathers' ( $t = .327$ ,  $p = .743$ ). The effect of parents' years in the United States on high school completion did depend on ethnicity for Asian American mothers' ( $t = -2.44$ ,  $p = .015$ ) but not for Asian American fathers' ( $t = -0.645$ ,  $p = .518$ ) (see Table 4 & Table 5).

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Insert Table 4 and 5 about here

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### College Aspirations

3. Does the effect of different types of parental involvement on a youth's college aspirations depend on ethnicity?

A HLM model was run at the individual level of a multilevel model specifying college aspirations as an outcome variable. The hypothesis examined whether the effect of traditional parental involvement and parental advocacy involvement were dependent on the ethnicity of a child in their aspirations to attend college. Traditional parental involvement and parental advocacy involvement variables were included in the model as main effects. Ethnic variables (e.g., Latino, Native American, and Asian American) and parents' years in the United States were included in the model as main effects. Family income, two parent households, and parents' education were included in the model as control variables. The interaction variables between different types of parental involvement and ethnicity included: traditional parental involvement and ethnicity, and parental advocacy involvement and ethnicity. These interactions were run at the individual level of the model.

Table 4

High School Completion Father's Years

Fixed Effect	Estimate	Standard Error	T-ratio	Approximate Degrees of Freedom	P-value
Intercept 1 B0					
Intercept 2 G00	4.699988	1.021672	4.600	893	.000**
Mother's Years in the United States B1	0.139597	0.227006	0.615	6388	0.538
Father's Years in the United States B2	-0.354128	0.217458	-1.628	6388	0.103
Latinos B3	-1.106596	2.143330	-0.516	6388	0.605
Asian American B4	1.148193	1.441572	0.796	6388	0.426
Two Parent Households B5	0.861469	0.137155	6.281	6388	.000**
Latino Father's Years in the United States B6	0.111317	0.340334	0.327	6388	0.743
Asian American Father's Years in the United States B7	-0.158398	0.245428	-0.645	6388	0.518

p&lt;.05\*; p&lt;.01\*\*



Table 5

High School Completion Mother's Years

Fixed Effect	Estimate	Standard Error	T-ratio	Approximate Degrees of Freedom	P-value
Intercept 1 B0					
Intercept 2 G00	2.235451	0.964860	2.317	893	0.021*
Mother's Years in the United States B1	0.373785	0.222798	1.678	6388	0.093
Father's Years in the United States B2	-0.213126	0.204222	-1.132	6388	0.258
Latinos B3	1.870589	1.742952	1.073	6388	0.284
Asian American B4	4.405579	1.523441	2.892	6388	.004**
Two Parent Households B5	0.856211	0.137340	6.234	6388	.000**
Latino Mother's Years in the United States B6	-0.329047	0.273457	-1.203	6388	0.229
Asian American Mother's Years in the United States B7	-0.674717	0.275996	-2.445	6388	0.015*

p&lt;.05\*, p&lt;.01\*\*

The effect of traditional parental involvement on college aspirations did depend on ethnicity and proved to be significant. The effect of parental involvement was more negatively associated with college aspirations for Asian Americans than European Americans ( $t = -1.96$ ,  $p = .049$ ). This effect was not significantly different for Latino ( $t = .947$ ,  $p = .344$ ) and Native Americans ( $t = .749$ ,  $p = .454$ ) than for European Americans. The effect of parental advocacy on college aspiration did depend on whether the students were Native American compared to European American ( $t = 2.26$ ,  $p = .024$ ) but not for Asian Americans ( $t = 1.52$ ,  $p = .128$ ), Latinos ( $t = .263$ ,  $p = .793$ ), or European Americans (see Table 6).

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Insert Table 6 about here

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The control variable father's education was important in predicting whether a child would aspire to attend college ( $t = 10.79$ ,  $p = .000$ ). The effect was positive, meaning that the more education the father had the more likely that the child would aspire to attend college. Mother's education was also significant and positively associated ( $t = 6.21$ ,  $p = .000$ ). The more education the mother had the more likely a child would aspire to attend college. Family income had a significant positive effect on whether a child would aspire to attend college ( $t = 7.80$ ,  $p = .000$ ). Children who came from households with a higher family income were more likely to aspire to attend college. The variable two parent households was significant ( $t = 4.23$ ,  $p = .000$ ) in determining a students college aspirations (see Table 6).

Table 6

College Aspirations Main Effects Interactions

Fixed Effect	Coefficient	Standard Error	T-ratio	Approximate Degrees of Freedom	P-value
Intercept 1 B0	1.111095	0.697447	1.593	888	0.111
Mother's Years B1	-0.286345	0.106304	-2.694	5793	0.007**
Father's Years B2	-0.008810	0.103841	-0.085	5793	0.933
Mother's Education B3	0.085686	0.013789	6.214	5793	.000**
Father's Education B4	0.139367	0.012914	10.792	5793	.000**
Father's Income B5	0.138080	0.017694	7.804	5793	.000**
Latinos B6	0.292414	0.369494	0.791	5793	0.429
Native American B7	-3.712161	1.974101	-1.880	5793	0.060
Asian American B8	1.854620	0.765045	2.424	5793	0.016*
Traditional Parental Involvement B9	-0.090376	0.013793	-6.552	5793	.000**
Two Parent Households B10	0.418528	0.098809	4.236	5793	.000**
Extended Family B11	-0.279084	0.218719	-1.276	5793	0.202

p&lt;.05\*; p&lt;.01\*\*

Table 6

College Aspirations Main Effects Interactions (Continued)

Fixed Effect	Estimates	Standard Error	T-ratio	Approximate Degrees of Freedom	P-value
Extended Two Parent Households B12	0.251431	0.248071	1.014	5793	0.311
Parental Advocacy B13	0.026298	0.014042	1.873	5793	0.061
Latino Traditional Parental Involvement B14	0.035298	0.037274	0.947	5793	0.344
Native American Traditional Parental Involvement B15	0.160303	0.213994	0.749	5793	0.454
Asian American Traditional Parental Involvement B16	-0.126159	0.064069	-1.969	5793	.049*
Latino Parental Advocacy B17	0.010186	0.038743	0.263	5793	0.793
Native American Parental Advocacy B18	0.882316	0.389849	2.263	5793	.024*
Asian American Parental Advocacy B19	0.085756	0.056402	1.520	5793	0.128
Latinos Extended Family B20	-0.411344	0.275215	-1.495	5793	0.135
Native American Extended Family B21	-0.857016	0.759485	-1.128	5793	0.260
Asian American Extended Family B22	-0.353836	0.449051	-0.788	5793	0.431

p&lt;.05\*; p&lt;.01\*\*

A HLM model was run at the second level (school level) of the multilevel model. Traditional parental involvement and parental advocacy involvement variables remained in the model at the individual level. School involvement was included in the model at the second level. Results demonstrated that the effect of traditional parental involvement and parental advocacy involvement were not different for schools with different levels of school involvement. The effect of school involvement on college aspirations did not depend on the level of traditional parental involvement ( $t = .558$ ,  $p = .576$ ) and parental advocacy involvement ( $t = .600$ ,  $p = .548$ ). An interaction between traditional involvement and ethnicity was included in this model at the second level. The results demonstrated that the effect of the interaction was not significantly different for schools with different levels of school involvement: Latinos and traditional parental involvement ( $t = -0.582$ ,  $p = .560$ ), Native Americans and traditional parental involvement ( $t = p = .254$ ), and Asian Americans and traditional parental involvement ( $t = .327$ ,  $p = .743$ ). An interaction between parental advocacy involvement and ethnicity was included in the model. The effect of school involvement on college aspirations did not depend on the interaction of parental advocacy involvement and ethnicity: Latinos and parental advocacy involvement ( $t = -0.358$ ,  $p = .720$ ), Native Americans and parental advocacy involvement ( $t = .891$ ,  $p = .373$ ), and Asian Americans and parental advocacy involvement ( $t = -1.09$ ,  $p = .273$ ) (see Table 7).

