A Meta-Analysis: The Effects of Parental Involvement on Minority Children's Academic Achievement

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Education and Urban Society 2003 35: 202
DOI: 10.1177/0013124502239392

A META-ANALYSIS The Effects of Parental Involvement on Minority Children's Academic Achievement

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A meta-analysis was undertaken, including 21 studies, to determine the impact of parental involvement on the academic achievement of minority children. Statistical analyses were undertaken to determine the overall effects of parental involvement obtained for each study as well as specific components of parental involvement. Four different measures of academic achievement were used. The possible differing effects of parental involvement by gender and socioeconomic status were also considered. The results indicate that the impact of parental involvement overall is significant for all the minority groups under study. For all groups, parental involvement, as a whole, affected all the academic variables under study by at least two tenths of a standard deviation unit. However, among some of the races, certain aspects of parental involvement had a greater impact than did others. The significance of these results is discussed.

Keywords: *parental involvement; African American; academic achievement; Hispanic; education*

Parental involvement has emerged as one of today's most important topics in educational circles. As the stability of the American family has declined during the past four decades, researchers have been increasingly concerned about the degree to which parents are involved (or uninvolved) in their children's education. Even though educators have proclaimed how much influence parental involvement has on children's academic outcomes, no meta-analysis that examines the effects of parental involvement on minority student educational outcomes has ever been published in an academic journal. This fact largely contributes to a dearth of knowledge that exists regarding which aspects of parental involvement help minority student achievement and just what kind of parental involvement is most important (Christian, Morrison, & Bryant, 1998).

Many studies have addressed the effects of parental involvement on the general population. Even so, a large percentage of these studies suffer from

EDUCATION AND URBAN SOCIETY, Vol. 35 No. 2, February 2003 202-218
DOI: 10.1177/0013124502239392

one of the following limitations that reduce the benefit of each of these individual studies (McBride & Lin, 1996; Muller, 1998; Peressini, 1998). First, many of these studies have had small samples that make it difficult to estimate the influence of parental involvement on the general student population (Bauch & Goldring, 1995; Bronstein, Stoll, Clauson, Abrams, & Briones, 1994; Crouter, Helms-Erickson, Updegraff, & McHale, 1999). Second, many studies focus only on parental involvement generally or on certain aspects of parental involvement. As a result, most individual studies can give little direction to parents and educators regarding which aspects of parental involvement are most important (Christian et al., 1998). Third, a considerable percentage of the studies focus only on certain groups of students in certain situations (McBride & Lin, 1996; Muller, 1998; Peressini, 1998). Therefore, by examining the results of one study alone, it may not be possible to come to specific conclusions about which aspects of parental involvement may be helpful to numerous other types of students.

An increasing number of social scientists have pointed out that there is a need to obtain an overall sense of the effects of parental involvement and the effects of specific aspects of parental involvement (Coleman & Hoffer, 1997; Jeynes, 2000). The results of a meta-analysis should certainly contribute toward meeting this goal.

Parental involvement has become one of the centerpieces of educational dialogue among educators, parents, and political leaders. The presence of more parents in the workforce, the fast pace of modern society as a whole, and the declining role of the family have all been reasons that some social scientists have pointed to to explain an apparent decline in parental involvement in education (Coleman & Hoffer, 1987; Jeynes, in press). Although many educators have highlighted the importance of parental involvement if children are to do well in school, the research that has been done on this issue has frequently been unable to give guidance regarding the extent to which parental involvement helps student achievement and just what kind of parental involvement is most important (Jeynes, 2001).

Research on parental involvement has increased during the past two decades. Social scientists are giving parental involvement a special place of importance in influencing the academic outcomes of the youth. Hara (1998) went so far as to claim that that increased parental involvement is the key to improving the academic achievement of children. Various studies indicate that parental involvement is salient in determining how well children do in school at both the elementary and secondary school levels (Christian et al., 1998; Mau, 1997; McBride & Lin, 1996; Muller, 1998; Singh et al., 1995). Research by Singh et al. (1995) suggests that the effects of parental involvement may be greater at the elementary school level. Deslandes, Royer,

Turcott, and Bertrand (1997) reported results that suggest the parenting style may determine how much of an effect the involvement of parents has at the secondary level. The impact of parental involvement emerges in mathematics achievement (Crane, 1996; Muller, 1998; Peressini, 1998; Shaver & Walls, 1998), reading achievement (Jeynes, 2001; Shaver & Walls, 1998), and in other subjects as well (Jeynes, 2001; Zdzinski, 1996).

