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Abstract

We examined the educational involvement of English speaking and Spanish speaking parents of students in a Dual Language Program. Parents responded to open-ended questions about how they were involved, what they would like to be involved in but were not, and what barriers prevented them from being more involved. Monitoring/assisting with homework was the most frequently mentioned involvement activity for both groups, followed by reading with their children, school involvement and communication, and providing social and emotional support to their children. The top areas in which parents wanted to do more were school involvement and communication, social and emotional support, homework assistance/monitoring and parental development. Time and language/educational issues predominated as barriers to parental involvement with the former cited more by English speaking parents and the latter more by Spanish speaking parents.

The ethnic composition of schools is becoming more diverse and minority students are steadily increasing in number, primarily due to the influx of Latino students. Between 1990 and 2000, the Latino population in the U.S. grew by 58%, while the total population grew by 13% (Gouveia, Powell, & Camargo, 2005). Unfortunately, Latino students often experience less academic success than their majority counterparts (Lee, 2004; Tapia, 2004), including higher drop-out rates, lower college graduation rates, and lower test scores (DeBlasie & DeBlasie, 1996). Ethnic differences in the amount and/or quality of

parental involvement in education has been considered a primary reason for Latino students' relative lack of academic success (cite). Parent involvement has been linked to children's academic success (Fulgini, 1997; Hill & Craft, 2003), including higher student achievement, better behavior, lower drop-out rates, and higher attendance (Christenson & Cleary, 1990). Indeed, noninvolvement is often interpreted as a lack of concern for and interest in children's education (Balli, 1996; Brilliant, 2001). As a result, schools engage in activities that promote parent involvement (Baker, Kessler-Sklar, Piotrkowski, & Parker, 1999; Desimone, 1999).

Considerable support exists for the relationship between parental involvement and school success in Caucasian, middle class families (Christenson & Cleary, 1990; Englund, Luckner, Whaley, & Egeland, 2004), but less is known about this relationship in other groups (Desimone, 1999; Lightfoot, 2004). Latino parents, in particular, may be less familiar with school functions in the U.S. as many were raised and educated in other countries. We cannot assume that Latinos define parental involvement in the traditional U.S. way. Parental involvement may, in fact, manifest differently in diverse ethnic groups (Desimone). We need to understand *how* Latino parents are involved in their children's education before we can relate it to achievement. Parental involvement may be especially important for Latino youth given that their parents provide them with their most influential and important source of support (DeBlasie & DeBlasie, 1996;

Gandara, 1982; Steinburg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992).

Parental Involvement

Parental involvement has been operationalized in a variety of ways but most definitions include four major parent activities. One commonly described activity is monitoring and supervising children's academics (Barge & Loges, 2003; Christenson & Cleary, 1990; Hong & Ho, 2005). Parents may ask their children about homework, supervise its completion, and keep track of grades. They also may sit down with the child and assist him/her with the work. These activities take place primarily outside of the school. Communicating with teachers and school staff is a second form of parent involvement (Barge & Loges; Christenson & Cleary; Enslie, 1992; Hong & Ho). Parents and teachers communicate openly, discussing student progress, collaborating to assist the child, and sharing what is happening in the home and school. A third form of parent involvement is volunteering to assist in activities at the school – whether in or out of the classroom (Christenson & Cleary; Hong & Ho). Examples of volunteer activities include helping grade papers, planning the school's open house, and tutoring students who need additional academic assistance. The final commonly cited parental involvement activity is participating in extracurricular school and community functions (Christenson & Cleary; Hong & Ho). Parents may enroll their children in sports, take them to the library or museums, and interact with other parents to provide a community based child support system.

The involvement activities listed above come primarily from a priori categories of parental involvement that were specified by researchers and educators; they are based on traditional U.S. views of how parents are involved in their children's education. Much less is known about how parent involvement is manifested in different ethnic groups. Barge and Loges (2003) appropriately noted that traditional U.S.

involvement strategies are focused more on encouraging the academic aspects of schooling. These strategies typically ignore the disciplinary and behavioral guidance that parents provide their children. When considering ethnically diverse approaches to parental involvement, we may need to expand our conceptual framework to include parents' (and other family members') behavioral expectations, which also seem likely to influence children's academic functioning. The use of a predetermined list of activities may inadvertently bias research if findings fail to take into account the broad spectrum of ways, both direct and indirect, that parents are involved in their children's education. This may be especially important when defining involvement for recently immigrated families who are unfamiliar with the U.S. educational system.