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Insert Table 7 about here

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Table 7

College Aspirations Main Effects School Level Variables

Fixed Effect	Coefficient	Standard Error	T-ratio	Approximate Degrees of Freedom	P-value
Intercept 1 B0					
Intercept 2 G00	1.260722	0.783004	1.610	887	0.107
School Involvement	-0.008602	0.019186	-0.448	887	0.653
Mother's Years B1	-0.289591	0.107381	-2.697	5793	.007**
Father's Years B2	-0.007176	0.105155	-0.068	5793	0.946
Mother's Education B3	0.085531	0.013825	6.187	5793	.000**
Father's Education B4	0.139332	0.012960	10.751	5793	.000**
Family Income B5	0.138148	0.017692	7.809	5793	.000**
Latinos B6	0.343475	0.371585	0.924	5793	0.356
Native American B7	-3.426358	1.997281	-1.716	5793	0.086
Asian American B8	1.827050	0.789085	2.315	5793	.021*
Traditional Parental Involvement B9	-0.108842	0.035348	-3.079	5792	.003**
School Involvement	0.001148	0.002055	0.558	5792	0.576

p&lt;.05\*; p&lt;.01\*\*

Table 7

College Aspiration Main Effects School Level Variables (Continued)

Fixed Effect	Coefficient	Standard Error	T-Ratio	Approximate Degrees of Freedom	P-value
Two Parent Households B10	0.420367	0.099097	4.242	5793	.000**
Extended Family B11	-0.286453	0.219335	-1.306	5793	0.192
Extended Two Parent Households B12	0.259053	0.248676	1.042	5793	0.298
Advocacy B13	0.005913	0.037532	0.158	5792	0.875
School Involvement	0.001269	0.002115	0.600	5792	0.548
Latino Traditional Parental Involvement B14	0.053249	0.052952	1.006	5792	0.315
School Involvement	-0.001298	0.002230	-0.582	5792	0.560
Native American Traditional Parental Involvement B15	0.709330	0.498045	1.424	5792	0.154
School Involvement	-0.041969	0.036732	-1.143	5792	0.254
Asian American Traditional Parental Involvement B16	-0.152882	0.091816	-1.665	5792	0.096
School Involvement	0.001386	0.004239	0.327	5792	0.743

p&lt;.05\*; p&lt;.01\*\*

Table 7

College Aspiration Main Effects School Level Variables (Continued)

Fixed Effect	Coefficient	Standard Error	T-Ratio	Approximate Degrees of Freedom	P-value
Latino Parental Advocacy B17	0.039075	0.099113	0.394	5792	0.693
School Involvement	-0.001678	0.004689	-0.358	5792	0.720
Native American Parental Advocacy B18	-2.010388	3.152593	-0.638	5792	0.523
School Involvement	0.213047	0.238992	0.891	5792	0.373
Asian American Parental Advocacy B19	0.218947	0.161142	1.359	5792	0.174
School Involvement	-0.006803	0.006197	-1.098	5792	0.273
Latinos Extended Family B20	-0.413442	0.274911	-1.054	5793	0.132
Native American Extended Family B21	-0.793211	0.713614	-1.112	5793	0.267
Asian American Extended Family B22	-0.333842	0.436207	-0.765	5793	0.444

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p<.05\*; p<.01\*\*



### **Parents' Number of Years in the United States and Ethnicity**

An interaction variable between parents' number of years in the United States and ethnicity was used in the analysis. In this study both Asian Americans and Latinos were compared to European Americans. The interaction of parents' number of years in the United States and ethnicity were important in determining if an individual would aspire to attend college in the case of Latino mothers ( $t = 3.076$ ,  $p = .003$ ) and Latino fathers ( $t = 3.633$ ,  $p = .001$ ). This was tested in the larger college aspiration HLM model. The analysis examining the effect of parents' number of years and ethnicity was not significant for Asian American mothers ( $t = -0.606$ ,  $p = .544$ ) or Asian American fathers ( $t = .351$ ,  $p = .725$ ) (see Table 8 & Table 9).

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Insert Table 8 and 9 about here

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#### **4. Does the effect of family structure in a youth's college aspirations depend on ethnicity?**

A HLM model was run at the student level to determine if family structure was important in influencing a student's college aspirations. Parent's education, family income, and two parent households remained in the model as control variables. Ethnic variables and parent's number of years in the United States were left in the model as main effects.

Table 8

College Aspirations Father's Years

Fixed Effect	Estimate	Standard Error	T-ratio	Approximate Degrees of Freedom	P-value
Intercept 1 B0					
Intercept 2 G00	3.903671	0.970197	4.024	893	.000**
Mother's Years in the United States B1	-0.164545	0.089305	-1.843	6388	0.065
Father's Years in the United States B2	-0.248154	0.164354	-1.510	6388	0.131
Latinos B3	-3.893286	1.076121	-3.618	6388	.001**
Asian American B4	0.241377	1.367565	0.177	6388	0.860
Two Parent Households B5	0.569052	0.077138	0.177	6388	.000**
Latino Father's Years in the United States B6	0.575469	0.158417	3.633	6388	.001**
Asian American Father's Years in the United States B7	0.079938	0.227903	0.351	6388	0.725

p&lt;.05\*; p&lt;.01\*\*

Table 9

College Aspirations Mother's Years

Fixed Effect	Estimate	Standard Error	T-ratio	Approximate Degrees of Freedom	P-value
Intercept 1 B0					
Intercept 2 G00	2.823181	0.713971	3.954	893	.000**
Mother's Years in the United States B1	-0.281596	0.124238	-2.267	6388	0.023*
Father's Years in the United States B2	0.023851	0.085083	0.280	6388	0.779
Latinos B3	-2.592012	0.835463	-3.102	6388	.002**
Asian American B4	1.580794	1.225538	1.290	6388	0.197
Two Parent Households B5	0.569585	0.077165	7.381	6388	.000**
Latino Mother's Years in the United States B6	0.383860	0.124807	3.076	6388	.003**
Asian American Mother's Years in the United States B7	-0.129548	0.213680	-0.606	6388	0.544

p&lt;.05\*; p&lt;.01\*\*

Interaction variables between family structure and ethnicity also remained at the individual level of the multimodel. The interaction between extended family and ethnicity was tested and not significant for Latinos ( $t = -1.054$ ,  $p = .132$ ), Native Americans ( $t = -1.112$ ,  $p = .267$ ), or Asian Americans ( $t = -0.765$ ,  $p = .444$ ) (see Table 7).

The control variable, family income was significant, in other words children who came from households with a higher family income were more likely to aspire to attend college ( $t = 7.80$ ,  $p = .000$ ). The control variable, father's education, was significant in determining whether a child would aspire to attend college ( $t = 10.75$ ,  $p = .000$ ). The effect was positive, meaning that the more education the father had, the more likely that the child would aspire to go to college. Mother's education was also significant and positively associated ( $t = 6.18$ ,  $p = .000$ ). The more education the mother had the more likely that the child would aspire to attend college. The variable two parent households was significant ( $t = 4.24$ ,  $p = .000$ ) in determining a students college aspirations (see Table 7).

#### Entrance into and Working in the Labor Force

5. Does the effect of different types of parental involvement in how long a student had worked after high school depend on ethnicity?

There was less data in the number of months worked after high school variable than the other outcome variables. When several of the variables were entered into the model at the same time, variables appeared to be overly related and there were more estimation difficulties. Several final HLM models were run at the individual level of the multimodel to determine if different types of parental involvement would influence a student's decision to enter the labor force and how long they had worked after high school. Depending on the model, traditional parental involvement and parental advocacy involvement variables were included as main effects. Ethnicity variables and parents' number of years in the United States were also included as main effects whenever possible. Family income, two parent households, parents' education were included in most of the

models as controls. Interaction variables involving traditional parental involvement, parental advocacy involvement, and ethnicity were also included.

The effect of different types of parental involvement on entrance into the labor force and how long the student worked after high school did not depend on whether the students were Native Americans, Asian Americans, or Latinos when compared to European Americans. Both the interaction between traditional parental involvement and ethnicity were not significant: Latinos and traditional parental involvement ( $t = .766$ ,  $p = .444$ ), Native Americans and parental involvement ( $t = -0.294$ ,  $p = .768$ ) and, Asian Americans and parental involvement ( $t = -0.924$ ,  $p = .356$ ). Parental advocacy involvement and ethnicity were also not significant: Latinos and parental advocacy ( $t = .769$ ,  $p = .825$ ), Native Americans and parental advocacy ( $t = .769$ ,  $p = .442$ ), and Asian Americans and parental advocacy ( $t = .973$ ,  $p = .331$ ) (see Tables 10 & 11).