The research that has been completed to date also indicates that the effects of parental involvement are broad. That is, they hold across a variety of different types of populations and situations. For example, the place of parental involvement in academic achievement holds no matter what level of parental education one examines (Bogenschneider, 1997) and at all levels of economic background (Shaver & Walls, 1998). Most relevant to this study, the research evidence also indicates that parental involvement positively affects the academic achievement of children no matter what the racial heritage is of the children being studied (Mau, 1997; Sanders, 1998; Villas-Boas, 1998). However, those studies that have made this assertion have generally examined only one ethnic group and have defined parental involvement as having only one to three components. Muller's (1998) research indicates that parental involvement may help reduce the mathematics achievement gap between boys and girls. Studies undertaken outside of the United States suggest that parental involvement has positive effects on international children as well (Deslandes et al., 1997; Mau, 1997; Villas-Boas, 1998). The willingness of parents to participate in the education of their children apparently also transcends the distinction between whether a school is from the inner city or the suburbs (Griffith, 1996; Hampton, Mumford, & Bond, 1998). To the extent that minority children are more likely than Whites to reside in urban areas, these results may have some bearing on what one might predict for this study. That is, parental involvement may indeed have an impact.

Research by Bauch and Goldring (1995) suggests that high levels of parental involvement are more easily achieved when parents have chosen a particular school for their child. Other studies indicate that parental involvement is greatly facilitated if a child comes from an intact family (Onatsu-Arvilommi & Nurmi, 1997), when the parents are enthusiastic generally (Zellman & Waterman, 1998), and if the family is religious (Riley, 1996; Sanders, 1998).

The fact that there has been a reasonably large amount of research on parental involvement and that many studies have certain limitations has led social scientists to desire to know more of the specifics about parental involvement. *Parental involvement*, after all, can be a vague term that can mean countless different things to different people. In recent years, some social scientists have attempted to more clearly define what is meant by

parental involvement (Crouter et al., 1999). Ballantine (1999) noted that there are many aspects of parental involvement and that it would be helpful if researchers would identify which aspects of parental involvement have the greatest benefit on children. Grolnick, Benjet, Kurowski, and Apostoleris (1997) asserted that once the academic community knows what parental involvement consists of, it can predict what family and social attributes will contribute most to producing parents that participate in the educational experience of their children. Beyond this, parental involvement may reduce some of the downward impact on academic achievement that deficient schools (Hampton et al., 1998; Hara, 1998) and broken homes (Bronstein et al., 1994) generally have on children. But what aspects of parental involvement help the most?

There is still a great deal of research that needs to be undertaken regarding which aspects of parental involvement are most important. In the past few years, social scientists have attempted to become more specific in their studies regarding just what they mean by parental involvement. Hoge, Smit, and Crist (1997) attempted to define parental involvement as consisting of four components: parental expectations, parental interest, parental involvement in school, and family community. They found that of the four components, parental expectations were the most important. Other research either qualifies or disputes these findings. Mau's (1997) findings indicated that although parental expectations were important, parental supervision of homework was very important. Mau also noted some racial differences in the types of parental involvement that parents engaged in. Mau found that whereas White parents were more likely to attend school functions than Asian and Asian American parents, the latter parents had higher expectations, and their children did more homework. Since Asian and Asian American students generally academically outperformed White students, Mau questioned the importance of parents' attending school functions. Other research suggests that parental expectations may backfire if they are not maintained in the context of a positive parental style (Zellman & Waterman, 1998). In the context of a less supportive parenting style, high expectations may place an unmanageable degree of pressure on the child.

The present state of the body of research knowledge is as follows. There have been a fair number of studies done on the effects of parental involvement. However, the various limitations of many of these studies, referred to earlier, makes it difficult to come to any firm conclusions about which aspects of parental involvement have the greatest impact. Both of these facts taken together lend themselves to undertaking a meta-analysis on parental involvement on racial minority children. First, the number of studies on this issue is large enough to warrant this approach. Second, although the individual

studies themselves may be too narrowly focused to yield the necessary generalizations, the statistical combination of these studies in a meta-analysis would make this possible.