Parental Involvement Among Latinos

Early research examining how Latino parents are involved in their children's education has been impacted by the societal belief that Latinos are not involved in and do not place high value on education (Valencia & Black, 2002). Fortunately, researchers are taking steps to change this perception and accurately depict Latino involvement in education (Hong & Ho, 2005; Lopez, Scribner, & Mahitivanichcha, 2001; Valencia & Black). These researchers are finding that ethnic group differences occur in how parent involvement occurs and how this involvement relates to student achievement.

The importance of parent-child communication about academics has surfaced as an important component in the Latino population. For example, Hong and Ho's (2005) examination of different ethnic groups found that, in Latino families, communication between parents and children were related to achievement. In contrast, parent participation in school activities was unrelated to academic supervision. Similarly, Martinez, DeGarmo, and Eddy (2004) sampled a large group of Latino and non-Latino families and found that the relationship between aca

demic success and parental encouragement was stronger in Latino families.

Unfortunately, a number of barriers prohibit Latino families from fully participating in the U.S. school system. Over a decade ago, Ensle (1992) challenged the field of education to identify and eliminate these barriers. An obvious barrier for many families is language (Balli, 1996; Brilliant, 2001). When parents do not speak English, they are unable to assist their children with homework, cannot communicate with their children's teachers, and have difficulty volunteering to assist in the school. These are three of the aforementioned critical components of family involvement. An inability to participate in these functions may, in turn, lead educators to assume that Latino parents do not value education. Teachers are likely to be unaware of parent involvement activities that occur at home. Additional barriers arise when parents are of low income, low education, and/or migrant status, including lack of transportation, childcare, and financial resources (Baker et al., 1999). Moreover, parents may have multiple jobs or have jobs that do not allow them time away to participate in school activities or communicate with teachers during the school day. Parents' lack of knowledge about the rules and regulations of U.S. schools may also contribute to a lack of involvement in school activities (Brilliant; Ramirez, 2003).

The Current Study

The purpose of this study was to begin to identify the various ways that Latino parents may be involved in their children's education. Administrators at an elementary school that had a large percentage of Latino students initiated this study because of their desire to be culturally responsive to the needs of their students. Traditional methods of inquiry, such as checklists and other closed-ended questions, were considered inappropriate because they would not allow unexpected involvement activities to emerge. Instead, we asked Spanish-speaking and English-speaking parents to generate their own lists, based on the assump-

tion that they *were* involved and that our purpose was to define *how* they were involved. Given that previous research delineates barriers to involvement, we thought it also important to ask parents to tell us about these. Specifically, we asked parents what they would like to do but were not doing with regard to their children's education, as well as what they thought the barriers to their involvement were. Again, we wished to avoid using a predetermined list of barriers that were based largely on research from a middle-class Caucasian perspective.

Method

Participants and Setting

A total of 139 parents participated in the study, including 105 Spanish speakers and 35 English speakers. Parents were recruited from an elementary school in a Midwestern city that had a Dual Language (English and Spanish) program. Teachers and support staff assisted in recruiting parents to participate in the study.

The Dual Language program had been in existence for 5 years and had been implemented in grades K-4. When enrolling their children in kindergarten, parents could choose whether their child would participate in the Dual Language program at the school or in the traditional school format. Parents who had children in the Dual Language program had to commit to remaining in the program throughout their children's schooling and to a minimum of 20 volunteer hours in the school per year. Half of the students in the Dual Language program were native English speakers and half were native Spanish speakers. The majority of the students (75%) was eligible for free and reduced lunch.

For the purpose of the study, groups were defined according to the language (Spanish or English) in which the participant chose to complete the questionnaire. The Spanish speaking parents represented 5 countries and had been in the U.S. an average of 9.83 years ($SD = 5.37$). All but one of these parents identi-

fied themselves as first generation. The English speaking group comprised 8 African Americans, 10 Latinos, 21 Caucasians and 4 in the Other category. What distinguished the Latinos in the two different groups was that those in the English speaking group used English as their first and/or primary language. Only two of the English speaking parents identified themselves as first generation. These parents reported having been in the U.S. an average of 33.59 years ($SD = 9.09$).