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Insert Table 10 and 11 about here

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The control variable father's education was significant and had a positive association with number of months worked in the labor force ( $t = 2.08$ ,  $p = .036$ ). The more education a father had the more frequently the student worked after high school. Mother's education was not significant ( $t = -0.824$ ,  $p = .410$ ). In other words, number of months worked after high school did not depend on the level of education a student's mother received. Family income was not significant ( $t = -1.10$ ,  $p = .271$ ). Different household incomes were not important factors in explaining how long a student worked in the labor force. The variable two parent households was not significant ( $t = -1.12$ ,  $p = .262$ ) in determining whether a student would enter the labor force and how long the student would work (see Table 10).



Table 10

Work Main Effects Interaction Variable

Fixed Effect	Estimate	Standard Error	T-ratio	Approximate Degrees of Freedom	P-value
Intercept 1					
Intercept 2 G00	9.467408	0.654344	14.469	103	.000**
Mother's Years B1	0.099067	0.068869	1.438	1410	0.150
Father's Years B2	-0.086261	0.063926	-1.349	1410	0.177
Mother's Education B3	-0.007058	0.008564	-0.824	1410	0.410
Father's Education B4	0.009271	0.004439	2.089	1410	0.036*
Family Income B5	-0.007869	0.007136	-1.103	1410	0.271
Latinos B6	-0.014389	0.074286	-0.194	1410	0.847
Native American B7	0.005580	0.035228	0.158	1410	0.875
Asian American B8	-0.169827	0.198797	-0.854	1410	0.393
Two Parent Households B9	-0.056307	0.050184	-1.122	1410	0.262
Extended Family B10	-0.052922	0.049950	-1.060	1410	0.290

p < .05\*, p < .01\*\*

Table 10

Work Main Effects Interaction Variable (Continued)

Fixed Effect	Estimate	Standard Error	T-ratio	Approximate Degrees of Freedom	P-value
Extended Two Parent Households B11	0.148286	0.075281	1.970	1410	0.048*
Advocacy B12	-0.001953	0.005237	-0.373	1410	0.709
Latino Advocacy B13	0.001651	0.007445	0.222	1410	0.825
Native American Advocacy B14	0.003530	0.004588	0.769	1410	0.442
Asian American Advocacy B15	0.036268	0.037259	0.973	1410	0.331

p < .05\*; p < .01\*\*



Table 11

Work Traditional / Ethnic Interaction

Fixed Effect	Estimate	Standard Error	T-ratio	Approximate Degrees of Freedom	P-value
Intercept 1					
Intercept 2 G00	9.542953	0.659496	14.470	103	.000**
Latinos B1	-0.115806	0.140762	-0.823	1410	0.411
Native American B2	0.068221	0.172774	0.395	1410	0.693
Asian American B3	0.539980	0.608194	0.888	1410	0.375
Traditional Parental Involvement B4	-0.009821	0.011333	-0.867	1410	0.386
Latino Traditional Parental Involvement B5	0.009154	0.011954	0.766	1410	0.444
Native American Traditional Parental Involvement B6	-0.005068	0.017221	-0.294	1410	0.768
Asian American Traditional Parental Involvement B7	-0.073332	0.079380	-0.924	1410	0.356

p&lt;.05\*, p&lt;.01\*\*

6. Does the effect of family structure in how long a student had worked after high school depend on ethnicity?

A HLM model was run at the individual level to examine if family structure was important in a student decision to enter the labor force and how long they had worked after high school. Control variables such as family income, two parent households, mothers' education, and fathers' education were included in the model. Ethnic variables and mothers' years in the United States and fathers' years in the United States were included in the model as main effects. The interaction variables between extended family and ethnicity were included in the model.

The effect of extended family on entrance into the labor or how long a student had been working after high school did not depend on whether the students were Latino, Native American, or Asian American when compared to European Americans: Latino and extended family ( $t = .166$ ,  $p = .869$ ), Native Americans ( $t = -1.61$ ,  $p = .105$ ), and Asian Americans ( $t = 1.33$ ,  $p = .181$ ) (See Table 12).

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Insert Table 12 about here

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The control variable family income was not significant. A family's income did not determine how long a student would be working after high school ( $t = -1.29$ ,  $p = .195$ ). Mothers' education was not significant ( $t = -0.789$ ,  $p = .430$ ). Mothers' education was not an important indicator of how long a student would be working after high school. Father's education was significant and had a positive association ( $t = 2.13$ ,  $p = .033$ ). The more education a father had the more frequently the student worked after high school. The variable two parent households was not significant ( $t = -1.23$ ,  $p = .218$ ) in determining whether a student would enter the labor force and how long the student would work (see Table 12).

Table 12

Work Main Effects Family Structure Variables

Fixed Effect	Coefficient	Standard Error	T-ratio	Approximate Degrees of Freedom	P-value
Intercept 1					
Intercept 2 G00	9.628580	0.681695	14.124	103	.000**
Mother's Years B1	0.095456	0.065748	1.452	1410	0.146
Father's Years B2	-0.083336	0.059603	-1.398	1410	0.162
Mother's Education B3	-0.006570	0.008328	-0.789	1410	0.430
Father's Education B4	0.009331	0.004381	2.130	1410	.033*
Family Income B5	-0.010259	0.007919	-1.296	1410	0.195
Latinos B6	-0.017595	0.073143	-0.241	1410	0.810
Native Americans B7	0.027263	0.029807	0.915	1410	0.361
Asian Americans B8	-0.100457	0.111603	-0.900	1410	0.368
Traditional Parental Involvement B9	-0.014886	0.009428	-1.579	1410	0.114
Two Parent Households B10	-0.064571	0.052435	-1.231	1410	0.218

$p < .05^*$ ;  $p < .01^{**}$

Table 12

Work Main Effects Family Structure Variables (Continued)

Fixed Effect	Coefficient	Standard Error	T-ratio	Approximate Degrees of Freedom	P-value
Extended Family B11	-0.057206	0.054033	-1.059	1410	0.290
Extended Two Parent Households B12	0.142306	0.072939	1.951	1410	0.051
Latinos Extended Family B13	0.010103	0.060916	0.166	1410	0.869
Native American Extended Family B14	-0.116119	0.071799	-1.617	1410	0.105
Asian American Extended Family B15	0.163702	0.122239	1.339	1410	0.181

p &lt; .05\*; p &lt; .01\*\*

## CHAPTER V

### DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

#### Discussion

Previous research has demonstrated that traditional parental involvement and parental advocacy have been important factors in influencing high school completion and college aspirations in European Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans (Delgado-Gaitan, 1988; Epstein, 1995; Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Reyhner, 1991, 1992). Such studies have demonstrated that parents' participation is essential to their student's success in education. In addition, these studies have identified factors such as cultural differences, family income, parents' education, parents' years in the United States as important to a student's high school completion and college aspirations.

More specifically, the framework used in this study illustrates the importance of the ecological interrelationship between the family and educational system embedded within the contextual framework of social capital. Different types of parental involvement and family structures serve as measures of social capital at the student level, and school involvement represents social capital at the school level. These concepts provide a basis for understanding how social capital within an ecological setting will explain high school completion, college aspirations, and entrance into the labor force and how long a student works after high school.

This study contributes to the literature by providing an explanation for the importance of the ecological relationship between family systems and educational systems through the use of social capital. Furthermore, this study contributes to the literature by providing empirical research on school involvement on student's high school completion and college aspirations. It also provides empirical research on how school involvement differs for different ethnic minority groups. In addition this study contributes to the scarce literature that has examined different types of parental involvement and how they effect a

student's entrance to the labor force and how long they had worked in the labor force based on the student's ethnicity.

### High School Completion

#### Parental Involvement

Did the effect of parental involvement on an adolescent's high school completion depend on ethnicity?

The high school completion model at the student level demonstrated that both traditional parental involvement and parental advocacy involvement were significant. In other words, a parent's participation does make a difference in whether or not an adolescent completes high school. This finding supported previous literature that demonstrated that different types of parental involvement are important indicators of whether or not a student completes high school (Chavkin & Williams 1993; Epstein, 1995).

In addition, the results extend the scarce empirical research that examines the importance of traditional parental involvement and parental advocacy involvement with Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos. Specifically, these significant findings provide a basis for research that will continue to examine the importance of the family context in a child's education. This research should take an ecological approach that would explore the interrelations between the microsystem, youth and their families, and the mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem, which would include educational systems, PTO, and other school and parent organizations.