METHOD

In this project, every major database was searched (Psych Info, ERIC, Sociological Abstracts, Wilson Periodicals, and so forth) to find studies examining the effects of parental involvement on the academic achievement of children in K-12. Journal articles on parental involvement were also searched, especially with respect to minority students, to find additional research articles that addressed this issue. A total of 26 studies were obtained that addressed the relationship under study, and 20 studies were found that had a sufficient degree of quantitative data to include in this meta-analysis. The total number of subjects included in these studies was nearly 12,000.

In this project, a statistical analysis was conducted to determine the overall effects of parental involvement obtained for each study, as well as specific components of parental involvement. These specific components include the extent to which parents communicated with their children about school, whether parents checked their children's homework, parental expectations for the academic success of their children, whether parents encouraged their children to do outside reading, whether parents attended or participated in school functions, the extent to which there were household rules regarding school and/or leisure activities, parenting style and warmth, and other specific measures of parental involvement. Six different racial groupings were examined: those studies with (a) mostly African American participants, (b) all African American participants, (c) mostly Asian American participants, (d) all Asian American participants, (e) mostly Latino and Asian American participants, and (f) all Latino and Asian American participants. Latinos and other minority groups were not examined separately because of the small number of studies that examined these groups. Virtually every study controlled for socioeconomic status, and some studies examined effects for gender.

Four different measures of academic achievement were used to assess the effects of parental involvement on academic achievement. First, there was an overall measure of all components of academic achievement combined. The other measures included grades, academic achievement as determined by standardized tests, and other measures, which generally consisted of teacher rating scales and indices of academic behaviors and attitudes. The results

presented in this study reflect the effects found for each facet of parental involvement, using each of these academic categories. If there was only one study that was found that examined a particular component of parental involvement, using a particular academic measure, a meta-analysis could not be done. However, the result of this study is noted on a table with a statement that it was not included in the meta-analysis. The possible differing effects of parental involvement by gender and socioeconomic status were also considered. Two statistical measures were used to reduce sampling and publication bias.

RESULTS

The results indicate that parental involvement does generally affect the academic achievement of the minority groups under study. Table 1 lists the studies used in this meta-analysis and the overall effect size for each. All of the 20 studies showed a positive beta. The betas varied from a high of .74 to a low of .01. Only 3 of the studies yielded a result less than two tenths of a standard deviation unit. All of the studies except 1 were completed during the 1990s. None of the studies showed any statistically significant effects for gender.

Table 2 compares the effects of general parental involvement among the minority groups under study. In all cases where there were data, the effect sizes are greater than two tenths of a standard deviation. Overall, the effect sizes varied from more than two tenths of a standard deviation to more than four tenths of a standard deviation. For the groups consisting of mostly African Americans and 100% African Americans, the effect sizes are .44 ($p < .01$) and .48 ($p < .01$), respectively. For the groups consisting of mostly Latinos and Asians and 100% Latinos and Asians, the effect sizes were .43 ($p < .05$) for the former group and .48 ($p < .05$) for the latter. For the Asian participants alone, the effects sizes were smaller, but the confidence intervals were quite narrow.

For the GPA measure, the effect sizes were generally somewhat smaller than for the overall measures of academic achievement. In terms of standard deviation units, the effect sizes varied from .25 ($p < .0001$) for groups consisting of mostly Latinos and Asian Americans to .33 ($p < .0001$) for studies in which all of the participants were African American students. The regression coefficients that emerged for standardized tests were larger, on average, than for GPA, although they covered a wide range. Studies in which the participants were Latino and Asian Americans produced an effect size of .48 ($p <$

TABLE 1
List of Studies Used in the Meta-Analysis for Parental Involvement, the Year of the Study, and the Effect Sizes for the Various Studies

Study	*Year*	*Effect Size*
Keith and Lichtman	1994	+.74
Yan	1999	+.67
Brown and Madhere	1996	+.60
Taylor	1996	+.49
Zellman and Waterman	1998	+.43
Reynolds	1992	+.39
Taylor, Hinton, and Wilson	1995	+.37
Williams	1999	+.34
Marcon	1999	+.32
Hampton, Mumford, and Bond	1998	+.29
Sanders	1996	+.28
Fletcher	1994	+.28
Strange and Brandt	1999	+.28
Marcon	1993	+.26
Keith and Lichtman	1992	+.25
Cardenas-Rivera	1994	+.22
Mau	1997	+.21
Austin	1988	+.06
Georgiou	1999	+.05
Nesbitt	1993	+.01

.05). This was greater than for studies that included mostly Latino and Asian American students (.44, $p < .05$). The effect size was .31 ($p < .0001$) for studies with mostly African American students and .22 ($p < .0001$) for both the mostly and 100% Asian American groups.