Questionnaires

A questionnaire was developed in English, translated into Spanish by a fluent Spanish speaker, and then back-translated by another fluent Spanish speaker to assure that the translation matched the original intent of each question. This questionnaire included three open-ended questions that were the focus of the present research: 1) What sorts of things do you do—either at home or at your child's school—to help your child be more successful in school?; 2) Are there other things that you would like to do that you are not doing now?; and 3) Are there some things that make it hard for you to be involved in your child's schooling? Parents wrote out their responses to these questions.

Procedures

The questionnaires were given to parents during the 2003-2004 school year. Fliers, in both English and Spanish, announcing the study and dates of data collection were sent home with students. Teachers also encouraged parents to attend and research team members made phone calls to encourage participation. Data were collected in two evening sessions held in the school cafeteria (a room that served as both the cafeteria and auditorium) to accommodate parent schedules. On the evening of data collection, parents arrived with their children and were served a buffet dinner. After dinner the children went to another part of the school where child care was provided free of charge. The procedures for completing questionnaires

were introduced in both English and Spanish. The parents were given the choice of completing the questionnaire in either English or Spanish and were divided into two groups depending on their language choice. In each group, the study was introduced and parent rights were described. After obtaining parent permission, the researchers read the questionnaires in the appropriate language for each group. Additional members of the research team were available to assist parents in completing the questionnaires. At the conclusion of the study, each parent was paid \$10 for participating.

Data Coding and Analysis

All responses were translated into English. Responses to each question were analyzed separately to identify the complete set of unique responses that were provided to each question. These unique responses were then listed so that all of them could be considered in developing the coding scheme and in data analysis. For example, for the question concerning the types of activities that parents engaged in at home and at school, some participants listed only one activity while others listed several. Each activity was listed separately.

Next, a formal coding scheme was developed. Each item was listed on an index card and sorted according to similar content. For example, items that mentioned assisting with homework as a means of participating in their child's education were combined. After all individual participation items were in a content area, the groups of items were named and an operational definition was developed. Some of the items did not fit neatly into categories and were put into a category called "Other." After the initial coding scheme was developed, the research team reviewed the categories and made modifications based on a review of the data. This process occurred several times. The final categories used in the formal coding process are listed and defined in Appendices A and B. The same coding system was used for the first two questions; a different

system was used for the third question. A more complete description of the coding system is available from the first author.

Each response was then coded by a team of trained graduate students, all of whom were native English speakers. Training was provided by the researcher who was primarily responsible for developing the coding system. The categories were described and examples of each were provided from the data. The coders then piloted the coding scheme by analyzing 10 responses and calculating interrater reliability. This was repeated until interrater reliability was established at 100%. Throughout this process the coding scheme was checked for understanding, consistency, and comprehensiveness and was modified as needed. Then the remaining data were coded and interrater reliability was established at 90%.

A descriptive analysis of the data was conducted. The percentage of responses per category and the average number of responses within each language was calculated.

Results

Actual Participation

The average number of participation activities that the Spanish-speaking parents listed was 3.07, ranging from 0 to 8 responses. The English-speaking parents listed an average of 4.63 activities with a range from 1 to 17 responses. Thus, the English-speaking parents provided an average of 1 ½ more participation activities than the Spanish-speaking parents.

The types of participation activities by language group are reported in Table 1. The activity reported most often for both groups was monitoring and assisting with homework. Of the total statements, the Spanish-speaking parents had a higher percentage related to homework than did the English-speaking parents. Homework activities included participating in the homework process (e.g., helping with homework, correcting homework, asking questions about homework, monitoring that work is complete, and making

sure homework is turned in), reviewing old homework, and helping with specific subjects, the most common being math and language arts.

Both groups reported a comparable percentage of reading activities such as reading with or to their children, and listening to their children read to them. English speaking parents had a higher percentage of statements relating to school involvement, which included offering to help a teacher, helping with school activities, and communicating with teachers.

Providing support to their children ranked fourth for the English speaking parents and third for the Spanish speaking group and ranked higher than school involvement for the latter group. This category included providing socio-emotional support, praising and encouraging the child, talking about the child's school day and other topics, and spending one-on-one time with the child.

