

foundly shape structures of opportunity and challenge. This new work will need to go far beyond the city limits because a nagging question is what happened to the masses of coethnics who left these gateways. While there is ample work on “new destinations,” this volume suggests the need for trans-Atlantic comparisons of those who leave these “world cities” for smaller locales (see, however, *International Migration and Rural Areas: Cross-National Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Birgit Jentsch and Myriam Simard [Ashgate, 2009]).

The result of two conferences at the Rockefeller Foundation’s Bellagio Conference Center, the chapters speak to one another well, and the presentation flows logically and effortlessly. This book would make for a worthwhile requirement in advanced seminars on immigration and is sufficiently accessible and meaningful that it could even enhance more general social science seminars concerned with the implications of socioeconomic and institutional context. It is necessary reading, however, for any immigration scholar.

*The Broken Compass: Parental Involvement with Children’s Education.* By Keith Robinson and Angel L. Harris. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2014. Pp. x+312. \$45.00.

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*The Broken Compass* asks three questions. What is the magnitude of social class and racial differences in parents’ involvement in their children’s academic lives? Which forms of involvement most strongly raise achievement? What portion of the achievement gap can parental involvement account for? Keith Robinson and Angel L. Harris intensively analyze four data sets to answer these questions.

The first chapter introduces parental involvement in schooling as a sociological and policy issue. The epigraph from Barack Obama nicely sets the stage for the argument that many government and policy actors have looked to increases in parental involvement to help raise student academic achievement and narrow the social class and race and ethnic achievement gaps that are of wide concern. As is appropriate for a volume aiming to speak to the general public as well as policy makers and professional social scientists, the text, statistical evidence, and a diagram of causal pathways are presented in a clear and easy-to-follow manner. In particular, the causal diagram nicely organizes the subject matter in subsequent chapters.

Chapters 2–4 focus on parental involvement at home and school as mediators of the lower academic achievement of children from parents with

lower education and income (the authors' measures of social class). They use regression analysis with data from the National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS) and the Child Development Supplement (CDS) of the Panel Study of Income Dynamics to examine these relationships. This source material leads to estimation of a very large number of regression coefficients, which are summarized in graphs showing these coefficients for combinations of three outcomes (reading and math test scores, course grades), multiple separate measures of parental involvement (they also employ some scales that combine these measures), and several categories of parental education and income. Their analysis involves scanning these graphs for whether the preponderance of coefficients is negative or positive, significant or not significant. The principal result is the absence of strong evidence that parent involvement positively and consistently affects student achievement. This finding is a potentially important corrective to those who might naively believe otherwise.

Chapters 5–8 continue this style of analysis, running large numbers of regressions with NELS, Education Longitudinal Survey, and CDS data with social class replaced by race and ethnicity. The authors find that, contrary to many commonly held beliefs, minority parents are relatively similar to whites in their parental involvement in education. However, they also find that parental school involvement is at best only modestly related to student achievement. The strength of this association suggests that even under the best of circumstances, increased school involvement by minority parents is unlikely to eliminate the race and ethnic achievement gap.

Chapter 9 is particularly innovative. The authors ask how white and black parents differ in responding to a situation in which their child is performing poorly in school. Analyzing both CDS data and data from the Maryland Adolescent Development in Context Study, they demonstrate that, in responding to hypothetical questions, black parents are significantly more likely than whites to employ punitive strategies. They find that such strategies tend to produce lower student achievement and that these parenting differences between whites and blacks can account for a modest share of the achievement gap between blacks and whites.

Chapter 10 addresses a question: If the 63 measures of parental involvement are not showing strong associations with student achievement, how *do* parents influence this achievement? Reflecting on their own personal experiences, the authors hypothesize that parents set the stage for achievement by having high expectations for academic performance. They explore this by undertaking focus-group discussions with college students. They conclude that parents set the stage for high academic performance by having high expectations and creating a comfortable space for their children to develop their own academic motivation and identity

In the final chapter, Robinson and Harris summarize their findings and direct attention to two questions for future investigation. Which involvement activities work best for each racial or ethnic and economic group? Why do particular activities work for certain groups?

This volume has a number of strengths and a few weaknesses. On the positive side, the authors have done an immense amount of empirical work on an important and (somewhat) neglected topic and reported the results in a clear and accessible manner. Their volume will likely be widely read by both scholars and policy makers and will help set the agenda for further work on parental school participation for many years to come. They have worked hard to answer difficult questions, and their conclusions will have to be addressed by researchers in this field. On the negative side, the authors might have produced a more interesting volume if they had made different choices regarding a number of analytical issues. Most important was the decision to use all the questionnaire items available in the data sets as separate variables, rather than structuring them into scales representing a few key school involvement dimensions. Using all these items, each with substantial measurement error, as separate predictors, and doing so for multiple student subgroups, almost guarantees that the large set of resulting coefficients would vary widely. Instead, it would have been better to group the variables into distinct sets representing theoretically meaningful dimensions of parental involvement and to present only regressions employing these scales. In addition, the authors are too sanguine about the ability of a lagged dependent variable (pretest score) to remove the bias due to endogenous predictors (reverse causality). Thus, many of the negative coefficients they report (for example, those associated with parental help with homework) are likely due to parents becoming more involved when their children are performing badly at school. Thus, their finding that parental help with homework negatively affects student achievement is quite implausible. The authors should have considered the use of statistical techniques such as instrumental variables that are designed to deal with such statistical problems.

So what are the answers to the three research questions addressed by this volume? Higher social class is associated with greater parental involvement, but controlling this variable, racial differences in involvement are not large. The effects of involvement on achievement are modest in size; active involvement with the school is the most effective. Finally, parental involvement can play at most a modest role in decreasing class and race gaps in achievement. These findings will not surprise most researchers in this area, but it is useful to have them all in one place and documented with empirical evidence.