Of all the academic measures under examination, it was the conglomeration of all the *other* measures that yielded the largest regression coefficients. For this academic measure, effect sizes were available only for studies for mostly or all African American participants. In each case, the effect size was .62 ($p < .0001$). For studies with mostly African American participants, the effect sizes for both GPA (.32, $p < .0001$) and standardized tests (.31, $p < .0001$) were smaller than these other measures of academic achievement (.62). Some possible reasons for this pattern are examined in the Discussion section.

Table 3 lists the effect sizes for parental involvement for overall academic achievement by different aspects of parental involvement. In the case of African Americans, all of the aspects of parental involvement in which a meta-

TABLE 2
Effect Sizes and Confidence Intervals for General Parental Involvement

	Overall Academic Achievement		*GPA*		*Academic Achievement Tests*		*Other Measures*	
Parental Involvement and Academic Variables	*ES*	*CI*	*ES*	*CI*	*ES*	*CI*	*ES*	*CI*
General parental involvement								
African Americans—Studies with mostly or all of this group as participants	.44**	.14, .74	.32****	.22, .42	.31****	.17, .45	.62****	.53, .71
African Americans—Studies with all of this group as participants	.48**	.17, .79	.33****	.21, .45	No data		.62****	.53, .71
Latinos and Asian Americans—Studies with mostly or all of this group as participants	.43*	.01, .85	.25****	.23, .27	.44*	.02, .86	No data	
Latinos and Asian Americans—Studies with all of this group as participants	.48*	.03, .93	No data		.48*	.03, .93	No data	
Asian Americans—Studies with mostly or all of this group as participants	.22****	.20, .24	No data		.22****	.20, .24	No data	
Asian Americans—Studies with all of this group as participants	.22****	.20, .24	No data		.22****	.20, .24	No data	

NOTE: ES = effect size; CI = confidence interval.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$. ****$p < .0001$.

analysis could be done (i.e., that included more than 1 study) had a statistically significant positive influence. The magnitude of this impact varied by the parental involvement variable. The effect size for those studies that included a specific variable (not merely a general all-encompassing variable) for parental involvement was .30 ($p < .0001$) for those studies that included mostly African American participants and .31 ($p < .0001$) for the studies that included all African American participants. The effect sizes for parents helping and checking their children's homework yielded the largest effect size of more than seven tenths of a standard deviation. The effect sizes for parents communicating with their children about school and parental expectations were both more than half of a standard deviation.

Parental attendance yielded an effect size of .51 ($p < .01$) in the case of studies including mostly African American participants, but only 1 study included participants who were all African American. Therefore, a meta-analysis could not be done for the category of all African American participants. Nevertheless, the 1 study that was done yielded a result of .62 of a standard deviation, which is similar to the effect size for studies including mostly African American participants. Parental style produced an effect size of .44 ($p < .01$) for studies including mostly African American students as well as those including all African American students.

The results for the other racial groups were quite different from those that emerged for African Americans. Although this study has already determined that parental involvement affects the academic achievement of all the groups incorporated into this study, the pattern for the specific components of parental involvement was quite different for the combinations of Asian and Latino groups studied than it was for African Americans. The extent to which a parent read with a child both in the past and the present positively influenced academic achievement. The effect size for reading was .21 ($p < .05$). Only 1 study examined the impact of this aspect of parental involvement on African American achievement, and therefore a meta-analysis could not be done. However, the effect for this study was .39 of a standard deviation. The effect sizes for parental style and parental attendance, which were positive for African Americans, were not statistically significant for the other groups under study. Also, the effect size for rules regarding school work had a negative influence, yielding an effect size of –.25 ($p < .05$). Although only 1 study examined this issue for African Americans and therefore no meta-analysis was undertaken in this case, the results of this study were in the positive direction. The significance of these results is examined in the Discussion section.