English speaking parents reported a higher percentage of school involvement and participation in extra-curricular activities (29.2% total) than the Spanish speaking parents (12.9% total). Spanish speaking parents were slightly higher than English speaking parents in their reported percentage of activities that involved teaching children life skills and values. Here parents reported that they modeled good behavior and taught their child appropriate behaviors such as respect and manners. They also reported teaching positive study habits and the value of education.

English-speaking parents were somewhat more likely than Spanish-speaking parents to report extra-curricular activities as involvement in their children's education. Some of these activities were: "going to the library," "going to the museum," "listening to and singing songs," and "we play school."

Less frequently mentioned areas for both groups were establishing structure and routine for the child and improving their own language and/or educational abilities. Additionally, some parents made

global statements of help such as "I help him with whatever he needs" and "I help her with school."

Desired Participation

Parents were asked what types of activities they would like to do but could not. The number of activities listed per person ranged from 0 to 4. Fifty-one (42 Spanish speaking and 9 English speaking, representing 45% and 20%, respectively) of the participants either left the item blank or stated that there was nothing that they wished they could be doing. Of those parents who listed desired activities, most reported one or two activities (English speaking 1 item: 57%; 2 items: 22%; Spanish speaking 1 item: 39%; 2 items: 14%). Only 1 parent from each language group reported 3 desired activities and 1 Spanish speaking parent stated 4 desired activities. A small percentage from each group stated that there were no activities that they would like to be doing but were not. It should be noted that this category was developed for those parents who actively wrote that there were no other activities and does not include those who left the item blank.

The percentage of activities listed in each category is presented in Table 2. The top four activities that parents reported, regardless of language group, were school involvement, providing support to their children, homework assistance/monitoring and parental factors. These four categories represented 80.8% of the English speakers' responses and 71% of the Spanish speaking group. Close to half of the desired activities listed by English speaking parents were in the category of School Involvement. School involvement was also listed most frequently by Spanish speaking parents but the percentage was not as high. Both groups also listed parent factors, such as continuing their own education, as desired activities. Providing more homework assistance and giving more social-emotional support were listed by both groups, with the Spanish speaking parents citing more items relating to homework assistance.

Barriers to Participation

The number of barriers each group listed is in Table 3. The English speaking participants reported 74 total barriers compared to 70 listed by the Spanish speaking parents. This is noteworthy given that the English speaking group is approximately half the size of the Spanish speaking group. For the Spanish speaking participants, over half of the barriers were language and educational in nature. Time dominated for the English speaking parents. Time and language/educational issues accounted for 80% or more of the barriers for each group.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to explore how Spanish speaking and English speaking parents report being involved in their children's education. This area of study is crucial given the relationship between school success and parent involvement coupled with the poorer academic outcomes faced by many Latino youth (DeBlassie & DeBlassie, 1996; Lee, 2004; Tapia, 2004). Our goal was to provide preliminary information that would further the knowledge base. The research approach allowed parents to generate the responses. We then analyzed the information with an emergent coding system rather than predetermining the responses with forced choice items and a preconceived coding scheme. The results indicated that parents from both language groups reported homework as the most common way of involving themselves in their children's education. On average, the English speaking parents generated more activities than the Spanish speaking group. The two groups also reported a desire to be more involved in similar ways. There were variations in specific activities and the number of activities reported. The more poignant differences between groups occurred when they were asked about the barriers that prevented further involvement.

Actual Participation

The number of different ways that parents reported participating in their children's education varied by language group with English speaking parents listing more activities, as well as different involvement activities. This may represent a real difference in participation impacted by the English speakers being better aware of how to participate in their children's education. Spanish speaking parents, some of whom are recent immigrants, may still be acclimating to the U.S. school system, may have different views of involvement, and/or may not know the various ways they can be involved. One issue may be that they are unfamiliar with outside resources and community agencies. An alternative explanation is that the data collection method was unfamiliar to the Spanish speaking parents and they were less inclined to write all the activities. Moreover, they may not define some activities as supporting their children's school success. The questionnaires did not ask parents how much time they spent in these activities so the difference may, in fact, represent variety and not actual time spent involved in their children's activities.