The main effects of traditional parental involvement, parental advocacy involvement, and ethnicity will not be reported because there was an interaction between the different forms of parental involvement and ethnicity. In other words, the interactions will be reported not on the main effects. In this case, the relationship between traditional parental involvement and high school completion was different for Asian Americans when compared to European Americans. The relationship between traditional involvement and

high school completion was stronger for Asian Americans than European Americans. Traditional parental involvement was a better predictor of high school completion for Asian Americans than for European Americans, Native Americans, and Latinos. Research has demonstrated that Asian American parents are in accordance with the educational system about the importance of traditional parental involvement, thus explaining the stronger effect of traditional parental involvement (Yao, 1993).

The relationship between parental advocacy and high school completion was different for Latinos when compared to European Americans. The relationship between parental advocacy involvement and high school completion was stronger for European Americans than Latinos. A possible explanation for these findings is that, although Latino parents have a strong value in education being *bien educado* (well educated), perhaps taking the advocate role has not been a method of their involvement. Previous literature has found that Latino parents have differed with educational systems because of cultural differences such as language and socialization philosophies, specifically in education which could explain the reduced effect of parental involvement (Delgado-Gaitan, 1991; Shannon, 1996).

For Asian Americans the relationship between parental advocacy and high school completion was different when compared to European Americans. The relationship between parental advocacy and high school completion was stronger for Asian Americans when compared to European Americans. This finding could be explained by previous research that found Asian American culture to strongly value education dating back to Asia, thus this belief is in accordance with the educational system explaining the stronger effect of parental advocacy involvement (Yao, 1993).

For Native Americans, the relationship between parental advocacy and high school completion was not significant. This can be explained by the lack of a strong relationship between educational systems and Native American families. Historically, this relationship

was marked by a disregard for Native American family values and educational beliefs (Reyhner, 1992).

After controlling for traditional parental involvement and parent advocacy involvement at the student level, the relationship between high school completion and school involvement did not depend on ethnicity. A possible explanation for this outcome is that there is a need to develop a stronger relationship between families and educational systems. Despite the nonsignificant results, this study provides empirical data on school involvement that has rarely been explored in previous research. Thus, the nature of these findings suggests the need for future research between school involvement and the family. Specifically, this research should examine the ways in which school personnel (e.g. administrators and teachers) interact with families to develop a strong environment for effective school involvement.

Findings from the study demonstrated that social capital provided by parents of various ethnic groups is essential to their student's high school completion even when some cases are a reaction to their student's academic struggles. In other cases, parents have become their students' advocate to secure their students' educational success. Parents provide social capital in the form of different types of parental involvement. This study has reinforced the research that states that there is a need to continue to develop an ecological relationship between ethnic minority family systems and educational systems. For example some research has provided examples of how to develop that partnership through parental involvement and incorporating cultural sensitivity into the school curriculum (Chavkin & Gonzalez, 1995).

### Family Structure

Did the effect of family structure on an adolescent's high school completion depend on ethnicity?

Main effects for family structure and ethnicity will not be reported because there was an interaction between family structure and ethnicity. The association between



extended family and high school completion was different for Native Americans as compared to European Americans. The relationship between extended family and high school completion was less strong for Native Americans than European Americans. The effect of extended family was less predictive of high school completion for Native Americans than European Americans, Asian Americans and Latinos. These findings were not consistent with the literature that has often found Native American extended families as a support network for families, with the children (Red Horse, 1980). All the students who lived in a household, which included at least one extended family member, were less likely to graduate. Although the findings were inconsistent with previous research, the findings are an important contribution for future research on the interaction between Native American family support networks, a child's education, and educational systems.

This study demonstrated the importance of family to a student's success in high school. Although the challenges might vary depending on family type, the need to understand family dynamics within a cultural context is essential to develop the connection between family systems and educational systems. In addition, this study contributes to the literature by providing a basis for future research to examine how different family structures influence students within different ethnic groups. This research should focus on the ways in which different ethnic groups define family and what they interpret as culturally appropriate involvement with different educational systems. Furthermore, the present study contributes to the literature by providing an argument for social capital and how it should be interpreted as family involvement, and not parental involvement.

### **Control Variables**

The analysis demonstrated that both mother's and father's education was significant. A possible explanation for the positive association between parents' education and high school completion is that both parents are more familiar with educational systems and can access resources that students need to complete high school. Another explanation is that students might interpret their parents' educational success as a goal for their own

education. Both of these explanation have been cited in previous research (Rumberger, 1995). Similar to parents' education, family income was significant and is a factor that has been documented in the literature that effects high school completion (Fernandez, Paulsen, & Hirano-Nakanishi, 1989). Students who came from higher income families often had resources or access to resources to promote their educational success.

The results also demonstrate that two parent households were significant in a student's decision to complete high school. A possible explanation for the positive association is that the student has the support of both parents. Another explanation could be that both parents share in the responsibilities of their adolescent's educational success.

The findings show that parents' education, two parent households, and family income were important factors in whether a student would complete high school. These findings are consistent with previous investigations (Rumberger, 1983, 1987). However, it is noteworthy to discuss the ecological contributions of these findings to the literature and the importance of future research to understanding the ecological relationship between students, their families, and their educational systems.

Parents with more education demonstrated that they have been successful in the United States educational system and can serve as role models for their students to complete high school, particularly in two parent households. Often these parents have a better command of how the educational system works based of their own experience. These parents demonstrate their willingness to manipulate the available resources so that their children will succeed in education. Furthermore, parents with more education often have a support network that could be instrumental in helping their children succeed in education. For example, parents might not fully understand the financial aid system, but they may know of other parents with more experience that would be willing to assist them.

This study demonstrated that households with a higher income could access essential resources from the educational systems for students to succeed in high school. Accessing resources enabled families to establish relationships with educational systems that

benefited their students. For example, households with a higher income would have the financial resources to be able to register their children in college preparatory courses so that their children will have a better opportunity in to be accepted into college.

### **College Aspirations**

#### **Parental Involvement**

Did the effect of different types of parental involvement on an adolescent's college aspirations depend on ethnicity?

The main effects of traditional parental involvement, parental advocacy involvement and ethnicity will not be reported because there were interactions between the different types of parental involvement and college aspirations.

The associations between traditional parental involvement and college aspirations was different for Asian Americans than European Americans. The relationship between traditional parental involvement and college aspirations was stronger for European Americans than Asian Americans. A possible explanation for these findings is that although Asian American parents do have a strong value in education, perhaps taking the traditional parental involvement role has not been important in motivating their students to continue on to college. These results reinforce previous literature that has found educational success, particularly college aspirations, to be an important cultural value in Asian American families, not necessarily based on a parent's involvement (Matute-Bianchi, 1986). In other words parent involvement had more an effect on college aspirations for European Americans, Native Americans, and Latinos.

The relationship between parental advocacy involvement and college aspirations was different for Native Americans when compared to European Americans. Parental advocacy involvement was more predictive of college aspirations for Native Americans than it was for European Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos. Previous research has demonstrated that the effect of parental advocacy involvement on college aspirations

is more important for Native Americans. This could possibly be explained by the cultural value of collectivism or interdependence of the Native American community who believe in contributing and being actively involved with their family members (Leveque, 1994). This study contributes to this scarce body of literature by providing a basis for an ecological relationship between Native American families and educational systems through parental advocacy involvement. Specifically, this research should examine the importance of Native American socialization throughout children's educational development and the ways in which socialization provides valuable insights into Native American culture. These insights would assist school teachers and administrators in developing a more culturally sensitive curriculum that would encompass the Native American family, community, and educational systems.

After controlling for traditional parental involvement and parental advocacy involvement at the student level, the relationship of school involvement to college aspirations did not depend on ethnicity. Research has found that the effect of school involvement ultimately depends on the reciprocal relationship between parents and schools which is essential to secure students academic success (Chavkin & Williams, 1993).

Previous research has found that different types of parental involvement have been significant in a student's decision to aspire to attend college. The findings of this study were in accordance with previous research for European Americans (Epstein, 1995), Asian Americans (Yao, 1993), Native Americans (Reyhner, 1991), and Latinos (Chavkin & Williams, 1993), and contribute to the literature by stressing the importance of school involvement. The reasons why parents were involved in this decision were quite varied. The importance of parental involvement lies in the relationship that parents' have developed with the educational system. Social capital enabled them to develop a stronger bond between the two contexts that benefited the students. The present findings demonstrate a need to develop relationships between family contexts and educational

contexts. In this way, social capital would be reciprocated between the families and educational systems.