Table 4 lists the effect sizes for specific measures of academic achievement by different aspects of parental involvement. These results once again indicate very consistent effects for parental involvement, no matter what

TABLE 3

Effect Sizes for Overall Academic Achievement, by Different Aspects of Parental Involvement

Parental Involvement and Academic Variables	*African Americans—Studies With Mostly or All of This Group as Participants*		*African Americans—Studies With All of This Group as Participants*		*Latinos and Asian Americans—Studies With Mostly or All of This Group as Participants*		*Latinos and Asian Americans—Studies With All of This Group as Participants*		*Asian Americans—Studies With Mostly or All of This Group as Participants*		*Asian Americans—Studies With All of This Group as Participants*	
	ES	*CI*	*ES*	*CI*	*ES*	*CI*	*ES*	*CI*	*ES*	*CI*	*ES*	*CI*
Specific parental involvement	.30****	.16, .44	.31****	.25, .37	No data		No data		No data		No data	
Parental style	.44**	.18, .70	.44**	.18, .70	–.01		–.01		–.00		–.00	
Parental attendance	.51**	.22, .80	.62	1 study	–.29		–.29		–.29		–.29	
Expectations	.57**	.23, .91	.57**		No data		No data		No data		No data	
Reading	.39	1 study	.39	1 study	.21*	.03, .39	.21*	.03, .39	.21*	.03, .39	.21*	.03, .39
Communication	.53**	.18, .88	.53**	.18, .88	No data		No data		No data		No data	
Rules	.35	1 study	.35	1 study	–.25	–.03, –.47	–.25	–.03, –.47	–.25	–.03, –.47	–.25	–.03, –.47
Homework	.72****	.46, .98	.72****	.46, .98	No data		No data		No data		No data	

NOTE: ES = effect size; CI = confidence interval.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$. ****$p < .0001$.

TABLE 4

Effect Sizes for Specific Measures of Academic Achievement, by Different Aspects of Parental Involvement

Parental Involvement and Academic Variables	*African Americans—Studies With Mostly or All of This Group as Participants*		*African Americans—Studies With All of This Group as Participants*		*Latinos and Asian Americans—Studies With Mostly or All of This Group as Participants*		*Latinos and Asian Americans—Studies With All of This Group as Participants*		*Asian Americans—Studies With Mostly or All of This Group as Participants*		*Asian Americans—Studies With All of This Group as Participants*	
	ES	*CI*	*ES*	*CI*	*ES*	*CI*	*ES*	*CI*	*ES*	*CI*	*ES*	*CI*
Specific parental involvement												
Grades	.31****	.27, .35	.31****	.27, .35	No data		No data		No data		No data	
Parental style												
Grades	.34**	.19, .49	.34**	.19, .49	No data		No data		No data		No data	
Standardized tests	No data		No data		–.03		–.03		–.03		–.03	
Other	.57****	.49, .65	.57****	.49, .65	No data		No data		No data		No data	
Parental attendance	.51**	.22, .80	.62	1 study	–.29		–.29		–.29		–.29	
Reading												
Standardized tests	.39	1 study	.39	1 study	.21*	.03, .39	.21*	.03, .39	.21*	.03, .39	.21*	.03, .39
Homework												
Standardized tests	.72****	.46, .98	.72****	.46, .98	No data		No data		No data		No data	

NOTE: ES = effect size; CI = confidence interval.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$. ****$p < .0001$.

variable is examined, for African American students. In the case of parental style, the effects for this variable are considerably larger for other (.57, $p <$ .0001) measures of academic achievement than for grades (.34, $p < .01$). The confidence intervals were generally pretty narrow for most of the variables producing statistically significant results.

DISCUSSION

The results indicate that parental involvement affects the academic achievement of minority students. Several notable patterns emerged in the results.

First, the effects of parental involvement held across all the races under study. The effect sizes for parental involvement were more than four tenths of a standard deviation for studies that had either most or all African American participants. Similar results were found for those studies that had either most or all Latinos and Asian Americans as their participants. Those studies that used most or all Asian American students as participants yielded smaller effect sizes. Nevertheless, a meta-analysis examining these studies found that the effect size was still more than two tenths of a standard deviation.

When specific academic measures were examined separately, the same overall pattern emerged. All of the academic measures yielded statistically significant regression coefficients. What this indicates is that parental involvement appears to affect all levels of academic achievement: GPA, standardized tests, and other measures as well. Overall, one can conclude that parental involvement has a significant positive impact on children across race and across academic outcomes. This is an important finding for urban educators and parents.

Second, the regression coefficients that emerged for GPA were typically smaller than those of the other academic variables. If one takes the average effect size for each academic variable and averages it across the racial groups included in this study, other measures yield the largest average effect size, and GPA produces the least. The fact that other measures were associated with the largest effect sizes would seem to be a reasonable and logical outcome. As mentioned in the Method section, other measures consisted largely of teacher ratings. Teachers are among the first to recognize and appreciate parental involvement. Therefore, one might expect that teacher ratings might be among the primary measures to reflect parental involvement.