The most frequently mentioned activity for both groups was helping their children with homework. Interestingly, the Spanish speaking parents reported a higher percentage of this activity than the English speaking parents. Reading with their children was also one of the more frequently mentioned activities for both groups. These are both activities that can be done at home and provide one-on-one time with their children. These data suggest that both groups of parents prioritize home-based activities that contribute to their children's education. Very little previous research has compared the involvement of English and Spanish speaking parents in their children's homework and reading development. The research that does exist suggests that Spanish speaking parents have difficulty helping their children with homework because homework is in English (Balli, 1996; Brilliant, 2001). Given

that the children in this study were in a dual language program, the Spanish speaking parents may have found this to be a positive means of involvement. Homework and reading materials are provided in both English and Spanish and parents can choose to assist their child in their native language.

In general, English speaking parents reported more involvement in schools and extracurricular activities than the Spanish speaking parents. One interpretation is that the English speaking parents were more familiar with how to become involved. In contrast, Spanish speaking parents may be less aware of what to do in the schools. The language barrier may also prevent many from seeking out involvement in their children's school activities and may result in these parents feeling less of a connection to school activities.

Parents in both groups reported that they provided support and encouragement to their children as part of being involved in their education. Given that parental encouragement was found to have a strong positive relationship for Latino families (Martinez et al. 2004), this aspect of involvement and its importance should be highlighted.

Life skills were mentioned more often by Spanish speaking parents and this category focused more on the behavioral aspects of education such as discipline and behavioral expectations. Barge and Loges (2003) noted that traditional U.S. parental involvement is not defined as involving discipline or behavioral guidance and, instead, is more focused on academics. While our study does not provide conclusive evidence, it certainly suggests that Spanish speaking parents see themselves as more involved in the behavioral aspects of schooling.

The two groups were similar in the activities not frequently listed. Neither group reported that providing a routine in such areas as mealtime and bedtime for their children was a way that they participated in their children's education. One possible reason for this is that parents take this for granted and do not con

nect it to their children's schooling. An alternative explanation is that routines are difficult to establish and they are not as successful with this as desired. The latter explanation is less plausible given that routines were not mentioned very often as a desired activity. Very few parents mentioned that they are improving themselves as a way of helping their children. Again, parents may not readily think of their own improvement as a way of participating in their children's education. The final two categories that were global in nature (General) or did not relate to the research question (Other) were not coded often in either language group.

Desired Participation

Almost half of the Spanish speaking group and one fifth of the English speaking group did not list any desired participation activities. One interpretation of this finding is that more Spanish speaking than English speaking families are doing all they can or wish to do. It could also mean that Spanish speaking families feel more constrained by the barriers and do not see themselves as having any other options for participating. Finally, these families may not feel empowered by or involved enough in the school to wish to do more. Of those families who listed at least one desired activity, very few listed more than two ways in which they would like to participate but currently were not. Again, the interpretation of these results could indicate that families are actually participating in their children's education close to the degree that they desire.

When parents listed desired activities, both groups reported wanting to be more involved in the schools, with English speaking parents having a higher percentage of school involvement activities listed than Spanish speaking parents. This suggests that many members of both groups of parents recognize the importance of being involved in their children's school. In fact, English speaking parents reported

relatively high school involvement as a current means of participating in their children's education and it is interesting to note that they reported wanting to do even more. We do not know, however, if it is the same parents reporting both current and desired school involvement. This would be important to analyze in future studies.

Increasing their involvement in homework and providing support were also listed by both groups of parents. This is interesting given that both groups reported relatively high levels of involvement with homework and providing support already. It would be interesting to determine if they were assisting with homework in both languages or just the native language of the parents. Parents may currently be involved in the homework in their native language but desire to assist their child with homework in the other language used in the Dual Language program. The Spanish speaking parents had a higher percentage of items indicating they desired more involvement in their children's homework and this may relate to their wish to help with English assignments. With regard to the Support category, parents may also realize how encouragement benefits their children and they may wish to provide even more.

Parents reported a desire to learn English or Spanish and to further their education. Few had listed these activities as ways they are currently assisting their children. This may relate to their desire to assist more with homework. They may feel unprepared to provide guidance due to language and educational factors.

Neither group had many parents stating that they wanted to be involved more in their children's reading. While reading was one of the top four activities listed as a current form of participation, the percentage was not high. Parents may see reading as part of homework or they may believe that it is the teachers' roles to work with students on their reading.