### **Family Structure**

Did the effect of family structure in an adolescent's college aspirations depend on ethnicity?

The interaction between family structure and ethnicity was not statistically significant. In particular, the relationship between extended family and college aspirations did not depend on ethnicity. A possible explanation for this could be that different ethnic families and their extended family are not as familiar with the educational system and are not able to access resources to help their students prepare themselves for college. These results support previous research that has found that despite an extended family member in the household there is still a lack of communication between the family and the educational system (Reyhner, 1992; Delgado-Gaitan, 1990).

This study contributed to the literature by demonstrating the importance of family systems in a student's aspirations to continue their education beyond high school. Although the challenges vary depending on family type, the need to understand family dynamics within a cultural context is essential to further develop the connection between family systems and educational systems. This connection will enable the students to develop the confidence and skills to continue their education beyond high school.

### **Control Variables**

Results demonstrated that both parents' education were significant. These findings are consistent with previous literature that found a positive association between parent's education and college aspirations (Duran & Weffer, 1992; Hauser & Anderson, 1991). Perhaps both parents were more familiar with the educational system and could have accessed resources that students needed to continue their education beyond high school. Furthermore, students might have interpreted their parents' educational success as a goal for their own education and aspired to attend college (Duran & Weffer, 1992; Hauser &

Anderson, 1991). Family income was a factor that effected college aspirations; this finding is also consistent with previous literature (Reyhner, 1991; Rumberger, 1990; Valverde, 1987). Often students who came from higher income families had the resources or access to resources to promote their educational success.

Moreover, consistent with parents' education and family income two parent households was significant in a student's college aspirations. A possible explanation is that both parents provided an environment for their adolescent to continue their education beyond high school. These findings are consistent with previous research (Rumberger, 1990).

These findings contribute to the previous literature by providing a contextual picture of how these variables could influence a students college aspirations. For example, parents with more education demonstrated success in the United States educational system and they served as role models for their students to aspire to continue their education beyond college. This study found that households with a higher income could access essential resources from the educational systems. By accessing those resources, families were able to establish relationships with educational systems that benefited their students. Furthermore, the students were able to build academic skills and confidence to aspire to continue their education beyond high school.

### Entrance into and Working in the Labor Force

#### Parental Involvement

Did the effect of different types of parental involvement in a student's decision to enter the labor force and how long they had worked after high school depend on ethnicity?

This model, at the student level, demonstrated that parental advocacy involvement and traditional parental involvement were not significant in predicting whether a student would enter the labor force and length of time worked after high school regardless of a student's ethnic background. A possible explanation for this is that the sample size was small, and problems with the analysis could be attributed to a lack of statistical power.

Despite the limitations of the data analysis, this study contributed to the literature by interpreting and exploring the ecological relationship of students choosing to work, and the time they worked after high school graduation, and how family and educational systems can influence their decision. Based on the findings, it was not clear how social capital would contribute to the student's decision to work, rather than attend college.

### Family Structure

Did the effect of family structure in a student's decision to enter the labor force and how long they had worked after high school depend on ethnicity?

The interaction between extended family and ethnicity was not significant. A possible explanation for this is that the sample size was small and problems with the analysis could be attributed to a lack of statistical power. Due to the limitation of the data analysis the ecological relationship between the family and the educational system warrants more exploration as to why students choose to go to work.

### Control Variables

Fathers' education was significant and had a positive effect in predicting whether a student would enter the labor force and length of work in the labor force after high school graduation. A possible explanation for this result is that the student might feel no pressure to select a career after high school or attend college because their father is established. Mothers' education, two parent households and family income were not significant in predicting whether a student would enter the labor force or how long they had worked in the labor force. The lack of power in the analysis could be an explanation of why these variables were not significant. Furthermore, the ecological relationship between a family's income, two parent households, parents' education and working in the labor force warrant more exploration. Examinations of how these factors influence a student to work and how long the student has worked rather than attend college is important.

## **Parents' Years in the United States and Ethnicity**

### **High School Completion**

The results of this analysis are based on the Latino and Asian American group with the European American group as the comparison. The findings show that parents' number of years in the United States and ethnicity was only significant in predicting whether an individual would complete high school for Asian Americans specifically, Asian American mothers. Literature on this finding has been inconsistent. Previous research demonstrates that generation and ethnicity do not influence high school completion (Buriel & Cardoza, 1988). On the other hand, there is a body of literature that argues that recent immigrants aspire to complete high school because they want to be successful in the United States and they see education as an avenue to success (Ogbu, 1982; 1987; 1992). Their American Latino counterparts have become disillusioned with the United States educational system because previous family generations were not successful in their education (Buriel & Cardoza, 1988; Ogbu, 1982; 1987; 1992). Research with Asian Americans yields different findings (Hsia & Nakanishi, 1989). Recent Asian immigrants, similar to Latino immigrants, view education as a vehicle to success in the United States. However, for their American counterparts education has been a means to success. This includes Japanese and Chinese Americans. Groups such as Vietnamese Americans and other Southeast Asian Americans have struggled with the United States educational system and have not been as successful as Japanese and Chinese Americans (Hsia & Nakanishi, 1989).

### **College Aspirations**

The results of this analysis are based on the Latino and Asian American group with the European American group as the comparison. The model demonstrated that Latino fathers' and mothers' years in the United States were important in determining college aspirations. Previous literature has been inconsistent (Buriel & Cardoza, 1988; Ogbu, 1987). Some research has argued that factors other than generation, such as parent's



education, family income, and student's self motivation to succeed are more important in explaining why a student aspires to continue their education beyond high school (Rumberger, 1987). Other researchers argue that both recent immigrants and their American counterparts aspire to continue their education beyond high school (Buriel & Cardoza, 1988). However, recent immigrants, including Latino and Asian American groups, have not become disillusioned with the United States educational system and see themselves in college, while their American counterparts feel that they do not have adequate resources to prepare themselves to attend college (Buriel & Cardoza, 1988).

#### Entrance into and Working in the Labor Force

There was less data on this outcome variable than high school completion and college aspirations. Problems with highly intercorrelated variables caused estimation difficulties. Main effects of fathers' years and mothers' years in the United States were successfully fitted and proved to be nonsignificant. The main effects of ethnicity were successfully fitted and proved to be nonsignificant. Thus, one could hypothesize that parents' years in the United States were not important indicators of predicting whether a student would enter the labor force and how long they would have worked after high school regardless of ethnic background.

#### Limitations

A limitation of this study was the use of a secondary data set; the actual exposure to the respondents did not take place. Exposure to respondents would have provided a perspective on their feelings and reactions to the questions and purpose of the study. Moreover, actual exposure to the respondents would have provided an environment and opportunity for follow up studies with certain subsamples of the larger sample. These follow up studies would focus on family and educational issues not covered in the NELS secondary data set. Furthermore, a limitation of the secondary data was that the researcher was limited to the variables and measures provided by the data set.

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Another limitation of the study was that only specific questions were pulled from the data set rather than entire instruments and questionnaires possibly leaving out important concepts. This study was limited because all the questions asked to the respondents were objective in nature. Although yes or no questions are important, these question do not give a rich picture of cultural values and beliefs that a qualitative analysis would had provided.

Missing data could also be considered a limitation. Multicollinearity occurred throughout the analysis process thus causing estimation problems as well increasing missing data and affecting cell size in several of the analyses. This was especially true with the outcome variable entrance into the labor force and time working in the labor force. The question of entrance into the labor force, more specifically the actual time the student had worked after high school, might have been limiting since they were the only items available on the data set. The data set did not have a question that specifically asked if a student aspired to enter the labor force rather than attend college.

The NELS data set focused on mothers and did not really explore the father or father figure's involvement in his adolescent's education. The sample on stepparents and other adult figures that were not blood related comprised a small portion of the study, thus limiting the study to biological parents.

The number of Mexican Americans in the Latino sample was high, as in other nationally representative samples. To learn more about other Latinos in this study, such as Puerto Ricans, and Cuban Americans, the groups with smaller percentages could had been over sampled thus putting Puerto Rican and Cuban Americans at the same level with Mexican Americans in the Latino sample.

Another limitation of the study is that the NELS data set fails to measure familial involvement. The importance of other family members such as grandparents, possible older siblings, and extended family could serve as a support network in the adolescent's education.