It is likely that teacher ratings may be affected by teacher perceptions of the level of cooperation exhibited by the child and the family as a whole. To

the extent that parental involvement may be the major component of that perceived cooperation, teachers may view children and their families more positively as a result of that perceived cooperation. In addition, other measures are more likely to be influenced by the perceived motives of the child and family. Pure motives do not always translate into educational success. Standardized test scores and GPA may or may not partially reflect pure motives. Teachers, however, may feel inclined to reward good motives by the child and the family. Teacher ratings are more likely than other academic measures to reflect (a) a positive relationship between the parent and the teacher; (b) a sense of teamwork between the parent and the teacher, due to increased communication between the two; and (c) an acknowledgment by the teacher of parental efforts. The combination of these factors probably explains a substantial part of the reason why other measures of achievement yielded larger effect sizes than the other measures.

It is more challenging to explain why parental involvement appeared to influence standardized test scores more than GPA. One possible explanation is that when parents get involved in their children's education, they offer not only information specific to the classroom but likely help in giving children a broader level of academic information. To the extent that this is true, parental involvement may give minority children a larger advantage in standardized tests than in classroom tests. Standardized tests usually measure a broader area of study than is covered within the classroom. Students may easily garner classroom material from the teachers or other classmates. However, this broader information is likely harder to obtain, and when parents provide it, this gives those who have involved parents a decided advantage on standardized tests.

Third, although the effects of parental involvement were apparent for all the racial groups under study, it is also clear that the effects of parental involvement were greater for some groups more than for others. Parental involvement apparently benefited African Americans and Latinos more than it did Asian Americans. African American children benefited from all kinds of parental involvement. Latinos and Asian Americans combined benefited from overall parental involvement more than Asian Americans alone, indicating that Latino students apparently benefit from parental involvement more than Asian American students do.

The question emerges as to why African Americans likely benefit the most and Asian Americans benefit the least from parental involvement. This question is especially interesting, given that the parental involvement of parents of Asian descent is well documented and well publicized. In attempting to answer this question, it must be remembered that the effect sizes for parental involvement do not measure the likelihood of parental involvement but the

effect of parental involvement when it takes place. In other words, what the results indicate is that when there is parental involvement from the parents of African American students, on the average, these children benefit more than their average Asian American counterparts.

Harold Stevenson, James Stigler, and other researchers have noted that there is a great deal of educational emphasis in the Asian and Asian American culture (Lynn, 1988; Stevenson & Stigler, 1992). It may be that there are enough educational incentives present in other aspects of Asian American culture so that even without a large degree of parental involvement, students still do relatively well. It may well be that parental involvement has the greatest impact where there are not other cultural factors that are working to raise academic achievement.

A second reason for Asian Americans' being affected less than Latinos and African American students probably relates to the likelihood that these children come from single-parent families. Of the three racial groups included in this study, African American children are most likely to come from single-parent families, Latino children are the second most likely to come from this family structure, and Asian Americans are least likely to come from this family structure (Jeynes 1998, 2002). Research supports the notion that family structure is the most important facet of parental involvement (Jeynes, 2001).

To the extent that the average child from a certain group is not likely to have a certain parent present or involved, the impact of parents' actually being involved is likely to be that much greater. These two possibilities likely explain much of the reason why parental involvement makes more of an impact on African American students and Latino students than it does on Asian American students.

Further research is needed to examine why it is that particular kinds of parental involvement are especially beneficial for certain racial groups. Although the results of this study provide many insights into the effects of parental involvement on the academic achievement of minority children, it also raises some interesting questions about parental involvement, which can help guide research in years to come. For example, parental involvement clearly influences the academic success of Asian students. However, once parental involvement was broken down into various components, most of the components did not yield statistically significant results. This may indicate that researchers know more about the components of parental involvement that contribute to the achievement of other minority groups than Asian Americans. In future research, social scientists should examine a broader range of parental involvement measures. The more the research community knows

about the impact of parental involvement, the more families and educators can benefit.

This study has attempted to specifically address what aspects of parental involvement are most important in affecting the academic achievement of adolescents. It is hoped that this study will contribute to understanding the importance of intact families and communication as salient aspects of parental involvement. More research is needed to aid in the understanding of why intact families and communication play the major role that they do.

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