Barriers to Participation

The most striking difference between Spanish speaking and English speaking parents was in the number and type of barriers to additional participation. Specifically, Spanish speaking parents reported fewer barriers than English speaking parents. Coupled with the fact that a larger percentage of the Spanish speaking parents reported that they did not have any additional activities in which they desired involvement, more parents in this group may be comfortable with their level of educational involvement. Consistent with previous research (Balli, 1996; Brilliant, 2001), those who did define barriers reported language and educational barriers as the most common reasons for not being as involved as they wished. In contrast, the English speaking parents most frequently reported time constraints. Even though their children were in a Dual Language program, they did not report language/educational barriers as frequently. Other barriers were reported far less frequently. Parents very rarely mentioned that the school environment was a barrier to their involvement.

Implications for School Psychologists

School psychologists can benefit from this study by gaining a better understanding of how parental involvement occurs in different groups. From this information, school psychologists can provide culturally sensitive suggestions to parents with whom they work. One relevant finding was that many similarities existed between English speaking and Spanish speaking parents in actual and desired ways to participate in their children's education. It appears that many parents are aware of appropriate participation activities and are engaging in them. We cannot, however, assume that all parents are knowledgeable about what they can do to be involved in their children's learning process. Training programs are available to help parents become more involved in a variety of ways.

If these findings can be generalized to other groups, the results are encouraging in that parents are in

involved in a variety of ways that are supported by previous research. School psychologists can enter a parent consultation with the assumption that parents are involved and wish to be involved. Too often, educators are told that some groups of parents do not care about their children's education and choose not to be involved. This belief is detrimental to positive collaborative efforts with parents and our findings suggest that parents who are not from the white, middle class population are actually highly involved.

The differences that existed were in the barriers that prevent some parents from the amount of involvement they desire with the children's education. Schools may need to make modifications to provide accommodations and/or support for these parent issues. Holding meetings and having activities at varying times during the week and weekends may help some parents become more involved in school functions and help them be better able to communicate with teachers. Arranging for ways that parents can expand their education and learn another language would be other important functions for the school. Given that research supports the link between parental involvement and student achievement, the children will ultimately benefit from the programs that focus on their parents. School psychologists understand this link and can be change agents in schools.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

The present study was an attempt to use an innovative means of data collection and analysis to explore parental involvement. While the methodology provided us with new information, it was not without limitations. No attempt was made to link the findings with student achievement and this would be a logical next step. Future research could examine whether different types of involvement or having different people involved in the children's education have different impacts on student achievement. In addition, future research can determine the amount of time parents spend participating in their children's educa

tion and whether time is a major influence on children's academic success. The generalizability of the study is limited. The sample of English-speaking parents was small. All data were collected in a Dual Language program and it is unknown whether similar results would be found in other programs that serve English Language Learners. Finally, the level of acculturation could be examined to determine whether it impacts parental involvement.

Conclusion

Several important conclusions can be drawn from the results of this study. First, there were both important similarities and differences between English and Spanish speaking parents in their self-reports. With regard to similarities in actual participation, the categories of homework, reading, providing support, and life skills were all highly ranked and ranked in the same order for both groups indicating that home based support activities are very important to both groups. The major difference between the groups was with regard to the categories of school involvement and extracurricular activities, both of which are external to the home and both of which ranked higher for the English speaking parents than the Spanish speaking parents. With regard to similarities in desired participation, both groups most frequently indicated a desire to be more involved in school activities. However, this was truer of English speaking parents than Spanish speaking parents, who also emphasized a desire to help with homework and parent factors.

Taken together, the differences between the two groups seem to be logically linked to the barrier listed most commonly by the Spanish speaking parents, the language/education barrier. Specifically, the Spanish speaking parents' greater emphasis on home based activities overall and lower emphasis on activities outside the home (i.e., school involvement and extracurricular activities) may stem from their limited proficiency in English. As discussed above, this has important implications for school psychologists.

Finally, with regard to methodology, the use of open-ended questions and emergent categories was motivated by a desire to be more culturally sensitive to minority parents. However, upon analyses, it appears that this approach may be useful in general when attempting to characterize parental involvement. Notably, the home-based categories of reading, social support, life skills, providing routine, and parent factors were routinely included by parents but are not well represented among the a priori categories of behaviors examined in prior research (Barge & Loges, 2003; Christenson & Cleary, 1990; Enslie, 1992; Hong & Ho, 2005). Had we chosen to use a predetermined checklist of behaviors, our results may have been very different and potentially misrepresentative of how parents are involved in their children's education.

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