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### **Implications**

**The influence of the family on an adolescent's educational aspirations and success in life must be acknowledged. Positive parental involvement with schools and communities must be encouraged. Schools should implement a process that will merge educational institutions with family support systems to foster improvement in the education and general well being of young people. To assure the educational success of Native American, Asian Americans, Latino, and European American children familial inclusion is essential. The contextual coalition between families, schools, ethnic communities, and the larger community will be the cornerstone of the future generations. The importance of collectivism continues to move towards the forefront with larger communities, ethnic communities, and families facing the lack of resources. Furthermore, because of the lack of resources, competitiveness can lead only to a bipolar society.**

**Future research should investigate whether existing measures of parental involvement are accurate measures of ethnic minority groups discussed in this study and effects on high school completion, college aspirations, and entrance into the labor force. Those measures should be based within the cultural context of that specific ethnic minority family, and they should provide a basis for understanding the importance of family involvement in a child's education. In other words when these measures are developed they should use a culturally sensitive lens. For example, as discussed in this study they should consider how ethnic groups define education and how this effects parental involvement. Furthermore, when developing the measures it would be important to include professionals who understand the specific culture that is being studied. These professionals would be instrumental in developing cultural sensitivity questions to be used in the measures. In addition, once the measures have been developed they should be updated and refined for regional, gender and age differences within the specific ethnic minority group being studied.**

**This study focused on specific variables such as parents' education, family income, and parents' years in the United States and the relation to high school completion, college aspirations, and entrance into the labor force based on different ethnic groups. Future research should examine other factors that could be important in determining the educational success of a student. In the case of Native American students and their families, factors such as interaction with the Native American community, teaching methods, tracking of students, inappropriate curriculums, inappropriate testing, culturally sensitive teachers, and staff should be considered to provide a more holistic picture of a Native American student's experience.**

**Future research should examine other factors that are important in determining whether Latino and Asian American students will be successful in education. Factors such as language differences between these groups and how language influences high school completion, college aspirations, and entrance into the labor force would be a warranted investigation.**

**Future research should also focus on how Latino and Asian American communities influence and promote the success of youth. It would be important to examine the influences of religious organizations, community based centers, and parental involvement on high school completion, college aspirations, and entrance into the labor force.**

**Further investigations are also warranted on how factors such as culturally sensitive teaching methods, and bilingual teachers can influence a student's educational success. It would be noteworthy to explore how these factors effect high school completion, college aspirations, and entrance into the labor force particularly with Asian Americans and Latinos. Future research should also explore the process of tracking, and if it had a positive or negative effect on high school completion, college aspirations, and entrance into the labor force with different ethnic groups.**

**The variable student's grades was not used in the analysis to determine how this influences a student's high school completion, college aspirations, and entrance into the**

labor force. Future research with this variable would be noteworthy in explaining how a student's grades would be related to parental involvement and whether this would have an influence on high school completion, college aspirations, and entrance into the labor force.

Although this study did have a measure of parents' number of years in the United States and gave some explanation for generational effects this would be an area that warrants further research. Acculturation measures and generational models would especially be conducive to describing the relationship between Latino, Asian Americans and educational systems. These models would help explain the generational differences within Latinos and Asian Americans, which have a varied effect on educational outcomes.

In conclusion, this study provides a valuable source of literature that has continued the exploration of parental involvement. By incorporating an ecological approach and grounding the framework with social capital theory, the current research demonstrated the possibilities of future contextual relationships between families, schools, and communities.

This study demonstrated that a coalition among families, schools, and communities is simply not enough. Rather, the goal of the current investigation was to provide valuable information to future relationships between families, schools, and communities. Thus, the beginning of this exploration included a nationally representative sample. Another important aspect of this study was to demonstrate the weaknesses and strengths of previous research to be able to make an appropriate paradigm shift. This study provided a basis for this paradigm shift to secure the educational success of future generations.

This study demonstrated how parental involvement should be reevaluated to include multiple components. These components would include family involvement and community involvement, which are integral components in relationship among families, schools, and communities. As stressed in the study, families including extended and fictive kin and communities including ethnic, religious, social, and political are participants in the impact of adolescent's education.

The new paradigm would have to incorporate a variety of participants to allow ownership of the education that an adolescent would receive. In other words, adolescents' formal education would no longer be the task and responsibility of schools. This study provided the necessary information that would begin to establish the essential steps to establish this paradigm shift

Furthermore, this present study also demonstrated that in order for a successful paradigm shift, the larger society would have to make the shift to the collective mode of educating. Moreover, this study asserts the ways in which the inclusion of non middle class values is essential to this paradigm shift. The inclusion of culturally diverse values would be essential to this success.

This study provides valuable information that would argue that the new paradigm would have to provide professional staff that could work with the different players on a fulltime basis. Developing a strong relationship among families, schools, and communities can no longer be a part time endeavor of a few dedicated teachers, parents, and community members.



## Appendix 1

## Appendix 1

### GENERAL HLM MODEL

Logistic level (Student level or First level)

$$\ln \left( \frac{p_{ij}}{1 - p_{ij}} \right) = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1ij} (\text{Traditional Parental Involvement}) + \beta_{2ij} (\text{Parent Advocacy Parental Involvement}) + \beta_{3ij} (\text{Latino}) + \beta_{4ij} (\text{Native American}) + \beta_{5ij} (\text{Asian American}) + \beta_{6ij} (\text{Family Structure}) + \beta_{7ij} (\text{Traditional Parental Involvement X Latino}) + \beta_{8ij} (\text{Traditional Parental Involvement X Native American}) + \beta_{9ij} (\text{Traditional Parental Involvement X Asian American}) + \beta_{10ij} (\text{Advocacy Parental Involvement X Latino}) + \beta_{11ij} (\text{Advocacy Parental Involvement X Native American}) + \beta_{12ij} (\text{Advocacy Parental Involvement X Asian American}) + \beta_{13ij} (\text{Motheryears X Latino}) + \beta_{14ij} (\text{Motheryears X Native American}) + \beta_{15ij} (\text{Motheryears X Asian American}) + \beta_{16ij} (\text{Fatheryears X Latino}) + \beta_{17ij} (\text{Fatheryears X Native American}) + \beta_{18ij} (\text{Fatheryears X Asian American}) + \beta_{19ij} (\text{Extended Family X Latino}) + \beta_{20ij} (\text{Extended Family X Native American}) + \beta_{21ij} (\text{Extended Family X Asian American}) + \beta_{22ij} (\text{Two Parent Household X Latino}) + \beta_{23ij} (\text{Two Parent Household X Native American}) + \beta_{24ij} (\text{Two Parent Household X Asian American}) + \beta_{25ij} (\text{Extended Family X Two Parent Household X Latino}) + \beta_{26ij} (\text{Extended Family X Two Parent Household X Native American}) + \beta_{27ij} (\text{Extended Family X Two Parent Household X Asian American}) + \beta_{28ij} (\text{Family Income}) + \beta_{29ij} (\text{Mother Education}) + \beta_{30ij} (\text{Father Education}) + r_{ij}$$

Sec

$\beta_{0j}$

$\beta_{1j}$

$\beta_{2j}$

$\beta_{3j}$

$\beta_{4j}$

$\beta_{5j} =$

$\beta_{6j} =$

$\beta_{7j} =$

$\beta_{8j} =$

$\beta_{9j} =$

$\beta_{10j}$

$\beta_{11j}$

$\beta_{12j}$

$\beta_{13j}$

$\beta_{14j}$

$\beta_{15j}$

$\beta_{16j}$

$\beta_{17j}$

$\beta_{18j}$

**Second level (Model at school level)**

$$\beta_{0j} = \delta_{0o} + u_{0j}$$

$$\beta_{1j} = \delta_{1o} + u_{1j}$$

$$\beta_{2j} = \delta_{2o} + u_{2j}$$

$$\beta_{3j} = \delta_{3o}$$

$$\beta_{4j} = \delta_{4o}$$

$$\beta_{5j} = \delta_{5o}$$

$$\beta_{6j} = \delta_{6o}$$

$$\beta_{7j} = \delta_{7o}$$

$$\beta_{8j} = \delta_{8o}$$

$$\beta_{9j} = \delta_{9o}$$

$$\beta_{10j} = \delta_{10o}$$

$$\beta_{11j} = \delta_{11o}$$

$$\beta_{12j} = \delta_{12o}$$

$$\beta_{13j} = \delta_{13o}$$

$$\beta_{14j} = \delta_{14o}$$

$$\beta_{15j} = \delta_{15o}$$

$$\beta_{16j} = \delta_{16o}$$

$$\beta_{17j} = \delta_{17o}$$

$$\beta_{18j} = \delta_{18o}$$

$$\beta\ 19j = \delta 19o$$

$$\beta\ 20j = \delta 20o$$

$$\beta\ 21j = \delta 21o$$

$$\beta\ 22j = \delta 22o$$

$$\beta\ 23j = \delta 23o$$

$$\beta\ 24j = \delta 24o$$

$$\beta 25j = \delta 25o$$

$$\beta 26j = \delta 26o$$

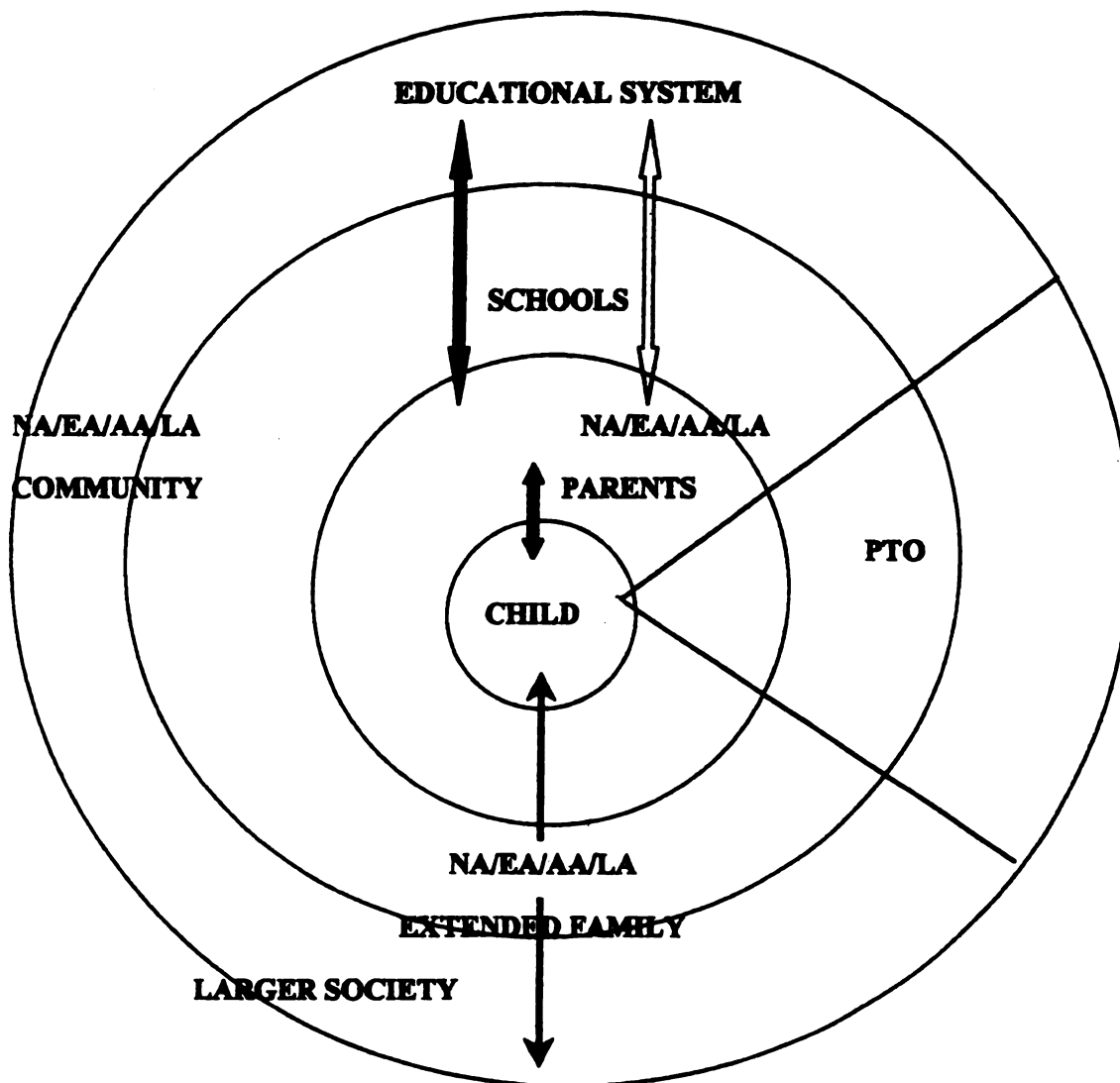
$$\beta\ 27j = \delta 27o$$

$$\beta\ 28j = \delta 28o$$

$$\beta\ 29j = \delta 29o$$

## Appendix 2

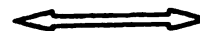
Appendix 2  
Conceptual Model



Native American/Asian American/European American/Latino Parent  
Interaction with Child



Social Capital: Parent Advocate Involvement  
Belong to PTO – Attend PTO – Participate in PTO –



Influence School Policies

Social Capital: Traditional Parental Involvement  
Going to School Activities – Help with Homework –  
Go to Parent/Teacher Meetings



NA = Native American EA = European American AA = Asian American LA = Latino

## Appendix 3





**MICHIGAN STATE  
UNIVERSITY**

May 27, 1998

TO: Francisco A. Villarruel  
ICYP  
2 Paolucci Bldg

RE: IRB#: 98-325  
TITLE: NATIVE AMERICAN, LATINO, ASIAN AMERICAN &  
EUROPEAN AMERICAN PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT AND THEIR  
CHILDREN'S HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETION, COLLEGE  
ASPIRATIONS & ENTERING THE WORKFORCE  
REVISION REQUESTED: N/A  
CATEGORY: 1-E  
APPROVAL DATE: 05/21/98

The University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects' (UCRIHS) review of this project is complete. I am pleased to advise that the rights and welfare of the human subjects appear to be adequately protected and methods to obtain informed consent are appropriate. Therefore, the UCRIHS approved this project and any revisions listed above.

**RENEWAL:** UCRIHS approval is valid for one calendar year, beginning with the approval date shown above. Investigators planning to continue a project beyond one year must use the green renewal form (enclosed with the original approval letter or when a project is renewed) to seek updated certification. There is a maximum of four such expedited renewals possible. Investigators wishing to continue a project beyond that time need to submit it again for complete review.

**REVISIONS:** UCRIHS must review any changes in procedures involving human subjects, prior to initiation of the change. If this is done at the time of renewal, please use the green renewal form. To revise an approved protocol at any other time during the year, send your written request to the UCRIHS Chair, requesting revised approval and referencing the project's IRB # and title. Include in your request a description of the change and any revised instruments, consent forms or advertisements that are applicable.

**PROBLEMS/  
CHANGES:**

Should either of the following arise during the course of the work, investigators must notify UCRIHS promptly: (1) problems (unexpected side effects, complaints, etc.) involving human subjects or (2) changes in the research environment or new information indicating greater risk to the human subjects than existed when the protocol was previously reviewed and approved.

If we can be of any future help, please do not hesitate to contact us at (517) 355-2180 or FAX (517) 432-1171.

Sincerely,

David E. Wright, Ph.D.  
UCRIHS Chair

DEW:bed

cc: Ruben Viramontez



OFFICE OF  
RESEARCH  
AND  
GRADUATE  
STUDIES

University Committee on  
Research Involving  
Human Subjects  
(UCRIS)

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## Appendix 4

## Appendix 4

### Original NELS Codebook Questions

#### TRADITIONAL PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

Since the beginning of this school year, has either of your parents or guardians done any of the following? (MARK ONE EACH)

- BYS37A Attended a school meeting
- BYS37B Phoned or spoken to your teacher or counselor
- BYS37C Visited your classes
- BYS37D Attended a school event such as a play, concert, gym exhibit, sports competition, honor ceremony or science fair where YOU participated

69. How often do you or your spouse/partner help your eighth grader with his or her homework? (MARK ONE)

#### ADVOCATE PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements concerning your eighth grader's school? (MARK ONE EACH)

- BYP74A The school places a high priority on learning
- BYP74B The homework assigned is worthwhile
- BYP74C My eighth grader is challenged at school
- BYP74D My eighth grader is working hard at school
- BYP74E My eighth grader enjoys school
- BYP74F The standards set by the school are realistic
- BYP74G The school is preparing students well for high school
- BYP74H The school is preparing students well for college
- BYP74I The school is a safe place
- BYP74J Parents have an adequate say in setting school policy
- BYP74K Parents work together in supporting school policy

59. Do you and your spouse/partner do any of the following at your eighth grader's school? (MARK ONE EACH)

- BYP59A Belong to a parent-teacher organization
- BYP59B Attend meetings of a parent-teacher organization
- BYP59C Take part in the activities of a parent-teacher organization

- BYP59D Act as a volunteer at the school  
BYP59E Belong to any other organization with several  
parents from your eighth grader's school (for  
example, neighborhood or religious organizations)

## PARENTS YEARS IN THE UNITED STATES

BYP12 & 15 How many years ago did you or your spouse come to the United States to stay? (MARK ONE)

## FAMILY INCOME

BYP80

THIS NEXT SERIES OF QUESTIONS IS ABOUT THE PRESENT SITUATION OF YOU AND YOUR FAMILY. WE NEED THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER TO COMPARE YOUR ANSWERS WITH THOSE OF OTHER PEOPLE WHO TAKE PART IN THIS SURVEY. THIS INFORMATION WILL BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL AND IT WILL NEVER BE USED WITH YOUR NAME.

80. What was your total family income from all sources in 1987?

(If you are not sure about the amount, please estimate.)

(MARK ONE)

## EDUCATIONAL BACKGROND

BYP30

THE NEXT SERIES OF QUESTIONS IS ABOUT YOUR EDUCATIONAL AND WORK EXPERIENCES AND THOSE OF YOUR SPOUSE/PARTNER

30. What is the HIGHEST LEVEL of education you have completed?

(MARK ONE)

## FAMILY STRUCTURE

Which of the following people live in the same household with you? (MARK ALL THAT APPLY)

- BYS8A Father  
BYS8B Other male guardian (stepfather or foster father)  
BYS8C Mother  
BYS8D Other female guardian (stepmother or foster mother)  
BYS8E Brother(s) (including step- or half-)  
BYS8F Sister(s) (including step- or half-)  
BYS8G Grandparent(s)

BYS8H Other relative(s) (children or adults)  
BYS8I Non-relative(s) (children or adults)

## **COLLEGE ASPIRATIONS OUTCOME**

51. Do you plan to go to college after you graduate from high school? (MARK ONE)

## **WORKING OUTCOME**

The series of variables LABR0692 - LABR0894 will contain the month by month employment status from June 1992 through August 1994. The possible values for each month are:

- 1 Employed
- 2 Unemployed and receiving unemployment compensation
- 3 Unemployed and not receiving unemployment compensation
- 4 Out of the labor force

In the hard copy questionnaire, sample members were asked to complete a matrix where they indicated their status for each month. In the CATI questionnaire, these values were derived from the answers to the following series of questions in combination with the interview date:

The next section of our interview concerns your employment history from June 1992 to today. Now, please think back to June of 1992. At that time were you employed, unemployed and receiving unemployment compensation, unemployed and NOT receiving unemployment compensation, or were you out of the labor force (that is, not working, not looking for work AND not receiving unemployment compensation)?

INTERVIEWER: IF R WAS UNEMPLOYED PROBE WHETHER OR NOT S/HE RECEIVED UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION.

INTERVIEWER: IF R SEEMS UNSURE AS TO WHAT "OUT OF THE LABOR FORCE" MEANS, PROBE BY REPEATING ITS DEFINITION. "Out of the labor force means that you were not working, not looking for work AND not receiving unemployment compensation."

AND:

Then starting in "MONTH/YEAR", were you employed, unemployed and receiving unemployment compensation, unemployed and NOT receiving unemployment compensation, or out of the labor force (that is, not working and not looking for work)?

INTERVIEWER: IF R WAS UNEMPLOYED PROBE WHETHER OR NOT S/HE RECEIVED UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION.

AND:

When did you stop being employed(unemployed and receiving unemployment compensation, etc.)?

INTERVIEWER: IF R DOES NOT KNOW MONTH, PROBE FOR SEASON. ENTER 96/96 IF CURRENT.

Note: Variables for months after the interview was conducted will be set to the value for legitimate skip.

## **HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETION OUTCOME**

**F3UNIV23      2 year follow up after expected graduation**

## **ETHNIC BACKGROUND**

**Next, we would like to ask you some background information.**

**BYS31A    Which best describes you? (MARK ONE)**

**BYS31B    Which of these best categorizes your background?  
(MARK ONE) ASIAN OR PACIFIC ISLANDER**

**BYS31C    Which of these best categorizes your background?  
(MARK ONE) HISPANIC**

## Appendix 5



## Appendix 5

### Independent Variable Means

<b>Variable Names</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>
<b>Mother's Years in the United States</b>	11287.00	6.71	0.78
<b>Father's Years in the United States</b>	11162.00	6.75	0.73
<b>Mother's Education</b>	11503.00	6.50	3.45
<b>Father's Education</b>	9916.00	6.57	3.67
<b>Family Income</b>	11064.00	9.81	2.51
<b>Two Parent Households</b>	11434.00	0.71	0.45
<b>Extended Family</b>	11434.00	0.12	0.33
<b>Extended Two Parent Households</b>	11434.00	0.07	0.25
<b>Parental Advocacy</b>	10989.00	3.21	3.20
<b>Traditional Parental Involvement</b>	11535.00	9.21	3.34
<b>Latino Parental Advocacy</b>	11405.00	0.40	1.61

**Note:** Means are based on each variables range of categories not the mathematical mean

Appendix 5

Independent Variable Means (continued)

Variable Names	N	Mean	Standard Deviation
Latino Traditional Parental Involvement	11535.00	1.31	3.73
Native American Traditional Parental Involvement	11535.00	0.10	1.10
Asian American Traditional Parental Involvement	11535.00	0.58	2.38
Native American Parental Advocacy	11525.00	0.03	0.45
Asian American Parental Advocacy	11491.00	0.20	1.15
Latino Extended Family	11512	0.03	0.17
Native American Extended Family	11535.00	0.00	0.04
Asian American Extended Family	11528.00	0.02	0.13
Latino Mother's Years in the United States	11463.00	0.77	2.07

**Appendix 5**

**Independent Variable Means (continued)**

<b>Variable Names</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>
<b>Native American Mother's Years in the United States</b>	11535.00	0.07	0.70
<b>Asian American Mother's Years in the United States</b>	11502.00	0.31	1.24
<b>Latino Father's Years in the United States</b>	11387.00	0.74	2.04
<b>Native American Father's Years in the United States</b>	11532.00	0.07	0.69
<b>Asian American Father's Years in the United States</b>	11496.00	0.31	1.28

## Appendix 6

## Appendix 6

### Reliability Analysis & Chronbach Alphas

Variable Names	N	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Range	Chronbach Alphas
Extended Two Parent Households	11540.00	1.68	1.12	2.02	0.90	0.95
Extended Family	11540.00	1.78	1.12	2.02	0.90	0.96
Two Parent Households	11540.00	1.21	1.12	1.29	0.17	0.87
Traditional Parental Involvement	10781.00	0.78	0.75	0.80	0.05	0.83
Parental Advocacy	11087.00	0.60	0.26	1.11	0.85	0.51

## Appendix 7

## Appendix 7

### Asian American Descriptives

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Level of Education</b>	<b>Years In The United States</b>	<b>Family Income</b>
Asian American Mothers	Completed 4-5 Years of College	16 or more years	
Asian American Fathers	Completed 4-5 Years of College	16 or more years	
Family Income			\$35,000- \$49,000

# Appendix 7

## Native American Descriptives

Variable	Level of Education	Years In The United States	Family Income
Native American Mothers	Less than 2 Years of College		
Native American Fathers	No High School Graduation		
Family Income			\$20,000- \$24,000



# Appendix 7

## Hispanic Descriptives

Variable	Level of Education	Years In The United States	Family Income
Hispanic Mothers	8th Grade or Less	16 or more years	
Hispanic Fathers	8th Grade or Less	16 or more years	
Family Income			\$25,000 \$34,999

## Appendix 7

### European American Descriptives

Variable	Level of Education	Years In The United States	Family Income
European American Mothers	High School *		
	Graduation		
European American Fathers	High School *		
	Graduation		
Family Income			\$35,000- \$49,000

\* Note: There was a considerable percentage of European American mothers (13%) and fathers (12%) who completed 4-5 years of college.

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## REFERENCES

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